

Hebrew in the Second Temple Period

*The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls
and of Other Contemporary Sources*

Edited by

**STEVEN E. FASSBERG, MOSHE BAR-ASHER
AND RUTH A. CLEMENTS**

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Hebrew in the Second Temple Period

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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PREFACE

It is a commonplace that the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the book of Ben Sira can only be properly understood when viewed in the light of other contemporary Hebrew sources from the Second Temple period. This integrative approach was recognized by the first scholars who investigated the language of the Scrolls, most notably Henoah Yalon, Ze'ev Ben-Ḥayyim, and E.Y. Kutscher; and all later serious investigations have exploited the importance of the data offered by the other contemporaneous corpora, viz., Late Biblical Hebrew, the oral and written traditions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, inscriptions, Greek and Latin transcriptions, and Mishnaic Hebrew.

It was in the spirit of this integrative and interdisciplinary treatment of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira that the Twelfth Orion Symposium, which was also the Fifth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira, was convened at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, December 29–31, 2008. More than twenty experts on the language of the Second Temple period met during the three-day conference; the group included senior and junior scholars, Israelis, Europeans, and Americans. The sessions were well attended by students and scholars from the fields of linguistics, Bible, and Judaic studies.

While most of the discussions focused on a particular corpus from the Second Temple period, the relevance of other contemporaneous corpora was continually stressed and the links between them were highlighted. Lectures revealed new approaches to orthography (G. Geiger and E. Tov), morphology (E. Qimron), semantics (G. Anderson, R. Kratz, M. Morgenstern, U. Schattner-Rieser, and F. Zanella), lexicology (H. Dihi, A. Hurvitz and N. Mizrahi), the phenomenon of double readings (M. Bar-Asher), and in particular, syntax (M. Eskhult, S.E. Fassberg, P. van Hecke, J. Joosten, D. Talshir, A. Yuditsky, and T. Zewi).

It is a pleasure to thank two important research centers at the Hebrew University for their financial and logistic support: the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, and the Eliezer Ben-Yehuda Center for the Study of the History of the Hebrew Language, which is part of the Department of Hebrew Language. We particularly wish to express our appreciation to the Orion Foundation, the Sir Zelman Cowan Universities Fund, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for

their generous support of the ongoing work of the Orion Center, including this symposium and the resulting symposium volume.

Ms. Ariella Amir of the Orion Center was responsible for the flawless running of the symposium, and Mr. Ivri Bunis from the Department of Hebrew Language aided in the formatting and editing of the papers. The editors are grateful to Florentino García Martínez and George Brooke for accepting the volume into the series, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*, and to Tessel Jonquière of Brill Academic Publishers, who shepherded the volume through the production process.

Steven E. Fassberg
Moshe Bar-Asher
Ruth A. Clements
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Ed. D.N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992
AbrNSup	Abr-Nahrain: Supplement Series
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AS	Assyriological Studies
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATDA	Alte Testament Deutsch Apokryphen
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica
BDB	Brown, F., S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1907
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BO</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>DSSSEL</i>	<i>Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library</i> . Edited by Emanuel Tov. Rev. ed. Leiden: Brill, 2006
<i>DSSSE</i>	<i>Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i> . Edited by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998
ELO	Elementa Linguarum Orientis
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FGS	Functional Grammar Series
<i>FL</i>	<i>Folia Linguistica</i>
FLSS	Foundation of Language: Supplementary Series

GD	Gorgias Dissertations
GCALL	Georgetown Classics in Arabic Language and Linguistics
Gesenius–Buhl	<i>Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, in verbindung mit H. Zimmern, W. Max Müller und O. Weber.</i> Ed. F. Buhl. 17th ed. Leipzig: Vogel, 1915
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.</i> Edited by E. Kautsch, Translated by A.E. Cowley. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910
HALAT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J.J. Stamm. <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament.</i> 3 vols. 3d ed. Leiden: Brill, 1967–1995 (KBL3)
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner and J.J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.</i> Translated and edited under the supervision of M.E.J. Richardson. Leiden, 1994–2000. Electronic edition (CD-Rom), 2001
HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HTKAT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HS	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTKAT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IES	Israel Exploration Society
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JDS	Judean Desert Studies
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
Joüon–Muraoka	Joüon, P. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew.</i> Ed. P. Joüon and T. Muraoka. 2 vols. Subsidia Biblica 27. Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2006 (rev. ed. 2009)
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series

JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
LASBF	<i>Liber annuus Studii biblici franciscani</i>
<i>Le Muséon</i>	<i>Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales</i>
<i>Leš</i>	<i>Lešonénu</i>
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
NJPS	<i>Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text</i> . Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
OSSM	Oxford Surveys in Syntax and Morphology
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PBM	Paternoster Biblical Monographs
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RL</i>	<i>Russian Linguistics</i>
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
<i>Shnaton</i>	<i>Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
SSLL	Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum
<i>Textus</i>	<i>Textus: Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project</i>
<i>ThWAT</i>	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> . Edited by G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Stuttgart, 1970–
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSL	Typological Studies in Language
TY	Talmud Yerushalmi
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>Zutot</i>	<i>Zutot: Perspectives on Jewish Culture</i>

HOW DOES ALMSGIVING PURGE SINS?

Gary A. Anderson

I have been working for some time on a significant semantic development that occurred in Second Temple Hebrew, probably as a result of the influence of Aramaic: the movement from thinking of sin as a weight that an individual must bear (לשאת עון) to the notion that sin is a debt (חוב) that must be repaid. A few years earlier at another Orion conference, I laid out my basic thesis for this project.¹ In this essay I would like to extend that argument in a new direction and discuss the way idioms for cleansing or purging function in Second Temple Hebrew.

A. SIN AS A DEBT

Let me begin by retracing my steps briefly and articulating my basic thesis about the evolution of the biblical metaphor for sin. The nucleus of my project began while I was working on the *Damascus Document*. Like most readers of this text, I was impressed by how biblical it was. Not only did it frequently cite or paraphrase the Bible but much of the idiom of the text itself was the result of a conscious imitation of biblical style. A comparison of this Qumran text with any portion of the Mishnah would reveal to the reader quite quickly just how biblicizing the Qumran dialect of Hebrew appears. Yet when I reached the third column I encountered a surprise.

Because [all] the first members of the covenant *became liable* [הבנו²], they were given over to the sword (Ps 78:62). They had forsaken the covenant of

¹ G.A. Anderson, "From Israel's Burden to Israel's Debt: Towards a Theology of Sin in Biblical and Early Second Temple Sources," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (ed. E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. Clements; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 1–30.

² The spelling is a bit unusual, as the original letter ה has been replaced by ח, which gives the reading of הבנו in place of the expected חבו. This is probably the result of the general weakening of the guttural consonants that has long been noticed as a feature of Qumran Hebrew.

God and chosen their own will. They turned after their stubborn hearts so that each did his own will. (CD 3:10–12)³

As the writer documents the sins of Israel, he creates his text from a pastiche of biblical sources, but in the middle of his account he diverges dramatically from this biblicizing pattern and introduces a root for sin—**חב**—that is more at home in Mishnaic Hebrew than Biblical. About two columns later one encounters a similar situation: “The deeds of David were recorded and, except for the blood of Uriah, God forgave (**עזב**) them” (CD 5:5–6). This is more surprising than the reference to culpability as a form of debt, for one cannot find in either the Bible or rabbinic sources the verb **עזב**, “to forsake,” used as a term for forgiveness. Yet Aramaic does mark the act of forgiveness with a verb—**שבק**—that normally means “to forsake.” It would appear that the author of the CD has used **עזב** as a calque for this particular Aramaic verb. This should not be too surprising, for a very similar calque can be found in the prayer that Jesus teaches his disciples, “forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors” (Matt 6:12). As Raymond Brown once wrote, the language of the Our Father prayer must derive from an underlying Semitic tradition:

The Matthean use of “debts” has a Semitic flavor; for, while in secular Greek “debt” has no religious coloring, in Aramaic *hōbâ* is a financial and commercial term that has been caught up into the religious vocabulary. . . . The idea of remitting (*aphienai*) debts which appears in our petition is also more Semitic than Greek, for “remission” has a religious sense only in the Greek of the LXX, which is under Hebrew influence.⁴

Let us return to the usage of **עזב** in CD to mark the notion of forgiveness. This same sort of usage is attested in Sir 3:13: “And even if [your father’s] understanding fails, forgive him [**עזוב לו**], and do not put him to shame all the days of his life.” It is worth noting that the Syriac has translated **עזב** with the term **שבק**. The reason for the choice of the root **עזב** is not difficult to explain. A debt is an obligation that one owes to another. One can either exercise one’s rights and collect the sum that is owed, or forsake those rights. Both **שבק** and **עזב** refer to the act of abandoning or forsaking something. Indeed in Neh 5:10, we see Nehemiah exhorting his countrymen to be lenient toward those who are in debt. The Hebrew

³ All translations in this paper are my own except for those from the Hebrew Bible proper. The latter are drawn from the NJPS.

⁴ R.E. Brown, “The Pater Noster as an Eschatological Prayer,” *TS* 22 (1961): 175–208; reprinted in idem, *New Testament Essays* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1965), 217–53. The citation is taken from the reprint, p. 244.

reads: **נְעִזְבֵה נָא אֶת־הַמְּשָׂא הַזֶּה**, which the NJPS translates: “Let us now abandon those claims.” Abandonment, in this instance, means the gracious act of foregoing on one’s legal right to call in a debt.

The significance of this transformation did not become clear to me until I read an article by Baruch Schwartz on the common biblical idiom for culpability, **לְשֵׂאת עוֹן**, “to bear a sin.” As he demonstrated so clearly, this metaphor can point in two directions. In a situation of culpability, it means, “to assume the weight of sin upon one’s back”; in contexts of forgiveness, “to remove the weight of sin from another’s back.”⁵ As the concordance indicates, this idiom is by far and away the most common for denoting the ill effects of sin. As one can see from the following chart, the conjunction of **נָשָׂא** and **עוֹן** occurs some 108 times in the Bible whereas its closest competitor **עוֹן סָלַח** occurs just 17 times:

Hebrew Verb	Translation	Number of Occurrences
נָשָׂא	“to bear (or bear away) a sin”	108
סָלַח	“to forgive a sin” (etymology unknown)	17
כָּפַר	“to wipe away a sin”	6

Strikingly, when we turn to the Targums we find that our Aramaic translator does render this phrase accurately into Aramaic when the reference is to the bearing of a real physical burden, but when we see the Hebrew idiom used to speak about sins it is replaced with another idiom—that of sins conceived of as a debt.⁶ So **לְשֵׂאת עוֹן**, meaning, “to bear the weight of a sin,” is translated **לְקַבְּלָא חוּבָא**, “to assume a debt;” while **לְשֵׂאת עוֹן**, “to bear away a sin,” is translated **לְמַשְׁבַּק חוּבָא**, “to remit or absolve a debt.” The replacement is systematic, and from this we can come to a rather important conclusion: whereas First Temple Jews understood sin primarily as a weight to be born, in the Second Temple sins had come to be debts.⁷

⁵ B.J. Schwartz, “Term or Metaphor: The Biblical Expression ‘To Bear a Sin,’” *Tarbiz* 63 (1994): 149–71 (in Hebrew). Also see idem, “The Bearing of Sin in Priestly Literature,” in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D.P. Wright, D.N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 3–21.

⁶ The Targums in question are Onqelos, Neophyti and Pseudo-Jonathan. The equivalences are standard though not without an occasional variation.

⁷ I am not presuming that the Targums date to the Second Temple period. But the consistency of translation by all three of the major Targums suggests a very ancient practice, one that I believe stretches back to the Second Temple period. One should compare the

Perhaps the best way to appreciate this change is simply to pick up a rabbinic dictionary and consult the various terms that have to do with debts and debt-repayment. Many of them double as terms for sin and its consequent punishment or forgiveness. Consider, for examples the terms פרע “to pay” (and פורענות “punishment”), חב “to collect on a debt,” חב “to owe, be in debt,” מהל [Hebrew] / שבק [Aramaic], “to forsake, forgive,” and שטר־חוב, “bond of indebtedness.” All of these terms originated in the conventional world of financial commerce but then developed secondary meanings that pertained to the culpability for or forgiveness of sin. Many of them had their origin in Aramaic (as a quick examination of the Syriac dictionary will disclose) and found their way into the contemporary Hebrew lexicon. Though handbooks on the New Testament frequently explain this propensity to describe sin as debt as the unique contribution of Second Temple Judaism, it would be more accurate to say that the idea had its origin in the Aramean world more generally. From there it spread both to early Judaism and, somewhat later, to Christianity.

B. REPAYING THE DEBT IN FULL

I mentioned that the replacement of נשא עון in the Targum by קבל or שבק חובא was complete. Though this is correct for the most part, it does not do justice to the scope of the transformation when the idiom of sin as debt becomes the dominant metaphor. For the metaphor of sin as burden the picture is quite simple. Forgiveness is marked by the removal of a burden. The same is true for a stain—forgiveness refers to the state of being cleansed. But a more complicated picture attends the metaphor of sin as a debt. For when one falls into debt two different solutions are possible. Either one pays the full sum of what is owed or the obligation to repay is graciously remitted by the holder of the bond. The same set of alternatives exists when this metaphor becomes illustrative of human sin: the sinner can either make full payment on what is owed by means of some sort of physical suffering, or the sin can be gracious remitted by the offended party. The latter is marked by ἀφίημι in Greek, עזב in Hebrew, and שבק in Aramaic.

An excellent example of making full payment can be found at the very beginning of Second Isaiah. In the beginning of an oracle that is designed

use of the verb ἀφίημι in Greek to translate נשא. The Greek is not as consistent as the Targums but it is certainly a product of the Second Temple period.

“to comfort” the people Israel, we hear that the prophet is exhorted to declare: “that [Jerusalem’s] term of service is over, that her iniquity is expiated; for she has received at the hand of the Lord double for all her sins” (40:2). The key phrase here is *נִרְצָה עוֹנָהּ*, which has been translated somewhat freely as “her iniquity is expiated.” In fact, the verse literally says: “her sin has been accepted.” Everyone concedes that this literal translation makes no sense. There must be two different meanings to the root *רצה*, one “to be acceptable” (reflecting Levitical usage) and the other “to repay” (a meaning that is common in Mishnaic Hebrew). In an earlier article, I argued that these two meanings should not be understood to derive from two different roots as some recent dictionaries have suggested.⁸ Rather, the meaning of repayment can be seen as a logical extension of the earlier sense of being acceptable.

Let me summarize briefly. In Leviticus, the verb *רצה* is used most commonly in association with the *שלמים* sacrifice. This should not surprise us, as this sacrifice has a close connection with the act of making a vow, and a vow can be considered as an exchange of goods. For the supplicant promises to “pay” God with a sacrifice should God provide him with the “goods” he desires, namely, an answer to prayer. As in contractual obligations of this sort, it is important for the party who is about to make “a payment” (the supplicant) to receive assurances from the recipient (God) that he is satisfied with the exchange. It should be noted that in the book of Psalms the process is described as paying off (*שלם*) what one had vowed (cf. Pss 22:26; 50:14; 56:13; 61:9; 65:2; 66:13; 76:12; 116:14 and 18). As a result of these contractual elements it should not surprise that in the book of Leviticus, the priest takes special care to designate the sacrifice as “acceptable” (cf. Lev 7:18). For if the sacrifice is so received, one may safely presume that God can make no further claims on the individual. Both parties have been satisfied.

Once the relationship of the *שלמים* sacrifice to the vow is understood, the usage of *רצה* in Isa 40:2 comes into clearer focus. For just as one who has made a vow needs to be assured that the sacrificial animal constitutes a satisfactory payment for what is owed, so the one who has sinned and fallen into debt with God needs to know that the suffering he has undergone will constitute full payment for what is owed. And this is precisely the logic that is presumed in our Isaianic text: Jerusalem has suffered more than double her allotted term of service in Babylon and as a result God

⁸ Anderson, “Israel’s Burden,” 19–24.

declares that “her term of service has been filled” (מלאה צבאה) because “[the debt owed on] her sin has been accepted [as full payment].” There is no need to posit two roots here. The core meaning of רצה is unchanged: in place of a vowed animal, Isaiah speaks of the acceptance of a period of suffering. Israel’s debt obligation can now be stamped “paid in full.”

If we examine the terminology of forgiveness in Second Temple materials, we will find a curious phenomenon: there is a marked tendency to use terms that connote “completion” to indicate the act of forgiveness (e.g., תם, שבת, שלם, and כלא).⁹ Terms such as these do not occur in First Temple period sources to mark the forgiveness of sins. Their sudden appearance in the Second Temple period must have been occasioned by some outside factor. In my estimation this is excellent evidence that the sins in questions were understood as debts, for it is precisely this metaphor that can best account for such a lexical choice.¹⁰ Consider the following texts:

- 1) [The debt owed for] your sin has been completed (תם); he will exile you no longer.¹¹ (Lam 4:22a)

The midrash captures the sense of this text quite well when it writes: “On that very day, Israel received איפכי for her sins.”¹² The word איפכי is a loan from the Greek ἀποχή meaning “receipt, quittance.” Hence we could complete the translation: “On that very day, Israel received a receipt that the debt of her sins had been paid in full.”

⁹ The one exception would be Gen 15:16 where we read that God cannot remove the Amorites now because their sins are not yet “complete” (לא שלם עון האמרי). The idea here is that the debts of an offender must add up to a certain level before the possessor of the bond of indebtedness can initiate legal action.

¹⁰ One could, I suppose, also suggest that the apocalyptic notion of set periods for human wickedness would provide an appropriate background for these terms. On this question, see my longer discussion in G.A. Anderson, *Sin: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 85–89.

¹¹ My translation.

¹² *Gen. Rab.* 42:3; see the discussion of D. Sperber, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1984), 52. (Cf. *Lam. Rab.* 4:25; though there we have the expression שלימה איפכי, which is something of a tautology, for a quittance does not need the modifier “full, complete.” Presumably the author of *Lam. Rab.* understood איפכי as simply meaning “payment” and felt the need to underscore that the payment was made “in full.”

- 2) Seventy weeks have been decreed for your people and your holy city until [the debt owed] for your iniquity is completed and your sin is brought to completion (לבלא הפשע ולהתם חטאות). (Dan 9:24)¹³
- 3) The righteousness of your father¹⁴ will not be wiped out, as an exchange for sins it shall be planted. In a day of trouble it will be remembered to you (by God) to cancel (להשבית) [the debt owed for] your sin just as heat melts ice. (Sir 3:14–15)
- 4) And there will be none to deliver Israel because they had spurned my statutes and abhorred my Torah. Therefore I have hidden my face from [them until] they bring to completion (ישלימו) [the debt owed for their] iniquity.¹⁵ (4Q389 1 ii 3–5)

C. ACCUMULATING CREDITS THROUGH ALMSGIVING

The idiom of sin as a debt allows for a striking new idea to emerge in Israelite religion: the ability to reduce or even eliminate one's culpability by accumulating "merits." This is illustrated quite well in rabbinic literature. Consider this anonymous statement from the Babylonian Talmud:

Happy are the righteous! Not only do they acquire merit for themselves (זבין לעצמן), but they also acquire merit for their children and their children's children to the end of all generations. . . . Woe to the wicked! Not only do they take on debt (חבין לעצמן) for themselves, but they bequeath this debt to their children and their children's children to the end of all generations. (*b. Yoma* 87a)¹⁶

But one need not wait until Talmudic times to see this concept at work. One can witness the notion of the accumulation of credits already in Dan 4:24. In this text, Daniel gives King Nebuchadnezzar this piece of advice: "Redeem your sins by almsgiving and your iniquities by generosity to the

¹³ I have modified the translation of the NJPS. In the Hebrew להתם is the *qere* while the *kethib* is להתם. Commentators are unanimous that the *qere* is to be preferred. It should be noted that in Rabbinic Aramaic, the root כלי can be used in financial contexts. Compare *b. Gittin* 42b, "the capital (קרנא) has been used up (בליא)."

¹⁴ I follow the suggestion of Menahem Kister ("Romans 5:12–21 against the Background of Torah-Theology and Hebrew Usage," *HTR* 100 [2007]: 394–95) that the phrase צדקת אב (see below) is best understood as the righteousness that has accrued as a result of a father's virtuous acts. I will return to this text and Kister's interpretation of it in my discussion below.

¹⁵ This root (שלם) is regularly used in both Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic (in the D and Dt stems) to indicate payment of a bill.

¹⁶ I have followed the translation (with a few small changes) provided by Kister, "Romans 5:12–21."

poor.” According to the logic of this sentence, Nebuchadnezzar is imagined to be a debt-slave who must come up with sufficient currency to be freed; hence the injunction to “redeem” [your sins]. The Aramaic verb פִּרַק normally translates the Hebrew term גָּאֵל in contexts that pertain to the institution of redemption, such as Leviticus 25. The way in which Nebuchadnezzar is to raise the needed currency is through the activity of providing alms for the poor.

At first glance, this appears surprising. How can one raise money by giving it away? But according to both Tobit and Ben Sira, two books that are roughly contemporary with Daniel, the giving of alms allows one to lay up a treasure in heaven. Ben Sira puts the matter this way: “Lay up your treasure according to the commandments of the Most High, and it will profit you more than gold. Store up almsgiving in your treasury, and it will rescue you from all affliction” (29:11–12). It would seem that Daniel has advised the king of Babylon to give alms to the poor so that the funds can accrue in a divine treasury and be used to offset what he has accumulated in debts. If I am correct here, Daniel anticipates the model we cited above from the Babylonian Talmud: the balancing of debits against credits as part of the mechanics of how divine justice is meted out to sinners.

As Menahem Kister has recently proposed, we find a similar understanding in Sir 3:14–15, which he translates: “The righteousness of your father (צדקת אב) will not be wiped out. . . . In a day of trouble it will be remembered to you (by God) to cancel (להשבית) your sins as heat melts ice.” The crux here has been how to understand the phrase, “the righteousness of your father.” It is commonly thought to mean “the concrete acts of kindness shown toward one’s father,” with the presumption that those deeds are stored in a heavenly treasury that may eventually be used to pay down (להשבית—“bring to an end”) a debt that one owes. Yet as Kister notes, we should compare this verse to a similar passage in 44:13 that reads: “Forever will their memory abide, and their merits (צדקותם) will not be wiped out.” In both of these passages the same concern is expressed—that merits not be wiped out. Because the genitive construction in 44:13 (“their merits” [צדקותם]) is clearly subjective, it is quite likely that this is the case in 3:14 as well, “the merits of your father will not be wiped out (תמחה).”¹⁷ Kister concludes:

¹⁷ Kister proposes that the idea expressed by Ben Sira is an explicit reversal of Ps 109:14, “may the sin of his father be remembered before God, and the iniquity of his mother not be wiped out.”

Indeed, it is one of the earliest formulations of the concept of the “treasure of merits” (explicitly mentioned in Sir 3:4), of the view that “merits offset demerits” (see especially Sir 3:3, 15), and probably also of the notion of the “transfer of merits” from ancestors to their descendants.¹⁸

One may beneficially compare this verse in Ben Sira to the Talmudic text from *b. Yoma* 87a that I cited above. There we saw a clear exposition of how one’s merits can be passed along from one generation to another so as to pay down the debts owed by one’s sins. In this case, it is important to emphasize, the completion of the forgiveness cycle is marked by a verb that indicates a termination in payment, לְהַשְׁבִּית (see the discussion above of verbs like this).

D. HOW DOES ALMSGIVING PURGE SINS?

With this in mind, I would like to turn to another set of texts in the book of Tobit that speak to a similar issue. This book is distinguished by its extraordinary interest in almsgiving. Twice, Tobit assembles his family to give them his final set of instructions about how to live their lives. He does this first in chapter four, when he mistakenly believes that death is just around the corner and that he will die long before he has reached a ripe old age. There he declares that “almsgiving delivers from death and keeps you from going into the Darkness. Indeed, almsgiving, for all who practice it, is an excellent offering in the presence of the Most High” (4:10–11).¹⁹ The second such scene occurs in chapter fourteen when Tobit is truly on his deathbed; and he calls his sons and grandsons together and gives the same sort of advice (14:8–9). But for our purposes the most important text is placed in the mouth of Raphael just prior to the moment when he reveals his identity (12:6–10). In this speech Raphael advises Tobit to give fulsome praise to the God of Israel in light of all that has been done on his behalf. Raphael declares that, unlike servants of a human king, who must learn to keep the affairs of the royal household concealed, just the opposite pertains to the King of Kings. What he has done for his servants should be declared to any and all who will hear it. In chapter 13, Tobit follows this advice and offers a long song of thanksgiving to his God. In this song Tobit compares his plight to that of the people Israel. The logic can be boiled down to this: just as God has redeemed me from my sorry plight

¹⁸ Kister, “Romans 5:12–21,” 394–95.

¹⁹ The translation is from the NRSV.

so he will redeem the people he so dearly loves. All Israel needs to do is turn back from its sins so that God can look with favor upon them (13:6). With this in mind we can appreciate what Raphael says just one chapter earlier. He urges Tobit to combine prayer and fasting with the giving of alms, a standard trio appropriate to anyone repenting from sin. But of these three, pride of place goes to alms, because: “it is better to give alms than to lay up gold. For almsgiving saves one from death; it *purges away* (ἀποκαθαριεῖ) all sin” (12:8–9).²⁰

I would like to pause for a moment to consider the logic of this piece of advice. According to Raphael, almsgiving is better than laying up gold because it funds a heavenly treasury rather than an earthly one. But not only that: as was already stated by Tobit in chapter four, almsgiving can save one from death (a citation from Prov 11:4) as well as “purge away all sin” (ἀποκαθαριεῖ πᾶσαν ἀμαρτίαν). For all commentators the interpretation of this metaphor seems to be crystal clear. The writer of Tobit has conceived of sin as a “stain” that must be “cleansed” from the body. The comparison of sin to a stain is quite common in the Bible. Yet, if this is what our writer has intended then the metaphor does not do justice to the immediate literary context. For giving alms, as Raphael clearly states, allows one to accumulate a proper treasury in heaven as opposed to simply hoarding gold on earth. And if a treasury is the defining feature of almsgiving, in what way can it be used to wash away the stain of sin? Biblical writers do not normally mix metaphors in this way. Indeed, as Baruch Schwartz has so elegantly shown, many texts have been mercilessly mangled because interpreters have not taken the imagery of the underlying metaphor with sufficient seriousness.²¹ What I would like to suggest is that the expression “to purge” would be better rendered “to clear” in the sense of “to cancel [an obligation].” As such it could be nicely juxtaposed against the four texts we cited earlier (Lam 4:22 [תם], Dan 9:24 [התם בלא], Sir 3:14 [השבית], 4Q389 [השלים]).

Crucial to my argument is the way in which terms for “cleansing” evolve in the postbiblical period. The root מרק, for example (which derives from Aramaic but comes into Hebrew), originally meant to “cleanse or purge” an object from impurities. Indeed it has that meaning in Biblical Hebrew (see Lev 6:21). But as Kutscher and others have long noted, it is quite

²⁰ Translation from the NRSV with a modification marked by italics.

²¹ See n. 5 above.

common for terms that originally carried the sense of cleansing a soiled item to develop a more technical sense of “cleansing” a purchased article from all prior claims.²² This amounts to assuring the buyer in a “defension clause” that no outstanding debts will be passed along as part of the financial transaction.²³ The item has been purchased free and clear of all external obligations. Though this usage derives ultimately from Akkadian, it became deeply embedded in Aramaic in the sixth century and eventually influenced both Hebrew and Greek usage.

As Jonas Greenfield has shown, the durability of this idea in Aramaic contexts is quite impressive. Beginning in the sixth century and continuing into the Gaonic period we can see a variety of different terms for cleansing that develop the technical sense of clearing a sale from claims. Greenfield outlined the data as follows:²⁴

a) Bauer–Meissner	515 BCE	נקוה
b) Kraeling	437 BCE	פצל
c) Samaria	450 BCE	מרק
d) Naḥal Ḥever	99 CE	צפא

²² E.Y. Kutscher, “On the Terminology of Documents in Talmudic and Gaonic Literature,” *Tarbiz* 17 (1946): 125–27; 19 (1948): 53–59, 125–28 (in Hebrew); reprinted as “Terms of Legal Documents in the Talmud and in Gaonic Literature,” in idem, *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (ed. Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, A. Dotan and G.B. Zarfati, with M. Bar-Asher; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1977), 417–30.

²³ R. Yaron puts the matter thus: “In a defension clause, the primary obligation of the seller is to appear in court and defend the claim brought against the purchaser, ‘to clean’ the object sold from adverse claim.” See his article, “On Defension Clauses,” in *BO* 15 (1958): 15–22.

²⁴ J.C. Greenfield, “The ‘Defension Clause’ in Some Documents from Naḥal Ḥever and Naḥal Se’elim,” *RevQ* 15 (1992): 467–71; the table is on p. 468. The sources listed are as follows: H. Bauer and B. Meissner, “Eine aramäischer Pachvertrag aus dem 7. Jahre Darius I,” in *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1936), 414–24 (text: 415, l. 10); E.G.H. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1953); F.M. Cross, “Samaria Papyrus I: An Aramaic Slave Conveyance from the Wadi ed-Daliyeh,” *Erlsr* 18 (1985): 8*–17*, (16* n. 39). For Naḥal Ḥever: N. Lewis, “Greek Papyri,” in *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters* (ed. N. Lewis, Y. Yadin and J.C. Greenfield; JDS 2; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), 1–133 (no. 145, l. 42). For Murabba’at, see J.T. Milik, “26. Acte de vente, en araméen,” in *Les grottes de Murabba’at* (ed. P. Benoit, J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux; DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 137–38 (137). For Perg. Dura: C.B. Welles, R.O. Fink, and J.F. Gilliam, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report, Vol 5: The Parchments and Papyri* (Papyrology on Microfiche Series 1.62; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 146 (Text 28, l. 14); and J.A. Goldstein, “The Syriac Bill of Sale from Dura-Europos,” *JNES* 25 (1966): 1–16. For Sa’adya, see S. Assaf, *Rav Sa’adya Gaon* (Jerusalem: Mekitse nirdamim, 1941; 2d ed.: 1963), 78 (in Hebrew).

e) Murabba'at	134 CE	מֵרַק
f) Perg. Dura	234 CE	דְּכִי מֵרַק and דְּכִי
g) <i>b. Baba Meši'a 15a</i>	350 CE	מֵרַק, דְּכִי, שְׁפִי
h) Sa'adya Gaon	920 CE	מֵרַק, דְּכִי, בְּרִי, שְׁפִי, and מֵרַק

What is also striking about this linguistic transformation is that it has a rather considerable effect on Greek usage as well. As Naphtali Lewis noted in his work on the Greek papyri from Naḥal Ḥever, the verb καθαροποιέω is regularly used to denote the clearing of claims in a legal contract.²⁵ In one of the texts from this collection we have a bilingual section so that we can compare the Aramaic and Greek verbs. In that case καθαροποιέω translates the Aramaic ܘܨܦܝܐ. We find a similar use of καθαροποιέω in *P. Avroman*, from first century BCE eastern Mesopotamia, as well as in examples from Dura Europas a few centuries later. These papyri must have been under the influence of Aramaic.²⁶

As a result of this survey of terms for cleansing in Second Temple Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek that has been influenced by Semitic usage, I would suggest that we revisit Raphael's advice in Tobit 12:8–9. Given that almsgiving funds a treasury in heaven, it would seem to me to be more sensible to translate the clause αὐτῇ ἀποκαθαριεῖ πάσαν ἁμαρτίαν, “[almsgiving] pays off the debt accumulated through sin.” This understanding takes full cognizance of what Raphael believes to be true about almsgiving and also fits in quite well with how terms for cleansing function in contemporary Aramaic.

Let me conclude with two other passages that are worth a second look in light of the linguistic development we have been tracing. First of all, in Sir 23:10 we read that “a person who always swears and utters the Name will never be cleansed from sin.”²⁷ The Greek phrase ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας οὐ μὴ

²⁵ Lewis, “Greek Papyri,” 145, l. 42. See also his discussion on p. 16.

²⁶ Eventually the Greek papyri found in Egypt develop a meaning for the stem καθάρω that directly parallels the Aramaic evidence. In a search of a database of these papyri (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/>), I found eighty-one occurrences of καθάρω plus ὀφειλῆμα, “to be free of debt”; there are even more examples of καθάρω in combination with other terms that denote various forms of governmental imposts. I am not sufficiently skilled in these documents to know whether all these usages can be traced back to Aramaic, but a number of scholars have suggested precisely this. After all, this sort of usage is native to Aramaic and traceable to Aramaic documents that circulated in Egypt from the fifth century forward. And strikingly there is no usage of καθάρω in this fashion in any classical Greek source.

²⁷ On this verse see the recent discussion of A. Di Lella, “Ben Sira's Doctrine on the Discipline of the Tongue: An Intertextual and Synchronic Analysis,” in *The Wisdom of Ben*

καθαρισθῆναι is translated in the Syriac as: *men hawbâ lā' zākē'*—"will not be not cleared from [his] debt." It would seem, then, that in the eyes of our Syriac translator, the meaning of this passage would be similar to that of the texts we saw above (Lam 4:22; Dan 9:24; Sir 3:15) wherein the forgiveness of sins was marked semantically as the completion of a term of penalty.

A second text comes from Jeremiah 44. This chapter, which is most likely a late redactional addition to the book, opens with a castigation of the Israelites who have settled in Egypt, for the idolatrous practices they are engaged in there (44:7–8). Because Jeremiah believes that it was precisely acts such as these that led to the exile in the first place, he says: "Have you forgotten the evil deeds of your fathers, the evil deeds of the kings of Judah . . . which have not yet been cleared (לֹא נִכְחַרְתֶּם)?" (44:9). The last clause has been a *crux interpretum* for some time and has normally been understood as an independent clause following the indictment of Israel for having forgotten the evil deeds of her ancestors as well as her current sins: "They have not been contrite." Yet as Ronnie Goldstein has observed, such an understanding fits neither the context of the clause nor its grammar.²⁸ It would be far easier to understand the verb נִכְחַר as a loan word from Aramaic meaning "to cleanse, clear [from sin]." Strikingly this is the way that both Aquila and Symmachus have understood the term, as well as the Peshiṭta. Moreover, this usage of נִכְחַר is certainly dependent, as Goldstein suggests, on the Akkadian term *zakû*, which has the clear legal meaning of "to clear [from an obligation]."²⁹ The legal/financial sense of the term would also seem to be demanded by the context of the idiom. It is striking that forgiveness in this passage is imagined as requiring a long period of time to be accomplished. In this sense, the idiom expresses an idea very similar to Isa 40:2 or Dan 9:24—a long period of time is required for the debt of sin to be paid off. It is very easy to see why many years would be required "to cleanse" the nation from the *debt*

Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction and Theology (ed. A. Passaro and G. Belia; DCLS 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 233–52, esp. 238–45. In this article, he makes the observation that our verse must depend on Exod 20:7, where the LXX translates the Hebrew verb נִקַּח with καθαρισζω.

²⁸ R. Goldstein, "The Life of a Prophet: The Traditions about Jeremiah" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006), 108–9 (in Hebrew). I would like to thank Dr. Goldstein for alerting me to this passage in Jeremiah and to his discussion of the same in his dissertation.

²⁹ The Akkadian root can have this meaning in both the G and D stems.

of its sin; it is not as easy to see why the same would be true of cleansing oneself from the *stain* of one's sin.³⁰ The imagery of indebtedness lends itself quite naturally to a situation in which many years would be required to be released from its obligation, an idea that emerges precisely in the postexilic period.³¹

³⁰ Though I would concede that some usages of purification language do require one to think of the process as requiring a fair amount of time. Compare Ps 12:7 where silver is said to undergo a purification process of seven stages. If we transfer this image to that of sin, it is possible to imagine a similar period of time required in order to cleanse an individual of his or her impurities.

³¹ If Ronnie Goldstein is correct that Joshua 22 is a very late text ("Joshua 22:9–34—A Priestly Narrative from the Post-Exilic Period," *Shnaton* 13 [2002]: 43–81 [in Hebrew]), most likely deriving from the Persian period, then yet another usage of the idiom of purification from sin may be better parsed along the grid we have suggested—that is, as being cleansed from a legal or financial obligation. The text in question occurs in a portion of the chapter that addresses the legacy of what threatens to be an act of tremendous apostasy—the building of a new altar on the eastern side of the Jordan. In order to avoid such a thing, a delegation is sent to persuade the eastern tribes to desist from this act. They are addressed as follows: "What is this treachery that you have committed against the God of Israel in turning away today from following the Lord, by building yourselves an altar today in rebellion against the Lord? Have we not had enough of the sin of Peor from which even yet *we have not cleansed ourselves* (הִטְהַרְנוּ), and for which a plague came upon the congregation of the Lord that you must turn away today from following the Lord!" (Josh 22:16–18). What is key here is the notion of the lingering effects of a prior sin (cf. Numbers 25 for the story about the worship of Baal of Peor) upon the current generation. According to the author of this text, there has not been a sufficient interval of time "to purify" (טָהַר) the nation from the sin it had contracted in the past. Since this is the very same idea and metaphor found in Jeremiah and Tobit, one is tempted to argue that the idea of being "cleansed [from sin]" is legal/financial in meaning.

MISTAKEN REPETITIONS OR DOUBLE READINGS?

Moshe Bar-Asher*

I. THE DATA AND THEIR EXPLANATION IN THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

1. In two places in recension A of the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Genizah we find the same phenomenon: in the first place, the copyist wrote a word and then wrote it again employing a different spelling; and in the second, he wrote a two-word phrase and then wrote it again such that the first word is spelled entirely differently. The editors of the document and its investigators have considered each of the two places independently; Chaim Rabin has even, correctly, made a connection between the two.¹

In my view, there still remains a lot to be said with regard to this phenomenon and its background. First, however, I will present the data and review the principal arguments that have been put forward by scholars.

2. Here is the first example, according to the reading of the most recent editor:²

* My article "On the Language of the 'Vision of Gabriel,'" which was the opening lecture of the symposium, "Hebrew in the Second Temple Period" (December 29, 2008), was published in *RevQ* 23 (2008): 491–524. This is the English version of my article, "Mistaken Repetitions or Double Readings," published in *Zaphenath-Paneah: Linguistic Studies Presented to Elisha Qimron on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. D. Sivan, D. Talshir, and C. Cohen; Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2009), 75–87 (in Hebrew) = M. Bar-Asher, *Leshonot Rishonim: Studies in the Language of the Bible, The Dead Sea Scrolls, and Aramaic* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2012), 185–95.

¹ See below, §2.

² E. Qimron, "The Text of CDC," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 9–49 (19). I am citing the text in accordance with the edition of Qimron, who is the last to have edited the text, because of its superior accuracy with regard to its predecessors. See also now Qimron's composite edition, "Damascus Covenant," in his *Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), 1–58.

ועל הנשיא כתוב לא ירבה לו סוסים³ ודויד לא קרא בספר התורה החתום אשר היה בארון כי לא (נפ)⁴ נפתח בישראל מיום מות אלעזר ויהושע ויושיע⁵ והזקנים אשר עבדו את העשתרת (4–5)

Of interest to us here are the words ויהושע ויושיע. As expected, Solomon Schechter's translation records one appearance of the name in his translation: "Eleazar and Joshua and the Elders," and in a note indicates that the combination ויהושע ויושיע is simply a dittography.⁶ Chaim Rabin, on the other hand, gives expression in his translation to the distinction between the two spellings, while preferring the first:⁷ "Eleazar and Jehoshua {and Joshua}."⁸ In a note on the second orthographic variant he indicates that the copyist did not erase the word (ויושיע), since this was the form that he found in his *Vorlage*, but rather corrected the spelling (i.e., by adding the *waw* above the line). Rabin furthermore adds two brief notes: 1) he acknowledges that a similar case is found further along, at 7:17 (referring to the second case, given below in §3); 2) he indicates that the spelling of the name without *he* is found in Palestinian sources.⁹

3. The second example is also cited here according to the reading of the most recent editor:¹⁰

³ Qimron prints scriptural citations in small letters. This citation is taken, as is known, from Deut 17:17. In the Masoretic text the reading is slightly different: the first word is ולא, with conjunctive *waw*.

⁴ Qimron indicates that in this place the copyist has written a word and then erased it. Of the erased word Qimron has identified the letters נפ, while another letter, written after them, is not legible in the manuscript; he marks this letter with a circle. S. Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 5, does not refer to the correction in the manuscript. C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), 18, read the erased word as נפתח. In any case, it is clear that in this place one word was written for the first time, and since the copyist apparently thought that the spelling was corrupt, he erased it and rewrote it correctly: נפתח (see also below, §§5, 7).

⁵ Qimron indicates in his n. 1 that ויושיע is a dittography. In his new edition he agrees with my argument as set forth in "Mistaken Repetitions" (*Zaphenath-Paneah*), and writes: "ישוע ויהושע are doubled; probably in the old copy the scribe wrote ישוע, and [later] scribes corrected into two spellings" ("Damascus Covenant," 11; my translation).

⁶ See Schechter, *Fragments*, xxxvi and n. 9.

⁷ See Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 18 and n. 2 to line 4.

⁸ Rabin's preference for the first orthographic variant is expressed by means of the enclosure of the second variant between brackets, which in his edition are used to indicate words that are to be deleted (see Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, ix).

⁹ See the reference above in n. 8, and especially the discussion of D. Talshir, "The Significance of Different Orthography in Personal Names," in *Language Studies* 5–6 (= *Israel Yeivin Festschrift*) (ed. M. Bar-Asher; Jerusalem: The Faculty of the Humanities, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992), 225–44 (233–39) (in Hebrew) (see below, n. 56).

¹⁰ Qimron, "Text of CDC," 23.

כאשר אמר והגליתי את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם מהאלי דמשק¹¹ ספרי התורה הם סוכת המלך כאשר אמר והקימותי את סוכת דוד הנפלת¹² המלך הוא הקהל וכיני¹³ הצלמים וכיון הצלמים¹⁴ הם ספרי הנביאים¹⁵ אשר בזה ישראל את דבריהם (7:14–18)

The copyist first wrote וכיני הצלמים and then (re)wrote וכיון הצלמים. This double writing has also merited the notice of researchers. I will mention the principal views that have been expressed.¹⁶ Schechter, who reads וכיני הצלמים, is of the opinion that that the copyist mistakenly wrote וכיני and then rewrote the entire correct phrase, including the word וכיון, as in the verse in Amos.¹⁷ On the other hand, Ginzberg thinks that the version (הצלמים) וכיני is the originally intended phrasing, and that the purpose of the second writing, (וכיון הצלמים), is to “override” the original version and to correct it in light of the verse in Amos. Rabin, too, who reads וכיני הצלמים, opines that this is the original version and that the repetition (וכיון הצלמים) is intended to suggest, in place of this reading, the “correct” version according to the verse in Amos.¹⁸ In this case as well, Rabin expressed his view in the translation: “And the Pedestals (KENE)

¹¹ The text indicated in small letters is an alternative version, including ellipses, of Amos 5:26–27: ונשאתם את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם כוכב אלהיכם אשר עשיתם לכם. והגליתי אתכם מהלאה לדמשק.

¹² Here also is indicated a quote from Amos (9:11), differing slightly from the Masoretic text, which reads: אקים את סכת דוד הנפלת.

¹³ Schechter, *Fragments*, 7 reads וכיני, and the reading of L. Ginzberg derives from this. See Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (New York: privately published, 1922), 47–48; and L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (Moreshet Series 1; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1970), 34. Rabin, however, reads וכיני, without a dot over the *yod* that follows the *nun* as in the edition of Qimron; i.e., he does not indicate any doubt with regard to the identification of the letter (*Zadokite Documents*, 29).

¹⁴ In contrast to the case noted above in n. 5, here Qimron treats the entire string וכיני הצלמים as a dittography. However, in the new edition he accepts my opinion (see above n. 5) and writes: “CD^a, וכיני הצלמים וכיון הצלמים is a double reading” (“Damascus Covenant,” 16).

¹⁵ An interesting syntactical question pertains to the differing formulations of the two interpretations. In the first, סוכת המלך, ספרי התורה הם סוכת המלך, it is the *explicandum* that comes after the copula הם. However in the second, וכיני הצלמים וכיון הצלמים הם ספרי, it is the *explicans* that comes after the copula הם. This is not the proper place for a detailed discussion of this matter.

¹⁶ An overview of the different views is provided in an article that elucidates the background of the interpretation offered here; see M. Bar-Asher, “The Expressions וכיני הצלמים / וכיני הצלמים,” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 5–6 (Festschrift for Devorah Dimant)* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and E. Tov; Haifa: Haifa University Press; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 279–88 (281–82, §§5–7) (in Hebrew) = M. Bar-Asher, *Leshonot Rishonim*, 177–84 (179–80).

¹⁷ See Schechter, *Fragments*, xl, n. 15.

¹⁸ Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 29–30. See n. 13 above.

of the images {and the KIYYUN of the images}.” The English “translation” of the phrase **וכיון הצלמים**, which in his view is secondary, is given in brackets, to indicate deletion.¹⁹ Qimron, as I have indicated, refers to the entire sequence (**וכינוי הצלמים וכיון הצלמים**) as a “dittography” without indicating explicitly whether it is the first phrase or the second that is extraneous.²⁰

4. It should be noted that this section of the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Genizah is apparently paralleled in a badly damaged scroll found at Qumran, 4Q266, which was published by the late Joseph Baumgarten. In 4Q266 2 iii 18, Baumgarten reads:

ה[ק] ה[ל] [וכינוי הצלמי]ם [המה ספר[י] הנביא[ים]]²¹

In the English translation, however, Baumgarten compromises with this reading and writes “and the ‘*kywn* of the images’,”²² i.e., in the English translation he gives a transcription of the version **וכיון**. It is evident that this section of the Qumran scroll (which corresponds to the citation given above from recension A of the text from the Cairo Genizah) contains only one phrase, either **וכינוי הצלמי]ם** or **[וכיון הצלמי]ם**, since between ה[ק] and ה[ל] there is room for no more than 10–11 letters, together with a small space between the two words.

II. A PROPOSAL FOR A NEW EXPLANATION OF THE PHENOMENON

5. I would like to indicate that it is not necessary to accept any of the aforementioned proposals—either the preference for the first phrase, **וכינוי הצלמים**, over the second (Rabin);²³ or the preference for **וכיון הצלמים** (Schechter);²⁴ or the proposal that the phrase represents a dittography, without indication of a preferred reading (Qimron);²⁵ or the tacit

¹⁹ As he did in the case of the string **יהושע יושיע** (see above §2 and nn. 7–8).

²⁰ See above, n. 14.

²¹ See *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten; DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 44.

²² DJD 18.44.

²³ As is known, this is also the opinion of Ginzberg, who accepts the reading **וכינוי הצלמים** that was proposed by Schechter. Indeed, Rabin cites Ginzberg, *Unbekannte jüdische Sekte*, as agreeing with his preference for the first variant over the second.

²⁴ See above, §3.

²⁵ See above §§2, 3 n. 5, and §14 below.

compromise between the variants וְכִינִי/וְכִינִין without explication of either (Baumgarten).²⁶

I propose that another solution be considered. I do not accept the view that we are dealing with a dittography. If the copyist had thought that one of the two forms was corrupt, he would simply have deleted it—as he did, e.g., in the case of נַפְחַת (נַפ) mentioned above;²⁷ i.e., seeing a corruption, he would have deleted the corrupt form and written the proper one in its place. There are other erasures in recension A of the text from the Cairo Genizah. For example, in 1:8–9 we read: וַיְבִינּוּ בַעֲוֹנָם וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי אַנְשִׁים הֵם אַשְׁמִיִּם הֵם.²⁸ Dots have been placed above and inside the letters of the word אַנְשִׁים in order to indicate deletion; this has been understood clearly by Qimron, in whose edition it is given in brackets. Indeed, he indicates that where recension A reads three words, אַנְשִׁים אַשְׁמִיִּם הֵם, the Qumran scroll 4QD^a reads אַשְׁמִיִּם הֵם only.²⁹ Similarly, in 9:14–15 we read: וְכֹל כֵּן כֹּל אַבְדָּה נִמְצְאָת וְאִין לָהּ בַעֲלִים.³⁰ It is plainly visible that the word וְכֹל has been erased by scratching, and so Qimron gives it in round brackets. In 12:17 is written: וְכֹל כְּלִי מַסְמֵר מִסְמֵר אִו יִתַּד בְּכוֹתֵל. The copyist has deleted the first instance of מַסְמֵר by marking lines above its first three letters.³¹

6. The existence of recensions A and B of the text in the Cairo Genizah points to the existence of various copies of various recensions. From the time of Schechter's original publication in 1910 until today, discussion has continued in regard to the relationship between the two recensions, and the question has recently been addressed by two Israeli scholars, Menahem Kister³² and Liora Goldman.³³ They and their predecessors

²⁶ See above §4.

²⁷ See above n. 4. For our present purposes the precise form of the deleted word is irrelevant.

²⁸ Qimron, "Text of CDC," 11.

²⁹ Qimron, "Text of CDC," 11, n. 3–3.

³⁰ Qimron, "Text of CDC," 27.

³¹ There are other erasures in the text. In one place, however, there is an error that seems to be a (partial) dittography that has not been corrected: וּבַפְּרוֹשׁ שְׁמוֹ שְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם (2:3; Qimron, "Text of CDC," 13). It appears that שְׁמוֹ is an extraneous word, and that it is really the first three letters of the following word (שְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם). This explanation is supported by the reading of 4QD^a from Qumran: [] בַּפְּרוֹשׁ שְׁמוֹתֵי.

³² See M. Kister, "The Two Recensions of the Damascus Document," in *On the Border Line: Textual Meets Literary Criticism. Proceedings of a Conference in Honor of Alexander Rofé* (ed. Z. Talshir, D. Amara, and S. Ahituv; Beer-Sheva 18; Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University Press, 2005), 209–23, and the literature reviewed by him (in Hebrew).

³³ See L. Goldman, "A Comparison of the Geniza Manuscripts A and B of the Damascus Document in Light of their Peshar Units," in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 4*

have thoroughly elucidated the relationship between the two recensions as regards content. Kister bases his investigation on the different understandings of verbal forms derived from the root מ"ל"ט found in the two recensions: וכל הנסוגים ה<ו>סגרו לחרב והמחזיקים נמלטו לארץ צפון (recension A, 7:13–14)³⁴ as opposed to: אלה ימלטו בקץ הפקודה (recension B, 19:10).^{35, 36} Goldman has also contributed important considerations with regard to this matter.³⁷

7. The claim that we are dealing with a dittography is difficult to accept, since at issue here is the repetition of a word or a phrase using another spelling, *where the repetition is not deleted*. It is, of course, possible to argue that the copyist corrected his own error, following the reading of the biblical text (as Schechter claims); or that he offered a “corrected” alternative to the original reading of his *Vorlage* (as Ginzberg and Rabin say), but since he usually deletes errors it is difficult to see why he did not employ his usual methods of correction in this case as well (i.e., by placing dots or lines above the letters or inside them in order to delete them, or by actually scratching them out).³⁸ Such corrections are desirable and even necessary in cases of dittography, as in כלי מסמר מסמר.³⁹ In light of this consideration I am of the opinion that the copyist intentionally provided the two alternative versions, *juxtaposing them*.⁴⁰

8. Let me explain my claim. In the first case, יהושע is the biblical orthography, whereas the spelling יושיע reflects a later form, in which the *he* is dropped in pronunciation, as has already been noted by Rabin.⁴¹ In the second case, the second instance of the phrase, וכיון הצלמים,⁴² employs the biblical orthography for the first word, whereas in the first instance,

(ed. M. Bar-Asher and D. Dimant; Haifa: Haifa University Press; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2006), 169–89 (in Hebrew).

³⁴ Qimron, “Text of CDC,” 23.

³⁵ Qimron, “Text of CDC,” 43.

³⁶ See Kister, “Two Recensions,” 213–23.

³⁷ See Goldman, “Comparison.”

³⁸ See above §5.

³⁹ See above §5.

⁴⁰ I have already noted (above nn. 5, 14) that in his new edition, Qimron agrees with me that we have double readings in both cases discussed here. However he did not cite there my discussion in “Mistaken Repetitions” (*Zaphenath-Paneah*).

⁴¹ See the discussion of his views above in §2 (and see below, §§11, 14).

⁴² The replacement of the form צלמיכם (found in the biblical verse) by the form הצלמים parallels the replacement of מלככם by המלך, as we find in the first portion of the *pesher* (see above §3, and especially below, §13b). This is a replacement that has almost no bearing on the meaning of the word itself.

וכיניי הצלמים, the biblical word וכיון is explained. In another place I have suggested that וכיניי is a corrupt spelling of וכיני (= וְכִינִי/וְכִנִּי), the plural construct form of כֶּן, which denotes a scribal instrument (i.e., the reed pen or the ruler employed in the lineation of the parchment).⁴³

It appears that two different copies of the text lay before the medieval copyist of recension A, or that he was at least aware of two such copies. In one of these copies the words appeared in their biblical forms and in the other copy in alternative ones. These variants could represent pronunciation alternatives, as in the case of יושיע instead of יהושע, or they could represent alternatives of another sort, such as an *explicans* ([>וכיניי]) alternating with an *explicandum* (וכיון הצלמים).

9. In order to bolster my claim I would like to examine two of the Isaiah scrolls that were discovered at Qumran. Various researchers have already investigated the distinctions between the complete Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^a)⁴⁴ and the incomplete Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^b).⁴⁵ The text copied in 1QIsa^b is generally close to the Masoretic text,⁴⁶ whereas the copyist of 1QIsa^a gives expression to his own linguistic habits, which are characteristic of Qumran Hebrew.⁴⁷ The following are only a few examples:

	MT	1QIsa ^b	1QIsa ^a
1. Isa 52:11	מָשַׁח	משח	משחה
2. Isa 52:13	מֵאֵד	מֵאֵד	מוֹאֵדָה
3. Isa 52:12	לְפָנֶיכֶם	לְפָנֶיכֶם	לְפָנֵיכֶם
4. Isa 52:12	וּמֵאֲסָפְכֶם	וּמֵאֲסָפְכֶם	וּמֵאֲסָפְכֶם

Cont.

⁴³ See Bar-Asher, "Expressions," §§10–12.

⁴⁴ The scroll was first published by M. Burrows with the assistance of J.C. Trever and W.H. Brownlee, *The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950). It was edited anew by D.W. Parry and E. Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a): A New Edition* (STDJ 32; Leiden: Brill, 1999). Most recently, the DJD edition of both cave 1 Isaiah scrolls has at last appeared: *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions. Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* (ed. E. Ulrich and P.W. Flint, with a contribution by M.G. Abegg, Jr.; DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon, 2010).

⁴⁵ Published by E.L. Sukenik, *אוצר המגילות הגנוזות שבידי האוניברסיטה העברית* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and the Hebrew University, 1954); and see previous note for the recent DJD edition of this scroll.

⁴⁶ As pointed out already by Sukenik in *אוצר המגילות*.

⁴⁷ Most of the sections of Kutscher's book on the language and linguistic background of the Scroll are devoted to this subject. See E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1959) (in Hebrew).

Table (cont.)

	MT	1QIsa ^b	1QIsa ^a
5. Isa 52:15	פִּיהֶם	פִּיהֶם	פִּיהֶמָה
6. Isa. 52:15	לָהֶם	לָהֶם	לָהֶמָה
7. Isa 58:4	בְּאֲגָרֶךָ	בִּאגָרְךָ	בִּגוֹרְךָ
8. Isa 59:5	בִּיְצֵי צַפְעוֹנֵי	בִּיְצֵי צַפְעוֹנֵי	בִּצֵי צַפְעוֹנִים

10. In all of the above examples, the readings of 1QIsa^b are identical to those of the Masoretic text,⁴⁹ while the readings of 1QIsa^a differ from the Masoretic readings primarily in linguistic elements.⁵⁰

Examples 1–2 reflect the use of adverbs with the ending ה־, which is attested in Qumran Hebrew to a much greater extent than in Biblical Hebrew: רִיקְמָה, מְאוֹדָה/מְאוֹדָה, שְׂמָה/מְשָׂמָה, etc.⁵¹

Examples 3–6 reflect the use of ה־ in the 2d and 3d person plural suffixed pronouns כִּמְה־/הִמְה־, so characteristic of Qumran Hebrew.⁵²

In example 7 we find a noun for which MT (and 1QIsa^b) on the one hand and 1QIsa^a on the other employ different nominal patterns: אֲגָרֶךָ in MT and 1QIsa^b versus גּוֹרְךָ (גְּרֶךָ or a pronunciation variant thereof) in 1QIsa^a.⁵³

In example 8 MT, together with 1QIsa^b, read בִּיְצֵי צַפְעוֹנֵי, the phrase being pluralized only in the construct form; while 1QIsa^a reads בִּצֵי צַפְעוֹנִים, with pluralization of both nouns, as we find in postbiblical

⁴⁸ Thus (with defective spelling: בִּצֵי) in 1QIsa^a! Kutscher has called attention to and investigated this phenomenon (Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 114).

⁴⁹ There are a few important differences between 1QIsa^b and the text of Isaiah found in MT (see Sukenik, *אוצר המגילות*, 28–30). Particularly remarkable are the differences with regard to the addition or omission of conjunctive *waw*: e.g., אל תחשך (MT 58:1) and ואל תחשך (1QIsa^b); ולא תדע (MT 58:3) and ולא תדע (1QIsa^b); ולהכות (MT 58:4) and ולהכות (1QIsa^b); ולא תצומו (MT 58:4) and לא תצומו (1QIsa^b); etc.

⁵⁰ In addition to the many linguistic differences there are other distinctions of different sorts between MT and 1QIsa^a, such as the addition or omission of words, as well as significant textual divergences (see, e.g., Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 428–45, together with other data that are gathered there in adjacent paragraphs).

⁵¹ See Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 316–17; E. Qimron, “A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls” (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976), 284 (in Hebrew); M. Bar Asher, “On Several Linguistic Features of Qumran Hebrew,” *Leš* 64 (2002): 7–31 (§§2–12 [pp. 7–15], §§20–32 [pp. 25–27]) (in Hebrew) = M. Bar-Asher, *Leshonot Rishonim*, 100–108, 117–19.

⁵² See Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 351–59 and Qimron, “Grammar,” 241–47.

⁵³ See Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 152: אֲגָרֶךָ. “בגלל היאלמות האל”ף [אֲגָרֶךָ]... נמצא, כי משקל המלה זהה היה כמעט עם ‘קטל’ בארמית, היינו ‘קטול’... הכותב <גָרֶךָ> [אֲגָרֶךָ].”

Hebrew (Second Temple literature, Qumran, and Mishnaic Hebrew;⁵⁴ e.g., בתי מדרשות, בתי כנסיות and so forth).

11. The two Isaiah scrolls therefore reflect two parallel copies, one transmitting the ancient version (the one close to MT) and the other a late version that gives expression to the language of the period.

I would like to claim that separate recensions of the *Damascus Document*, which were simultaneously current and distinct from one another with regard to content, are likely to have been distinct from one another in matters of language as well. Putting the matter more explicitly: in the case of biblical words and phrases one version is likely to have closely followed the biblical orthography or the biblical formulation, while another version is likely to have utilized spellings reflecting the speech form of the copyist, and to have employed a phrase that differs from the biblical form as an *explanans* reflecting the sectarian interpretation.

Indeed, we find that recensions A and B of the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Genizah differ from one another in their content.⁵⁵ And if this is the case with regard to content, there is nothing preventing us from supposing that there were multiple versions of the text in circulation, and that the differences between them were like the differences between the two Isaiah scrolls. It therefore seems reasonable to me to suppose that this is the background that gave birth to the double writing: יהושע, as in MT and ויזשיע, as in the pronunciation of the name by the copyist of the text. It should be stressed that I do not claim that the spelling ויזשיע in the *Damascus Document* reflects a pronunciation current at the time when the Qumran scrolls were written, but rather that this is a form that significantly postdates the Qumran period.⁵⁶

12. As to the second example, we are quite familiar with the fact that biblical expressions are cited in later generations in accordance with their simple meaning or their midrashic meaning, or even in various corrupt

⁵⁴ See Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 488; and in greater detail, Qimron, "Grammar," 288.

⁵⁵ As indicated above, many researchers have devoted their efforts to elucidating the differences in content between the two recensions of this text (see Kister, "Two Recensions," 209–23 nn. 2–17 and his own investigation of this matter; as well as the investigation of Goldman, "Comparison," 169–89; see above nn. 32–33, 36–37).

⁵⁶ Cf. the penetrating study of Talshir, "Significance of Different Orthography," 233–39. He shows there (233–35) that the form current at Qumran was יושוע, and that ויזשיע (referred to by him as the "Galilean spelling") postdates it. The latter is found in Amoraic literature in *t. Pe'ah* 3:5, and here in the *Damascus Document*.

forms, given to them by commentators or *darshanim* or people who altered them intentionally and unintentionally. The following are two known examples.

a. The prophet Isaiah says (40:3):

קול קורא
במדבר פנו דרך ה'
ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו

Both the Masoretes and the *peshat* commentators understood clearly that after the phrase קול קורא “A voice calls,” comes the direct speech: “Clear a path in the wilderness [for] the Lord!”; as is confirmed by the parallel, “Make straight in the steppe a highway for our God!” However, as a result of an alternative reading and punctuation of the verse, the idiom קול קורא במדבר “a voice calling in the wilderness,” which expresses calling out in vain, as one calls out in the wilderness without anyone listening or hearing, was born in later generations.

b. We find written in Prov 12:25: דאגה בלב איש ישחנה. The proverb recommends that one who is worried suppress/repress (ישחנה) his worry. It is also possible that the saying simply describes a real-life situation: this is how people are wont to act, they suppress and repress their worries. The Talmud, however, says the following (*b. Yoma* 75a):

דאגה בלב איש ישחנה, רבי אמי ורבי אסי חד אמר ישחנה מדעתו וחד אמר
שיחנה לאחרים⁵⁷

The second opinion took root in the course of the generations, and almost everyone who cites the verse reads דאגה בלב איש ישחנה, as distinct from the Masoretic reading; the interpretation has therefore imposed itself on the text in Proverbs. This phenomenon is well known in later generations, but an early *payyetaṅ* already writes: זכור דאגותיה לפניך משיחה ומכנסת: [selihah for Thursday].⁵⁸ (R. Meir ben Yitshaq, 11th century; תענית ציבור)

In our case as well, the explanatory version, which interprets the first word in the phrase צלמיכם וכיון by means of the word וכיני (>) employs the explanatory word in place of the explained

⁵⁷ Thus also in *b. Soṭah* 42b and *b. Sanhedrin* 100b (here the printed editions read ישחנה מדעתו, with a *yod* after the *shin*); as well as in *Yalqut Shim'oni*, 2.950 (in §755 we find another *midrash* to the verse).

⁵⁸ The *selihah* אוצר התפלות is printed in קבעו תבוע צרכים (Ashkenaz) (Vilna: Romm, 1915), 103–4 (among the *selihot*), and in סדור בית יעקב (R. Ya'aqov Emden; Lemberg: Balaban, 1904), 557.

word וכיון, whereas the alternative version retains the explained word in its original form.

13. Recension A of the *Damascus Document* itself contains such cases; that is, biblical expressions quoted in accordance with their interpretation rather than in their original form. I will restrict myself to two additional examples from CD 7:14–18.

a. We read in Amos 5:27: והגלית אתכם מהלאה לדמשק. This is the formulation reflected in the early Versions. The Septuagint translates επείκεινα (= מהלאה), and thus also *Targum Jonathan* (מהלאה) and the Peshitta (להל מן); i.e., the *Vorlage* of these Versions was similar to the Masoretic text. However, as we have seen above, recension A of our text reads: והגליתי דמשק... מאהלי דמשק. ⁵⁹ We are not dealing here with a corrupt text, but rather with a *peshet* that interprets the biblical מהלאה as מאהלי, in accordance with the aims of the *darshan*, the interpretation being based on the shared letters *he*, *aleph*, and *lamed*: הלא (in the explained word מהלאה) and אהל (in the explanatory word מאהלי). In the present case, the formulation of the *peshet* is employed in the text in place of the original formulation of the verse.

b. This phenomenon is even more remarkable in the phrase סכות מלככם, employed at the beginning of the pericope in accordance with the formulation of the quoted biblical verse (כאשר אמר): והגליתי את סכות מלככם. ⁶⁰ However, in interpreting this phrase our text reads ספרי התורה הם סוכת המלך. That is, סכות מלככם has turned into סוכת המלך—as though before us were a different formulation of the verse, and the explained formulation (סכות מלככם) has been replaced by the formulation (המלך) סוכת. We can therefore clearly see that recension A of our pericope contains citations according to their original formulation as well as citations according to an interpretive formulation. ⁶¹

⁵⁹ See above §3.

⁶⁰ See above §3.

⁶¹ The phenomenon of the replacement of one formulation by another is well known from rabbinic literature, as J.N. Epstein has taught us. The following is the series of replacements with which he opens the chapter entitled, “חילופי נוסחאות וחילופי לשונות,” in his magisterial work on the text of the Mishnah. For example, the Mishnah reads: שלוש נשים עוסקות בבצק, אחת לשה ואחת עורכת ואחת אופה (*m. Pesahim* 3:4) whereas the Tosefta replaces שלוש נשים עוסקות בבצק, אחת לשה ואחת מקטפת ואחת אופה: מוקטפת by עורכת (*t. Pesahim* 3:8 [2]; J.N. Epstein, *מבוא לנוסח המשנה* [Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1948], 1). On occasion the distinction between the versions is such that the source that cites interprets the cited source; for example: האשה שנתערב ולדה בוולד... מתה... הכשרים התערובת לבני הזקנה חולצין ולא מייבמין... ובני הכלה אחד חולץ כלתה.

14. In my view, the innovation in recension A of the *Damascus Document*, with regard to the two cases that we are investigating, lies in the fact that this recension cites the two textual variants found by the copyist one next to the other, in both the first case and the second. It seems to me that there is no importance to be attached to the fact that in the first case the word is first given in accordance with the biblical orthography (יהושע), and only afterwards in a form (יושיע) that accords with its pronunciation in the Amoraic period, which is the pronunciation that was employed by the copyist of the text hundreds of years after the Qumran period. In the second example, on the other hand, the explanatory formulation (וכיניי הצלמים) is given first, and only afterwards is given the version that reflects the biblical orthography (וכיון הצלמים). For our purposes, it is the fact that the two variants are given one next to the other that is of importance. Someone, however, may wish to interpret the distinction between the two cases in the following way: in cases of orthographic and pronunciation variants the more ancient variant was written first, whereas in cases of explication and interpretation it seemed proper first to indicate the explanation, which contains an innovation vis-à-vis the formulation in the biblical verse.

15. The existence of double readings, one beside the other, whether as a result of textual corruption or of intention, as I claim for these passages in the *Damascus Document*, is well known from other sources, and has been examined in the literature. Different researchers have investigated the phenomenon of double readings both in the Bible and in other corpora. Note, for example, the work of Shemaryahu Talmon.⁶² Even if one does not accept all of the cases given by Talmon (and it is difficult to accept many of them), it is impossible to ignore the phenomenon and its relative frequency, whether as a result of scribal errors or glosses that have been incorporated into the text, or of intentional inclusion by a copyist utilizing two different versions of the same text. Let us note a few examples: In

אמר רבי יוחנן כיני מתניתא (m. *Yebam.* 11:4), whereas in the Yerushalmi we read: לנשי בני הכלה לנשי בני הזקנה (y. *Yebam.* 11:4 [12a]). Epstein indicates (277–78): זהו פירוש, וכן פירש רש"י: לבני הכלה לאשת בן הכלה ודאי. There are, furthermore, many additional examples of the first and second types of replacement.

⁶² S. Talmon, "Conflate Readings: A Basic Phenomenon in the Transmission of the Old Testament Text" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University, 1956); S. Talmon, "Double Readings in the Masoretic Text," in *Textus* 1 (1960): 144–84, S. Talmon, "Synonymous Readings in the Textual Traditions of the Old Testament," in *Studies in the Bible* (ed. C. Rabin; ScrHier 8; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1961), 335–85.

כל בני ישראל ויעלו כל בני ישראל וכל העם ויבאו בית אל (Judg 20:26), the phrase כל בני ישראל clearly presents a double reading.⁶³ In ודוד בן איש אפרתי (1 Sam 17:12), David's origins are indicated by means of two formulations: הזוה מבית לחם יהודה and בן איש אפרתי הזוה.⁶⁴ Both formulations convey the same information. The following is another example: וישלח מלך יריחו אל רחב לאמר הוציאי האנשים הבאים אליך (Josh 2:3). It is clear that the sequence אשר באו לביתך אלך אשר באו לביתך reflects a double reading.⁶⁵ Here is an example from 1QIsa^a vis-à-vis MT: ולקחום עמים והביאום אל מקומם (MT Isa 14:2) as opposed to ולקחום עמים רבים והביאום אל אדמתם ואל מקומם (1QIsa^a).⁶⁶ The phrases אדמתם אל, מקומם ואל are alternative readings. And there are many other such examples.⁶⁷

In any case, it is clear that the existence of the phenomenon in the biblical literature, as well as in the Qumran scrolls, cannot be denied. In my opinion, the two examples from the *Damascus Document* are a part of this general picture.

III. CONCLUSION

16. To sum up, if I am correct in my proposal, neither in the first nor in the second case from recension A of the *Damascus Document* are we to see a dittography; neither are we dealing with a preferred variant side by side with a less-preferred, or even rejected, variant, but rather with two equally valid variants placed one next to another by the copyist of the manuscript. If the copyist had wanted to reject one variant in favor of another, he would have deleted it, since he does not refrain from deleting words in those cases where he considers this to be the correct procedure.⁶⁸

⁶³ See Talmon, "Double Readings," 169.

⁶⁴ See Talmon, "Double Readings," 166.

⁶⁵ See Talmon, "Double Readings," 176.

⁶⁶ See Talmon, "Double Readings," 155.

⁶⁷ However, as I have indicated above, Talmon exaggerates on occasion, citing cases in which there is no need to see a double reading. For example, in the phrase תקות חוט השני (Josh 2:18; Talmon, "Double Readings," 165) there is no need to see in the construct phrase תקות חוט a double reading that has its origins in תקוה and חוט. Thus also in the sentence ורבים מישני אדמת עפר יקיצו (Dan 12:2; Talmon "Double Readings," 167): the phrase אדמת עפר is not necessarily the product of the two readings אדמה and עפר.

⁶⁸ See above §2 and n. 4; §§5, 7.

17. Does Rabin, who claims that the copyist gives the form יושיע as he found it in the source from which he was copying,⁶⁹ intend the solution that I have proposed? Does Baumgarten, too, who in his edition of the Qumran fragment reads (הצלמים) וכיניי in the Hebrew text while giving a transcription of the word וכיון in the English translation,⁷⁰ intend to indicate that the two variants are equivalent? If so, then I am happy to join them in their view; but I do not think this is the case.

⁶⁹ See above §2.

⁷⁰ See above §4.

LINGUISTIC INNOVATIONS IN BEN SIRA MANUSCRIPT F*

Haim Dihi

In this article I would like to present a number of linguistic innovations in the text of Ben Sira that are found only in MS F, not in other manuscripts of the book. The article falls into two parts. First, I will give a brief introduction to this manuscript.¹ In the second part, I will present three linguistic innovations unique to MS F.

I. BEN SIRA MANUSCRIPT F: A HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The known and published textual witnesses of Ben Sira in Hebrew are as follows: the five manuscripts discovered in the Cairo Genizah, beginning in 1896;² the Ben Sira Scroll from Masada, discovered in 1964; fragments of Ben Sira found in two caves at Qumran (cave 2 and cave 11); quotations

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The sigla used here are based on those of *The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*, maintained by the Academy of the Hebrew Language in Jerusalem; available online at: <http://hebrew-treasures.huji.ac.il/>.

(X) = deletion in MS

[X] = insertion in MS

<X> = lacuna filled in by editor

?X? = conjectural reading

{X} = dittography deleted by editor

+ [X] = marginal variant

¹ This introduction is based largely on the article by A.A. Di Lella, "The Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza," *Bib* 66 (1988): 226–38.

² Recently, additional fragments of C and D were identified and published by Shulamit Elitzur: "A New Hebrew Fragment of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus)," *Tarbiz* 76 (2006–2007): 17–28 [in Hebrew]; idem, "Two New Leaves of the Hebrew Version of Ben Sira," *DSD* 17 (2010): 13–29; S. Elitzur and M. Rand, "A New Fragment of the Book of Ben Sira, T-S AS 118.78," *Fragment of the Month: January 2011*, Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit: <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/Taylor-Schechter/fofm/january-2011/index.html>.

from Ben Sira scattered throughout the talmudic and midrashic literature; and the ancient Greek and Syriac translations.³

In 1982, another manuscript from the Cairo Genizah was discovered by the Hungarian scholar Alexander Scheiber in the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection (Additional Series) at Cambridge. Scheiber published the manuscript in a Hungarian journal that was not generally accessible to the scholarly community.⁴ He identified the new manuscript as belonging to the same source as that of MS D from the Cairo Genizah.⁵

Di Lella rejects this identification. According to him, a quick glance is enough to show that the two manuscripts do not come from the same source. He advances two main arguments: (1) The format: In MS D, as in MSS A and C, the verses are written consecutively in one column, whereas in the new manuscript, like MSS B and E, the text is written in two parallel columns. (2) The handwriting in which Scheiber's manuscript is written is very different from that of MS D. Di Lella's conclusion is that this is a totally new Genizah manuscript of Ben Sira, which he designates MS F. Di Lella, not content with Scheiber's publication of the new manuscript, published it himself in *Biblica* in 1988,⁶ incorporating corrections of some of Scheiber's readings and a comparison with other textual witnesses of Ben Sira. Manuscript F is not included in the Hebrew Language Academy edition of Ben Sira,⁷ published some 15 years before Di Lella's edition of the manuscript. It is, however included in Beentjes' synoptic edition,⁸ as well as in the database of the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*.

³ For a comprehensive survey of the textual witnesses, see, e.g., M.H. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira ha-Shalem* (2d rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1958), 37–59 (in Hebrew); P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes* (AB 39; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1987), 52–60.

⁴ A. Scheiber, "A New Leaf of the Fourth Manuscript of the Ben Sira from the Geniza," in *Magyar Könyvszemle* 98 (1982): 175–85. Scheiber also published it as, "An Additional Page of Ben Sira in Hebrew," in *Jubilee Volume in Honor of Moreinu Hagaon Rabbi J. B. Soloveitchik* (ed. S. Israeli, N. Lamm and R. Yizhak; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook; New York: Yeshiva University, 1984), 2:1179–85 (in Hebrew).

⁵ Scheiber, "Additional Page of Ben Sira," 1180; Di Lella, "Newly Discovered," 226.

⁶ See Di Lella, "Newly Discovered," 226–27, for discussion of the evidence that led him to conclude that this is a new manuscript.

⁷ *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance, and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (ed. Z. Ben Hayyim; Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language and The Shrine of the Book, 1973) (in Hebrew).

⁸ P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and A Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 109–11, 146–51.

1. *Description of the MS*

MS F measures 16.3 cm long by 14.4 cm wide. The handwriting dates to the eleventh or twelfth century. The MS contains the text of Ben Sira from 31:24 through 32:7 and from 32:12 through 33:8 (or, according to the Hebrew Language Academy edition, 34:24 through 35:7 and 35:12 through 36:8). Full vocalization is found for only one word, **רַעַ** (31:31a); partial vocalization for the word **תּוֹגְרוֹ** (31:31b).⁹

2. *The Text of the MS*

MS F displays many textual deviations from the texts of MSS B and E. But there are also many places where the text resembles that of MS E and differs from that of MS B. Verses 32:23 and 33:3 are missing in both E and F but are found in MS B. The order of the verses is different as well: MS F places 33:1 before 32:24, whereas MS B has the original order, as also reflected in the Greek translation.

Di Lella notes two obvious scribal errors in MS F: in 32:3, instead of **לֵךְ מַלְל שְׁבַט כִּי הוּא לֵךְ** the reading is **מַלְל שְׁבַט הוּא לֵךְ**. The second mistake occurs in 32:5; here MS B has **כּוֹמוֹ אֹדֶם עַל נִיב זָהָב**, whereas the text in MS F is **כּוֹמוֹ אֹדֶם** (defective spelling?) **עַל טַס זָהוּב**.¹⁰ In regard to the second instance, although the reading **זָהָב** is supported by the ancient translations, I, nevertheless, believe that F's reading may not be a scribal error. It is possible that the scribe of MS F had in mind the adjective **זָהָב** in *plene* spelling. With regard to meaning there is no great difference between a tray of gold and a gold-plated tray. If this is not merely a scribal error, it should be emphasized that the adjective **זָהוּב** does not appear elsewhere in Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew.¹¹

MS F makes several contributions to our knowledge of the text of Ben Sira:

- (1) In a few cases where the text of MS B is defective or is based on reconstructions by a modern editor, MS F provides the full verse. In such

⁹ For his description of the MS, see Di Lella, "Newly Discovered," 227–28.

¹⁰ Di Lella, "Newly Discovered," 228.

¹¹ See, e.g., A. Even-Shoshan, *Ha-Milon He-ḥadash: Otsar Shalem shel Ha-lashon ha-ʿIvrit ha-sifrutit, ha-madaʿit yeha-meduberet, nivim ya-amarot ʿIvriyim ya-Aramiyim, munahim benleʿumiyim* (4 vols.; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1992), 1:334, s.v. **זָהוּב**.

- instances, the reconstructed text of MS B is frequently corroborated by MS F.
- (2) In some cases where scholars have doubted the extant text of MS B and proposed textual emendations, a comparison with MS F indicates that the B text is indeed correct. For example, several scholars have suggested emending the term לַעֲנָה in verse 29 to לַעֲגָה.¹² But MS F also has לַעֲנָה, which makes perfect sense in the context and obviates any need for emendation.
 - (3) Finally, MS F presents a number of linguistic innovations not found in the other textual witnesses of Ben Sira. These enrich the lexicon of Second Temple Hebrew. For example, I have already mentioned the term טַט meaning “tray” or “plate,” which occurs in Rabbinic Hebrew, but nowhere else in Ben Sira.¹³

II. BEN SIRA MANUSCRIPT F: LINGUISTIC AND TEXTUAL INNOVATIONS

In this section of the article, I will describe three linguistic innovations found in MS F, which, as I have said, are not known from the other textual witnesses of Ben Sira.

1. *The Noun* חֲדוּוּהַ

1. *Ben Sira 31:31ab*

In 31:31 Ben Sira instructs his readers not to reprove their friends at public feasts so as not to embarrass them.¹⁴

The first two stichs of verse 31, according to MS F, are:

¹² E.g., R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach: Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), 284; R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 1:423.

¹³ For more on טַט, see H. Dihi, “The Morphological and Lexical Innovations in the Book of Ben Sira” (Ph.D. diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2004), 1:419–21 (in Hebrew).

¹⁴ A similar idea is found in 20:1. The latter verse is not found in any of our Hebrew witnesses, so I offer Segal’s reconstruction of the *Vorlage* from the Greek translation: *יש תוכחת* יֵשׁ תּוֹכַחַת וְהוּא חֲכָם וְיֵשׁ מְחַרֵּשׁ וְהוּא חֲכָם (= “An admonition may not be appropriate, while one who remains silent may be wise”; Segal, *Ben Sira*, 119). The translations of the Hebrew version of Ben Sira are my own, as are those from the Syriac version. I would like to thank Prof. D. Talshir for his assistance with the latter. The English translations of the MT are from the NJPS and NRSV, with minor changes. The translation of the Greek is quoted according to <http://www.ellopos.net/elpenor/greek-texts/septuagint/chapter.asp?book=30&page=31>, also with minor changes. The translation of the Vulgate is quoted according to <http://www.latinvulgate.com/>, again with minor changes. Translations of other Hebrew and Aramaic texts are my own unless otherwise indicated.

במשתה יין אל תוכח רַע ואל תוֹגְהוּ בחדותו¹⁵

Do not reprove your friend at a wine-drinking party and do not cause him agony in his merriment.

In MS B the version is:

במשתה היין <א>ל <...> ?ר?ע <וא>ל <...> [תחרפהו]+

Smend,¹⁶ drawing on the ancient translations of Ben Sira, proposed reconstructing the two stichs as follows:

במשתה היין <א>ל <תוכח רע ואל >תוגהו בשמחתו

Today, thanks to MS F, we see how close Smend's reconstruction is, especially with regard to the verb תוֹגְהוּ.

Segal,¹⁷ on the other hand, proposed restoring the first two stichs based on the ancient translations and the marginal gloss:

במשתה היין <א>ל <תוכח רע >ואל >תבישהו בשמחתו

The text of the Syriac translation is:

במשתיא דחמרא לא תכס רחמך ולא תהריוהי בחדותה

Do not embarrass your friend at a wine-drinking party and do not offend him in his merriment.

The text of the Syro-Hexapla translation is:

בפוחֶרָא דחמרא לא תכס לקריבך ולא תסליוהי בבוסמא דילה

Do not embarrass your kinsman at a wine-drinking party and do not abase him in his gladness.

The ancient Greek translation reads as follows:

ἐν συμποσίῳ οἴνου μὴ ἐλέγξῃς τὸν πλησίον καὶ μὴ ἐξουτενήσῃς αὐτὸν ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ αὐτοῦ

Do not reprove your neighbor at a wine-drinking banquet of wine, and do not despise him in his merrymaking.

The ancient Latin translation is:

¹⁵ As previously noted, MS F includes the vocalization of רַע and partial vocalization of תוֹגְהוּ.

¹⁶ R. Smend, *Sirach*, 26.

¹⁷ Segal, *Ben Sira*, 197.

in convivio vini non arguas proximum et non despicias eum in iucunditate illius.

Rebuke not thy neighbor during a banquet of wine, and despise him not in his mirth.

In the second stich, MS F has the verbal form תוגהו and the substantive חדווה. The verb תוגהו can be analyzed as the *Hiph'il* of יג", meaning "cause agony" or "make sad," the antithesis of חדווה "joy." This usage is well attested in Biblical Hebrew. The root יג" occurs with particular frequency in Lamentations.¹⁸ It is also attested in Job,¹⁹ Isaiah,²⁰ and Zephaniah.²¹ In rabbinic literature, however, the word occurs only once, in the *Niph'al*: in *Lamentations Rabbah*, in the midrash on Lamentations 1:4, בתולתיה נוגות ("her maidens are unhappy").

The noun חדווה means "joy" or "happiness." The word occurs only once in Ben Sira, here in MS F, and is morphologically unattested in classical First Temple Biblical Hebrew.

In Biblical Hebrew, the root יח"ד occurs once in the *Qal*, in Exod 18:9:

ויחד יתרו על כלה טובה אשר עשה ה' לישראל

And Jethro rejoiced over all the kindness that the Lord had shown towards Israel.

It also occurs once²² in the *Pi'el*, in Ps 21:7:

כי־תשיתו ברכות לעד; תחדו בשמחה, את־פניך

You have made him blessed forever, gladdened him with the joy of your presence.

¹⁸ Lam 1:4 (*Niph'al*); 3:33 (*Pi'el*); 1:5 and 3:32 (*Hiph'il*).

¹⁹ Job 19:2 (*Hiph'il*).

²⁰ Isa 51:23 (*Hiph'il*).

²¹ Zeph 3:18 (*Niph'al*).

²² As for יחד in Job 3:6 and יחד in Gen 49:6: it is best to read יחד in Job 3:6 and analyze both forms as derived from the root יח"ד, "to be together with." In both cases the parallel verb is בו"א. On this possibility see "במספר ירחים אל יבא," in *Job* (ed. J. Klein and V. Hurowitz; Olam Hatanach 20; Tel Aviv: Davidson-Ittay, 1996), 39 (in Hebrew). There it is conjectured that, in addition, the sense of "rejoice" is heard in the background. Kogut, by contrast, would retain the MT vocalization in Job, and understand it exclusively as "rejoice." He holds that we must go beyond the chiasmic parallelism of v. 6 אל יחד//אל (אל יחד and take vv. 6 and 7 as the unit of meaning (four stichs), so that the chiasmus equates אל יחד (v. 6a) with אל תבוא רננה בו (v. 7b). For Kogut's idea and others that have been offered concerning the meaning of the verb יחד in Job, see S. Kogut, "On Chiasm and its Role in Exegesis," *Shnaton* 2 (1977): 196–204 (202–3) (in Hebrew).

The noun *חֲדוּוּה* occurs twice in the Bible, only in books from the Second Temple period. In Neh 8:10 the text reads:

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם לִכּוּ אֲכָלוּ מִשְׂמָנִים וּשְׁתּוּ מִמִּתְקִים וּשְׁלַחוּ מִנּוֹת לֵאמֹן נִבֹן לוֹ בִּי־קְדוּשׁ הַיּוֹם לֹאֲדַנְיָנוּ וְאֶל־תַּעֲצְבוּ כִּי־חֲדוּדוֹת ה' הֵיאֵ מֵעִזְכֶם

He further said to them, “Go, eat choice foods and drink sweet drinks and send portions to whoever has nothing prepared, for the day is holy to our Lord. Do not be sad, for rejoicing in the Lord is the source of your strength.”

In 1 Chr 16:27 we find:

הוֹד וְהִדָּר לִפְנֵי עַז וְחֲדוּוּה בִּמְקוֹמוֹ

Glory and majesty are before him; strength and joy are in his place.

The parallel to this verse in Ps 96:6 reads *תְּפִאֲרֶת* “splendor” rather than *חֲדוּוּה*, and *מִקְדָּשׁוֹ* “His Temple” rather than *מְקוֹמוֹ* (*וְתִפְאֲרָתוֹ*) [*“Glory and majesty are before him; strength and splendor are in his Temple”*]. Hurvitz²³ emphasizes that although *חֲדוּוּה* is not parallel to *תְּפִאֲרֶת*, the text shows that the author of Chronicles, who was reusing the psalm, replaced *תְּפִאֲרֶת* with a different word that was common in his time and place.

In older books from the First Temple period, the word employed for this sense is *שְׂמֵחָה*. The same term (*שְׂמֵחָה*) is also found in books from the Second Temple period.²⁴

2. *The Use of the Substantive חֲדוּוּה in Postbiblical Hebrew Literature and in Aramaic*

A) Dead Sea Scrolls: The noun *חֲדוּוּה* does not occur in any of the scrolls written in Hebrew.

B) Rabbinic literature: The noun *חֲדוּוּה* does not appear in any Tannaitic text. It is found twice in the basic Amoraic corpus. There is one occurrence in the Babylonian Talmud, in a version of the wedding blessings, from the year 199 (*b. Ketub. 8a*):

²³ A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and Its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972), 23 (in Hebrew).

²⁴ Of the ninety-four occurrences of this word in the Bible, thirty-two are in postexilic books. On the parallel use of *הִדָּר* and *שְׂמֵחָה* in such contexts, see C. Cohen, “Biblical Hebrew–Ugaritic Comparative Philology: The Comparison *הִדָּר/הִדָּרֶת* = Ug. *hdrt*,” *ErIsr* 26 (1999): 71–77 (72) (= *Frank Moore Cross Volume* [ed. B.A. Levine et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion]) (in Hebrew).

אשר ברא ששון ושמחה חתן וכלה גילה רינה דיצה חדווה אהבה אחוה שלום
ורעות

Who has created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride, rejoicing, song,
mirth and delight, love and brotherhood, peace and friendship.

The term is also found in *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* (Ronni 'aqara [רני עקרה],
section 4):²⁵

”פצחי רינה וצהלי לא חלה“. בעשרה לשונות נקראת {נבואה}: <שמחה>: ... רינה
צהלה חדווה

There are ten different terms used for gladness: ... *rinnah* “joy,” *ṣoholah*
“mirth,” *ḥedwah* “gladness”

There are four additional occurrences of the noun in post-Amoraic litera-
ture: one in *’Abot de-Rabbi Nathan*, one in *Esther Rabbah*, and two in *Song*
of Songs Rabbah. The word is very common in the *piyyuṭ* literature.

C) Aramaic: The noun ܚܕܘܐ is common in various Aramaic dialects:
Imperial Aramaic (Biblical Aramaic, Egyptian Aramaic); Middle Aramaic
(Onqelos, Hatra, the Aramaic from Qumran); later Western Aramaic
(Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, the Ara-
maic of the *Targumim* of the Hagiographa); and Eastern Aramaic (Syrian,
Babylonian,²⁶ and Mandaic). Here are several examples:

(1) Biblical Aramaic:

Ezra 6:16: ועבדו בני־ישראל כהניא ולויא ושאר בני־גלותא חנכת בית־אלהא דנה
בחדוה

The people of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the returned
exiles, celebrated the dedication of this House of God with joy (Ezra 6:16)

(2) Onqelos on Gen 31:27:

למא טמרתא למיזל וכיסתא מני ולא חוית לי ושלחתך פון ܒܚܕܘܐ ובתושבתך
בתופין ובכנרין
למה נחבאת לברח ותגנב אתי ולא־הגדת לי ואשלחך בשמחה ובשרים בתך
MT: ובכנור

²⁵ B. Mandelbaum, *Pesikta de Rav Kahana* (2d ed.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America Press, 1987), 312; as cited in the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*.

²⁶ In Babylonian Aramaic, we find both חדוּא and חדוּתא. See M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2002), 432.

Why did you flee secretly and deceive me and not tell me? I would have sent you away with mirth and songs, with tambourine and lyre

(3) The Samaritan Targum of Deuteronomy 28:47:

תחת דלא שמשת ית ה' אלהך בחדוה...²⁷
 תחת אשר לא-עבדת אֶת-ה' אלהיך בשמחה
 MT: תחת אשר לא-עבדת אֶת-ה' אלהיך בשמחה

Because you did not serve the Lord your God joyfully

(4) The Syriac translation of Isaiah 35:10:

בוסמא וחדותא נדרכון
 MT: ששון ושמחה ישיגו

They shall attain joy and gladness

2. The "Longer Text" of MS F: Ben Sira 31:31cde

In MS F, verse 31 has three additional stichs:

דבר חרפה אל תאמר לו ואל תקמיעהו בנגשה ואל תריב עמו לעיני כל אדם
 Do not speak words of shame to him... and do not quarrel with him in public [*lit.* in front of people]²⁸

In MS B, remnants of only two of these three stichs have survived. For the first, only the first three words survive; the second did not survive at all; the last four words of the third stich (except for the first letter of עמו) appear with slight variations in the left margin of MS B. Thus MS B, 31cd reads as follows:

דבר חרפה אל <...>+ [עמו? לעיני בני אד<ס>]

Smend²⁹ proposed reconstructing 31cd as follows:

דבר חרפה אל <תאמר לו ואל תצה>+ [עמו לעיני בני אד<ס>]

Segal³⁰ proposed a different reconstruction, based on the marginal gloss and the ancient translations:

דבר חרפה אל <תאמר לו ואל תעצבהו לפני אנשים>

²⁷ In MS. E "בחדו"; In MS. C "בעדו". See A. Tal, *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch* (3 vols.; Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1980), 2:379.

²⁸ The sense of both terms in the phrase "וואל תקמיעהו בנגשה" is open to question, so I have omitted the translation here. A detailed discussion of these terms follows in sections 3 and 4 below.

²⁹ Smend, *Sirach*, 27.

³⁰ Segal, *Ben Sira*, 197.

The version in the Syriac translation is:

מִלָּא דְחוּסְרְנָא לֹא תֹאמֵר לֵה וְלֹא תִצַּא עִמָּה לְעֵין בְּנֵי אַנְשָׂא³¹

Do not say deficient—i.e., abusive—words to him and do not quarrel with him in public [*lit.* in front of people]

According to Smend,³² following Segal,³³ the word חוּסְרְנָא is in fact a corruption of חֶסֶד “shame.”³⁴ Although both Hebrew manuscripts have חֶרְפָּה, which tends to support their conjecture, in context the passage also makes perfect sense if we read חוּסְרְנָא.³⁵ That is, one should not say anything negative or abusive to a person, or enumerate his defects and failings in public, so as not to shame him.

The text of the Syro-Hexapla translation is:

מִלְתָּא דְחֶסְדָּא לֹא תֹאמֵר לֵה וְלֹא תֵאלִיצִיּוּהִי בְּתַבְעָתָא

Do not speak words of shame to him and do not constrain him with a demand.

The Greek translation reads:

Λόγον ὀνειδισμοῦ μὴ εἴπησ αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν θλίψῃς ἐν ἀπαιτήσῃ

Speak no word of reproach to him, and do not distress him by making demands of him.

The Latin translation is:

Verba inproperii non dicas illi et non premas illum in repetendo

Speak not to him words of reproach, and press him not by constant demanding.

A comparison of the four textual witnesses reveals that only MS F has all three of the stichs 31:31cde. All the others have two of the three. 31c is identical in all of the textual witnesses.³⁶ With regard to stichs d and e, there is no consensus among the different versions: Stich e is found in MS F, the margin of MS B, and the Syriac translation. Stich d is found only

³¹ MS Ambrosianus: בְּנֵי נֶשָׂא.

³² Smend, *Sirach*, 285.

³³ Segal, *Ben Sira*, 201.

³⁴ Like Hebrew חֶסֶד. On this root in Biblical Hebrew, see BDB, 340.

³⁵ חוּסְרְנָא corresponds to both BH terms מֵאֲרָה and חוּסֵר as follows: Deut 28:20 יִשְׁלַח . . . וּבַחֶסֶר כָּל . . . נְעֹדֵר עֲלֶיךָ מִמְרִיא חוּסְרְנָא ה' בְּךָ אֶת־הַמֵּאֲרָה . . . is translated מדם דכל מדם. See P.G. Borbone et al., *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version, Part 5: Concordance* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:290.

³⁶ Except that in the Syriac version, חֶרְפָּה is replaced by חוּסְרְנָא.

in MS F and some of the ancient translations.³⁷ Di Lella believes that זיד is original and was probably in the main text of manuscript B. On the other hand, he holds that זיע , common to MS F, the margin of MS B, and the Syriac translation, is not original and was interpolated into the Hebrew as a back-translation from the Syriac. Another argument advanced by Di Lella is that in MS F, stich e is written in a smaller, compressed script, with part placed on the line and part above the line.³⁸

Noteworthy in זיע are uses of the verb תקמיעהו and the noun נגשה .

3. *The Verb תקמיעהו*

1. *Ben Sira 31:31e*

This verbal form is derived from the root קמ"ע in the *Hiph'il*. From the context, we can understand it to mean “to press, oppress, cause pain.”³⁹ The verb תקמיעהו is an innovation with respect to Biblical Hebrew, where the root קמ"ע is unattested. Instead we have the BH verbs ללחוק , לדכא , להעיק , לנגוש , לענות , all with a similar sense.

According to Di Lella, the verbal form תקמיעהו is an Aramaism.⁴⁰ Tur-Sinai holds, on the contrary, that the term reflects an original Hebrew root meaning “to bind” or “to tie,” which was imported into Aramaic.⁴¹ There does not seem to be any solid proof that the root קמ"ע is native to Aramaic. In that language it is found chiefly in later Eastern Aramaic,⁴² as the noun קמיע . In later Western Aramaic, we find the noun קמיע only on amulets. As a verb, the root קמ"ע is used in later Western Aramaic⁴³ and

³⁷ Greek, Syro-Hexapla, and Latin.

³⁸ Di Lella, “Newly Discovered,” 232.

³⁹ Thus defined in the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*. This understanding is reflected in the Greek translation as well ($\theta\lambda\iota\beta\epsilon\iota\nu$). This verb corresponds to the Hebrew verb ללחוק “to press, oppress,” as in Exod 3:9 and 22:20. On the use of this verb in Greek, see T. Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint: Keyed to the Hatch-Redpath Concordance* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), s.v. לחץ (74); s.v. קמע (130).

⁴⁰ Di Lella, “Newly Discovered,” 232.

⁴¹ E. Ben Yehuda, *A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew* (Vols. 8–9, ed. M.H. Segal; v. 10–16 ed. N.H. Tur-Sinai; 17 vols.; Berlin: Langenscheidt, 1909–1959), 12:5990 (in Hebrew).

⁴² Syriac, Babylonian, Aramaic, and Mandaic.

⁴³ In an Egyptian papyrus dated from the fourth–sixth centuries CE (see discussion on p. 43 below). On the use of this root in later Western Aramaic, see K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Käiroer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* (2 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984–2004), 2:474.

in Eastern Aramaic⁴⁴ with the sense of “to tie,” “to bind,” or “to produce amulets.” In Rabbinic Hebrew,⁴⁵ on the other hand, we find the verb in the *Qal*, with the sense of “to tie,” and in the *Pi'el*, with the sense of “to be folded,” as well as the noun קמיע.⁴⁶ Because it is found only in later Aramaic, and chiefly in later Eastern Aramaic, and usually as a noun rather than a verb, whereas in Hebrew it appears as both verb and noun as early as Ben Sira and the Tosefta, I see no compelling reason for thinking that the Hebrew is an Aramaic loan word. The evidence suggests instead that it is an independent root in both languages.

As for the relationship between קמ"ע in rabbinic literature and Ben Sira, evidently we are dealing with a polysemic root.⁴⁷ That is, the sense “to press” or “to oppress” developed from the original meaning of “to tie” or “to bind.” In Arabic, the cognate root has the sense of “to subjugate” or “to oppress.” Moreshet (who did not know of the verb in Ben Sira) was skeptical that there was a link between the root קמ"ע in rabbinic literature and Arabic.⁴⁸ Further evidence that this is a polysemic root meaning both “to tie and “to press” is provided by Arabic, in which several verbs have both senses.⁴⁹ The Arabic verb شَدَّ means both “to tighten” (a noose) and “to press on” or “to oppress.” Similarly, the verbs قَبَدَ and رَظَّ have the two senses “to tie” and “to compel.”

Because the root קמ"ע is not widespread in Hebrew as a verb, and because its meaning in rabbinic literature is not the same as that which we have found here in Ben Sira—a sense that is unique to this passage—it has been suggested that we are in fact dealing with two homonymic roots:

⁴⁴ The root is found in Syriac; see R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879–1901), 509.

⁴⁵ In both the Tosefta and the Babylonian Talmud. For example: מעשה באשה אחת שנשאת לחבר והיתה קומעת על ידו תפילין. נשאת למוכס והיתה קושרת על ידו קשורין [היתה קומעת] his *tefillin* for him. When she was married to a customs official she tied the customs seals for him”; *t. Demai* 2:17; see also *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 39a). A similar text appears elsewhere in the Babylonian Talmud: מעשה באשה אחת שנישאת לחבר והיתה קומעת לו תפילין על ידו. נישאת למוכסין על ידו לעם הארץ והיתה קושרת לו קישורי מוכסין על ידו (*b. Bek.* 30b). See below for discussion of this citation.

⁴⁶ Ben Yehuda, *Dictionary*, 12:5987, 5990.

⁴⁷ According to the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*.

⁴⁸ M. Moreshet, *A Lexicon of the New Verbs in Tannaitic Hebrew* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1980), 327 (in Hebrew).

⁴⁹ In keeping with principle seven of the Held method, which holds that the existence of the same semantic development in semantically parallel terms supports the thesis that in every Semitic language the terms involved are potentially polysemic and never homonymic. See C. Cohen, “The ‘Held Method’ for Comparative Semitic Philology,” *JANES* 19 (1989): 9–23 (17).

ע"קמ I meaning “to tie” (the meaning found in Rabbinic Hebrew), and ע"קמ II meaning “to press,” “to oppress,” “to cause sorrow” (the meaning in Ben Sira). Thus, there are two suggested semantic and etymological explanations for the meaning of the root ע"קמ in Ben Sira:

- (1) This is the root ע"קמ that parallels the Arabic root ע"קמ, which also means “to subjugate” or “to repress”;⁵⁰ or
- (2) We are dealing in Ben Sira with a different homonymic root ע"קמ that is influenced by Aramaic and is parallel to the Hebrew root ע"קמ.⁵¹ The original sense of “to close the hand” developed into “to close” and “to press.”

If we go with the first option, then the use of the root in Ben Sira is a new departure with regard to both the Bible and Rabbinic Hebrew literature, and it is based on textual evidence providing precedents in Arabic for the required semantic development. If we opt for the second explanation, there is nothing new here. Rather, we simply have the use of an etymologically equivalent root whose usage in Ben Sira is influenced by Aramaic. In Rabbinic Hebrew, the root ע"קמ also gives rise to the adverb קמעה, “little.”⁵² Thus, in Ben Sira we have a unique sense of this root. In the Bible and Rabbinic Hebrew, the root ע"קמ has the basic sense of “close the hand”; while the sense of ע"קמ found in Ben Sira, “to press” or “to oppress,” does not occur. Thus, as opposed to possibility (1), there is no clear evidence for possibility (2). The two meanings “to tie” and “to oppress” are semantically connected on the basis of clear textual evidence in the form of Arabic precedents; while there are no such precedents for the two suggested meanings of the root ע"קמ. It should also be noted that in Biblical Hebrew, ע"קמ occurs only in the *Qal*.⁵³

⁵⁰ On this possibility, see M. Kister, “A Contribution to the Interpretation of Ben Sira,” *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 303–78 (336) (in Hebrew).

⁵¹ Both these roots would then be derived from an original root **qmd*.

⁵² On the relationship between the roots ע"קמ (from which the adverb קמעה is derived) and ע"קמ, see, e.g., Ben Yehuda, *Dictionary*, 12:5990.

⁵³ It is found once in the *Hiph'il* in Amoraic literature (*Leviticus Rabbah* 3:6). Various scholars (Ben Yehuda, *Dictionary*, 12:5990; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature* [2 vols.; New York: Judaica Press, 1886–1903], 2:1385; Di Lella, “Newly Discovered,” 232) equate the roots ע"קמ and ט"קמ. The latter is found twice in the book of Job: בי כחשי בפני יענה ויקם היה לעד (Job 16:8); and אשר־קמטו ולא־עת נהר יוצק יסודם (Job 22:16). The meaning of the root ט"קמ in these difficult verses, however, has been interpreted in many different ways (including “to shrivel,” as the biblical source of modern Hebrew קמטים “wrinkles”); for example, the JPS translation of Job 22:16, “How they were shriveled up before their time...,” opts for

2. *The Use of the Root קמ"ע in Postbiblical Hebrew Literature and in Aramaic*

A) Dead Sea Scrolls: The root קמ"ע is not found in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

B) Rabbinic literature: The verb תקמיעהו in Ben Sira 31:31e represents a two-fold innovation with respect to Rabbinic Hebrew:⁵⁴ a semantic difference and a morphological difference. In Rabbinic Hebrew the root קמ"ע occurs as a verb only four times, three times in the *Qal*⁵⁵ and once in the *Pi'el*.⁵⁶ In all three occurrences in the *Qal*, the basic sense is “to bind” (*tefillin*):

מעשה באשה אחת שנשאת לחבר והיתה קומעת על ידו תפלין. נשאת למוכס והיתה קושרת על ידו קשורין

There was a certain woman who married a scholar and used to tie (היתה קומעת) his *tefillin* for him.⁵⁷ When she was married to a customs official she tied the customs seals for him. (*t. Demai* 2:17)

The two attestations in the Babylonian Talmud repeat the passage from the Tosefta, with minor changes. In the *Pi'el*, the meaning is “to be folded”: בלי עור מאימתי מקבלין טומאה הסנדל משיקמע (*t. Kelim* 6:1).⁵⁸

The root is common in Rabbinic Hebrew, however, as the substantive קמיע “amulet.” For example,

איזהו קמיע מומחה. כל שריפא ושנה ושלש

What is considered to be an amulet of proven efficacy? One that has healed three times (*t. Shab.* 4:9)

the LXX rendering, οἱ συνελήφθησαν ἄωροι; (=“who were seized before their time”). In any case, the sense “press” or “oppress” fits the usage of קמט in these two verses only if both are subjected to radical emendation. See, e.g., Tur-Sinai’s extensive note in Ben Yehuda, *Dictionary*, 12:5985 n. 1; and his notes to these two verses in his commentary on Job: N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job: A New Commentary* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1967), 263–65, 343–44.

⁵⁴ Assuming that קמ"ע is a polysemic root.

⁵⁵ Once in the Tosefta and twice in the Babylonian Talmud. See above n. 45.

⁵⁶ See discussion below on משיקמע הסנדל טומאה מקבלין (*t. Kelim* 6:1).

⁵⁷ This translation reflects Lieberman’s understanding of על ידו here (literally “on his hand”) as “on his behalf.” This sense is also attested in *m. Shevi'it* 7:3 and *m. Sheqalim* 1:3. See S. Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-fshutah: A Comprehensive Commentary on the Tosefta* (10 vols.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1955), 1:218 (in Hebrew).

⁵⁸ In the Tosefta (according to the database of the *Historical Dictionary of The Hebrew Language*; Jastrow [*Dictionary*, vol. II, 1384]; Tur-Sinai [Ben Yehuda, *Dictionary*, 12:5990]; and Moreshet [*Tannaitic Hebrew*, 327]), the last attestation of the root קמ"ע should be analyzed as *Qal* rather than *Pi'el*.

“רוח סערה עושה דברו”: וסערה עשאה הקב"ה כמין קמיע ותלייה בזרועו. שנ' "מתחת זרועות עולם"

“Storm wind that executes His command” (Ps 148:8): The Holy One Blessed be He made the storm wind like a sort of amulet and hung it on his arm. As we read: “and underneath the everlasting arms (Deut 33:27).” (י. *Hag.* 77a)

The “amulet” was called קמיע because of the custom of tying a talisman to the body as a prophylactic charm.⁵⁹

C) Aramaic: The root קמ"ע is found as a verb in the *Pa'el* or *'Afel* conjugations in later Western Aramaic with the denominative sense of “to prepare an amulet.”⁶⁰ The root also is found in later Eastern Aramaic (Syriac) as a denominative verb with a different meaning “to tie on an amulet.” In later Western Aramaic the verb appears on amulets themselves, and in later Eastern Aramaic,⁶¹ it appears as the noun קמיעה “amulet.”

4. *The Noun* בנגשה

1. *Ben Sira 31:3e*

According to the database of the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*, the term should not be read בנגשה, but rather בנפשה.⁶² According to the photographs published by Scheiber⁶³ and Di Lella,⁶⁴ and in accordance with Beentjes' edition,⁶⁵ however, בנגשה seems to be the correct reading. This is also the opinion of Kister⁶⁶ and Qimron.⁶⁷ The Greek translation, too, supports the likelihood that its *Vorlage* had the reading בנגשה: the corresponding Greek term is the noun ἀπαιτήσι meaning “a demand.” In the Septuagint, the Greek verb ἀπαιτέω is used to render the verb לנגוש, meaning “to demand [a payment],” or “to dun.”⁶⁸

⁵⁹ According to the *Arukh Ha-Shalem* (ed. A. Kohut, *Arukh Completum sive, Lexicon, Vocabula et res, quae in libris Targumicis, Talmudicis et Midraschicis*; 2d ed.; 8 vols.; Vienna: Menorah, 1926], 7:123); and Tur-Sinai (Ben Yehuda, *Dictionary*, 12:5987).

⁶⁰ As attested in an Egyptian papyrus dated from the fourth–sixth centuries CE (Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 1:374).

⁶¹ Syriac, Babylonian, and Mandaic.

⁶² The *gimel* has been erased and replaced by a *peh*. See the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*.

⁶³ Scheiber, “Additional Page of Ben Sira,” 1182.

⁶⁴ Di Lella, “Newly Discovered,” 232, Table I.

⁶⁵ Beentjes, *Ben Sira in Hebrew*, 109, 147.

⁶⁶ Kister, “Ben Sira,” 336–37.

⁶⁷ I would here like to thank Prof. Elisha Qimron for examining the MS and confirming the reading בנגשה (private communication).

⁶⁸ As in Deut 15:2–3. On the use of the verb ἀπαιτέω in Greek, see Muraoka, *Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint*, 93.

Here I wish to analyze this term both morphologically and semantically. Evidently, it derives from the biblical root נג"ש, whose usual sense is either "to oppress" or "to demand repayment of a debt." For example, Exod 3:7:

ראה ראיתי את־עני עמי אשר במצרים ואת־צעקתם שמעתי מפני נגשיו

I have marked well the plight of My people in Egypt and have heeded their outcry because of their taskmasters; yes, I am mindful of their sufferings.

Note also Deut 15:2:

וזה דבר השמטה שמוט כל־בעל משה ידו אשר ישה ברעהו לא יגש את רעהו ואת אחיו כ־יקרא שמטה לה'

This shall be the nature of the remission: every creditor shall remit the due that he claims from his fellow; he shall not *dun* his fellow or kinsman, for the remission proclaimed is of the Lord.

Morphologically, נגשה⁶⁹ should be understood as a verbal noun derived from the root נג"ש, with the sense of "demanding." If so, the text of Ben Sira 31:3e means that a person should not insult his friend by demanding repayment of a debt during a party.⁷⁰ This morphological and semantic analysis fits well with the gist of the Greek translation.⁷¹

2. *The Use of the Root נג"ש in Postbiblical Hebrew Literature and in Aramaic*

A) Dead Sea Scrolls: The root נג"ש does not occur in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

B) Rabbinic literature: The root נג"ש appears only in the Amoraic corpus and only in the *Qal* conjugation.

C) Aramaic: The root נג"ש is not extant in Aramaic.

The term בנגשה thus represents a morphological innovation with regard to both Biblical Hebrew and postbiblical Hebrew. The root נג"ש occurs already in Biblical Hebrew, but only as a verb in the *Qal* and *Niph'al* conjugations, and never as a noun or a verbal noun. Smend and Segal, who had before them only MS B and the ancient translations, considered the

⁶⁹ To be read either נגשה or נגשה.

⁷⁰ Kister, "Ben Sira," 337. Kister suggests interpreting the third stich (דבר חסר אל תאמר) in similar fashion. That is, a person should refrain from shaming his fellow on account of his poverty, just as he must not demand repayment of his debt during the course of a feast.

⁷¹ και μη αὐτὸν θλίψῃς ἐν ἀπαιτήσῃ (= "and do not distress him by making demands of him").

Greek ἐν ἀπαιτήσει, “in demanding back,” to be based on a corruption of the presumably original Greek text, which they identified with the reading of the Syriac and the left margin of MS B, לעיני בני אדם, “in the eyes of men.”⁷² Today, with the additional crucial evidence from MS F, which corresponds completely to the extant reading in the Greek translation, there is absolutely no valid reason to accept Smend’s and Segal’s conjecture.⁷³

III. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the recently discovered MS F of Ben Sira expands our knowledge of the Hebrew lexicon of the Second Temple period. The single verse examined here offers no fewer than three innovations with respect to classical Biblical Hebrew—one involving a root (קמ"ע) and two relating to morphology (the nouns חדווה and נגשה). These also represent innovations with respect to the Hebrew of the Second Temple period. Of the three terms, the postexilic biblical books contain only the noun חדווה. None of the three are attested in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls. Two occur in Rabbinic Hebrew: the noun חדווה⁷⁴ and the root קמ"ע.⁷⁵ Two are also known in Aramaic: the noun חדווה and the root קמ"ע. The noun חדווה is common to the various dialects of Aramaic, but the root קמ"ע generally is represented only as the noun קמיע in later Western and Eastern Aramaic (together with various denominative verbal usages). The noun נגשה/נגשה, as analyzed above, is unique to Ben Sira.

⁷² Smend, *Sirach*, 285; Segal, *Ben Sira*, 201. They cite as supporting evidence the Greek of MS 248 ad loc., ἀπαντήσῃ αὐτοῦ, which means “in front of him.” According to Segal, the pronoun αὐτοῦ is a corruption of ἀνωγ, which is in turn an abbreviation of ἀνθρώπων “of men.” On the text of MS 248, see J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (2d ed.; SVTG 12.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 273.

⁷³ As noted above (p. 39), according to Di Lella, the reading of MS F and the Greek reflect the original Hebrew text, whereas that in the margin of MS B is a back-translation from the Syriac.

⁷⁴ Although not in the basic Tannaitic corpus.

⁷⁵ Found in both Tannaitic and Amoraic literature, but with a different sense than in Ben Sira.

RELATIVE *HA-*: A LATE BIBLICAL HEBREW PHENOMENON?

Mats Eskhult

In Biblical Hebrew, as in other Semitic languages, there are two ways of modifying a noun or a noun-equivalent: by either adjectival or genitival forms. The equivalence of the two is clear from loose constructions, such as Deut 25:15: *אבן שלמה וצדק* “a full and just weight.”¹ An attribution of a non-nominal form, such as an *action* expressed by a finite verb, is likewise expressed by two main syntactic means.² The one is genitival, which means that the antecedent is put in the construct state to the following clause, e.g., Isa 29:1: *קריית חנה דוד* “the city of David’s encampment”; Ps 90:15: *שנות ראינו רעה* “for the years we have seen evil”; and Hos 1:2: *תחלת דברייהוה* “the commencement of YHWH’s speaking”; as well as Exod 4:14: *ביד-שלח* “by the hand of (whoever) you will send.”³ This construction is prevalent in Akkadian, as illustrated by the often cited: *awāt iqbū* “the word he said.”⁴

The other syntactic method of modifying a noun or a noun-equivalent is to juxtapose an attributive clause, whether syndetic or asyndetic. Such an attributive clause is often asyndetic if the antecedent is indefinite, as in Gen 15:13: *בארץ לא להם* “in a land that is not theirs.”⁵ This form—rather than a genitive clause—is the prevalent form in Arabic; where, in addition, it is introduced by the originally determinative particle *'allādī* if the antecedent is definite. According to current analysis, this particle

¹ Cf. A.B. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1896), §24c. Please note that translations in this paper are my own.

² See the discussion in H.-S. Schuster, “Der Relativsatz im Phönizischen und Punischen,” in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landberger* (ed. H.G. Güterbock and T. Jacobsen; AS 16; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 431–38 (432).

³ See Joüon-Muraoka, §129p. and R. Meyer, *Satzlehre* (vol. 3 of *Hebräische Grammatik von D. Dr. Georg Beyer* [3d ed.; Sammlung Göschen 5765; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972]), §115, 2a.

⁴ See A. Ungnad and L. Matouš, *Grammatik des Akkadischen* (Munich: Beck, 1969), §§13 and 16a; and W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1969), §166b.

⁵ The pattern varies; see Davidson, *Syntax*, §142. C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen, Kreis Moers: Erziehungsvereins, 1956), §146, thinks that the asyndetic attribute clause was in all likelihood originally circumstantial in character: “Tritt zu einem Satz eine weitere Aussage als nähere Bestimmung eines Satzteilens, so wird sie als diesem untergeordnet empfunden.” See also Joüon-Muraoka, §158a*.

originally belonged to the main clause⁶ and underwent a development similar to that of the English relative “that,” as the neuter of **pe* “this,” which—when used to link the head to a following clause—gave up its deictic sense for an anaphoric one and prosodically became a part of the attributive clause. In like manner, though more Janus-like in function, the poetic Hebrew particle *ze/zū* is occasionally employed to resume an antecedent and link it to an attributive clause; as is illustrated by: אבִּיךָ זֶה יִלְדֶךָ “your father (the one) who begot you.” Similarly, corresponding to Aramaic *dī*, Hebrew *ze* may resume the head of a genitive and link it to the following modifier, as is shown by the well-known example: יְהוָה זֶה סִינִי “YHWH the One of Sinai” (Judg 5:5). In other words, the structure remains the same whether a construct head is followed by a clause or by a noun; in both cases the determinative particle takes on an anaphoric function.⁷ However, the supposed original complementary distribution, by which a determinative *ze/zū* precedes clauses, prepositional phrases, and adverbs, while the article *ha-* precedes adjectives and demonstratives, leaves no room for the Hebrew relative particle *ʾāšer*. The etymology of this particle—the construct state of **ʾašar* “place”—suggests that it was successively grammaticalized: “place” > “place where” > “where”; consequently, it replaced *ze/zū* as the anaphoric element employed to link an attribute—whether a phrase or a clause—to its head.⁸ In practice this led to a new complementary distribution, in which *ʾāšer* introduces clauses, prepositional phrases, and adverbs, while *ha-* introduces nominally inflected forms.

The nominally inflected attribute agrees with its head noun in respect of definiteness, as in the phrase: המשפחה הרעה הזאת “this evil family” (Jer 8:3). The use of the article with attributions obviously originates in an appositional function: מִי־הַאִישׁ הַלֹּזֵה הַהֹלֵךְ בַּשָּׂדֶה “who is that man—the one walking in the fields” (Gen 24:65). There are very few instances where the article is used with an adjective—other than a participle—to modify

⁶ Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik* (Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen Sprachen 2; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1960), §153a.

⁷ N. Pat-El, “The Development of the Semitic Definite Article: A Syntactic Approach,” *JSS* 54 (2009): 19–49 (43). See also G. Goldenberg, “Attribution in Semitic Languages,” in idem, *Studies in Semitic Linguistics: Selected Writings* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1998), 46–65. B.K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 337, name this determinative use “quasi-relative.”

⁸ See J. Huehnergard, “Etymology of the Relative *šē-*,” in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting* (ed. S.E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 103–25. Cf. E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (OLA 80; Sterling: Peeters, 2001), 532–38 (535).

a formally indefinite noun, e.g., רוח הרעה “the evil spirit” (1 Sam 16:23); but it is not uncommon that the definite article is attached to a participle whose head noun is indefinite (not in this case counting the construction *kol* (“all”) *ha-* with participle, since *kol* itself conveys a certain notion of determination).⁹

Joüion and Muraoka, *Grammar*, §138c, think that in a case such as 1 Sam 25:10: המתפרצים היום רבו עבדים “nowadays there are many slaves who break away (from their masters),” the value of the article is close to that of the relative. Nyberg, *Grammar* §80 l,¹⁰ on the other hand, states that in such cases the participle actually specifies the indefinite noun. Adduced are *inter alia*: Deut 2:23: מכפתור היצאים “the Caphtorim, those who come from Caphtor”; Judg 16:27: ואשה איש כשלשת אלפים “about three thousand men and women, those who looked on while Samson made sport”;¹¹ Judg 21:19: למסלה העלה מבית־אל “to a highway, the one that ascends from Bethel”; Jer 27:3: ביד מלאכים “through messengers, such who have come to Jerusalem”; and Ezek 14:22: נותרה־בה פלטה המוצאים “should there be left a remnant, those who are to be brought forth.” Perhaps one may conclude with König, *Syntax*, §411d, that in these cases the “anaphorische *ha-* demonstrativum” was chosen to strengthen the attachment of the participial clause. In addition, there are cases, especially in poetic and prophetic style, where the article introduces an appositional participle that specifies a nominal element in the preceding strophe; e.g., Ps 19:10–11: צדקו אמת משפטי־יהוה “the judgments of YHWH are altogether true, (namely) those that are more to be desired than gold”; and Amos 2:6–7: על־מכרם “because of their having sold the righteous for silver . . . (namely) those who pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor.” A similar use of the participle is found in the hymnic style of Akkadian epics.¹²

⁹ For discussion see Joüion-Muraoka, §138a, c and d respectively.

¹⁰ H.S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik* (Almqvist & Wiksells Skolböcker; Stockholm: Geber, 1952).

¹¹ A comparison with the Greek shows that in these cases the participle is mostly construed attributively, sometimes predicatively. Thus, in Judg 16:27, Codex Alexandrinus chooses the former option, ἐμβλέποντες; whereas Codex Vaticanus chooses the latter: οἱ θεωροῦντες. For this point I am indebted to Sophia Tranefeldt, “The Definite Article as Relative Marker—A Critical Study of the Relative Function of the Definite Article in Biblical Hebrew” (unpublished Candidate’s thesis in Old Testament Exegesis, Uppsala University, 2008).

¹² See for instance the opening of the Gilgamesh Epic, where Gilgamesh’s qualities are dwelt upon, lines 38–40: the one who opens (*pētû*) the passes of the mountain, the one

Hence at times, the article *attached to a participle* takes on the same function as *ʾšer*—and occasionally *ze/zū*—to mark the relation between an indefinite head noun and an attributive clause. If such a participial clause is labelled relative, this function is not due to the presence of the article, because the participle may form a clause of this function without the article, as it does in Num 21:1: **ישב הנגב** “the Canaanite, the king of Arad, (who was) dwelling in the Negev, heard.”¹³

It should be borne in mind that the use of the article in an anaphoric, i.e., a relative, function is very restricted. The construction cannot be negated; it can predicate only the head noun; no overt subject is allowed; and as a rule the article cannot be attached to any element other than a participle.¹⁴ Below are adduced thirteen instances—including some emendations¹⁵—collected from König, *Syntax*, §52, and Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar*, §145d, where the article nevertheless precedes a Hebrew *perfect*. The instances are:

Josh 10:24: **אתו אנשי המלחמה ההלכווא אתו** “the men of war who went with him”; LXX reads: *τοὺς ἐναρχομένους τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς συμπορευομένους αὐτῷ* (i.e., using an attributive present participle).

Ezra 1:6: **לבד על-כל-ההתנדב** “besides all that was willingly offered”; LXX using the adjective *ἐκούσιος* “willing,” reads: *πᾶρεξ τῶν ἐν ἐκούσιος*.

Ezra 8:25: **בת-אלהינו ההרימו תרומת** “the heave-offering for the house of our God, which they had offered”; LXX: *ἃ ὑψωσεν*.

Ezra 10:14: **כל אשר בערינו ההשיב נשים נכריות** “all those in our towns who have taken foreign wives”; LXX: *ὅς ἐκάθισεν*.

Ezra 10:17: **בכל אנשים ההשיבו נשים נכריות** “of all the men who had taken foreign wives”; LXX reads: *οἱ ἐκάθισαν*.

1 Chr 12:24: **מספרי ראשי החלוק לצבא** [ה] **באו על-דויד** “the divisions of the armed troops, who came to David”; LXX reads: *τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς στρατιᾶς οἱ ἐλθόντες πρὸς Δαυιδ* (i.e., using an attributive aorist participle).

1 Chr 15:12: **והעליתם את ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל אל-ה]הכינותי לו** “(bring up) the ark of YHWH . . . to [the place] I have prepared for it” LXX reads: *οὐ ἡτοιμάσα αὐτῆ*.

who digs (*hērû*) wells on the mountain ridge, the one who crosses (*ēbir*) the wide ocean”; see A. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹³ Cf. F.E. König, *Syntax* (vol. 3 of *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), §411c, f, g.

¹⁴ See Pat-El, “Development,” 29.

¹⁵ Viz., 1 Chr 12:24; 15:12 and Ezra 1:6.

1 Chr 26:28: . . . כל ההקדיש שמואל “all that Samuel had dedicated; LXX reads: [ἐπι] πάντων τῶν ἁγίων.

1 Chr 29:8: אתו הנמצא אבנים “he with whom stones were found”; LXX reads: οἷς εὑρέθη παρ’ αὐτοῖς λίθος.

1 Chr 29:17: עמך הנמצאו־פה “your people, who are present here”; LXX reads: τὸν λαόν σου τὸν εὑρεθέντα ὧδε (attributive aor. ptcp.).

2 Chr 1:4: לוֹ בהבין הַהֵלֶה . . . ארון האלהים “the ark of God he brought . . . there where David had prepared for it”; LXX, perceiving the function of the clause as causal, reads: ὅτι ἤτοιμασεν.

2 Chr 15:11: מן־השלל [ה] הביאו “from the spoil which they had brought”; LXX reads: ἀπὸ τῶν σκύλων ὧν ἤνεγκαν.

2 Chr 29:36: על ההבין האלהים וישמח . . . “he rejoiced . . . at what God had done”; LXX, using an infinitive construction, reads: καὶ ἠψφράνθη διὰ τὸ ἡτοιμακέναι τὸν θεόν.

It is worth noticing that it is solely in Josh 10:24 and 1 Chr 12:24 that the Septuagint renders the construction by a *participium conjunctum*—otherwise the relative pronoun or some other construction is employed. What is more, Josh 10:24 is the only attestation of the article preceding the perfect, which is *not* to be found in irrefutably late writings. In spite of this, Brockelmann does not see any diachronic significance to this phenomenon: “As asyndetic relative clauses are tantamount to adjectives they may as well as these be determined by the article,” he says in the first part of a section that otherwise discusses *ze/zū* and *še/’āšer* as demonstratives with an explicitly relative function.¹⁶ Likewise, a number of grammarians and lexicographers list Josh 10:24 among the attestations of relative *ha-* before a finite verb; some of these scholars, however, notice the diachronic issue that is involved. Among those who discount Josh 10:24 as corrupt are Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar* §145e and Davidson, *Syntax*, §24 rem. 4, who suggests that a participle be read instead; a solution that is supported by a comparison with Num 31:28 and Josh 5:6.¹⁷

It would seem that at the time when the Hebrew text was vocalized and accentuated there was a certain readiness to accept attributive

¹⁶ Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax*, §150a; followed by, e.g., Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik*, §94i.

¹⁷ The superfluous *’āleph* in the end of *hāl’kū* might be a dittography caused by the following *’ittō*, but a similar doubling of *’āleph* is found only in 2 Chr 16:12: ויחל אסא, where it likely is due to Aramaic spelling customs. Cf. F. Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler im alten Testament: Nebst den dem Schrifttexte einverleibten Randnoten klassifiziert: Ein Hilfsbuch für Lexikon und Grammatik, Exegese und Lektüre* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1920), §11a.

participial clauses as full-fledged relative ones. In a number of ambiguous passages—where the participle is distinguished from the perfect solely by a single vowel or by the accent¹⁸—a perfect was accordingly read instead of a participle:

Gen 21:3: בְּנוּ הַנּוֹלָד־לּוֹ “his son who was born to him”; LXX reads: τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου αὐτῷ (attributive aor. ptcp.).

Gen 18:21: צַעֲקַתָּה הַבָּאָה אֵלַי “the outcry that has come to me”; LXX reads: (κατὰ) τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐρχομένην πρὸς με (attributive pres. ptcp.).

Gen 46:27: כְּלֵי-הַנֶּפֶשׁ . . . הַבָּאִים . . . “all the persons that came”; LXX reads: πᾶσαι ψυχαι . . . αἱ εἰσελθούσαι (attributive aor. ptcp.).

1 Kgs 11:9: אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה . . . הַנִּרְאָה “YHWH . . . who had appeared to him”; LXX reads: (ἀπὸ) κυρίου . . . τοῦ ὁφθέντος αὐτῷ (attributive aor. ptcp.).

Isa 51:10: הַשְׁמַחַת מַעֲמִיקֵי-דָרֶךְ . . . אֲתֵּיָא “you . . . who made the depths of the sea a road”; LXX reads: σὺ εἶ . . . ἡ θείσα τὰ βάθη τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδὸν (attributive aor. ptcp.).

Isa 56:3: בֶּן-הַנּוֹכַר הַנִּלְוֶה אֲלֵי-יְהוָה “the foreigner who is joined to YHWH”; LXX reads: ὁ ἀλλογενῆς ὁ προσκαίμενος πρὸς κύριον (attributive pres. ptcp.).

Job 2:11: כְּלֵי-הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת הַבָּאָה עָלָיו “all this evil that had come upon him”; LXX reads: τὰ κακὰ πάντα τὰ ἐπελθόντα αὐτῷ (attributive aor. ptcp.).

Ruth 1:22: וְרוּת עִמָּה . . . הַשָּׁבָה מִשְׁדֵי מוֹאָב “and with her Ruth . . . the one who had come back”; LXX reads: καὶ Ρουθ . . . ἐπιστρέφουσα (predicative pres. ptcp.).

Ruth 2:6: נַעֲרָה מוֹאבִיָּה הִיא הַשָּׁבָה עִם-נַעֲמִי “she is a Moabite maiden, the one who has come back with Naomi”; LXX reads: καὶ εἶπεν ἡ παῖς ἡ Μωαβίτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποστραφεῖσα μετὰ Νωεμὶν (attributive aor. ptcp.).

Ruth 4:3: נַעֲמִי הַשָּׁבָה “(a piece of land) Naomi hereby sells, the one who has come back”; LXX reads: (δέδοται) Νωεμὶν τῇ ἐπιστρεφούσῃ (attributive pres. ptcp.).

Dan 8:1: אַחֲרֵי נִרְאָה “(a vision appeared) after that which appeared”; the Greek here (Theodotion) features a nominalized infinitive rather than a participial construction (μετὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν “after [my] seeing”).

In all these cases—except Ruth 2:6 and Dan 8:1—the antecedent is definite and thus subjected to the basic rule that an attributive adjective or participle takes the article whenever its head noun is determined. In the case of *nōlad* “was born,” *nilwā* “was joined,” and *nir’ā* “was seen,” the resultative

¹⁸ Namely, the participles of *Niph’al* masc. sing. and of *Qal* in verbs II *wāw/yōd* masc. and fem. sing.

Niph'al interferes with the accomplished sense of the participle; viz., *nōlād* “born,” *niṭwe* “joined,” and *nir'e* “seen.”¹⁹ As to the verb בוא, there seems to be a semantic overlap between the perfect and the participle, granted that the form בא originally designated its subject as a possessor of the action of “coming” (corresponding to German *er ist ein Gekommener* > *er ist gekommen*).²⁰ In Gen 46:27, the preceding verse has almost the same wording, but there הבהא is understood as a participle; and in Isa 51:10 the parallelism with the preceding המחרבת suggests that a participle should be read. In addition, the action in most of the above-mentioned cases is located in the past, which accounts for the perfect form in the Targum and the Greek aorist participle as well—only in Gen 18:21 and Ruth 4:3 does the Septuagint have present participles. In Ruth 1:22 and 2:6, moreover, the attributive clause is separated from the antecedent by several words, a circumstance that underlines the determinative-anaphoric sense of the Hebrew definite article.

One may still argue that the anaphoric use of the definite article with a *perfect* in Josh 10:24 indicates that this usage originates in a much earlier period than appears in the writings available to us and therefore should not be rejected as marginal even in what is called Early Biblical Hebrew.²¹ This proposal remains possible; yet, as mentioned above, the participle introduced by *ha-* in an attribute clause is very restricted in usage. Had the Hebrew definite article had a general subordinating function from early times, one might have expected sentences such as: **hā'īššā han-naṭattā 'immādi* in the sense of: “the woman whom you gave to be with me”; and **mal'ākīm hab-bā'im 'alēhem 'ānāšim* in the sense of: “messengers to whom people came.”²²

Following Joüon-Muraoka, *Grammar* §145d—and drawing on Nyberg, *Grammar* §80 l—it is accordingly reasonable to assume that the use of the article before a finite verb developed from the fairly common construction in which an indefinite noun is modified by a definite attributive participle,

¹⁹ “Essentially a stative verb, the resultative *Niph'al* describes the state of its subject which has been produced by the verbal action named by the root,” T.O. Lambdin, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (New York: Scribner; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1971), 177.

²⁰ Cf. F. Sommer, *Vergleichende Syntax der Schulsprachen (Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch, Griechisch, Lateinisch) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Deutschen* (5th ed., reprint; Leipzig: Teubner, 1931), 75.

²¹ Cf. I. Young, R. Rezetko, and M. Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (2 vols.; BibleWorld; London: Equinox, 2008), 2:115–18.

²² See Pat-El, “Development,” 29.

or a participle in apposition is introduced by a determinative-anaphoric *ha-*. In other words this usage is itself an extension of the corresponding use of the participle. This aberrant usage was presumably promoted by the fact that in a number of current verbs the forms of the perfect and the participle coincide, and by the development of the participle towards an inflected verb, as well.²³

Still, this explanation is weakened by the fact that the article is hardly found at all in Qumran literature in a relative function. Disregarding instances where *ha-* follows *kol*, Gregor Geiger has isolated only four instances in the Dead Sea material where it is possible to perceive the article in a relative function, namely: *Rule of the Community* (1QS) 8:11, *אלה אנושי השם קוראי מועד הנועדים*, “and anything that is hidden from Israel”; *Rule of the Congregation* (1Q28a or 1QSa) 2:2, *לעצת היחד* “these are the men of renown, invited to the meeting, those who are summoned to the Council of the *Yahad*”; *Apocryphon of Joshua*^a (4Q378) 11 3, where biblical *אשר נשבע* corresponds to *הנשבע לאברהם*; and 11Q5 (11QPsalms^a) 22:4, *ישעך ליום המתאווים* “and generations of the devout (shall be) your splendour, those who long for the day of your victory”; plus *Damascus Document* 19:34 *מיסורו מבאר מים* “and turned away from the well of the living water” (cf. Song 4:15 *באר מים חיים*).²⁴ However, none of these passages demands the interpretation of *ha-* in the function of a relative pronoun, Geiger thinks; instead, they are in concord with those instances in the Bible where an indefinite noun is more precisely defined by an attributive participle.

Concerning the Mishnah, some basic observations about the relative use of the article are formulated by M.H. Segal.²⁵ The attribute, be it an adjective or a participle, is found with the article, while the noun is indefinite (a) when one attribute is to be distinguished from another: *נכסים המיוחדין* “property in the possession of a special owner” (*B. Qam.* 1:2); (b) when the chief emphasis is to be laid on the attribute rather than on the substantive: *עצה ההוגנת לו* “a counsel suitable to him” (*Yebam.* 12:6); (c) in fixed expressions: *שער העליון* “the Upper Gate” (*Šeqal.* 6:1); and (d) in numerous other cases where no special reason can be detected:

²³ Pat-El, “Development,” 29, n. 35, says: “thus *’āšer* + predicative participle: *’āšer* + finite verb: *haC* + participle? > *haC* + finite verb.”

²⁴ G. Geiger, “The Participle in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls” (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009), 230–31 (in Hebrew); now published as *Das hebräische Partizip in den Texten aus der jüdischen Wüste* (STDJ 101; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

²⁵ M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), §376.

פול הלבן “white beans” (*Maʿas.* 4:6). What is more, a footnote informs us that the article is never used in Mishnaic Hebrew as a relative with a finite verb.²⁶ In consequence, neither the Qumran texts nor the Mishnah help to explain this occasional use of the article in the Bible.

However, the influence from Aramaic in postexilic times may shed light on the problem, because Aramaic *dī* corresponds to both Hebrew *ha-* and *še-* in the constructions under discussion. Hebrew definitely prefers the article with an attributive participle, but *ʾāšer* or even *še-* may be used instead; e.g., *האזוב אשר יצא בקיר* “the hyssop that grows out of the wall” (1 Kgs 5:13); and: *כשגגה שיצא מלפני השליט* “as an error that proceeds from the ruler” (Eccl 10:5). Now, in the Aramaic *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20) 17:12 we find: *די פנה לדרומא* (the boundary) “that faces the south”; the participial phrase: *dī pānē* corresponds to Hebrew **happōne*. In the Aramaic 2Q *New Jerusalem* (2Q24) 4 16, in the expression *די קאם פנבד* (the second one) “who was standing opposite,” the participial phrase *dī qāʿem* corresponds to Hebrew **haqqām*. In *Genesis Apocryphon* 21:3, *די יהב לי* (all the flocks) “that he gave me,” however, the verbal phrase *dī yēhab* corresponds to Hebrew **ʾāšer nātan*. In those cases where the participle and the perfect are identical in the consonantal text, a presumed Hebrew translator consequently had to choose between the alternatives, guided by the context.²⁷ It is thus possible that by a confusion of expressions, Aramaic *dī* with the perfect was occasionally rendered by *ha-* with the perfect.

If the relative use of the article with a finite verb really originates in pre-exilic times, it is strange that all instances in the Masoretic Text—except those from incontestably late writings (and Josh 10:24 if correct)—were likely originally meant as participles. If, on the contrary, this specific relative use of the article is to be conceived as a postexilic phenomenon, it might be considered an idiosyncrasy that developed under Aramaic influence and was most probably of short duration.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 1.

²⁷ At times, the choice might be arbitrary—in *Words of Michael* (4Q529) 1 1, for instance: *די אמר מיכאל למלאכיא* (the words of the book) “that Michael said (or says) to the angels.”

SHIFTS IN WORD ORDER IN THE HEBREW OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

Steven E. Fassberg

Differences in word order between the Hebrew of the First and Second Temple periods have been known for some time. The first to deal with them in a comprehensive manner was A. Kropat in his 1909 work on the syntax of the books of Chronicles.¹ After the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, interest in the subject increased significantly. I intend to discuss six phenomena relating to word order, all of which have already been identified in the literature. Unlike previous treatments, however, which have viewed the phenomena as separate and discrete developments, I would like to raise the possibility that the different shifts in word order may be related to one another.

1. VS (VERB + SUBJECT) SHIFTS TO SV (SUBJECT + VERB)

In most cases, the authors of the late biblical books succeeded in imitating the overwhelmingly dominant VS word order (usually *wayyiqtol* + Noun) of Classical Biblical Hebrew narrative.² Shifts from VS to SV in Classical Biblical Hebrew itself are explained in various ways, among them the marking of background material or contrastive emphasis.³ In direct speech reported in the Bible, on the other hand, the dominant word order is SV, as shown by J. MacDonald.⁴

¹ A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik* (BZAW 16; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909), 25.

² See, e.g., K. Jongeling, "On the VSO Character of Hebrew," in *Studies in Hebrew & Aramaic Syntax Presented to Professor J. Hoftijzer* (ed. K. Jongeling, H.L. Murre-van den Berg, and L. van Rompay; SSL 17; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 103–11. For a recent article that notes fluctuation in word order in parallel passages in the Hebrew Bible, see T. Zewi, "Biblical Parallels and Biblical Hebrew Syntax," *ZAH* 17–20 (2004–2007): 230–46.

³ See, e.g., Joüon-Muraoka, 2009: 545–51. A. Bendavid divides the reasons into pragmatic-psychological, semantic-logic, and syntactic categories. See his *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew* (Tel-Aviv: Dvir, 1971), 785–855 (in Hebrew).

⁴ J. MacDonald, "Some Distinctive Characteristics of Israelite Spoken Hebrew," *BO* 32 (1975): 162–74. See also M. Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 12; Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1990), 115–20.

In the Hebrew of the Second Temple period, there are examples in which the narrative word order in verbal clauses reveals a shift from the classical VS order.⁵ The subject moves to a position before the verb, or put differently, the verb is moved to a position after the subject, sometimes immediately following the subject and other times with an intervening object or adverb. This postposing of the verb is demonstrated most clearly by parallel passages in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, where emphasis does not seem to be a factor:

(1) ודבר-המלך חזק אל- > ויחזק דבר-המלך אל-יואב ועל שרי החיל (2 Sam 24:4) > ודבר-המלך חזק אל- יואב (1 Chr 21:4) “However, the king’s command to Joab remained firm”⁶

(2) וכל-ישראל ראו > וירא כל-ישראל (1 Kgs 12:16) > וכל-ישראל ראו (2 Chr 10:16) “and all Israel saw”

The shift in word order is not limited only to narratives of past time, but may also appear in modal expressions. See the following example in which V + S + Adverb shifts to S + Adverb + V:

(3) יחי המלך דוד לעולם (1 Kgs 1:31) “May my Lord, King David, live forever!” > יחיה המלך לעולם (Neh 2:3) “May the King live forever!”

Like the writers of Late Biblical Hebrew, the scribes of the Dead Sea Scrolls usually follow the Classical Biblical Hebrew order of VS and employ the *waw*-consecutive, which is still an integral feature of the literary language.⁷ When there is a shift in the word order to SV, one can argue that it is motivated by the same reasons that apply in Classical Biblical Hebrew. Yet, the number of sentences in which one finds SV suggests that this sequence is not the marked order that it is in Classical Hebrew. See the following pericopes from the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document* for shifts of VS > SV; though without parallel passages such as those cited above from the Hebrew Bible, one cannot be totally certain that focusing or contrasting is not intended:

(4) וכול באי הברית יענו ואמרו אחריהם אמן ככה יעשו שנה בשנה כול יומי ממשלת בליעל הכוהנים יעבורו ברשונה בסרך לפי רוחותם זה

⁵ Kropat, *Syntax*, 27–33.

⁶ The English translations of the Hebrew passages in this article are based on the following sources: *The Jewish Study Bible* (ed. A. Berlin and M.Z. Brettler; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (ed. F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar; Brill: Leiden, 1997); *The Mishnah* (trans. H. Danby; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933).

⁷ See, e.g., the many examples presented in M.S. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive* (HSS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 35–63.

אחר זה והלויים יעבורו אחריהם וכול העם יעבורו בשלישית בסרך זה אחר זה... (1QS 2:18–20)

And all those who enter the covenant shall respond and shall say after them “Amen, Amen.” [*yacat*] They shall act in this way year after year, all the days of Belial’s dominion. The priests shall enter in order foremost, one behind the other, according to their spirits. *And the levites shall enter* after them. In third place *all the people shall enter* in order, one after another...

(5) בה תעי בני נח ומשפחותיהם בה הם נכרתים אברהם לא הלך בה ויעל אוהב בשמרו מצות אל ולא בחר ברצון רוחו וימסור לישחק וליעקב וישמרו ויכתבו אוהבים לאל ובעלי ברית לעולם בני יעקב תעו במ וענשו לפני משגותם ובניהם במצרים הלכו בשרירות לבם להיעץ על מצות אל ולעשות איש הישר בעיניו ויאכלו את הדם ויכרת זכורם במדבר להם בקדש עלו ורשו את רוחם ולא שמעו לקול עשיהם מצות יוריהם וירגנו באהליהם ויחר אף אל⁸ בעדתם ובניהם בו אבדו ומלכיהם בו נכרתו וגיבוריהם בו אבדו וארצם בו שממה בו הבו באי הברית הראשונים ויסגרו לחרב בעזבם את ברית אל ויבחרו ברצונם ויתורו אחרי שרירות לבם לעשות איש את רצונו. (CD 3:3–12)

Through it the sons of Noah and their families went astray; through it they are cut off. *Abraham did not walk in it*, and he [was recorded as a friend], through keeping the commandments of God and not choosing the desire of his own spirit. And he handed it down to Isaac and to Jacob; and they kept it and were written down as friends of God and [His] convenanters for eternity. *The sons of Jacob went astray through them* and were punished [according to] their errors. And their sons in Egypt went in the stubbornness of their hearts, taking counsel against the commandments of God and “doing each man that which was right in his own eyes”; and they ate blood, and their males were cut off in the desert. [And he spoke] to them at Kadesh: “Go ye up and possess [the land],” but they chose the desire of] their own spirit “and hearkened not to the voice of their Maker”—the commandments He taught them—“and they murmured in their tents.” And the anger of God was kindled against their congregation. And their sons perished through it, and their kings were cut off through it, and their mighty men perished through it, and their land “became desolate” through it. Through it the first members of the covenant became [culpable], and “they were given over to the sword,” because they “forsook the covenant of God” and chosen their own desire and “went about after the stubbornness of their hearts” by doing each man his own desire.⁹

In example (5) there are also several cases in which one finds Subject + Preposition + Verb instead of the classical Verb + Subject + Preposition:

⁸ Cf. the classical biblical use of *ויחר אף*, which is usually followed by forms with the *waw*-consecutive; e.g., *ויחר אפו ותבערבים אש יהוה* (Num 11:1).

⁹ Translation according to C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 10.

- (a) ובניהם בו אבדו
- (b) ומלכיהם בו נכרתו
- (c) וגיבוריהם בו אבדו
- (d) ובניהם במצרים הלכו

A variation on this sequence may be seen in the phrase:

- (e) בה תעי בני נח בה הם נכרתים ומשפחותיהם

An example of SV order in a modal expression in the Dead Sea Scrolls occurs in 1QS:

- (6) שלום יהי לי (1QS 2:13): "I will have peace"

Unlike the previous two corpora, Tannaitic Hebrew shows a decided preference for the unmarked word order of SV.¹⁰ See, e.g.,

- (7) חמשה דברים ארעו את אבותינו בשבעה עשר בתמוז (*m. Ta'an.* 4:6)
"Five things befell our fathers on the 17th of Tammuz"
- (8) יהושע בן פרחייה ומתיי הארבלי קיבלו מהן (*m. 'Abot* 1:6) "Joshua b. Perahyah and Mattai the Arbelite received [the Law] from them"
- (9) איש הר הבית היה מחזר על כל משמר ומשמר ואבוקות דולקין לפניו (*m. Mid.* 1:2)
"The officer of the Temple Mount used to go round to every watch with lighted torches before him"

The decline in the use of the *waw*-consecutive and its replacement by SV has been ascribed by some to the influence of Aramaic, since SV is the dominant word order in many Aramaic texts beginning with Official Aramaic.¹¹ T. Givón, on the other hand, believed that the shift from Classical Hebrew VS word order to Late Biblical Hebrew SV order began as topic shifting, and that the process was led by the forms of the perfect and the participle.¹² Smith mentions the possibility that SV word order penetrated the literary idiom from speech.¹³

¹⁰ M. Azar, *The Syntax of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Sources and Studies 4; Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and the University of Haifa, 1995), 28–70 (in Hebrew).

¹¹ For bibliography on the subject, see Smith, *Origins*, 31–32.

¹² T. Givón, "The Drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew: The Pragmatics of Tense-Aspect," in *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change* (ed. C.N. Li; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977), 181–254.

¹³ Smith, *Origins*, 32.

2. INFINITIVE + OBJECT > OBJECT + INFINITIVE

A noticeable feature in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period is the preposing of direct objects before infinitives for the purpose of emphasis. This shift, too, has been attributed to Aramaic influence.¹⁴ One could also describe the shift, however, as the movement of the infinitive in the other direction, which would then parallel the movement of the inflected verb noted above. See, e.g., in Late Biblical Hebrew:

(10) בחדש השלישי החלו הערמות ליסוד (2 Chr 31:7) “In the third month the heaps began to accumulate”

One finds in the Dead Sea Scrolls, e.g.,

(11) וכוּחם לתכן (1QS 1:12) “and marshal their energies”

and in Ben Sira the following is attested:¹⁵

(12) לא כל איש להביא אל בית (MS A 11:29) “Do not bring every man into your home.”

3. MODIFIER (TITLE) + HEAD NOUN (PROPER NOUN) >
HEAD NOUN + MODIFIER

This category, as well as the two that follow, all deal with apposition. The title מלך “king” usually precedes its head noun in the Hebrew of the First Temple period, e.g.,

(13) מלך אסא (1 Kgs 15:22) “King Asa”

though other professions or titles in apposition usually follow, e.g.,

(14) לאהרן הכהן (Exod 31:10) “Aaron the priest”

(15) גד הנביא (1 Sam 22:5) “the prophet Gad”

and when designating family:

(16) אסא אביו (1 Kgs 22:43) “his father Asa”

¹⁴ See Kropat, *Syntax*, 59–60; J. Carmignac, “Un aramaisme biblique et qumrânien: L’infinitif placé après son complément d’objet,” *RevQ* 5 (1966): 503–20; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 74; W.T. van Peursen, *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira* (SSLL 41; Leiden: Brill 2004), 216–17.

¹⁵ G. Anderson correctly stressed during the discussion of this paper that Ben Sira is poetry and word order is expected to be freer.

In the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period the order is sometimes reversed.¹⁶ See, e.g., in Late Biblical Hebrew:

- (17) ואסא המלך (2 Chr 16:6) “King Asa”
 (18) הנביא עדו (2 Chr 13:22) “the prophet Iddo”
 (19) אביו אסא (2 Chr 20:32) “his father Asa”

In the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, the Classical Biblical Hebrew word order with המלך preceding is the rule, though one does find

- (20) המלך חזקיהו (1QIsa^a 37:1) “King Hezekiah” (cf. MT חזקיהו המלך).

In nonbiblical texts one can find both word orders:

- (21) המלך אחז (4QpIsa^c 8–10 11) “King Ahaz”
 (22) [מלך] אהאב [(4Qpap paraKings et al. 2 2) “King Ahab”
 (23) ליונתן המלך (4QApoc Ps and Prayer 3:8) “King Jonathan”

הנביא, however, is attested at Qumran only following the head noun, e.g.,

- (24) ישעיה הנביא (4QFlor 1–2 i 15) “the prophet Isaiah”
 (25) יחזקאל הנביא (4QFlor 1–2 i 16) “the prophet Ezekiel”
 (26) דניאל הנביא (4QFlor 1 ii 3) “the prophet Daniel”

In Tannaitic Hebrew, the title always follows the head noun, with the exception of רבי and רבן,¹⁷ e.g.,

¹⁶ Kropat, *Syntax*, 48; R. Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 58–60; A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and Its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972), 45, especially n. 111 (in Hebrew); Y. Peretz, “Juxtaposition of Proper Noun and Title,” in *The Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (ed. A. Shinan; 2 vols.; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1968), 2:129–33 (in Hebrew); E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQ Isa^a)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 429–30; D. Talshir, “המלך יהונתן or יהונתן המלך,” *Leš* 55 (1990): 277–80 (in Hebrew).

Two different phenomena may have inhibited more changes in the order of the apposition: (1) the prestige of the classical order; and (2) the law of increasing members. The law of increasing members (see below n. 34) does not always seem to apply in the Second Temple Period to words in apposition, e.g., in the examples cited below: הנביא עדו or חזקיהו המלך. For example, in the case of אסתר המלכה and המלך אחשוורוש in the book of Esther, the former may be explained as behaving according to the law of increasing members, whereas the latter may either be a classicism or reflect the law of increasing members. In the discussion that followed the paper, S. Paul directed my attention to a parallel fluctuation in the Aramaic portions of the book of Daniel: מלכא נבוכדנצר (Dan 3:1) vs. נבוכדנצר מלכא (Dan 4:15).

¹⁷ Azar, *Syntax*, 233. The status of רבי and רבן is disputed, as M. Bar-Asher reminded me during the discussion. Z. Ben-Hayyim considers these titles to be in apposition to

- (27) מעשה בטובייה הרופא (*m. Roš Haš. 1:7*) “Once Tobiah the Physician”
 (28) אגריפס המלך (*m. Soṭah 7:8*) “King Agrippa”
 (29) רבן שמעון בן גמליא (*m. Šabb. 1:9*) “Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel”
 (30) ר' שמעון ור' יוחנן הסנדלר (*m. Yebam. 12:5*) “R. Simeon and R. Johanan the Sandal-maker”

As with the previous shifts, here, too, some scholars have seen Aramaic influence (cf. כרש מלכא “King Cyrus” in Official Aramaic);¹⁸ though others attribute the change in word order to the treatment of the title as a general modifier, whose normal position is postnominal.¹⁹

4. MODIFIER (NUMERAL) + HEAD NOUN >
 HEAD NOUN + MODIFIER (NUMERAL)

Another instance of a preposed noun in apposition in Classical Biblical Hebrew that at times becomes postpositive in Late Biblical Hebrew occurs with numerals and their head nouns. See, e.g.,

- (31) שלשת ימים (Gen 30:36) / שלשה ימים (2 Kgs 2:17) > ימים שלשה (Neh 2:11)
 “three days”
 (32) עשרה כירות (1 Kgs 7:38) > כורים עשרה (2 Chr 4:16) “ten lavers”

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the classical order is dominant, though there are exceptions that parallel the inverted order attested in Late Biblical Hebrew,²⁰ e.g.,

- (33) ימים ששה (CD 14:1) “six days”
 (34) מגנים שלוש מאות ושערים שנים למגדל (1QM 9:14) “three hundred shields. The tower will have two gates.”

the following proper nouns, and רבן to be a back-formation from רבנין (Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *The Recitation of Prayers and Hymns*: Vol. 3, Pt. 2 of *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans* [The Academy of the Hebrew Language Texts and Studies 6; Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1967], 37–38 [in Hebrew]). Kutscher, however, in his review of Ben-Ḥayyim's volume (*Tarbiz* 37 [1968]: 403 [in Hebrew]), argues that רבן, like רבי, contains a pronominal suffix and is vocative, not appositive, since, among other things, neither רבן nor רבי ever occur with the definite article or after the noun.

¹⁸ Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew*, 72.

¹⁹ For bibliography, see Kropat, *Syntax*, 48; Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 58–60; Hurvitz, *Transition Period*, 45, especially n. 111; Peretz “Juxtaposition,” 129–33; Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 429–30; Talshir, “המלך יהונתן,” 277–80.

²⁰ Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 60.

In Tannaitic Hebrew, numerals regularly precede the noun,²¹ e.g.,

(35) חמש תאינים (*m. Ma'as.* 2:5) “five figs”

An exception is

(36) מלקות ארבעים (*m. Mak.* 1:3 [2x]) “forty lashes”

Although there are examples of postnominal positioning of numerals in the Hebrew of the First Temple period, most scholars believe that this shift in word order reflects a diachronic development from preexilic Biblical Hebrew to Late Biblical Hebrew under the influence of Aramaic.²² S. Weitzman has argued that the examples of both syntagms attested in Northwest Semitic sources and in First Temple period Hebrew invalidate the diachronic explanation; instead, he prefers to see a basic and natural vacillation between the two orders in both periods.²³ Weitzman points out that many of the examples of postnominal numerals in Second Temple period Hebrew occur in lists (e.g., Chronicles and the *Copper Scroll*), and apart from those examples, postnominal usage is not significant. Turning to the behavior of numerals in a number of other non-Semitic languages, Weitzman believes that the fluctuating word order reflects a language universal, as argued by the general linguist G.G. Corbett; viz., cardinal numbers may behave like nouns or like adjectives.²⁴

5. MODIFIER (WEIGHT/MEASURE) + HEAD NOUN (MATERIAL) >
HEAD NOUN + MODIFIER

Directly related to categories (3) and (4) above are instances in which a modifier of weight or measure shifts from prenominal position to postnominal position.²⁵ See, e.g., in Late Biblical Hebrew:

²¹ M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 194–96; Azar, *Syntax*, 188–92.

²² Kropat, *Syntax*, 50–53; Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew*, 65, 85; Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 58–61.

²³ S. Weitzman, “The Shifting Syntax of Numerals in Biblical Hebrew: A Reassessment,” *JNES* 55 (1996): 177–85. See also G. Rendsburg, “Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of ‘P,’” *JANES* 12 (1980): 71.

²⁴ G.G. Corbett, “Universals in the Syntax of Cardinal Numerals,” *Lingua* 46 (1978): 355–68.

²⁵ Kropat, *Syntax*, 47–48; Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 61–64.

- (37) חמש אמות (1 Kgs 7:16) > אמות חמש (2 Chr 3:15) “five cubits”
 (38) וכסף ככרים עשרת (2 Kgs 5:23) “two talents of silver” > אלפים
 (1 Chr 29:7) “10,000 talents of silver”

Among the Dead Sea Scrolls one finds, e.g.,

- (39) זהב ככרין (3Q15 [*Copper Scroll*] 7:16; 8:7; 12:1) “talents of gold”

It is also attested in Hebrew documents from elsewhere in the Judean Desert as exemplified in

- (40) כסף זוזין ארבעה (XHev/Se 49:6) “four silver *zuzim*”²⁶
 (41) כסף זוזין שנים עשר (*P. Yadin* [5/6 Hev] 45:22) “twelve silver *zuzim*”
 (42) כסף זוזין מאה וששים (*P. Yadin* [5/6 Hev] 46:8) “160 silver *zuzim*”

In Tannaitic Hebrew one finds the Classical Hebrew order, with one exception, which occurs, however, in an Aramaic context:²⁷

- (43) אין לו אלא כסף זוזין די אינון ונימחקו אין פחות משנים כסף סלעין
 (*B. Bat.* 10:2)

“(If there was written therein) ‘silver *zuzim* which are...’ and the rest was effaced, [he can claim] not less than two silver *selas*.”

Aramaic influence has been claimed in this category as well.

6. BINARY EXPRESSIONS (DIACHRONIC CHIASMUS)

Certain binary expressions reverse their order in Late Biblical Hebrew, a phenomenon which has become known as “diachronic chiasmus” in the light of the discussion by A. Hurvitz of the following three word pairs:²⁸

- (44) מן ועד באר שבע (2 Sam 24:2) “from Dan until Beer Sheba > מבאר שבע
 וועד דן (1 Chr 21:2) “from Beer Sheba to Dan”
 (45) כלי כסף וכלי זהב (2 Sam 8:10) “objects of silver, gold” > כל כלי זהב וכסף
 (1 Chr 18:10) “all objects of gold, silver”

²⁶ M. Broshi and E. Qimron, “I.O.U. Note from the Time of the Bar Kochba Revolt,” *ErIsr* 20 (Yigael Yadin Memorial Volume; 1989): 256 (in Hebrew).

²⁷ Azar, *Syntax*, 190–92.

²⁸ A. Hurvitz, “‘Diachronic Chiasm’ in Biblical Hebrew,” in *Bible and Jewish History: Studies in Bible and Jewish History Dedicated to the Memory of Jacob Liver* (ed. B. Uffenheimer; Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1971), 248–55 (in Hebrew). See also the discussion of D. Talshir in this volume (pp. 225–239), “Syndetic Binomials in Second Temple Period Hebrew.”

(46) מגדול ועד קטן (2 Kgs 23:2) “young and old” > למקטן ועד גדול (46)
(2 Chr 34:30) “old and young”

Hurvitz showed that one order usually dominates in preexilic Hebrew, and the reverse order may show up in postexilic Hebrew as well as in extrabiblical sources (Akkadian, Aramaic,²⁹ and Punic). In his study on the dating of Psalms, Hurvitz added a fourth example:

(47) חנון ורחום (Exod 34:6) “compassionate and gracious” > חנון ורחום
(Neh 9:31) “gracious and compassionate”

Recently, G. Darshan has pointed out another pair:³⁰

(48) יהודה וישראל (1 Sam 18:16) “Israel and Judah” > יהודה וישראל
(2 Chr 16:11) “Judah and Israel.”

One can also add:³¹

(49) שמחה וששון (Isa 22:13) “rejoicing and merriment” > שמחה וששון
(Esth 8:6, 17) “merriment and rejoicing.”

A. Rofé has suggested yet another word pair made up of the verbs ירא and חתת. He notes a unique word order involving the verbs in the pericope about David and Goliath:³²

²⁹ M. Bar-Asher noted in the discussion following the presentation that in Palestinian Syriac the only example of diachronic chiasmus is זהב וכסף ב כסף וזהב.

³⁰ G. Darshan, “The Long Additions in LXX 1 Kgs 2 (3 Kgdms 35a–k; 46a–l) and their Importance for the Question of the Literary History of 1 Kgs 1–11,” *Tarbiz* 75 (2006): 44 (in Hebrew).

³¹ Some pairs show fluctuation in both pre- and postexilic Hebrew, e.g., צאן ובקר, which, overall, is more common than בקר וצאן. Note צאן ובקר 13× in Genesis vs. בקר וצאן 8× in Deuteronomy (and בקר וצאן ובקר in Deut 16:2). In Chronicles one finds צאן ובקר 8× (מעשר בקר וצאן 3× (2 Chr 5:6; 18:2; 32:29) and בקר וצאן 2× (2 Chr 12:41; 31:6 = Lev 27:32) ויין ושמן בקר וצאן (43:15 = 1 Chr 12:41); in 11QT^a Temple^a one finds the nouns בקר and צאן 3× in the same order as in the underlying passages from Deuteronomy and Chronicles: ויין ושמן בקר וצאן (52:7 = Deut 15:19); and בבקריכה ובצואנך נער וזקן (53:3 = Deut 12:21). In Classical Biblical Hebrew, and the reverse order occurs once in Jer 51:22 and in Ps 148:12; in Lam 2:31 and Esth 3:13 one finds the classical word order. See also וילילה 66× vs. לילה ויום 6× (K. Hognesius, *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16: A Critical Edition with a Textual Commentary* [ConBOT 51; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003], 107 n. 223; J. Joosten “The Language and Milieu of the Book of Judith,” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 5–6* [Festschrift for Devorah Dimant; ed. M. Bar-Asher and E. Tov; Haifa: Haifa University Press; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2008], *161 n. 8). The word order in other pairs remains the same, e.g., שמים וארץ, with the exception of שמים וארץ Gen 2:4 (chiastic structure with והארץ at the beginning of the verse) and Ps 148:13.

³² A. Rofé, “מלחמת דוד בגלית—אגדה, תיאולוגיה ואסכטולוגיה,” in *Essays in Jewish Studies in Memory of Professor Nehemiah Allony* (ed. G.J. Bliedstein, Y. Salmon, and E. Yassif; Eshel Beer-Sheva 3; Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University Press, 1986), 71.

(50) ויחתו ויראו (1 Sam 17:11) “they were dismayed and frightened” vs. the regular order אל-תיראו ואל-תחתו (e.g., Josh 10:25 “do not be frightened or dismayed”)

He suggests that the reversed order, like those noted by Hurvitz, is a late syntagm.

Not surprisingly, the word order attested in Late Biblical Hebrew also shows up in the Dead Sea Scrolls:

- (51) בזהב וכסף (1QM 5:5,8,10,14) “with gold and silver”
 (52) מגדול[ל ו]עד קטן (11QTemple^a 21:6) “old and young”
 (53) יהודה וישראל (4Qpap paraKings et al. 38 1) “Judah and Israel”
 (54) לשמחה וששון (1QpHab 17:24) “merriment and rejoicing”

though the classical order is found in

- (55) רחמון וחנון (4QNon-Can Psalms B 47 1) “merciful and gracious”

The later order can also be seen in Ben Sira:

- (56) זהב וכסף (MS B 40:25) “gold and silver”

as well as the classical order:

- (57) וכסף וזהב (Ms B 51:28) “and silver and gold”

In Tannaitic Hebrew one finds *בסף וזהב*, e.g.,

- (58) בזיכי כסף ובזיכי זהב (*m. Pesah.* 5:5) “basins of silver and basins of gold”

and both *גדול וקטן* and *קטן וגדול*, though the latter is more common, e.g.,

- (59) חייב קטן וגדול (*m. Ma'as.* 1:4) “are liable whether gathered in their earlier or later condition [of ripeness]: vs. *חייב קטן וגדול* (*m. Ma'as.* 1:1) “in its earlier or later condition [of ripeness]”

What is the reason for the reversal of the members of the pair? Hurvitz hesitantly raised different possibilities for each of the three word pairs he discussed. In the case of *כסף וזהב* to *זהב וכסף*, he wondered if a change in the realia of metallurgy and economics underlay the shift; i.e., that silver, which was rarer than gold and thus more valuable in the earlier period, became more common and later depreciated in worth. With *קטן ועד גדול* shifting to *גדול ועד קטן*, he asked if the change in idiom reflected a change in an older sociolegal status. And as for the replacement of *מבאר־שבע עד דן* by *מבאר־שבע עד דן*, he entertained the notion that

historical-territorial changes might have been responsible. In discussing literary devices in Chronicles, I. Kalimi, on the other hand, concluded that the author of Chronicles varies the word order of these pairs “apparently for reasons of linguistic-stylistic variation.”³³

It seems to have gone unnoticed that one example of diachronic chiasmus, *מבאר־שבע ועד דן*, runs afoul of a universal tendency (though not a hard and fast rule) of word order known as the law of increasing members.³⁴ According to this tendency, shorter forms tend to precede longer ones in a series; e.g., in Biblical Hebrew:

(60) *גר ותושב* (Gen 23:4) “resident alien”

(61) *חן וחסד* (Esth 2:17) “grace and favor”

The shift in word order in Late Biblical Hebrew is surprising since word pairs are often restricted collocations and usually impervious to change. See, e.g., in Modern Hebrew, the unchanging pairs³⁵

(62) *בשן ועיז* (“(suffered) great loss”³⁶)

(63) *תלוי ועומד* “pending”

(64) *עיר ואם* “metropolis”³⁷

(65) *חקר ודרש* “thoroughly investigate”

(66) *יום ולילה* “night and day”³⁸

The pair of plurals *לילות* and *ימים* is common in the idiom *עשה לילות* “work night and day.”³⁹ However, it is more often heard as *עשה ימים כלילות*.⁴⁰

³³ I. Kalimi, *The Book of Chronicles: Historical Writing and Literary Devices* (Biblical Encyclopaedia Library 18; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2000), 261 (in Hebrew).

³⁴ Also known as the principle of increasing complexity, Panini’s Law, end-weighting, and in Hebrew *כל הקצר קודם*. On the phenomenon see W.E. Cooper and J.R. Ross, “Word Order,” in *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism, April 17, 1975* (ed. R.E. Grossman, L. James San, and T.J. Vance; Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1975), 78–79; S. Friedman, “The ‘Law of Increasing Members’ in Mishnaic Hebrew,” *Leš* 35 (1971): 117–29, 192–206 (in Hebrew); M.P. O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1980), 96–101.

³⁵ R. Halevy-Nemirovsky, *Between Syntax and Lexicon: Restricted Collocations in Contemporary Hebrew* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1998), 313–4 (in Hebrew).

³⁶ Based on *b. Qidd.* 24a, which reverses the biblical pair found in Exod 21:26–27.

³⁷ Based on the biblical pair (2 Sam 20:19).

³⁸ On the distribution of this biblical pair, see above n. 31.

³⁹ It comes from the Babylonian Talmud: *משנים לילות כימים* (*b. Mo’ed Qat.* 25b).

⁴⁰ On December 25, 2009 I found 47,000 hits on Google for *ימים כלילות*, as opposed to 26,000 for *לילות כימים*.

Finally, one should note that in the Second Temple Period pairs the first letter(s) of the first word comes alphabetically before the first letter(s) of the second word:

באר שבע-דן
 זהב-כסף
 גדול-קטן
 חנון-רחום
 יהודה-ישראל
 שמחה-ששון

Is this a coincidence or does it suggest deliberate literary decisions on the part of scribes, similar to the alphabetic acrostics found in some Psalms?

7. A NEW EXPLANATION FOR THE SHIFT IN WORD ORDER

As noted above, various explanations have been offered for each of the first five phenomena discussed, with Aramaic influence the most common proposal.⁴¹ Other reasons given are emphasis; topic switching (with regard to the change from VS > SV); and the adjectivization of appositive nouns, in the case of titles, numerals, and materials.

While these several explanations are entirely sufficient for explaining the change in each of the applicable categories, the shift in binary expressions (diachronic chiasmus), in which the initial element is also postposed, leads one to wonder if all these phenomena might not be part of a more general tendency in the Hebrew of the Second Temple period. Kalimi took a step in this direction when he included the reversal of cardinal numbers and their head nouns under the rubric of diachronic chiasmus.⁴² Might these different phenomena all be instances of end-focus,⁴³ in which

⁴¹ See, e.g., Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, who sees Aramaic influence in the prenominal positioning of material weighed or measured (p. 64), but not in the postnominal positioning of the cardinal numerals (pp. 59–60). For a general discussion of Aramaic influence on Late Biblical Hebrew, see M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* (BZAW 96; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1966); Bendauid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew*, 64–74; A. Hurvitz, “הלשון העברית בתקופה הפרסית,” in *היסטוריה של עם* (ed. H. Tadmor, I. Ephal, and J.C. Greenfield; Jerusalem: A. Play & Am Oved, 1983), 210–23, 306–9.

⁴² Kalimi, *Chronicles*, 262.

⁴³ Focus in Classical Biblical Hebrew is often clause-initial. See K. Shimaskai, *Focus Structure in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of Word Order and Information Structure* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2002). See also C.H.J. van der Merwe and E. Talstra, “Biblical Hebrew Word Order: The Interface of Information Structure and Formal Features,” *ZAH* 15–16 (2002–2003): 68–107; A. Moshavi, “The Discourse Functions of Object/Adverbial-Fronting

contextually known elements precede new ones, i.e., new information becomes postposed and moves toward the end of the clause?⁴⁴

Scribes writing in the Second Temple period obviously knew the Hebrew of the First Temple period, and on the whole succeeded in imitating it. This is clear from the many instances in which the *waw*-conversive was used “properly” according to the norms of Classical Hebrew, and in which titles, numerals, and measures preceded their head nouns. As regards diachronic chiasmus, the successful imitation of the older period is apparent from the classical order of binary expressions such as *שמים וארץ* or *יום ולילה*.⁴⁵ Scribes sometimes slipped, however, into their vernacular. Is it conceivable that the movement of VS to SV, whatever the original motivation for the shift, may have been the locomotive that pulled along additional categories of movement? In the case of diachronic chiasmus, are the scribes deliberately changing the order of well-known expressions in order to draw the attention of the listener or reader? As pointed out by different scholars, in particular A. Mirsky, chiasmus signals to the listener/reader that he has reached the end of a unit.⁴⁶

Colloquial modern Hebrew affords an interesting parallel in movement towards the end of the clause. Take, e.g., the focus adverbs *גם* “also,” *אפילו* “even,” *סתם* “just,” *רק* “only,” and the conjunctions *אבל* “but” and *כלומר*

in Biblical Hebrew,” in *Biblical Hebrew in its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (ed. S.E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 231–45. See also the bibliography given in P. van Hecke, “Constituent Order in Existential Clauses,” in *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* (ed. J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey; STDJ 73; Brill: Leiden), 67 n. 27.

⁴⁴ On the role of information structure in word order, see W.A. Foley, “A Typology of Information Packaging,” in *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* (ed. T. Shopen; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1:362–446. The deviation in word order in which focusing moves to the right, towards the end of the clause, can be found across a wide range of unrelated languages, e.g., modern English and modern Arabic. See R. Quirk and S. Greenbaum, *A University Grammar of English* (London: Longman, 1973), 410–11; C. Holes, *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties* (rev. ed.; GCALL; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 250–64.

⁴⁵ Although *יום ולילה* also occurs one-tenth of the time, it is not conditioned chronologically. See Rofé, “*מלחמת דוד בגלית*.” In the discussion following this presentation, J. Joosten aptly questioned how diachronic chiasmus could draw attention if the chronologically later pairs also became fixed expressions. My response is that the later pairs had not yet achieved the status of frozen collocations and, as suggested to me by R. Clements, perhaps they would never achieve that status because they would always be heard as an echo of the earlier pair.

⁴⁶ A. Mirsky, *Hebrew Style* (2d enl. ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1999 [in Hebrew]).

“that is to say.” Thirty years ago when L. Glinert described the grammar of Modern Hebrew as reflected in written and educated spoken language, he wrote about these adverbs that “they tend to stand close to the word etc. on which they focus—even in speech, where intonation already shows what is being stressed.”⁴⁷ The same is not true today in colloquial speech, even among the educated. One hears more and more focus adverbs at the end of the clause. Cf. in higher vs. lower registers:

(67) הוּלֵךְ גַּם הוּא הוּלֵךְ “He too goes” vs. הוּא הוּלֵךְ גַּם “He goes, too”

(68) יוֹסִי יוֹדֵעַ אֵת זֶה אֲפִילוֹ “even Yosi knows that” vs. זֶה אֲפִילוֹ יוֹסִי יוֹדֵעַ אֵת זֶה
“Yosi knows it, even”

While the clause-final position may at times be no more than an afterthought in hastily constructed sentences, its frequency suggests the existence of end-focusing.

In sum, all six categories discussed exhibit word order that differs from Classical Biblical Hebrew in that an element of the clause moves in the same direction, namely, is postposed towards the end of the clause. I believe that the evidence is suggestive of a general trend during the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period, and does not reflect disparate, unrelated phenomena.

⁴⁷ L. Glinert, *The Grammar of Modern Hebrew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 245. Cf. H.B. Sagi, “The Conjunction אֲבָל—From Stability to Mobility,” *Leš* 59 (1996): 313–35 (in Hebrew).

PLENE WRITING OF THE *QŌṬĒL* PATTERN IN THE
DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Gregor Geiger

The use of the *matres lectionis* in Hebrew in general, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular, is a complex issue. Many scholars stress the fact that the Scrolls use these vowel letters much more than does the Masoretic Text (MT),¹ but there is as of yet no comprehensive study of this phenomenon in the Scrolls. This paper² investigates the use of the vowel letter *waw* in one specific group of forms: the *Qal* participle of the strong verb (including III-*y* and III-*ʔ* roots) in the *qōṭēl* pattern. The *plene* writing of this pattern, which developed after the Canaanite shift from the form **qāṭil*, is widespread in the Scrolls, although not employed consistently. This paper describes the distribution of the spellings קוטל and קטל in the Scrolls (biblical and nonbiblical; from Qumran and from other Judean Desert sites). It includes lexicalized words in the *qōṭēl* pattern, most of which can be explained as participles with an independent semantic development.³

The distribution of defective writing in the Scrolls shows significant tendencies: (i) some manuscripts use defective writing more than do most of the other manuscripts; (ii) some roots are more often defective than others; (iii) many defective forms are found in fragmentary scrolls or in reconstructed contexts; (iv) some defective forms might be explained by a defective *Vortlage*; (v) nearly all of the defective forms for which the explanations (i)–(iv) do not fit are in the plural. There does not seem to be a connection between *plene* writing and the state—absolute or construct—of the participle.

¹ E.g., E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 5; or E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), §100.2.

² This paper is part of a broader study on the Hebrew participle in the Dead Sea Scrolls, “The Participle in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls” (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009 [in Hebrew]), which I wrote under the supervision of Prof. S. Fassberg; it has been published as *Das hebräische Partizip in den Texten aus der jüdischen Wüste* (STDJ 101; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

³ On different degrees of the nominalization of *qōṭēl* forms see B. Kedar-Kopfstein, “Semantic Aspects of the Pattern *qōṭēl*,” *HAR* 1 (1977): 155–76.

I. DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE MANUSCRIPTS

In the nonbiblical scrolls, there are almost 1,000 participles preserved to a degree to which *plene* or defective writing is discernible (examples: *plene*: אֹבֶד, 1QH^a 12:10; defective: אֶבֶל, 4Q273 4 i 6). Of this total, almost 80 participles are defective. Some manuscripts tend towards defective writing. In the following manuscripts more than 50% of the *qōṭēl* participles are defective: 4Q372 (defective 13; *plene*: 6); 4Q381 (defective 12; *plene* 2); 4Q385a (defective 6; *plene* 1);⁴ 4Q387 (defective 6;⁵ *plene* 0); 4Q408 (defective 3; *plene* 0). In all of these manuscripts the tendency towards defective writing is not confined to participles.⁶ All of them are dated to the early Herodian period or before.⁷ None of these manuscripts exhibit the “Qumran Scribal Practice.”⁸ Generally speaking, manuscripts of sectarian texts do not differ from other nonbiblical scrolls in respect of the defective writing.

⁴ All the defective occurrences in this manuscript are nouns in the form of a participle (e.g., כֹּהֵן, כֹּהֵן). The only *plene* written form—]וְהַגֹּטְלִי, K 2—is very fragmentary.

⁵ All occurrences in this manuscript can be considered nouns in the form of a participle, except for זַעֲקִים (2 ii 10).

⁶ See for 4Q372: E. Schuller and M. Bernstein, “4QNarrative and Poetic Composition (b),” in *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri for Wadi Daliyeh* (ed. D. Gropp) and *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (ed. E. Schuller et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 165–98 (166); and M.G. Abegg, Jr., “The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (2 vols.; P. Flint and J.C. VanderKam, eds., with the assistance of A.A. Alvarez; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:340. For 4Q381, see: E. Schuller, “4QNonCanonical Psalms B,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (ed. E. Eshel et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 87–172 (89); for 4Q385a: D. Dimant, “4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^a,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (ed. D. Dimant, partially based on earlier transcriptions by J. Strugnell; DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 129–72 (131); for 4Q387: D. Dimant, “4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^b,” in idem, DJD 30.173–200 (174); for 4Q408: A. Steudel, “4QApocryphon of Moses?” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts* (ed. S.J. Pfann) and *Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. P. Alexander et al., in consultation with J.C. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD 36; Clarendon: Oxford, 2000), 298–315 (302). Abegg, “Hebrew of the Scrolls,” 328, classifies 4Q418 as “highly defective” as well; for the active *Qal* participle this is not true, however: all 25 occurrences are, if discernible, written *plene*.

⁷ The palaeographic dating of these manuscripts is, 4Q372: “late Hasmonaean/early Herodian hand, c. 50 BCE” (Schuller and Bernstein, DJD 28.165); 4Q381: “approximately 75 BCE” (Schuller, DJD 11.88); 4Q385a: “late Hasmonaean or early Herodian (50–25 BCE)” (Dimant, DJD 30.132); 4Q387: “transition period from the Hasmonaean to the early Herodian [...] between 50–25 BCE” (Dimant, DJD 30.174); 4Q408: “rather early in Hasmonaean times” (Steudel, DJD 36.301).

⁸ E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 340.

In the scrolls from sites other than Qumran, the tendency toward *plene* writing is less evident than it is in the Qumran Scrolls, although the *plene* written forms are in the majority there as well, for a tally of approximately 44 *plene* forms and 36 defective ones. Some manuscripts exhibit clearer tendencies: Mur24 always uses the *plene* form (13×). In MasSir, defective writing is predominant (defective: 19; *plene*: 9), especially in the plural. In the Hebrew legal texts from 5/6Hev, the plural participles are always (5×) *plene*, but there are defective forms in the singular.⁹

In the biblical scrolls, there are more than 1,000 participles preserved to a degree to which *plene* or defective writing is discernible. Of these, approximately one-third are defective. Most of the defective forms (almost 90%) are defective in the MT as well. The numbers indicate that there are differences in the writing habits found in the biblical and the nonbiblical manuscripts, and that there is a certain affinity of the biblical texts with the MT. There are biblical manuscripts that show clear tendencies towards *plene* or defective writings irrespective of the forms in the MT; and there are manuscripts that show clear correspondence with the MT. The following manuscripts have many *plene qōṭēl* participles:¹⁰ 4QExod^b (defective 0; *plene* 7); 4QpaleoExod^m (defective 1; *plene* 11); 4QPhylⁱ (defective 0; *plene* 8); 4QDeut^j (defective 0; *plene* 6); 4QDeutⁿ (defective 2; *plene* 8); 1QIsa^{a(2)}¹¹ (defective approx. 20; *plene* approx. 185); 4QIsa^c (defective 3; *plene* approx. 24); 11QPs^a (defective 6; *plene* approx. 63); 11QPs^c (defective 0; *plene* 7). The following manuscripts have many defective forms: 4QGen-Exod^a (defective 7; *plene* 0); 4QGen^b (defective 7; *plene* 0); 4QGen^c (defective 5; *plene* 1); 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l (defective 7; *plene* 0); XQPhyl (defective 14; *plene* 1); 4QLev-Num^a (defective 8; *plene* 0); MasLev^b (defective 8; *plene* 1); 4QLevⁱ (defective 4; *plene* 0); 4QIsa^b (defective 16; *plene* 5); 4QIsa^d (defective 7;

⁹ *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (ed. Y. Yadin et al.; 2 vols.; JDS; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Shrine of the Book, 2002), 1:15.

¹⁰ The cases in which the MT has another form (e.g., יִשָּׁב 4QJosh^b 5 1; יִשְׁבֵי MT Josh 17:11) are not included here because there might be a textual problem. On the other hand, forms which are identical but which are found in different constructions are included (e.g., וְלִשְׁוֹפֵט 4QExod^b 3 1–4 15; וְלִשְׁפֵט MT Exod 2:14).

¹¹ Two parts of 1QIsa^a can be discerned: the first part, 1QIsa^{a(1)}, extends from 1QIsa^a 1 to 27 (Isaiah 33); the second, 1QIsa^{a(2)}, from there to the end of the scroll. The two parts were probably written by two scribes; see Emanuel Tov, "Scribal Features of Two Qumran Scrolls," pp. 241–258 (especially 242–246) in this volume. Another possible explanation for the differences in spelling could be the use of two different *Vorlagen*; see J. Cook, "Orthographical Peculiarities in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 14 (1989): 293–305 (303).

plene 1); 4QIsa^f (defective 9; *plene* 1); 4QJer^a (defective 11; *plene* 2);¹² MurXII (defective approx. 58; *plene* 19); 4QPs^a (defective 10; *plene* 2); 4QPs^b (defective 9; *plene* 1). There is no direct correlation between the age of a manuscript and its use of *plene* or defective spelling. Most of the manuscripts that exhibit more *plene* spellings are early Herodian¹³ or later, but there are also examples within this group of “Hasmonean spelling.”¹⁴ The *plene* spellings of 4QpaleoExod^{m15} may be explained as paralleling the Samaritan Pentateuch. Defective spellings are found both among the earlier manuscripts (e.g., 4QGen–Exod^a)¹⁶ and the later ones (e.g., 4QIsa^d).¹⁷ The defective orthography, especially that of the Torah scrolls (the majority of the biblical scrolls with defective spellings), may be related to the similarity of these scrolls to the MT (or to the Samaritan Pentateuch). Generally, there is a correlation between the use of *plene* spelling and the Qumran scribal practice:¹⁸ the biblical manuscripts with predominantly *plene* spellings (as classified by Tov) are written in this orthography, whereas the defective ones are not.

The following manuscripts show clear agreements with the MT: 4QGen–Exod^a (= MT: 6, all defective; ≠ MT: 0); 4QGen^b (= MT: 7, all defective; ≠ MT: 0); 4QpaleoGen–Exod^l (= MT: 7, all defective; ≠ MT: 0); XQPhyl (= MT: 14, all defective; ≠ MT: 1); 4QLev–Num^a (= MT: 7, all defective; ≠ MT: 1); 11QpaleoLev^a (= MT: 10, 9 of them defective; ≠ MT: 0);¹⁹ MasLev^b (= MT: 9, 8 of them defective; ≠ MT: 0); 4QIsa^b (= MT: 17; ≠ MT: 3); 4QJer^a (= MT: 11,

¹² D.N. Freedman, “The Massoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls: A Study in Orthography,” *Textus* 2 (1962): 101, notes that in this manuscript only, *waw* is commonly used for *ō*, but that it is omitted specifically in the *Qal* active participle. “The careful orthographic distinction in a MS not otherwise noted in this fashion suggests that the pronunciation differed, perhaps due to the position of the accent.”

¹³ F.M. Cross, “4QExod^b,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994; reprinted 1999), 79–95 (79); and S. White Crawford, “4QDeutⁿ,” in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995; reprinted 1999), 117–128 (117).

¹⁴ 1QIsa^a and 11QPs^a; see D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev)* (Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 64–67.

¹⁵ P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson, “4QpaleoExodus^m,” in *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (ed. P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson; DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 53–130 (53): “Palaeo-Hebrew hand dated c. 100–25 BCE.”

¹⁶ J.R. Davila, “4QGen–Exod^a,” in Ulrich et al., DJD 12.7–30 (8): “Early Hasmonaean.”

¹⁷ P.W. Skehan and E. Ulrich, “4QIsa^d,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 75–88 (76): “Approximately the middle of the first century CE.”

¹⁸ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 261–73, 279–80.

¹⁹ However, for some nouns in the *qōṭēl* pattern (אוֹיֵב, זֹנוּה, and יוֹבֵל), there is no agreement with the MT.

all defective; ≠ MT: 2); MurXII (= MT: approx. 82; ≠ MT: 2); 4QPs^b (= MT: 8, all defective; ≠ MT: 2); 5/6HevPs (= MT: 14, 10 of them defective; ≠ MT: 0). The Torah manuscripts agree with the MT especially in terms of defective writing. Some of the biblical scrolls from Qumran²⁰ and every biblical scroll found in sites other than Qumran show this agreement with the MT; none of these are written according to the Qumran scribal practice.

For the sake of comparison, note the distribution of these spellings in some other Hebrew sources: in the MT²¹ the vowel *o* after the first consonant of the root is written defective in approximately 3,600 cases as against 850 cases of *plene* spelling. In the Torah there are about 50 *plene* spellings as against more than 600 defective ones. There is *no* clear tendency towards an increase in *plene* writing in later biblical texts. There is, however, a tendency in some poetic texts towards *plene* writing, especially Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Qoheleth, and Lamentations. In the Mishnah (according to the Kaufmann Codex), this vowel is nearly consistently written *plene* (about 10,000 occurrences); most exceptions are in the tractate *Avot*. In manuscript A of the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Genizah (CD), this vowel is written *plene* in about 30 cases, defective in 7 (plus 8× כהנים, which in this manuscript is never *plene*). In manuscript B, 5 forms are written defective and 6 *plene*.

II. DISTRIBUTION BY ROOT

In the nonbiblical scrolls, the participles of the following roots are defective more frequently than the average (in at least 10% of the examples):²² אהב (defective 4; *plene* 25); איב (defective 8; *plene* 80); הרה (defective 7, all in *Hodayot*; *plene* 6); חזה (defective 6; *plene* 6); טעה (defective 2; *plene* 0); ידע (defective 11; *plene* 30); יצר (defective 2, both biblical quotations; *plene* 3?);

²⁰ S. Talmon, "Hebrew Fragments from Masada" in *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965: Final Reports* (vol. 6 of *The Masada Reports*, ed. J. Aviram et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989–2007), 47, asserted that: "The tendency to preserve defective spellings clearly differentiates the scribal tradition of MasLev^b from that of Qumran biblical mss in which one observes a distinct preference for *plene* spelling." These data suggest that Talmon's general claim does not hold true for the qōṭēl pattern.

²¹ For a complete description of the spelling of the *Qal* participle in the MT see G. Geiger, "Schreibung und Vokalisierung des Partizips im Biblischen Hebräisch," *LASBF* 57 (2007): 343–47.

²² This count excludes the aforementioned manuscripts (see above, section I) with a tendency towards defective writing.

ישב (defective 4; *plene* 40); עלה, used as a noun with the meaning of “burnt offering”:²³ (defective 8; *plene* 65); פתה (defective 14; *plene* 7); קוה (defective 2; *plene* 1?); רעה (defective 2; *plene* 2); שנא (defective 4; *plene* 9). There is a slight tendency towards defective writing of those participles that have been substantivized. Some of the defective forms can probably be explained as belonging to the *qātēl* pattern.²⁴ Some of the defective roots (אהב, פתה, and שנא) show a tendency toward defective writing in CD as well.

In the scrolls from sites other than Qumran, the quantity of the preserved material is too small to allow us to draw clear conclusions. However, two of the roots that in the Qumran scrolls are usually defective are preserved more than once in the non-Qumran corpus: ידע (always defective [4×]); and ישב (always *plene* [7×; three of them in Mur24]).

In the biblical scrolls, the participles of the following roots are often *plene*: בגד (defective 1; *plene* 7); בטח (defective 1; *plene* 7); ברא (defective 0; *plene* 16); דרך (defective 0; *plene* 4); יבל (defective 0; *plene* approx. 7); יצר (defective 2; *plene* 15); נדד (defective 0; *plene* 5); פעל (defective 0; *plene* 5); צרף (defective 0; *plene* 5); שדד (defective 0; *plene* 5); שמם (defective 1; *plene* 6); שמע (defective 1; *plene* 6). The following roots are usually defective (in at least 50% of the examples): יצא (defective 10; *plene* 6); משל (defective 8; *plene* 2); נגע (defective 7; *plene* 3); נשא (defective 11; *plene* 4); עבד (defective 4; *plene* 2); עלה, noun (“burnt offering”) (defective approx. 14; *plene* 9); ראה (defective 7; *plene* 4); רעה (defective 9; *plene* 7); שנא (defective 10; *plene* 7). Of these, only נשא shows a noticeable tendency towards defective writing in the MT as well.

III. FRAGMENTARY CONTEXTS

Many defective forms are found in fragmentary contexts, so the reading or the reconstruction of these forms and their analysis as *Qal* participles may be doubtful.

²³ The *Qal* participle in its original meaning (“going up”) is always *plene*.

²⁴ E.g., the root אהב; see G. Geiger, “Abraham, mein Freund” (Jes 41, 8): Wer ist wessen Freund? in *Sacred Text: Explorations in Lexicography* (ed. J.-P. Monferrer-Sala and Á. Urbán; Studien zur romanischen Sprachwissenschaft und interkulturellen Kommunikation 57, Frankfurt: Lang, 2009), 75–80.

IV. INFLUENCES OF DEFECTIVE *VORLAGEN*

In some cases, a defective *Vorlage* may have influenced the defective spelling. This is shown by the spelling of the biblical scrolls (see Section I above): Although defective spelling is less common in these manuscripts than in the MT, it is more common than in the other Qumran manuscripts; that is, the defective spelling of the *Vorlage* has in some cases blocked the general tendency towards *plene* spelling. This is shown also by the presence of a number of defectively written participles in biblical quotations found in nonbiblical scrolls:²⁵ עֶשֶׂה (1QM 11:7), רָאֲנוּ (4Q163 17 1), דָּהַר (4Q169 3–4 ii 3), לֹוֹה (4Q171 1+3–4 iii 8), אָמַר (4Q175 15), עִבְרִיָּם (4Q364 30 6), and סָבֵא (11QT^a 64:5).

In the biblical sections of 11Q5/11QP^s^a, the *Qal* participle is written more than 60× with the vowel letter, but 6× without, whereas in the nonbiblical sections, the participle is always written *plene* (17×). The influence of a *Vorlage* can be assumed as well for the *Hodayot* manuscripts from Cave 4; they are identical to 1QH^a in their *plene* writing of the קוֹטֵל pattern.²⁶

The forms in the biblical manuscripts that differ from the MT (that is, where the MT uses a form other than the *Qal* participle) tend towards *plene* writing.²⁷ But this observation may be of limited value: on the one hand, many such forms are found in manuscripts mostly written with *plene* forms (e.g., 1QIsa^a[2]); and on the other hand, other defective forms may also be interpreted as participles, against the forms found in the MT—this cannot be verified, however, given the lack of vocalization in the scrolls.²⁸

V. FORMS WITH ENDINGS

Forms with endings or suffixes (i.e., where the *o*-vowel is in a closed syllable) have a tendency towards defective writing. All defective forms for

²⁵ Forms in manuscripts that tend to defective writing (see above, Section I) or roots that tend to such (see above, Section II) are not repeated here.

²⁶ An exception is probably בּוֹשֵׁלִי, 4Q427 7 ii 10 and 4Q431 2 9; in the parallel 1QH^a 26:29, the *waw* is added by a second hand.

²⁷ See, e.g., F.M. Cross, D.W. Parry, and R.J. Saley, “4QSam^a,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1–2 Samuel* (ed. F.M. Cross et al.; DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 1–216 (7): “When masculine singular absolute active participles found in 4QSam^a are at variation from M they are consistently *plene*.”

²⁸ A possible example of this is רָכַב, 1QIsa^a 16:21 (Isa 21:7; MT רָכַב): The three occurrences of רָכַב in the following lines of 1QIsa^a suggest that רָכַב as well might be considered a defective participle (see Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 319).

which none of the conditions (i)–(iv) fit (approximately 5) are in the plural. The tendency towards defective writing in the plural may be observed also in the manuscripts which more frequently feature defective writing, and for some of the more frequently defective roots (כהן, ידע, איב and פתה). This is especially clear in 4Q372 and in 4Q381; in both manuscripts every plural participle (approximately 10 examples in each) is defective. The same is true for MasSir. In the nonbiblical scrolls, there are approximately 12 *plene* participles in the masculine singular with suffixes,²⁹ but only two defective ones: בראי, 4Q372 1 24; und גאליכי, 4Q176 8–11 7 (singular according to both semantics and the parallel biblical text: Isa 54:5; MT גאליך); both manuscripts are among those that exhibit defective tendencies (see above, section I).

This tendency towards defective writing of forms with endings is not observable in nonbiblical manuscripts from sites other than Qumran, nor in the biblical Qumran scrolls, but it can be found in the MT.³⁰

CONCLUSION

The general tendency is that the later a manuscript or a text, the more it tends to feature *plene* writing. This tendency can be observed in the spelling and transmission of Hebrew texts other than the Dead Sea Scrolls as well.

This tendency is not consistent, however, and two factors complicate the situation. The primary complicating factor is the emergence over time of a fixed biblical text, which later evolved into the Masoretic Text. Although this text was not totally normative, it had a strong influence on Second Temple and later Hebrew. In my opinion, this process of normativization was already underway when the Qumran scrolls were being written; it seems to have been more or less complete by the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Its influence can be seen in the defective orthography of the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. The second complicating factor is the lack of a fixed tradition of vocalization in all pre-Masoretic sources.

²⁹ Abegg, "Hebrew of the Scrolls," 351, notes the tendency towards *plene* writing of the masculine singular participles of III-y roots with suffix. His observation is valid for other roots as well.

³⁰ For details see J.F. Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Barth, 1866–1868), §994, or J. Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible* (Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1986; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 64–81.

Some defectively written words may also be understood as other verbal or nominal forms, especially as reflecting the *qāṭēl* pattern.

APPENDIX: CHANGES BETWEEN קוּטֵל AND קָטֵל

In the nonbiblical scrolls from Qumran there are approximately 12 defective forms that are corrected by adding a *waw*, normally not by the scribe of the scroll himself. All of these forms have endings (except for כהן 4Q376 1 i 1); this indicates that none of these defective forms would have been considered unusual or erroneous. Two of these corrections are in 4Q266, a manuscript with other unusual *plene* spellings as well;³¹ five are in 1QH^a. In the biblical scrolls, such corrections are common as well, especially in 1QIsa^{a(1)} (5×) and in 4QIsa^a (3×, apparently by the scribe)—both manuscripts have other added *waws* as well. The opposite phenomenon, a cancelled *waw*, is found in שׁוּנָאנּוּ{ו}, 4Q176 14 3 (a manuscript in which defective spellings are common); and in הַלִּיךְ{ו} 4QJer^a 11:9, which was changed in line with the absolute infinitive form found in the MT (Jer 17:19; MT הִלִּיךְ).³²

In the biblical scrolls there are a few cases of the spelling קוּטֵל against the קָטֵל pattern of the MT: עוּשָׁנִים 1QIsa^a 6:18 (Isa 7:4; MT עֲשָׂנִים); שׁוּכֵן 1QIsa^a 27:29 (Isa 33:24; MT שָׁכֵן); חוּרֵד 1QIsa^a 53:12 (Isa 66:2; MT חָרַד) and אֹהֶבְוּ 4QIsa^c 30 1 (Isa 48:14; MT אָהֵבוּ). A similar change is found in Ezek 23:42; MT: *Kethib* סוּבָאִים; *Qere* סָבָאִים.

³¹ E.g., 2× מִיתוּת 6 i 10, 12.

³² E. Tov, "4QJer^a," in Skehan and Ulrich, DJD 15.145–170 (164), recalls Josh 6:13: *Kethib* הוּלֵךְ; *Qere* הִלִּיךְ.

CONSTITUENT ORDER IN הִיהַ-CLAUSES IN THE HEBREW OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Pierre Van Hecke

I. INTRODUCTION

During the previous symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) and Ben Sira (Strasbourg, 2006), I devoted some thoughts to existential clauses with the particles אִין and יִש followed by a prepositional phrase (PP) and a noun phrase (NP). In that contribution,¹ I argued that the default order of this clause type is NP–PP when the PP is nominal, and PP–NP when the PP is pronominal. More importantly, I demonstrated that a number of factors may cause a deviation from this default order. These factors include, among others: 1) the length and complexity of the constituents, with longer constituents tending to move to the back; 2) the semantics of certain clauses; and 3) the pragmatic functions (topic and focus) of clause constituents.

Building on these findings, as well as on other previous work I have done on constituent order in some chapters of the biblical book of Job,² I turn in the present contribution to clauses with the verb הִיהַ in the Hebrew of the DSS. I will ask, on the one hand, what default constituent orders can be discerned in this clause type, and on the other, what factors influence this order. The choice of this particular clause type is motivated by three observations. First, the verb הִיהַ functions both as a copula and as an independent verb of existence. Studies in general linguistics have demonstrated that these two functions are typologically quite different, which raises a question as to the influence of the respective functions of the verb on the word order of the clauses in which it occurs. Second, clauses with copular הִיהַ are intrinsically interesting, since semantically speaking, they

¹ P. Van Hecke, "Constituent Order in Existential Clauses," in *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 and Ben Sira* (ed. J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey; STDJ 73; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 61–78.

² P. Van Hecke, *From Linguistics to Hermeneutics: A Functional and Cognitive Approach to Job 12–14* (SSN 55; Leiden: Brill, 2011).

are nominal,³ while syntactically speaking, they are verbal, as they contain a conjugated verb. It is legitimate to ask, therefore, to what extent this double nature affects the constituent order in the clause. A third reason for submitting this clause type to further inquiry is the lack of specific attention to its constituent order in grammars and other scholarly works, in contrast to the wide scholarly interest in the constituent order of both verbal and nominal (including tripartite) clauses. This lack of attention is all the more surprising given the unusual features just mentioned.⁴

The scope of the present contribution will be limited to those clauses in which the verb הִיָּה is used either used as a verb of existence or as a copula governing a subject and a (pro)nominal, adjectival, or prepositional predicate. Excluded are clauses in which the copula הִיָּה is followed by the preposition לְ with an infinitive expressing purpose or—very commonly in the Hebrew of the DSS—obligation.⁵ Clauses in which the copula is followed by a participle—the so-called periphrastic construction—are not dealt with either. One could object to the latter omission by arguing that also in the case of הִיָּה + participle, the verb is used as a copula followed by a predicate, which happens to take the form of a participle. Nevertheless, there are a number of good reasons not to include the clause type here. The first reason is that the use of this construction in the DSS has been discussed extensively by Muraoka, with whose conclusions I can only agree.⁶ A second, more fundamental reason to distinguish between הִיָּה as a copula and הִיָּה in the periphrastic construction lies in the observed constituent order itself. As Muraoka and others before him have correctly observed, the copula הִיָּה always precedes the participle.⁷ Moreover, I have found that no other constituent than the subject alone can come between

³ Joüon–Muraoka §154m: “The *verb* הִיָּה is used in the weak sense of *to be* as a copula, when it is desired to specify the temporal sphere of a *nominal* clause . . .” (emphasis mine).

⁴ In this respect, it is regrettable that M. Baasten decided not to include this clause type in his recent doctorate on nominal clauses in Qumran Hebrew: M.F.J. Baasten, “The Non-Verbal Clause in Qumran Hebrew” (Ph.D. diss., The University of Leiden, 2006), 25.

⁵ See E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 70–72. See, e.g., 1QH^a 16:6: וְהָיָה לְהַפְרִיחַ.

⁶ T. Muraoka, “The Participle in Qumran Hebrew with Special Reference to its Periphrastic Use,” in *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* (ed. T. Muraoka and J. Elwolde; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 188–204.

⁷ Muraoka, “The Participle,” 200. Muraoka notes one exception, viz., 11Q19 35:13, but in this case the participle is passive.

the verb הִיָּה and the participle in the Hebrew of the DSS.⁸ This very strong link between הִיָּה and the participle in this phase of the Hebrew language, which is very much *unlike* the considerably larger freedom of constituent order in nominal clauses with nominal or prepositional predicates, indicates, in my opinion, that the syntagm הִיָּה + participle was treated as a grammaticalized unit.

Moreover, the order copula–participle is more stringent in the Hebrew of the DSS than it is in Biblical Hebrew, which indicates that the fixed order in this phase of Hebrew is the result of diachronic development. While in BH the periphrastic construction was still regarded as the collocation of a copula and its predicate, allowing for some license in the word order, it became a fixed construction in the Hebrew of the DSS. This hypothesis is in keeping with Muraoka’s observation that “the periphrastic structure . . . began to play a significant role at the time that the iterative, habitual, or continuous imperfect had begun to lose its ground.”⁹ The gradual insinuation of the periphrastic construction into the Hebrew verbal system has led, then, to a stronger fixation of its word order. This hypothetical development seems to be contradicted by the fact that in Mishnaic Hebrew there is again more license as to the word order of this construction, as Muraoka and Bendavid have remarked.¹⁰ While full analysis of the use of the periphrastic construction in Mishnaic, or even more widely Rabbinic, Hebrew falls outside the scope of the present contribution, it should be remarked that, at least in the Mishnah itself, the reversal of the order copula–participle is limited to less than 5% of the cases, and can therefore still be regarded as rare.¹¹ Compared to the Hebrew of the DSS where the reversal does not occur at all, however, it is noteworthy. It could be argued that in Mishnaic Hebrew the construction had become so widespread that more license was taken in its order. More probably, however, the difference in language register plays a determining role in the degree to which the word order was fixed, in the same way as Muraoka

⁸ 1QS 1:18; 1QM 2:6; 8:11–12; 9:7; 4Q200 6 2; 4Q385a 18a–b ii 4; 4Q394 3–10 i 19; 11Q19 32:14; 35:13; 42:12; 46:15, 17; 59:4–5; CD 4:12.

⁹ Muraoka, “The Participle,” 201.

¹⁰ Muraoka, “The Participle,” 200, referring to A. Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew* [לשון מקרא ולשון חכמים] (2 vols.; Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1971), 2:524–25 (in Hebrew).

¹¹ A preliminary survey of the periphrastic construction in the Mishnah, executed with the help of Accordance® software, yielded some 738 cases, of which thirty cases exhibit the reversed word order, participle–copula.

saw this difference to play a role in the presence or absence of volitive forms of הִיָּה in periphrastic constructions.¹²

In the following, I shall submit the word order of all other הִיָּה-clauses in the nonbiblical DSS to a more detailed analysis. For analytical purposes, I shall first treat two relatively small subsets of the הִיָּה-clauses, viz., possessive clauses with a prepositional phrase with לְ-, on the one hand, and what Jenni has labeled “subjective classification clauses,” on the other. By proceeding in this fashion, I will be able to rule out the possible influence of particular clause types on constituent order, which will make it easier to contrast the variational patterns in the data sets and to establish their causal factors. I will then take the results of the analyses of these subsets as the point of departure for an inquiry into general word order tendencies in the group of הִיָּה-clauses, with all its internal diversity. Finally and most importantly, I will account for the deviations from the default order.

II. SUBSET 1: POSSESSIVE CLAUSES WITH PP WITH לְ-

When dealing with clauses with the temporal copula הִיָּה properly speaking, it stands to reason that we should begin our inquiry with possessive clauses that have a prepositional predicate with לְ-, which is the clause type most closely related to that of existential clauses with possessive meaning I dealt with earlier.¹³ However rare these cases may be,¹⁴ they seem to indicate that the preferred order has the copula הִיָּה in first position, followed by subject (S) and indirect object (IO) when the latter is nominal, or by IO–S when the IO is pronominal. Compare in this regard:

1QS 6:22–23 וְהָ עֲצָתוֹ לִיחַד וּמִשְׁפָּטוֹ

And his advice will be for the Community as will his judgment.¹⁵

1QS 2:9 וְלֹא יִהְיֶה לְכָה שְׁלוֹם

May there not be peace for you

¹² Muraoka, “The Participle,” 199–200: “The language of the Mishnah is largely based on a vernacular, whereas that of 11QT is a literary idiom.”

¹³ See Van Hecke, “Existential Clauses.”

¹⁴ Eleven cases are attested: 1QM 1:6; 6:6; 1QS 2:9; 6:22; 4Q302 2 ii 2; 4Q491 11 ii 7; 14–15 7; CD 9:7,15; 20:13.

¹⁵ All translations are taken from F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), unless stated otherwise.

All the cases in which this order is altered can be explained on the basis of factors known to influence constituent order in other clause types.¹⁶ In two instances in 4Q491, the nominal IO is moved before the S in order to mark it for more parallel or contrastive focus, in parallel to or contrast with another clause:

4Q491 11 ii 17 [... והיתמו הישועה] ה \\ \\ והמלוכה
 4Q491 15 7 [והיתה לאל עלין] והמלוכה \\ \\ והיתמו הישועה

For to God [15 7: the God Most High] will belong the kingship, and to his people, the salvation.

In these clauses, the assertions about God and his people are put in parallel and hence contrasted. This is linguistically marked by fronting the nominal IO before the S, in contrast to the S–IO order expected in this case. An almost identical clause can be found in 1QM 6:6: והיתה לאל והמלוכה ישראל המלוכה “For kingship belongs to the God of Israel.” In this case, the IO is not parallel to or contrasted with a constituent in another clause; but here—as in the previous example—the fronting of the divine title may express reverence, as Muraoka has also noted in his grammar of Biblical Hebrew.¹⁷

In two cases an impersonal לאיש, with the meaning of “somebody,” is moved before the subject:

4Q302 2 ii 2–3 אם יהיה לאיש עץ טוב
 If a man has a good tree
 11Q19 64:2 (=Deut 21:18) ... [בן סורר] ומור[ר]...
 If a man has [a stubborn] and rebel[lious son]...

In the case of 11Q19, the length of the S plays an important role: since it is very long ([בן סורר] ומור[ר] אננו שומע בקול אביו ו[בקול אמו]) “[a stubborn] and rebel[lious son] who does not listen to his father’s voice or [his mother’s voice]”), it is moved to the end of the clause. In 4Q302 this argument obviously does not hold, so that other factors must play a role. My suggestion is that, even though morphologically the PP is nominal, the impersonal לאיש is moved forward because of its lack of semantic content,

¹⁶ For a brief introduction into the functionalist terminology used here, and additional literature, see Van Hecke, “Existential Clauses,” 66–68.

¹⁷ Joüon–Muraoka, §155ne.

similar to the movement of the equally impersonal **איש** in negative verbal clauses of the type **אתו לבנימן לא יתן את** (Judg 2:1).¹⁸

In one case of a possessive clause with **היה**, the S is moved before the verb, viz., in 1QM 1:6: **חושך** [כול בני] **לא תהיה** **לא** “and there will be no escape for [any of the sons] of darkness.” It could be argued that the S is fronted here because of some attraction or chiasm with the preceding **לאין שארית**. I should like to propose, however, that the alternative word order has semantic importance in that it indicates that the clause is not so much about the *nonpossession*, but rather about the *nonexistence* of escape. García Martínez and Tigchelaar have understood this clause in exactly this manner, as witnessed by their translation, using the English existential construction “there will be.”¹⁹ This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that a similar phenomenon also plays a role in existential clauses with **אין**. In the article mentioned earlier, I pointed to quite an important group of cases of existential clauses with **אין** in which a pronominal PP follows after the S, contrary to the expected order in such cases.²⁰ A good case in point can be found in the same verse, 1QM 1:6, discussed here. Immediately prior to the clause under investigation in this paragraph one reads **לו עוזר** **ואין עוזר לו** “and there will be no help for him,” where the expected order would be **ואין לו עוזר**. I have demonstrated that in this and similar cases, the focus of the clause is not so much that the possessor does not *have* a particular object, but rather that this object is *nonexistent* or nonavailable to the possessor.²¹ I readily admit that this difference is very subtle; yet I believe it does play a role in the word order of the clauses with the predicator of existence **אין**, as well as in possessive clauses with the verb **היה**. Below I will demonstrate that this is not only the case with possessive clauses, but with all clauses featuring the verb **היה**.

¹⁸ Joüon–Muraoka, §155nf. One could even argue that the forward movement in this case is comparable to the position of pronominal PPs immediately after the verb. I have previously presented the hypothesis that this fronting of pronominal constituents is not only the result of the general rule that longer constituents tend to come later in the clause and shorter constituents (like pronouns) earlier, but is also caused by the higher degree of referentiality that pronouns have (See Van Hecke, “Existential Clauses,” 69–70). An indication of this phenomenon could be the fact that reverential expressions like **לעבדך** regularly take the postverbal position, in spite of their nominal character and their length, because of their semantic and referential equivalence to a pronominal expression (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 3:9; 2 Kgs 5:17; Ps 119:38).

¹⁹ *Study Edition*, 1:113.

²⁰ 1QS 4:14; 5:13; 1QM 1:6; 1QH^a 16:27; 4Q219 2 24; CD-A 2:6–7; 4Q389 8 ii 3; 4Q491 13 7; 11Q19 66:8.

²¹ Van Hecke, “Existential Clauses,” 72–75.

III. SUBSET 2: SUBJECTIVE CLASSIFICATION CLAUSES

In the DSS corpus, several clauses are found with the verb הִיָּה governing a predicate introduced by the preposition ל־, which Jenni has labeled “clauses of subjective classification” or of “reclassification.”²² Those clauses are of the type represented by Gen 44:9 וגם־אנחנו נהיה לאדני לעבדים “and we also will be my lord’s slaves (NAS)” —as opposed to Gen 44:10 יהיה־לי עבד “[he with whom it is found] shall be my slave,” which uses a simple nominal predicate.

Of the forty-two cases of this construction in the DSS, thirty-five are verb initial, leaving only seven cases in which either the S or the IO (but never the predicate) precede the verb הִיָּה.²³ These figures indicate that the preferred, default order of this clause type is VX. If an explicit S is used, it tends to follow immediately after the verb, demonstrating that the default order is more specifically VS.²⁴ The one exception to this tendency is found in 1QS 4:23 כול מעשי רמיה יהיה לבושת “all the deeds of trickery will be a dishonour.” There is no stringent reason for this backward movement of the S, except perhaps the fact that the S is highly topical; it is nearly synonymous with the S of the preceding clause ואין עולה “there will be no more injustice.” As Myhill has demonstrated, languages with a strong VS tendency, as Hebrew indisputably is, put the new information (focus) preferably at the front of clauses, with topic material moving to the back.²⁵

²² E. Jenni, “Subjektive und objektive Klassifikation im althebräischen Nominalsatz,” *TZ* 55 (1999): 103–11.

²³ S-הִיָּה: 1QH^a 16:33; 4Q381 1 1; 4Q424 2 5; 11Q19 19:7 (bis); 59:13; 62:7; IO-הִיָּה: 11Q19 22:10; 66:10.

²⁴ 1QH^a 17:24; 4Q381 33a,b+35 3; 11Q19 27:5; 59:4.

²⁵ J. Myhill, “Word Order and Temporal Sequencing,” in *Pragmatics of Word Order Flexibility* (ed. D.L. Payne; TSL 22; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1992) 265–78, pp. 275–76: “[T]he basic principle of discourse organisation is that the most important new information in the clause comes first. If there is only one piece of new information in the clause, i.e., if some constituent is focused, that constituent comes first. If some NP, PP, or adverb is used contrastively, that comes first. If the verb is temporally sequenced and tells the next in a series of events, the verb comes first. This principle of ‘new information first’ in strongly VS languages contrasts with the principle of ‘old information first’ which has been argued for in strongly SV languages.” How this tendency needs to be reconciled with Revell’s observation that, in nominal clauses, elements with the highest degree of referentiality tend to come in the beginning of the clause, is still to be analyzed (see E.J. Revell, “Thematic Continuity and the Conditioning of Word Order in Verbless Clauses,” in *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew. Linguistic Approaches* [ed. C.L. Miller; LSAWS 1; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999], 297–319). At first sight, these tendencies seem to be mutually contradictory, as the elements with the highest degree of topicality typically also have the highest degree of referentiality. It needs to be noted, however, that Revell’s observation was made on the basis of the study of nominal clauses, while Myhill’s study was concerned with word

Explicit subjects tend to take second position since they usually serve to reintroduce a topic that is no longer discourse-active, and since this reintroduction is to a certain extent a focalizing act. When the explicit S is a topic that is already strongly discourse-active, as in the present clause by virtue of its near synonymy to the S/Topic of the preceding clause, it may move to a more backward position.

In the seven cases of non-verb-initial subjective classification clauses, functional reasons usually lie at the basis of the deviant word order. To begin with clauses that front the S, 4Q424 3 3 **גם הוא יהיה לבוז** “he too will be despised (lit.: he too will be [an object of] contempt, PVH)” presents a rather clear case of fronting the S for what Dik called contrastive focus, and, more particularly, expanding focus.²⁶ The addressees of this text already know from the context (which is broken here) or from their own knowledge that some people will be despised. After describing people who act unjustly in judgment, the passage delivers the verdict that this category of people will also be despised. Marking a constituent for this kind of contrastive focus is typically done by moving the constituent to the clause-initial position.

The case of 1QH^a 16:33 is somewhat different: **ומעוז מותני היה לבהלה** “the vitality of my loins has turned into listlessness.” The reason for fronting the S here lies in the fact that this and the preceding clause **וימס כדונג בשרי** “my flesh melts like wax” form, in my opinion, a poetic bicolon,²⁷

order in verbal clauses. As is well known, the word order in both types of clauses is fundamentally different, so that the underlying principles governing both clauses might be of different natures, too. Furthermore, while they often overlap, the concepts of referentiality and topicality are nevertheless not identical, as Revell has clearly demonstrated. The two principles observed therefore are not necessarily logically exclusive of one another.

²⁶ S.C. Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar, Part 1: The Structure of the Clause* (ed. K. Hengeveld; FGS 20; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 333: “In the case of Expanding Focus S [Speaker, PVH] presumes that A [Addressee, PVH] possesses a correct piece of information X, but that X is not complete. S knows that there is at least one piece of information Y which it is also relevant for A to know.” For **גם** as a focus particle, see C. Van der Merwe, J.A. Naudé and J.H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Biblical Languages Series: Hebrew; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 314–17.

²⁷ Space does not permit me to develop fully the argument regarding the poetic structure of this hymn, but I would like to propose the following colometry of the immediate context of the clauses under investigation (1QH^a 16:30–34):

ויפרח כאש בוער עצור בע[צמי] || עד ימימיה תואכל שלבטה
 להתם כוח לקצים || ולכלות בשר עד מועדים
 ויתעופפו עלי משברים || ונפשי עלי תשתוחח לכלה
 כי נשבת מעוזי מגויתי || וינגר כמים לבי
 וימס כדונג בשרי || ומעוז מותני היה לבהלה

with the subjects of each colon chiastically moving as close to each other as possible, a phenomenon well attested in Semitic poetry.²⁸

In 4Q381 11 לְמוֹרָה לִי וְהִיא תְהִיָּה לִי לְמוֹרָה²⁹ “And that shall be for me teaching,” the independent personal pronoun הִיא anaphorically refers to the content of the preceding clauses: “I proclaimed, and I reflected on his wonders.” In order to mark the S as a new topic that refers to the content of the previous words themselves—which is not a default discourse situation—the S is fronted.³⁰ Omitting the S or putting it in postverbal position would not be able to unambiguously mark the new topic of the clause.³¹

וְהֵיוּ לִי לְעָם 59:13 וְהֵמָּה יִהְיוּ לִי לְעָם “and they shall be my people,” presents yet another case of preverbal S, and again for a different pragmatic reason. In this case, the S is directly opposed to the S of the preceding clause, וְהֵיוּ לִי לְעָם “And I shall be their God.” The S therefore receives what Dik has termed parallel focus, which is again marked by fronting the constituent.³²

וְתִשְׁבֵּר זְרוּעֵי מְקִנְיָהּ \\\ וְאֵינִי לְהַנִּיף יָד
[וְרָגְלִי לִי זָלְכָדָה בְּכַבֵּל \\\ וְיִלְכּוּ כַּמִּים בְּרַכִּי
וְאֵין לְשִׁלּוּחַ פַּעַם \\\ זֶלָּא מְצַעֵד לְקוֹל רַגְלִי

In this proposal, the clause in question is the concluding colon of a strophe consisting of two bicola that are chiastically arranged a//b—b’//a’ with the term מַעֲזוּז connecting the a and a’-colon and the liquifying metaphor (“my heart pours out like water” and “my flesh melts like wax”) linking the b and b’-colon. (On the metaphor used, compare P. Van Hecke, “Is my Flesh Bronze?” (Job 6:12): Metaphors of Fluidity and Solidity in the Description of the Body in the Book of Job,” forthcoming in *Classical Bulletin* [Issue: *Discerning the Body: Metaphors of the Body in the Bible*]).

²⁸ See Joüon–Muraoka §155 oa.pa; N.P. Lunn, *Word-Order Variation in Biblical Hebrew Poetry. Differentiating Pragmatics and Poetics* (PBM; Milton Keynes, U.K.: Paternoster, 2006), 8.

²⁹ Schuller, “4QNon-Canonical Psalms B,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (ed. E. Eshel et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 75–172 (91), takes the following word מַשְׁפָּט to be part of this clause and translates: “And this will become for me fitting instruction.”

³⁰ Two tendencies are jointly at work here. On the one hand, the personal pronoun has a very high and marked degree of referentiality, taking the content of the discourse itself as its point of reference. As mentioned above (n. 24), Revell has argued that constituents with a high degree of referentiality tend to come first in a clause. On the other hand, new topics, i.e., constituents introducing a hitherto non-discourse-active topic, also tend to move to the front.

³¹ Note that in English, the personal pronoun, which cannot be fronted since its default position is already preverbal, does receive prosodic stress in order to mark the specific assignment of the content of the complete preceding clauses as the new topic: “And THAT shall be for me teaching.”

³² See Dik, *Theory of Functional Grammar*, 332. Note that again, English would use prosodic stress to mark this new topic: “I shall be their God, and THEY shall be my people.” Compare with Dik’s example on p. 326: “John and Bill came to see me. JOHN was NICE, but BILL was rather BORING.”

A final case of fronting the S in subjective classification clauses is 11Q19 62:7–8 (=Deut 20:11): *והיה כול העם הנמצאים בה יהיו לכה למס* “all the people that are in it shall be tributaries to you.” The nominal phrase *כול העם הנמצאים בה*, as the subject of the verb *יהיו*, is moved forward by the influence of the phrase *והיה*, which introduces the apodosis of the conditional clause. Even though *והיה* has in many cases lost its force as a verbal phrase³³—especially in the present case where the clause itself has a different conjugated verb—the form *והיה* consists of course, morphologically speaking, of a verb + conjunction. By virtue of this characteristic, the S is attracted closer to the phrase and precedes the main verb of the clause properly speaking.

Next in the sequence of subjective classification clauses are two cases, both in the *Temple Scroll*, in which it is the indirect object that moves to the verb-initial position. In 11Q19 22:10, a passage that prescribes the distribution of parts of sacrificial animals to the priests and Levites, the following can be read: *לכהנים יהיה למנה כמשפטמה* “it shall be for the priests as a share in accordance with their regulations.” In this clause, the fact that the animal parts described in the previous clauses are given TO THE PRIESTS is the focus of the communication. Moreover, the priests are contrasted here to the Levites mentioned in the next clause *וללויים את השכם* “and for the Levites the shoulder.” Both the highly focal character of the constituent *לכהנים* and its contrastive character with regard to the following clause cause its fronting.

In 11Q19 66:10–11 (= Deut 22:29) *ולוא תהיה לאשה* “and she will be <his> wife,” the fronting of the IO *ולוא*—not to be read as the negation, but as a prepositional phrase, despite the erroneous aleph—may have a similar cause. The previous clause explains that a man who seduced an unbetrothed virgin whom he is legally allowed to marry, has to pay the girl’s father fifty shekels, but—and here the clause under investigation fits in—he will have to take her as his wife. The fronting of the IO might

³³ F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes in *The Hebrew Bible: Andersen–Forbes Phrase Marker Analysis* (Libronix software; Bellingham: Logos Bible Software, 2006), an electronic syntactical analysis of the Hebrew Bible, have tagged the phrase in this specific verse as a “cue phrase,” which according to their *Systematic Glossary* is a different term for a “discourse marker” or “discourse particle.” Similarly, the phrase *והיה* is discussed under the heading of “Discourse Markers” in van der Merwe Naudé and Kroeze, *Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, 331, even though this particular use of the phrase, viz., as the opening of the apodosis after a conditional protasis is not mentioned in the grammar. Admittedly, this use of the phrase is rare: in addition to this example, other instances can be found in Lev 27:10, 33. In Num 10:32 the main verb of the apodosis is itself preceded by the conjunction *waw*, which results in a different case than the others mentioned above.

contrast the perpetrator to the girl's father: the father is given damages, while the man himself will take the girl as his wife. On the other hand, the man could also be—slightly and implicitly—contrasted to other potential husbands: after the rape, the girl will be HIS wife, even if the man would object, and nobody else's. This second interpretation is probably to be preferred. The reason for his obligation to marry her—and never to dismiss her—is that he humiliated³⁴ her to the extent that she would not be able to find another husband. Some insistence on the fact that she will have to become HIS wife is therefore not inappropriate.

IV. GENERAL TENDENCIES IN USAGE

It would lead us too far afield to discuss each and every הִיָּה-clause in the DSS; the two subsets discussed above provide us with a good starting point for understanding the general characteristics of the word order of this clause type and for making a systematic account of the exceptions.

A. *Default Word Order with Copular הִיָּה*

Extending the analysis of הִיָּה-clauses to all instances in the DSS only confirms the general tendencies observed in the two subsets above. In the majority of the cases in which הִיָּה functions as the copula, the verb הִיָּה takes the first position (118 instances), while in fifty-six cases הִיָּה is preceded by a clause constituent. Of the latter cases, the S moves to the clause-initial position in thirty-two cases, against twenty-four clauses in which it is the predicate or an adjunct that occupies the first slot. The thirty-two clause-initial subjects should be contrasted with the fifty-nine cases in which an explicit subject follows after the verb. It is safe to say, then, that הִיָּה-clauses, at least when the verb functions as copula, are by default verb-initial.

B. *Pragmatically Motivated Word Order Variations: Topic and Focus*

If one analyzes the distribution of nondefault orders across the DSS corpus and the possible reasons for deviant constituent orders, some interesting observations can be made. As far as the reasons for fronting a constituent before the verb are concerned, the factors observed in the two subsets

³⁴ On the semantics of the verb עָנָה see E.J. van Wolde, "Does 'innā Denote Rape? A Semantic Analysis of a Controversial Word," *VT* 52 (2002), 528–44.

can be recognized throughout the set of הִיָּה-clauses. Moreover, these factors are, not surprisingly, to a large extent the same as elsewhere in the Hebrew language.

A primary reason for fronting is the need to mark the fronted constituent for contrastive focus. This phenomenon occurs when the information given in the clause is contrary to what the addressee might expect, or is contrasted to some other information in the text. In addition to the examples discussed above (4Q424 3 3; 4Q491 11 ii 17; 11Q19 22:10; 59:13; 66:10–11), two out of many others can be found in 1QM 7:12—the first with a fronted S, the second with a fronted P: פְּנִי עַל מַהֲלֵךְ יִהְיֶה הָאֶחָד יֵהוּהוּן הַכֹּהֵן הַיְחִיד הַשֹּׁשֶׁה יֵהוּ חֲצֵצְרוֹת מִקְרָא . . . כֹּל אַנְשֵׁי הַמַּעֲרֵכָה [. . .] וּבִיד הַשֹּׁשֶׁה יֵהוּ חֲצֵצְרוֹת מִקְרָא . . . “The first priest will walk in front of all the men of the line [. . .]. And the (other) six shall hold in their hand the trumpets of muster, [. . .].” In these two successive clauses, the single priest is directly contrasted to the other six; the contrast is marked by the fronted position of the constituents referring to both. Even though the S of the second clause is very long and is therefore expected to come in final position, this does not necessarily force the P into the preverbal position; the position immediately after the verb would be more normal. The fronting before the verb in this second clause, as in the first clause, should therefore be explained as marking the constituents for contrastive focus.³⁵

A second reason for fronting is to indicate that the information structure (in particular the topic–focus distribution) of the clause is different from the expected structure. In the default case, the syntactic S of a clause is also its topic—i.e., that about which the clause is making an assertion; the clause’s predicate is its focus—i.e., that which is asserted about the topic. This default linking of subject–topic and predicate–focus is not a matter of necessity, however.³⁶ Constituents other than the S can have the pragmatic function of the topic, while the S itself can just as well serve as focus rather than topic. When the distribution of the pragmatic functions of topic and focus does not follow this default pattern, this phenomenon is often linguistically marked, deviant word order being one way to do this.³⁷ 1QS^a 1:25 is a good example, where the fronting of the S marks it as serving

³⁵ Parallel focus in Dik, *Theory of Functional Grammar*, 332.

³⁶ For a more detailed discussion, including an example, see Van Hecke, “Existential Clauses,” 67. In addition to the general linguistic literature referred to in n. 27 on that page, one should now add: N. Erteschik-Schir, *Information Structure: The Syntax-Discourse Interface* (OSSM 3; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³⁷ In spoken language, intonation is a very common way of marking a nondefault information structure.

as focus, rather than as the clause's topic: **אם תעודה תהיה לכול הקהל**. The conditional clause does not as much ask if there is a convocation (topic) FOR THE WHOLE CONGREGATION (focus), but rather if there is A CONVOCA-TION (focus) for the congregation (topic).³⁸ However subtle this difference may be, I believe it determines the word order of the clause. The congregation obviously is very prominently present as the discourse topic of this *Rule of the Congregation*. Since, however, the congregation does not have the syntactic function of S—the default situation for a topic—and since, conversely, it is the element with focus that occupies the S position, the latter is moved forward to mark it explicitly for this pragmatic function.

In many cases, the reasons for fronting a constituent are not particularly compelling. A P may be fronted to mark it more explicitly as the focus of the clause; but without this fronting, its pragmatic function would also have been clear. In 11Q19 16:4, e.g., one may read **קדוש יהיה ליהוה כל ימיו** “Holy [he] shall be for YHWH all his days.” This fronting does not mark the P for contrastive focus, but only enhances its status as the clause's focus: “All his days he will be HOLY.” Similarly, a S may be fronted to mark it more strongly as the (new) topic in the clause.³⁹ In the first two lines of 1QM 7, the age of different officials is stipulated, three times with a fronted S:

ואנשי הסרך יהיו מבן ארבעים ...
 וסורכי המחנות יהיו מבן ...
 והשוטרים יהיו גם הם מבן ...

The men of the array shall be between forty [...]
 Those governing the camps shall be between [...]
 The supervisors shall also be between [...]

One could suggest that the three categories of officials are opposed to each other, which thus would cause the fronting of the S, but this factor does not seem to play a strong role here. Rather, each S is fronted in order to differentiate between the various categories and to mark each

³⁸ García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 103, stress this by translating the **לכול הקהל** not as the predicate of the clause, but as a genitive adnominal with the subject, and by using an impersonal expletive construction with “there”: “If there is a convocation of all the assembly.”

³⁹ Dik, in *Theory of Functional Grammar*, 313–26, makes a distinction between new topics, topics as they are first introduced into the discourse, and given topics, which have been introduced before. Many languages mark the different types of topics through different linguistic constructions.

new S explicitly as the new topic. However, the same clauses could also be expressed without fronting, with little loss of pragmatic meaning.

I am supported in this suggestion by the distribution of clauses across the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is not by coincidence that the last two examples—fronted P and S without stringent pragmatic reasons—were taken from 1QM and 11QT. Of the fifty-six clauses with a constituent fronted before the verb *היה*, thirty-one are found in these two works. Even though these documents are among the largest of the DSS corpus, this distribution is far from normal. If one takes a closer look at the ratio of fronted P and S to postverbal S, the situation becomes even more telling. Of the twenty-four fronted P clauses in the DSS, ten occur in 11QT, while of the thirty-two fronted S clauses, twelve are found in the same scroll. And while the proportion of clause-initial to clause-internal S is about 1:3 in the DSS corpus, this same proportion rises to 3:4 for 11QT. In 1QM, only one clause-initial P is found, but the total of eight clause-initial S (in relative terms, higher than in 11QT) is remarkable when plotted against the five cases of clause-internal S. 1QM thus shows a very pronounced preference for initial S, which is corroborated by the fact that of eight periphrastic constructions in 1QM (left out of the data above), no less than seven have initial S, against only five other cases of fronted S before the periphrastic construction in the whole of the DSS. Even though each case should be assessed individually and even though the scrolls have certain characteristics causing a higher incidence of constituent fronting, the data above demonstrate that word order is also a matter of the particular style of a document. The preference shown by the authors of 1QM and 11QT for fronted constituents, even when not strictly necessary on pragmatic grounds, is typical for the documents in question. On the other hand, I would not go as far as to say that the variation is solely a matter of style. One can usually point to pragmatic or grammatical reasons for fronting—albeit not very stringent; but it is the particular *preference* with which this word order is chosen that is typical for the documents' style.

C. *Semantically Motivated Word Order Variations: Existential היה*

A final reason for fronting constituents is, I believe, related to the semantics of the clause. When discussing the possessive clauses above, in particular that of 1QM 1:6, I maintained that a fronted S, and the subsequent (re)location of the verb in second position, could indicate that *היה* functions as an existential rather than a copular verb. In clause types other than the possessive, this appears likewise to be the case. Before going to the analysis of the cases, I want to stress that differentiating between

these two uses of the verb הִיָּה is often difficult. The matter is easy enough when the clause contains no P as in 1QH^a 5:18–19: ואתה תהיה לעולמי עד “and you will exist for ever and ever” but when the clause contains a locative or other adverbial constituent the question becomes more intricate. In these cases, the constituent could function either as the adjunct of an existential clause or as an obligatory complement, viz., the predicate, of a copular clause.⁴⁰ 1QS 11:8: הִיָּה ברצונכה היה וכל is a good case in point. One could take ברצונכה as the adjunct of an existential clause, as translated by García Martínez and Tigchelaar: “All that exists does so by your will.” It is also possible, however, to take the PP as the predicate of a copular clause: “All that exists is with your will.”⁴¹ However difficult the distinction may be in particular cases, it will be clear that in some הִיָּה-clauses the *existence* of the S is of higher importance than the *copular relation* between the S and the other constituents in the clause. Whether, in all these cases, the verb הִיָּה should be regarded as existential is another matter; there might be some sort of continuum between the existential and the copular meanings and usages of the verb, as Kahn argued in his classical study of the verb “to be” in Ancient Greek.⁴²

It is my conviction that when the existential aspect of the clause is stressed, this is often marked by putting the verb הִיָּה in non-clause-initial position. As mentioned before,⁴³ I found that also in the case of clauses with אִינִיִּשׁ, word order plays a role in marking the clause for existential rather than copular meaning. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the same phenomenon would play a role in the case of הִיָּה-clauses. While in the

⁴⁰ See the discussion in Johannes Floß, “Verbfunktionen der Basis HYY,” in *BN* 30 (1985): 35–101, esp. 47–48. Floß regards all PPs in this type of clause as predicates, since, in his opinion, there is no such thing as an existential verb הִיָּה. By his own words, the use of הִיָּה indicates only a matter of syntax, not of semantics (97). Even in cases where the verb does not have an explicit P, the latter can, in his view, always be reconstructed from the context. In my opinion, his attempts at this reconstruction often go too far; e.g., when for Gen 1:5 בקר ויהי ערב ויהי בקר, he argues for the reconstruction of the P, על פני המים (see 54–55). There seems little reason to deny the existential use of the verb הִיָּה in the Hebrew of the Bible and the DSS.

⁴¹ Although, in this particular case, most scholars will opt for the first proposal, other instances are less clear, see, e.g., 4Q491 1–3 7 [ה]מחנות למקום היד [7] and compare with 1QM 7:6–7.

⁴² Charles H. Kahn, *The Verb ‘Be’ and Its Synonyms: Philosophical and Grammatical Studies, Part 6: The Verb ‘Be’ in Ancient Greek* (ed. J.W. Verhaar; FLSS 16; Dordrecht: Reidel, 1973), 252–53: “What we have in Type II (and also in Type III) is a mixed use where the verb functions both as a copula and as a sign of existence, that is, where it serves both to characterize or localize the subject and also to present it *as a subject*.” The clause types mentioned include clauses like “There is a city in Argos” (Type II) and “There are many paths up and down the encampment” (Type III); see pp. 239 and following.

⁴³ See pp. 84–85.

case of *ישׁאיִן*-clauses, the existential semantics was marked by moving the S as close as possible to the predicator *ישׁאיִן* (and hence moving the IO backwards), the same movement is not possible in *היה*-clauses, since the order of *היה* followed by the S is already the default order for any *היה*-clause, as we have seen. In order to mark the verb for a noncopular, existential meaning, it is therefore moved to a later position in the clause.

This proposal is corroborated by the fact that in all cases in the DSS corpus in which *היה* has an undeniably existential meaning,⁴⁴ the verb appears in a non-clause-initial position, with the S, an Adj, or both, preceding:

- 1QM 18:10 ומאז לוא נהיתה כמוהה
From of old there has not been anything similar
- 1QH^a 5:18–19 ואתה תהיה לעולמי עד
And you will exist for ever and ever
- 1QH^a 14:30⁴⁵ ובול בני אשמה לא יהיו עוד
And all the sons of guilt will no longer exist
- 4Q88 10:14 ואתה יהוה לעולם תהיה
And you, YHWH, are forev[er]
- 4Q386 1 ii 4 ומשרו לא יהיה
And his kin/his dominion will not exist⁴⁶
- 4Q403 1 i 30–46 35 [לאי רום] פיהו יהיו כל א [לי רום]
At the words of his mouth a[ll the exalted divinities] exist
- 4Q417 2 i 20 [ועל] פיהו יהיה כול
And on his command everything will exist
- 11Q19 21:12–13 תשעה וארבעים יום . . . תהיינה עד
And there will be forty-nine days . . . until

⁴⁴ Existential *היה* without explicit dependent constituents occurs in 1QS 9:26; 4Q386 1 ii 7. From these cases obviously no information can be gleaned concerning the constituent order of *היה*-clauses.

⁴⁵ In this and the following case, the word order could also be the result of the fronting of the S *ואתה* // *ובול בני אשמה* in order to mark it with contrastive focus, opposing them to the sons of righteousness // the evildoers mentioned in the clauses preceding them. This does not explain the final position of the verb (i.e., even after *לעולם*) in 4Q88 10:14, however.

⁴⁶ The meaning of *ומשרו* is not exactly clear. Some read it as the preposition *מן* followed by the word *שאר*, meaning “kin,” written defectively without the *’alef*; as in D. Dimant, “4QPseudo-Ezekiel,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (ed. D. Dimant; DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001) 7–90 (64). Others doubt that the word would be written defectively here—since the same root is written *plene* in the immediate context—and choose to read the word as “dominion” or “leadership”; see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 777; and A.L.A. Hogeterp, “Resurrection and Biblical Tradition: *Pseudo-Ezekiel* Reconsidered,” in *Bib* 89 (2008): 59–69, p. 66 n. 32.

Given the fact that the default order of verbal clauses—including clauses with the copular verb הִיָּה—has the verb in clause-initial position, this tendency is striking.

Since moving the verb backwards in the clause turns out to be the marker for existential הִיָּה in the unambiguous cases mentioned above, it stands to reason that likewise in less clear cases—e.g., with locative or other adverbial adjuncts—the noninitial position of the verb may mark the clause as having a specifically existential meaning. The following cases may be noted:

1QS 11:18 וְכָל הַנְּהִיָּה בְרִצּוֹנְכָה הִיָּה
All that exists does so by your will

1QM 1:6⁴⁷ וּפְלִטָה לֹא תִהְיֶה לְ[כֹל בְּנֵי] חוֹשֶׁךְ
And there will be no escape for [any of the sons] of darkness

1QM 1:12 וּבְכֹל צָרוֹתֶימָה לֹא נִהְיָה כְמוֹהָ
In all their afflictions none exists that is like it⁴⁸

1QM 7:6–7 וְרוּחַ יִהְיֶה בֵּין כֹּל מַחֲנֵיהֶמָה לְמִקּוֹם הַיָּד כְּאַלְפִים בְּאַמָּה
And there will be a space between all their camps and the latrine of about two thousand cubits

4Q274 2 i 6 וְאִם בְּמַחֲנֶה יִהְיֶה אִישׁ אִשׁר
And if in the camp there is a man whose . . .

4Q376 1 iii 1 וְאִם בְּמַחֲנֶה יִהְיֶה הַנְּשִׂיאַ אֲשֶׁר לְכֹל הָעֵדָה
And if there were in the camp the Prince of the whole congregation

4Q386 1 ii 5 וּמִנְצֵפָה לֹא יִהְיֶה תִירוֹשׁ
And there will be no wine from the caperbush

4Q433a 2 8 עֲפָיו וְעָלָיו וְאָבּוֹ יִהְיוּ בּוֹ
Its branches, its leaves and its fruit will be on him

4Q491 1–3 7 וְאַלְפִים אָמָה יִהְיֶה בֵּין הַמַּחֲנוֹת לְמִקּוֹם הַיָּד
And there will be two thousand cubits between the camps and the latrine

CD 13:5 וְאִם מִשְׁפָּט לְתוֹרַת נִגַע יִהְיֶה בְּאִישׁ
But if there is a judgment against anyone about the law of leprosy

⁴⁷ See the discussion on p. 88 above.

⁴⁸ Translation by M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon taken from *DSSSEL*; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, translate the clause “Of all their sufferings, none will be like this,” rendering the verb as copula. Because of the *Niph'al* form of the verb, the existential reading is to be preferred, in my opinion; compare, e.g., with the almost identical clause in the same document, 1QM 18:10 וּמֵאִז לֹא נִהְיָה כְמוֹהָ “From of old there has not been anything similar.”

In all instances⁴⁹—even the example from 4Q433, in the translation of which the expletive construction with “there” was not used—the existence of the subject is semantically speaking more important than its relation to the PPs in the clause. In some cases, one could arguably ask whether the verb *היה* acts as a copula, with the PPs in the clauses as the respective predicates, or rather as an independent verb with the PPs as adjuncts. As mentioned above, the difference is indeed sometimes hard to discern, and transitional or mixed uses of the verb *היה* are possible. It seems clear, however, that in this group of cases as well, there is a positive correlation between the nondefault word order of the clause and their existential, rather than copular, meaning.

Against the relatively large number of cases listed above, only two instances of an existential clause with clause-initial *היה* can be found in the DSS, remarkably within a few lines of each other:

4Q385 6 9–10 והית[ה יד] אדם מחברת
And there wa[s a hand of] a man joined...

4Q385 6 12 והיה בתוך גחלים חיות כגחלי אש
And there [we]re living beings in the middle of the coals, like coals of fire

The extant examples thus show a very clear correlation between the existential use of the verb and its noninitial position in the clause in the DSS, yet this correlation need not be causal, but may be dependent upon another parameter overlooked in the present inquiry. That word order would play a role in differentiating the copular from the existential meaning of *היה* is not unlikely, however, when seen against the background of typological studies of existential constructions. In his now-classic *The Philosophy of Grammar*, Otto Jespersen remarked, concerning the word order of existential clauses:

Sentences corresponding to English sentences with *there is* or *there are*, in which the existence of something is asserted or denied—if we want a term for them, we may call them existential sentences—present some striking particularities in many languages. Whether or not a word like *there* is used to introduce them, the verb precedes the subject and the latter is hardly treated grammatically like a real subject.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ An additional instance might be 4Q393 3 4 הוא ה[י]הּ הוּא, but its reading is dubious.

⁵⁰ O. Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1924), 155.

In his work, and in many subsequent publications on a multitude of languages, this observation has been illustrated with numerous examples. Many genetically unrelated languages of the XV-type, from Latin⁵¹ or Early East Slavic⁵² to Hungarian,⁵³ front the verb in existential clauses. This phenomenon is also attested in, e.g., English and Dutch, where an expletive adverb “there” or “er” takes the clause-initial position, but where the semantically meaningful clause constituents all follow the verb.⁵⁴ In other languages, the existential meaning of the clause is not marked by a clause-initial verb, but it is still signaled by a word order that differs from the default word order; as, e.g., in Finnish⁵⁵ and Turkish.⁵⁶ In general

⁵¹ A.M. Devine and L.D. Stephens, *Latin Word Order: Structured Meaning and Information* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 213: “In the existential-presentational structure, the canonical order is verb initial,” in contrast to the “default clause final position” of the verb (see p. 145).

⁵² J. McAnallen, “The Competing Roles of SV(O) and VS(O) Word Orders in *Xoždenie igumena Daniila*,” in *RL* 33 (2009): 211–18, 213: “The behavior of verbs in *Xoždenie* (1980) proves to be sensitive to verbal semantics.” McAnallen explains with reference to the verb *ecmь*, which has both existential and copular meaning, that: “The preferred word order for existential constructions is VS, . . . for copular constructions SV.”

⁵³ F. Kiefer, “A Transformational Approach to the Verb *Van* ‘to be’ in Hungarian,” in *The Verb ‘Be’ and Its Synonyms: Philosophical and Grammatical Studies, Part 3: Japanese, Kashmiri, Armenian, Hungarian, Sumerian, Shona* (ed. John Verhaar; FLSS 8; Dordrecht: Reidel, 1968), 53–85, p. 59. Kiefer opposes clauses like *Van Isten az égben* (“God exists in heaven”) to *Isten az égben van* (“God’s in heaven”); the only difference between the existential and the copular clauses is their respective word orders.

⁵⁴ A. Leong Ping, “Identifying the Theme of Existential Clauses: A Suggested Approach,” in *FL* 34 (2000): 307–31, p. 315: “In general, existentials are derived by moving an element in normal subject position to the post-be position and inserting *there* in the empty slot. . . .” There is a vast amount of literature—in particular focusing on English—on existential sentences and the syntactic and semantic aspects involved; for a good starting point see, e.g., A. Moro, “Existential Sentences and Expletive *There*,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Part 2* (ed. M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk; Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics 19; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 2:210–36.

⁵⁵ H. Sulkala and M. Karjalainen, *Finnish* (Descriptive Grammars; London: Routledge, 1992), 69: “Finnish is basically a SVOA language, although there are many possibilities for varying the word order. . . . Other word orders are typical of certain types of clauses, however, namely . . . existential clauses. . . .” Sulkala and Karjalainen provide an example of such an existential clause on p. 70: *Katolla on lintuja* (roof-adessive be-(3sg) bird-plural-partitive) “There are birds on the roof.” See also p. 74.

⁵⁶ A. Göksel and C. Kerslake, *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar* (Routledge Comprehensive Grammars; London: Routledge, 2005), 390: “In existential sentences . . . the initial position is occupied by a locative or genitive noun phrase. The subject occupies the position immediately before the predicate.” This word order stands in contrast to the default order in which the subject takes the clause-initial position. The position of the existential predicator *var* at the clause’s ending is in keeping with the general tendency in Turkish to have the verbal predicate in clause-final position.

terms, then, we can say that existential clauses customarily involve the movement of clause constituents.⁵⁷

On the basis of this general linguistic observation, a similar difference in word order between clauses with copular and with existential *היה* is not unlikely. The main difference between Hebrew and the languages mentioned above, however, is that none of the latter is by default verb-initial. The question is therefore what the distinctive word order for existential clauses would be in a language like Hebrew in which the clause-initial position cannot mark the verb or the clause for a special semantic or pragmatic function. Is it likely that a verb-initial language would move the verb backwards in order to mark it as having existential meaning, by analogy to the fronting of the verb (or at least the backward movement of the subject) in non-verb-initial languages? From a theoretical perspective there seems little reason why this possibility should be ruled out in advance. My hypothesis—that it is indeed the semantics of the verb and not some other overlooked parameter that cause the nondefault word order in the existential clauses—would gain considerable strength, however, if examples could be found of other typologically related languages in which such a movement is attested. Ever since the influential article by J.H. Greenberg,⁵⁸ Hebrew has become known as a strongly polarized example of what Dik has called a postfield language,⁵⁹ viz., a language in which dependents follow their heads: nominal constituents follow the

⁵⁷ See M. Lumsden, *Existential Sentences: Their Structure and Meaning* (Croom Helm Linguistics Series; London: Croom Helm, 1988), 10: “*be* ES [Existential sentences with the verb “to be,” PVH] and Verbal ES are generated via the application of the syntactic Move α This will involve the movement of a subject NP either to another NP position or the adjunction of the moved NP to another node.” On the next page (11), Lumsden give as an example of such a move, the “movement of an NP from subject to post-verbal position.” In her influential monograph on word order, A. Siewierska showed that indefinite subjects move backward in existential clauses, away from the initial position and to the right of the copula, and in many cases also to the right of the existential locative (A. Siewierska, *Word Order Rules* [Croom Helm Linguistics Series; London: Croom Helm, 1988]). R. Freeze, “Existentials and Other Locatives,” in *Language* 68 (1992): 553–95, p. 556: “the predicate locative and . . . the existential represent different ordering of the same constituents.”

⁵⁸ J.H. Greenberg, “Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements,” in *Universals of Language* (2nd ed.; ed. J.H. Greenberg; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966), 73–113. In this article, Greenberg analyzed the correlations between different ordering rules across languages and catalogued a large number of typological tendencies, which have become known as “Greenbergian correlates” in typological literature. For a contemporary update of this list of correlates, see A. Carnie and E. Guilfoyle, “Introduction,” in *The Syntax of Verb Initial Languages* (ed. A. Carnie and E. Guilfoyle; Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1–12, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Dik, *Theory of Functional Grammar*, 405.

verb; attributive adjectives follow their noun; adverbs follow the adjectives they modify; and numerals follow the counted noun.⁶⁰ It stands to reason to ask whether languages sharing the same features (in Greenberg's lists these are Berber, Welsh and Zapotec), have a similar movement of the existential verb. As far as I was able to review the typological literature, I could not find any evidence for such a movement, but further research will hopefully shed more light on the issue. In Welsh, the existential form *mae* occurs systematically in verb initial position,⁶¹ like other verbs, while it is precisely the copula that behaves in an idiosyncratic manner.⁶² The verb-initial languages (Chamorro, Palauan, Palestinian Arabic, and Tagalog) studied in Freeze's recent overview article on existential constructions also feature the existential verb in clause-initial position.⁶³ Thus far, then, typological studies do not offer much support for my hypothesis. The weight of the internal evidence, and the parallel to similar movements in existential clauses with אִי or יִשׁ, however, are strong enough in my opinion to support the hypothesis.

V. CONCLUSION

The present article analyzed the word order of clauses with the verb הִיָּה in the DSS. Building on the findings pertaining to two subsets (possessive clauses and subjective classification clauses), and extending the analysis to all הִיָּה-clauses, I argued that the default order for clauses with הִיָּה functioning as a copula is verb-initial, like other verbal clauses in Biblical and Qumran Hebrew. I showed that several factors may influence this default word order. On the one hand, I demonstrated that the distribution of the pragmatic functions of topic and focus—and their subcategories—often has an important effect on the word order of הִיָּה-clauses, as it does in

⁶⁰ On the last point, Hebrew is less postfield: numerals usually come before the counted noun, but a position after the counted noun is in certain cases possible, see Joüon–Muraoka §142d n. 1.

⁶¹ See I. Roberts, *Principles and Parameters in a VSO Language: A Case Study in Welsh* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 82–83. It is remarkable, however, that the existential construction has the S in the clause-final position, whereas it follows the verb when the latter is copular.

⁶² M.J. Ball, *The Celtic Languages* (Routledge Language Family Descriptions; London: Routledge, 1993), 20.

⁶³ R. Freeze, "Existential Constructions," in *Language Typology and Language Universals: An International Handbook* (ed. M. Haspelmath et al.; Handbuch zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 20.2; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 941–53, p. 945 Table 70.1.

many other clause types, in Hebrew and other languages. On the other hand, I presented and corroborated the hypothesis that the semantic value of the verb *היה* strongly affects the word order of the clauses in which it occurs: if the verb functions as an independent verb of existence, it is not clause-initial, in contrast to when it functions as a copula.

TERMINOLOGICAL MODIFICATIONS IN BIBLICAL GENEALOGICAL RECORDS AND THEIR POTENTIAL CHRONOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Avi Hurvitz

I. THE PROBLEM

It is widely recognized in biblical scholarship that in the wake of the Jewish exiles' return to Zion after the Babylonian captivity, they developed a profound interest in pedigree and genealogies, which became a distinctive hallmark of Second Temple period literature. Documentary evidence proving national and religious affiliation within the newly reestablished Jewish community in Palestine was of paramount importance in those formative years. Hence the wealth of genealogical lists and records included in the *later* sections of the Old Testament (first and foremost in the book of Chronicles).

An open, still intensely debated question in this connection concerns whether and to what extent we are able to identify within biblical literature genuinely *ancient* documents pertaining to ancestry and familial-tribal lineage; that is, texts based on authentic First Temple records. Particularly controversial in this regard are the Priestly-oriented genealogical materials contained in the Pentateuch,¹ which many scholars tend to date—together with the Priestly source² in which these texts are incorporated—to the exilic/postexilic era. According to the scheme suggested by these scholars, then, the entire corpus of Priestly texts preserved in the Pentateuch, and similar material in the book of Joshua that pertains to genealogical ties and connections, ought to be regarded as products of “postexilic Judaism.” This chronological issue has been discussed extensively over the years from various perspectives, mainly literary, theological, and historical. Unfortunately, however, the linguistic-philological aspect

¹ Some genealogically related material—e.g., descriptions of the borders of the tribal allotments—is to be found in the book of Joshua as well.

² The exact label employed (e.g., “Source,” “Document,” “Code”) and the specific assumptions adopted in regard to the literary and theological nature of P are of no consequence for the present discussion. The only issue that matters in this connection is that the biblical writings here under examination be recognized as having been handed down to us by Priestly writers. Cf. also n. 25 below.

has been largely neglected, though technical terms and expressions—unlike literary idioms—may often yield very helpful information for purposes of dating.³

It is precisely to this question that the following presentation is addressed. I will examine the diachronic status of three idioms current in the distinctive vocabulary of the biblical genealogical registers and similar material:

1. Derivations of the root יחש “register; be genealogically registered; genealogical record”;
2. The age formula מ... וְלִמְעַלָּה “from . . . and upwards/and beyond”;
3. The forms of the 3mp possessive suffix of the word אֲבוֹת in the idiom בֵּית־אֲבוֹתָם/אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם “their fathers’ house” (=“their family, clan”).

Once the linguistic nature of each of these idioms has been established, I will proceed to utilize their collective evidence as a possible chronological marker which may indicate the historical age of the texts in which they are embedded.⁴

II. THE LINGUISTIC DATA

A. *The Root יחש*⁵

1) *Late Biblical Hebrew*

1 Chr 7:30–40 versus Num 26:44–47

³ See, e.g., A. Hurvitz, “The Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology,” *RB* 81 (1974): 24–56; as well as the later extended exposition of this subject in *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 20; Paris: Gabalda, 1982).

⁴ All three examples to be examined here have already been discussed elsewhere in previous studies that deal with the language of P *as a whole* (cf. n. 3 above). Note, however, that in the present investigation our analysis is focused specifically and exclusively on *the genealogical records* embedded in P and related material from Joshua. From a typological standpoint, these records constitute a well-defined body of texts worthy of individual analysis, regardless of the literary framework into which these genealogical and genealogically oriented materials have been incorporated.

⁵ An earlier version of the following discussion may be found in Hurvitz, “Evidence of Language,” 26–29. Note that, unless otherwise specified, the English translations of the Bible presented here are from the Revised Standard Version.

- Chr (30) The sons of Asher:
 Num (44) The sons of Asher according to their families:
- Chr (30) Imnah,... Ishvi, Beriah,... (31) The sons of Beriah
 Num (44) of Imnah,... of Ishvi,... of Beriah,... (45) of the sons of Beriah
- Chr (40) these were men of Asher, ... mighty warriors
 Num (47) These are the families of the sons of Asher
- Chr (40) Their number enrolled by genealogies (וְהִתְיַחֵסּוּ)
 Num (47) according to their number (לְפִקְדֵיהֶם)
- Chr (40) for service in war, was twenty-six thousand
 Num (47) fifty-three thousand

1 Chr 4:32–33 versus Josh 19:7–8

- Chr (32) Ain, Rimmon, ... and Ashan—five cities
 Josh (7) Enrimmon, ... and Ashan—four cities
- Chr (33) along with all their villages ... round about
 Josh (8) together with all the villages round about
- Chr (33) These were their settlements
 Josh (8) This was the inheritance of ... Simeon
- Chr (33) and they kept a genealogical record ([וְהִתְיַחֵסּוּ] לְהֵם)
 Josh (8) according to its families (לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם)

Neh 7:5 versus Gen 5:1

- Neh 7:5 [RSV] I found the book of the genealogy (סֵפֶר הַיְחֹשׁ) of those who
 [JPS] I found the genealogical register of those who
- Gen 5:1 [RSV] This is the book of the generations (סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת) of Adam
 [JPS] This is the record of Adam's line

2) Qumran Hebrew⁶

- 4Q266 5 ii 14 ביחשׁ {י}ם
 4Q275 3 2 []° יעלו ביחושׁ
 4Q279 5 3 וכבירות יחוס עליו

⁶ While examples of יחשׁ could be multiplied for all of the sources quoted above from rabbinic literature, this is not the case in Qumran Hebrew, which contains only the three cases cited here; cf. M. Abegg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (3 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2002–2010), 1:309b. Perhaps the infrequent use of יחשׁ at Qumran stems from the fact the Dead Sea Scrolls contain very little genealogical information (cf. n. 14 below).

3) *Targumic Aramaic*

Gen 5:1 <i>Tg. Neof.</i>	This is the book of the generations (סִפְר תּוֹלְדוֹת) of Adam (יְחוּס תּלְדוּוֹתָהּ)
Exod 12:21 <i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i>	... select lambs ... according to your families (לְמִשְׁפַּחְתֵּיכֶם) (לְיַחְסֵיכֶן)
Num 1:18 <i>Tg. Onq.</i>	... they assembled the whole congregation together, who registered themselves (וַיִּתְּיָלְדוּ) by families (וְאֵתֵיחְסוּ)
Ps 96:7 <i>Tg. Ket.</i>	Ascribe to the LORD, O families (מִשְׁפַּחוֹת) of the peoples (יְיָחוּס)

4) *Rabbinic Hebrew*

m. Yebam. 4:13 R. Simeon b. Azzai said: I found a family register (מְגִילָה) (יְחָסִים) in Jerusalem and in it was written ...

t. Pe'ah 4:11 A family from Bet Nebalta was [visiting] in Jerusalem. They were related to (מִתִּיחֶסֶת) the family of Arnon the Jebusite.

The principal meanings of *יח* are: (vb.) “to be registered by genealogy; take a census; establish descent”; and (n.) “genealogical registration; genealogical record.” The root appears in BH twenty-one times, exclusively in the late books of Chronicles (15×), Ezra (3×), and Nehemiah (3×). The root is attested within these books in both verbal (הִתְיַחַשׁ) and nominal (סִפְרֵי־הַיְחָ) forms. Although it is employed, by and large, in texts whose main interest lies in documenting familial-tribal connections by blood or marriage, *יח* is also found in lists and accounts pertaining to broader concerns, mainly military (units or groups of warriors);⁷ geographical (border descriptions); and administrative (lists of settlements). Note, however, that all these linguistic usages exhibit semantic nuances that derive from, and depend on, a single basic notion common to all of them: ancestry and kinship. In other words, they all belong, in one way or another, to the semantic field of genealogies and pedigree.

⁷ See J. Liver, “‘So All Israel was Enrolled by Genealogies; and These are Written in the Book of the Kings of Israel’ (1 Chr 9:1),” in idem, *Studies in Bible and Judean Desert Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1971), 234–40 (Hebrew).

The clear-cut pattern of late distribution for יחש in the Hebrew Bible, as well as the root's high frequency in postbiblical sources—in Rabbinic Hebrew (=RH) and Jewish Aramaic (=JA)⁸—is definitely indicative of the Second Temple linguistic milieu. Furthermore, as can be seen from the above examples, the writer(s) of the postexilic book of Chronicles, as well as those of the postbiblical Aramaic Targums and Talmudic literature, often tended to “superimpose” various forms derived from יחש/סח , current in their own times, upon the earlier biblical *Vorlage*, which is totally free of this late technical terminology.⁹ A comparison of these late sources with their corresponding passages in the Torah and Joshua may well provide us with the older linguistic equivalents of יחש/סח , employed in the Hebrew Bible prior to the appearance of יחש on the biblical scene (linguistic contrast).¹⁰ Once it can be shown not only that a certain text is free of distinctive LBH vocabulary, but also that it makes constant use of alternative terms and idioms that belong specifically to the linguistic milieu of CBH, it is possible to make a positive statement on the relative earlier dating of that text.

B. *The Formula* מ... וְלַמַּעְלָה ¹¹

The construction מ... וְלַמַּעְלָה “from ... and upwards/and beyond,” denoting “direction in time, or age” and “direction in space,”¹² is attested over fifty times in BH, in both early and late compositions. In contrast, the synonymous expression מ... וְלַמַּעְלָה does not occur at all in CBH; it is recorded

⁸ The root יחש/סח is not typical of the vocabulary of non-Jewish Aramaic. Thus, we may assume that it was probably imported into the Aramaic of the Sages from RH (as is well known, the original phoneme ש fell into disuse over the years and was replaced by ס). The etymology of the root is not entirely clear; cf. the dictionaries. Interestingly enough, the term is not employed in Biblical Aramaic (=BA).

⁹ In Wellhausen's acute formulation: “The alterations and additions of Chronicles are all traceable to the same fountain-head—the Judaizing of the past”; we are dealing here, then, with “apocryphal amplification” (J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of [Ancient] Israel* [trans. J. S. Black and A. Menzies; Edinburgh: Black, 1885], 223, 227).

¹⁰ “Linguistic contrast” (a contrast established between Classical and post-Classical modes of expression) is one of three criteria that must be satisfied whenever a given linguistic element is classified as “late” and assigned to LBH (cf. A. Hurvitz, “Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew,” in *Congress Volume, Oslo 1998* (ed. A. Lemaire and M. Saebø; VTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 148–50).

¹¹ The linguistic analysis presented in this section is a revised version of Hurvitz, “Evidence of Language,” 36–39; and idem, *Linguistic Study*, 107–9.

¹² BDB, 751b.

exclusively in late biblical writings—in Ezekiel (3×) and Chronicles (3×).¹³ Also, similar to the case of *ישׁ*, the post-Classical linguistic background indicated by the distribution pattern of *וּלְמַעַלָּה*...*מִ* within BH receives decisive corroboration from the widespread diffusion and extensive use of the phrase in postbiblical rabbinic sources, both Hebrew and Aramaic (cf. particularly Targumic Aramaic), in genealogical and nongenealogical contexts alike. See, for instance, the following examples:

1) *Late Biblical Hebrew*

1 Chr 23:27 versus Num 1:18

1 Chr 23:27	these were	the number of the Levites
Num 1:18	the whole congregation together, who registered themselves	... according to the number of names

Chr	from (... <i>מִ</i>) twenty years old and upwards	(וּלְמַעַלָּה)
Num	from (... <i>מִ</i>) twenty years old and upwards	(וּמַעַלָּה)

2 Chr 31:15–16 versus Num 3:21–22

2 Chr 31:15	... old and young alike, by divisions,
Num 3:21	... these were the families of the Gershonites

2 Chr 31:16	except those enrolled by genealogy	(הַתִּיחָסֶם),
Num 3:22	... according to the	number (בְּמִסְפָּר) of all the

Chr	males from (... <i>מִ</i>) three years	old and upwards	(וּלְמַעַלָּה)
Num	males from (... <i>מִ</i>) a month	old and upward	(וּמַעַלָּה)

Ezek 1:26–27 versus 1 Sam 9:2

Ezek 1:26	... and seated above... was a likeness... of a human form.
1 Sam 9:2	There was not a man... more handsome than he;

Ezek 1:27	And upward from... his loins	(וּלְמַעַלָּה מִתַּנְיֹו)
Sam	from his shoulders upward	(וּמַעַלָּה מִשְׁכָּמוֹ)

Ezek	I saw as it were gleaming bronze.
Sam	he was taller than any of the people.

¹³ It is noteworthy that the corresponding, opposite phrase *וּלְמַטָּה*...*מִ* “from...and downwards (of space)/and under (of age)” —also with superfluous *ל*—is likewise confined to Ezekiel (2×) and Chronicles (1×) exclusively (*הַמְטָה*...*מִ**, its expected equivalent in CBH, does not occur in the Hebrew Bible).

2) *Qumran Hebrew*¹⁴

4Q365 27 4 all the males from (... מ) a month old and upward (ולמַעַל¹⁵]ה)
 [≠ Num 3:28 all the males from (... מ) a month old and upward (ומעלה)]
 11QT^a 39:10–11¹⁵ ... from (... מ) twenty and upward (ולמעלה)

 3) *Targumic Aramaic*

Num 3:22 all the males from (... מ) a month old and upward (ומעלה)

MT מ... וְמַעַלָּה
 Tg. Onq. מ... ולעילא
 Tg. Ps.-J. מ... ולעילא
 Tg. Neof. מ(ן) ולעיל
 Sam. Tg. מ . . . ולעל
 Peshitta מן . . . ולעל

 4) *Rabbinic Hebrew*¹⁶

m. Roš Haš. 4:4 It was ordained that evidence could be admitted only until the afternoon offering. And if witnesses came from (מן) the time of the afternoon offering onwards (ולמעלן)...

m. Šebi. 9:2 ... from Kefar Hanania upwards (מ... ולמעלן), wherever sycamores do not grow, is upper Galilee.

m. Yebam. 12:1 [If the straps of the sandal were fastened] below the knee, her *ḥalitzah* is valid; but if above the knee (מן... ולמעלן), it is not valid.

¹⁴ The phrase is attested in QH, but apparently occurs there only twice (4Q365 27 4 is referred to in Abegg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*, 1:475a; 11QT^a 39:10–11 is quoted here according to the improved reading of Qimron (see below, n. 15). Perhaps this is due to the fact that the scrolls do not exhibit particular interest in genealogical lists and accounts (cf. above n. 6).

¹⁵ Cf. E. Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (JDS; Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1996), 56.

¹⁶ Note that מ... ולמַעַלָּה, with the extra ל, is used here in RH—similarly to its use in Ezekiel and Chronicles (cf. the verses quoted above)—for the semantic nuances of both “time” and “space,” precisely as מ... וְמַעַלָּה serves these same two functions in CBH.

On the face of it, the presence or absence of the preposition לְ may quite often be regarded as insufficient—and inconclusive—evidence for dating purposes, since fluctuations in its application may be observed in many biblical compositions, regardless of their historical age. However, the rich linguistic data adduced above demonstrate that the emergence of the superfluous -לְ in our specific case (מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה) is indeed an unmistakable indication of lateness:

(1) The distribution patterns of the two synonymous biblical constructions, מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה and מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה is clear-cut and unequivocal; the first functions as the standard form in the Hebrew Bible as a whole, whereas the second is recorded exclusively in the late compositions of Ezekiel and Chronicles.

(2) The consistent usage of the formation with the additional—and secondary—לְ in extrabiblical sources that reflect the Second Temple linguistic milieu (מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה [מ] in Hebrew, as well as [מ]...וּלְמַעַלָּה [א] in Aramaic) fully confirms the conclusion derived from the biblical findings; namely, that the extended מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה, in both its temporal and spatial meanings, is a neologism coined in the post-Classical phases of BH.

(3) Finally, as has been rightly observed,¹⁷ the extra (initial) -לְ in the form מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה fulfills a definite syntactical function: it is meant to replace the semantically empty (final) ה- in מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה, which had served in ancient Hebrew (and Ugaritic) as a standard morpheme (“*he locale*”) to denote direction (“to, toward”). The general diachronic shift within BH from the (ancient) obsolete ה- to the (later) more transparent -לְ may similarly be illustrated by the distribution patterns of the two alternating variant forms מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה(?) and מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה(?); לְמַעַלָּה(?) and לְמַעַלָּה(?).¹⁸ It must be noted, however, that unlike מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה(?) and לְמַעַלָּה(?), in which the archaic ה- is dropped altogether, in מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה(?) the (now) redundant ה- is retained, as a relic of the past.

To summarize: the age formula “from . . . and upwards/and beyond” is one of the key idioms employed in the genealogical records of the OT. The fact that the late form מִ...וּלְמַעַלָּה is totally nonexistent in the vocabulary

¹⁷ See E. Qimron, “The Vocabulary of the Temple Scroll,” *Shnaton* 4 (1980): 248 (in Hebrew); cf. also his article “The Language of the Temple Scroll,” *Leš* 42 (1978): 94–96 (in Hebrew).

¹⁸ Cf. BDB, 511a; and also A. Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew* (2 vols.; Tel-Aviv: Dvir, 1967–1971), 1:65, 371; 2:452 (in Hebrew); J. Joosten, “The Distinction between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew as Reflected in Syntax,” in *Hebrew Studies* 46 (2005): 337–38.

of the Priestly writers, who make consistent use of its classical equivalent *וּמַעְלָה*... *מ* in genealogically oriented texts, clearly demonstrates that these records were consolidated and written down before the post-Classical *וּלְמַעְלָה*... *מ* was coined and appeared on the biblical scene.¹⁹

C. אַבְוֹתֵיהֶם²⁰

In BH, the standard 3m.pl. possessive pronominal suffix attached to plural nouns ending in *-וֹת* is *-ָם*; for instance, *צְבָאוֹתָם* “their armies,” which is a combination of *צְבָאוֹת* “armies” and *-ָם* “their.” In later writings, however, a competing form—*צְבָאוֹתֵיהֶם*—begins to gain currency on the biblical scene. The emergence of the ending *-וֹתֵיהֶם* may well be regarded as an attempt (conscious or otherwise) to differentiate formally between the two synonymous suffixes when applied to a singular noun (“their army”), on the one hand, and to the plural (“their armies”), on the other. The shorter *-ָם* was thus retained in the case of the singular (*צְבָאָם* “their army”), whereas the longer formation *-וֹתֵיהֶם* was adopted for use with the plural (*צְבָאוֹתֵיהֶם* “their armies”), most probably by analogy to the *-וֹתֵיהֶם* ending employed with plural forms ending in *-וֹתֵם*. In any event, it is widely recognized that morphologically, the extended form *-וֹתֵיהֶם* is secondary.²¹

¹⁹ As noted above (see p. 109), the earlier *וּמַעְלָה*... *מ* may still be found in later writings; but this is quite normal and creates no problem. In post-Classical compositions, archaic, outdated modes of expression are not completely neglected or systematically replaced by their later counterparts. After all, we are dealing here with a gradual and continuous process, not with a sudden, instantaneous event; so it is necessary to allow for a (shorter or longer) “transitional period,” during which both competing elements may have coexisted side by side. Also, it is common knowledge that the late biblical writers often tended to “embellish” their literary compositions with linguistic elements inherited from previous generations, thus creating a “mixture” of old and new (on “[t]he merger of Old and New in LBH,” see A. Hurvitz, “Once Again: The Linguistic Profile of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch and Its Historical Age,” in *ZAW* 112 [2000]: 185–88). The cardinal issue here is, therefore, not whether and when *old features disappeared* from the biblical scene, but rather, when and where (i.e., in which compositions) *later features arose* and achieved dominance.

²⁰ The discussion here follows, by and large, the line of argumentation underlying Hurvitz, *Linguistic Study*, 24–27 (*מוֹשְׁבוֹתָם/מוֹשְׁבוֹתֵיהֶם*). See also R. Wright, *Linguistic Evidence for the Pre-Exilic Date of the Yahwistic Source* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 419; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 27–30.

²¹ *-וֹתֵיהֶם* contains two plural morphemes: *-וֹתֵם* and *-וֹתֵי* (“a double indication of the plural” [GKC, 258, §91m]; “[t]he longer pattern . . . expresses plurality twice” [Joüon-Muraoka, 264, §94g]). Such a redundant, or tautological, denotation of plurality is to be seen as characteristic of a late diachronic phase (see also H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des alten Testamentes* [Halle: Niemeyer, 1922], 257, §29q; E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* [1QIsa^a] [STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1979], 451 n. 1; Hurvitz, *Linguistic Study*, 24–27; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the*

The two grammatically alternative forms אָבוֹתֵהֶם and אָבוֹתֵיהֶם are used within genealogy-related records, as part of the idiom /בֵּית-אָבוֹתֵהֶם/, which denotes “their fathers’ house (of family or clan).” A glance at the biblical concordance immediately reveals that the compound expression בֵּית-אָבוֹתֵיהֶם is attested exclusively in the LBH corpus, its seven occurrences limited to the book of Chronicles. Furthermore, the form אָבוֹתֵיהֶם—either standing alone or employed within construct-state phrases (e.g., אֱלֹהֵי-אָבוֹתֵיהֶם “the god of their fathers”)—is also characteristic of the distinctive LBH lexicon: out of a total of thirty-three occurrences (including the idiom בֵּית-אָבוֹתֵיהֶם), אָבוֹתֵיהֶם is recorded twenty-six times in Chronicles, twice in Nehemiah, and once in Ezra (the other four occurrences are divided between Jeremiah [three times] and 1 Kings [once]).²² P, in contrast, is familiar throughout only with the older form אָבוֹתֵם, to the exclusion of אָבוֹתֵיהֶם. It is clear, then, that the Priestly texts are free of—or, are not yet “contaminated” by—the genealogical vocabulary which was current in LBH during the postexilic age.²³

Dead Sea Scrolls [HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986], 63, §322.182). It may well also be maintained that the corresponding Aramaic suffix, יְהוֹן־ (for instance, יוֹמֵיהוֹן “their days”) played a certain role in shaping the post-Classical אָבוֹתֵיהֶם, which would be another indication of lateness (Bendavid, *Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew*, 2:452; Hurvitz, *Linguistic Study*, 25; Wright, *Linguistic Evidence*, 28). The opposing view, which rejects the diachronic perspective on אָבוֹתֵיהֶם (I. Young, R. Rezetko with the assistance of M. Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* [2 vols.; BibleWorld; London: Equinox, 2008], 2:156), is incompatible with the linguistic evidence adduced above.

²² In terms of literary genre, Jeremiah belongs among the works of classical prophecy, which flourished in preexilic times; but according to his own testimony, the prophet lived long enough to witness the destruction of the First Temple and the beginning of the Babylonian Exile. It is not surprising, therefore, that some linguistic forerunners of post-Classical Hebrew found their way into his prophecies (cf., for instance, M. Bar-Asher, “The Historical Unity of Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew Research,” in *Language Studies 1* (ed. M. Bar-Asher; Jerusalem: Academon, 1985), 93–95 (in Hebrew); C. Smith, “‘With an Iron Pen and a Diamond Tip’: Linguistic Peculiarities of the Book of Jeremiah” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2003), *passim*. Another representative of this “transitional period” between CBH and LBH is Ezekiel; see Hurvitz, *Linguistic Study*, *passim*; M. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel* [JSOTSup 90; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990], *passim*). The case of 1 Kgs 14:15, on the other hand, is highly problematic in this connection and, admittedly, remains an unresolved question (though it should be noted that the relevant passage is not represented in the Septuagint [I am grateful to Aaron Hornkohl for calling my attention to this fact]).

²³ It is noteworthy that the dominant ending in the postbiblical DSS and Ben Sira is not the expected (longer) post-Classical אָבוֹתֵיהֶם, but, rather, the (shorter) CBH אָבוֹתֵם. Obviously, the postbiblical sources exhibit certain irregularities in their depiction of the linguistic development of the two morphemes (see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 63, §322.182; M. Bar-Asher, “The Language of Qumran: Between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew [A Study in Morphology],” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 2* [ed. M. Bar-Asher

III. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Typologically, there are far-reaching commonalities—in terms of both form and content—between the various genealogical and genealogically oriented materials recorded in the Hebrew Bible; so much so, that many scholars assign them *en bloc* to one and the same historical age, i.e., the exilic/postexilic period. However, the assumption underlying this hypothesis ignores the fundamental philological rule stipulating that linguistic similarities do not necessarily imply chronological contemporaneity. Rather, methodologically, it is essential that *both* similarities *and* differences in language and style be considered before a verdict is proclaimed on the dating of chronologically disputed texts.²⁴ Indeed, in the foregoing discussion, I have endeavored to demonstrate that the Priestly writers²⁵ of genealogical and related materials preserved in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua are entirely unacquainted with key technical terms and idioms that are employed extensively in the late biblical writings. It is precisely this unbridgeable terminological gap which requires an explanation in the present discussion.

The three idioms discussed above, representing as they do the three major divisions of language—vocabulary (lexical items [יחש]), syntax (prepositions [וּלְמַעַלָּה...]), and grammar (pronominal suffixes [וּתְיָהֶם])—belong to the distinctive terminology widely utilized in genealogically oriented records throughout the Second Temple Era in both biblical and nonbiblical sources. In contrast, the biblical Priestly writers

and D. Dimant; Haifa: Haifa University Press; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2004]: 137–49 [in Hebrew]). Nevertheless, it is widely acknowledged that, as far as *BH itself* is concerned, the shift from the (earlier) אֲבוֹתָם to the (later) אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם reflects a diachronic development, which finds unmistakable expression in the differences in wording between biblical texts written in CBH and those formulated in LBH. Cf. Bar-Asher's unequivocal statement on this matter: "We know that the short pronominal suffix is the predominant one in the earlier biblical books, as already established in scholarly literature. Indeed, it has been noted that the pair אֲבוֹתָם/אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם suitably illustrates this phenomenon; in the older writings we find only אֲבוֹתָם, אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם...; and the form אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם appears only in later biblical compositions from the end of the First, or from the Second, Temple Period" (M. Bar-Asher, "The Language of Qumran," 139; see also 141, 143, 146–47 [translation mine: AH]).

²⁴ Cf. Hurvitz, *Linguistic Study*, 144–46.

²⁵ Or authors/editors/redactors/pen-men/scribes/copyists, etc. The specific title selected in order to define the anonymous persons who produced or put into writing the so-called "Priestly" texts is of no consequence for the present discussion. Our purpose is only to identify the linguistic milieu underlying the texts here under examination, regardless of their theological message or the personal, ideological attitudes of the individual writers concerned. Cf. also n. 2 above.

consistently resort, in similar contexts within Genesis–Joshua, to a different technical register whose linguistic background is unmistakably preexilic (√חפח [משפחה]; √לד [תולדות]; √קד [פקודים]; √ממ [ממלה]...מבזתם). In other words, the Priestly circles in which these genealogical texts were shaped and transmitted were as yet unacquainted with the standard genealogical vocabulary which gained currency and became normative only in the later compositions of subsequent generations, in the Second Temple Period.²⁶

In conclusion: Whatever editorial activities and literary modifications the Priestly genealogy-related accounts and records in Genesis–Joshua may have undergone during the process of their transmission, all these textual developments must have come to an end *prior* to the emergence of the distinctive LBH corpus as laid before us in its presently extant version. Or, in a slightly different formulation, the linguistic formation and consolidation of the Priestly genealogical and other similar material preserved in the books of the Pentateuch and Joshua *predate* the time period that shaped our LBH corpus as found in the MT. The language of this material should therefore be categorized typologically as Classical Biblical Hebrew and assigned historically to the preexilic period.²⁷

²⁶ It has recently been suggested by some biblical scholars (cf., e.g., I. Young, R. Rezetko, and M. Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating*, 1:361 and *passim*) that CBH and LBH should not be regarded as *linguistic phases* which reflect, diachronically, two distinct historical ages, but rather as two *literary styles*, coexisting synchronically side by side; and therefore, that the distinctions between them cannot be utilized for dating purposes. This view is unacceptable and misleading, since it fails to distinguish between “Classical” and “Pseudo- (or Neo-) Classical” texts and between (genuine) “archaic” and (bookish) “archaizing” styles. On Pseudo-Classical Hebrew, cf., for instance, J. Joosten, “Pseudo-Classicism in Late Biblical Hebrew, in Ben Sira, and in Qumran Hebrew,” in *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, 1997* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 146–59.

²⁷ For a similar conclusion regarding the preexilic linguistic milieu underlying the terminology of P as a whole, cf. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study*.

IMPERATIVE CLAUSES CONTAINING A TEMPORAL PHRASE
AND THE STUDY OF DIACHRONIC SYNTAX IN ANCIENT HEBREW

Jan Joosten

It has become commonplace to stress the great importance of Qumran Hebrew in diachronic studies on ancient Hebrew. While the biblical texts are for the most part difficult to date, the Qumran scrolls give us a corpus of Hebrew texts that can be dated with some precision, in manuscripts that are more or less contemporary with the writings themselves. Qumran Hebrew can serve as a benchmark in research on the development of Hebrew in the biblical and early postbiblical periods.

At the same time, investigation of the scrolls has had the effect of underlining the undeniable fact that ancient Hebrew consisted of dialects. The peculiar morphology of Qumran Hebrew reflects a living substratum that differs from other varieties of Hebrew along dialectal lines.¹ Research on this dialectal diversity has helped to inaugurate a comparative approach to ancient Hebrew in which all manifestations of the language are given an equal hearing—Tiberian, Babylonian, Qumranic, Samaritan, Mishnaic—along with some more indirect expressions thereof, such as transcriptions in the Septuagint or in Origen.

As several scholars have pointed out, the two approaches furthered by research on the scrolls, the chronological and the dialectological, stand in tension with one another. Although in both approaches it is recognized that languages evolve, different conclusions are drawn from this observation. While diachronic research on Hebrew seeks to relate changes in the language to specific periods in history, the study of dialectal variety leads one to realize that earlier and later forms of expression may continue side by side.

¹ An early advocate of this view was R. Meyer, "Das Problem der Dialektmischung in den hebräischen Texten von Chirbet Qumran," *VT* 7 (1957): 139–48. More recently, this approach has been argued with much conviction by Morag and Qimron. See S. Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations," *VT* 38 (1988): 148–64; and E. Qimron, "Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 BCE–200 CE) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 349–61.

Thus, the dialectological approach can play havoc with the careful analyses of those who try to establish the chronology of ancient Hebrew. When patient research has led one scholar to declare that a given expression is representative of the Second Temple period, another scholar may reply that this may instead be a dialectal variant that had always existed somewhere and only by chance was never used in any early Hebrew texts.²

On reflection, of course, the dialectal approach cannot cancel out the search for chronological sequence. Contrary to what has sometimes been affirmed, the existence of dialectal variety does not render useless the search for historical developments. While it is true that dialects may preserve archaic forms or create innovations unknown elsewhere, it is also true that languages evolve and that texts can, to a certain extent, be dated by the kind of language they use. What is needed is a method that takes both approaches into account and tries to classify linguistic variation in a way that gives each approach its due. In what follows, I will try to define one type of syntactic variation that can, with due caution, be related to a datable development within the Hebrew language, notwithstanding the undoubted presence of dialectal variation.³

1. ADVERBIAL TIME PHRASES IN IMPERATIVE CLAUSES: CLASSICAL BIBLICAL HEBREW

A) *The Sequence Imperative–Temporal Phrase*

In the books of Genesis to 2 Kings, combinations of a temporal phrase or adverb with an imperative normally occur in the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase*:

1 Kgs 12:12: שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי

Come to me again the third day.⁴

As is shown by the example, a third element—here אֵלַי—can come between the imperative and the temporal phrase. The temporal phrase

² See, e.g., P.R. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"* (JSOTSup 148; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 102–5.

³ Part of this material was presented orally in a paper at the Fourteenth World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, 2005. A French version of that paper has been published as J. Joosten, "La vérité philologique dans les débats sur la datation des textes bibliques," in *Vérité(s) philologique(s): Études sur les notions de vérité et de fausseté en matière de philologie* (ed. P. Hummel and F. Gabriel; Paris: Philologicum, 2008), 19–29.

⁴ English translations of biblical verses follow the NRSV.

practically never precedes the imperative, however. Indeed, the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase* occurs even where a certain insistence accompanying the adverbial phrase might lead one to expect the reverse sequence:

Judg 16:18: עלו הפעם

This time come up.⁵

An apparent exception occurs when the imperative is introduced by *ועתה*:

Gen 20:7: ועתה השב אשת־האיש

Now then, return the man's wife.⁶

In this position, however, *ועתה* (and occasionally *עתה*) functions not on the clausal but on the textual level: it marks a concluding statement in the reasoning.⁷ If there is a temporal implication at all, it does not apply to the following imperative, but to the making of the statement (“and now I'm telling you...”).⁸

An imperative introduced by *ועתה* may be followed by another temporal phrase:

1 Sam 19:2: ועתה השמר־נא בבקר

Now then, be on guard tomorrow morning.⁹

Apart from the cases involving *ועתה*, the order *imperative–temporal phrase* is consistent throughout the CBH corpus: Gen 24:12; 25:31, 33; Exod 7:15; 8:16; 9:13; 10:17; 16:25; 32:29; Num 11:18; 16:7, 16; 22:8, 19; Josh 7:13; 24:15; Judg 9:32; 10:15; 16:18, 28; 1 Sam 9:27; 14:33; 19:2; 29:10; 2 Sam 11:12; 1 Kgs 12:12; 22:5; 2 Kgs 10:6 (28 cases).¹⁰

⁵ See also 2 Sam 11:12.

⁶ See also Gen 21:23; 31:13; Exod 4:12; 10:17; Num 22:19; Deut 31:19; and many more.

⁷ See, e.g., W. Groß, *Die Satzteilfolge im Verbalsatz alttestamentlicher Prosa* (FAT 17; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1996), 131–32. Note that where *עתה* really means “now,” it follows the imperative: Deut 32:39; Judg 9:38; 1 Sam 9:12.

⁸ In terms of speech act analysis, *ועתה* functions on the illocutionary rather than the locutionary level.

⁹ See also Judg 9:32.

¹⁰ There is one exception that will be discussed in the appendix to this paper (Num 14:25). There are also some doubtful cases: in Judg 5:2, the imperative seems to function as an exclamation; in 2 Kgs 6:32, it is hard to know how to divide the sentence. In 1 Sam 20:38; 2 Kgs 1:11; and Ps 31:3, the adverb *מהרה* does not define the time but the way the command is to be carried out.

The great regularity of the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase* is rather surprising. In Biblical Hebrew, temporal adverbs and phrases often occur at the head of the clause.¹¹ With a second person imperfect, the sequence *temporal phrase–verb* is frequent:

2 Kgs 20:5: ביום השלישי תעלה בית ה'

On the third day, you shall go up to the house of the LORD.¹²

Note the contrast in the following example:

Exod 16:25: אכלהו היום כי־שבת היום לה' היום לא תמצאהו בשדה

Eat it today, for today is a Sabbath to the LORD; today you will not find it in the field.

B) *The Syntax of Volitive Forms in CBH*

An explanation for the consistent preference for the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase* in CBH may be found in some well-established rules of verbal syntax. As has been discovered independently by Alviero Nicacci and John Revell, and demonstrated more systematically by Ahouva Shulman, volitive verbal forms—imperative, cohortative, and jussive—tend to occur at the head of the clause in CBH prose.¹³ In this respect, the volitives contrast with nonvolitive *yiqtol* (long form) verbs, which are almost entirely restricted to a noninitial position in the clause. These placement rules probably reflect the need to distinguish homonymous forms. As is well known, the jussive and the cohortative often coincide, formally, with third and first person *yiqtol* forms respectively. Word order helps to tell them apart:

1 Sam 13:3: ישמעו העברים

Let the Hebrews hear!

Deut 17:13: וכל־העם ישמעו

All the people will hear.

¹¹ See Groß, *Satzteilfolge*, passim (precise references may be found in the index under the heading C-temp).

¹² See also Gen 2:17; Exod 12:18; 16:12; 22:9; 23:12; 34:21; Lev 23:26; 25:9; Num 9:3; Deut 16:8; 28:67; Josh 6:4; 1 Sam 9:13; 2 Sam 18:20.

¹³ See A. Niccacci, "A Neglected Point of Hebrew Syntax: *Yiqtol* and Position in the Sentence," *LASBF* 37 (1987): 7–19; E.J. Revell, "The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose," *HUCA* 60 (1989): 1–37; A. Shulman, "The Use of Modal Verb Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1996).

Although the forms are homonyms, their position in the clause helps to define the first one as jussive and the second as a normal imperfect (*yiqtol*).

Gen 24:57: נקרא לנער ונשאלה את־פיה

Let's call the girl and ask her.

1 Kgs 18:24: 'וקראתם בשם אלהיכם ואני אקרא בשם־ה'

Then you will call on the name of your gods and *I will call* on the name of the LORD.

Again, it is impossible to tell from the morphology that the first form is a cohortative and the second a regular imperfect. Only the syntax and the general context show that the forms are to be identified in this way.

Volitive forms may take the second position in the clause if they are preceded by a marked topic or focus:

Gen 44:33: ועתה ישב־נא עבדך תחת הנער עבד לאדני והנער יעל עם־אחיו

Now therefore, please let your servant remain as a slave to my lord in place of the boy, and let the boy go back with his brothers.

In CBH, however, this happens only in about five percent of the cases, according to the research of Shulman.¹⁴

The volitive forms, cohortative, imperative, and jussive—together with *al* + jussive for negated clauses—make up one single paradigm. The placement rules affect them all in the same way. To be sure, the imperative could not be formally confused with the normal imperfect of the second person. To distinguish these two forms by means of the syntax may seem superfluous. The tendency of the imperative to be positioned at the head of the clause appears to be due to analogy with the cohortative and the jussive—a case of *Systemzwang*.

C) Concluding Remarks on CBH

These placement rules go some way towards explaining the remarkable consistency of the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase* in CBH prose.¹⁵

¹⁴ See also Gen 20:15; 21:12; 23:6, 15; 31:16; 47:6; Exod 5:16; 16:23; Lev 8:3; Deut 1:38; 2:2–3, 24; Josh 22:8; 1 Sam 14:36, 40; 21:4; 28:11; 2 Sam 20:4; 1 Kgs 2:26; 13:31; 20:18; 2 Kgs 9:27; 10:19; 11:15; 16:15 (Shulman, “Modal Verb Forms,” 246). Shulman lists no cases where a temporal phrase precedes the volitive.

¹⁵ As usual, this rule is not consistently observed in poetry. Temporal phrases preceding an imperative are found in Jer 18:23; Pss 4:2; 102:3.

Since the imperative is closely tied to the first position in the clause, a temporal phrase accompanying it follows the verbal form.

Of course, the question might be asked: why might the temporal phrase not *precede* the imperative, given that other constituents do so in a small number of instances? The answer must be that the syntactic role of the temporal phrase is somehow distinct. Note that a similar phenomenon occurs when the imperative combines with an infinitive absolute. Although the infinitive absolute otherwise tends to precede a finite form of the same root, it always follows the imperative.¹⁶

In regard to the other volitives—cohortative and jussive—it is not so easy to establish the normal position of the temporal expression, because of the problem of homonymy. Only a handful of morphologically marked cohortatives and jussives combine with temporal phrases. In these instances, we can observe the same rule as we have seen for the imperative: the combination of a volitive with an adverbial expression of time invariably follows the sequence *volitive–temporal phrase*:

Gen 46:30: אמותה הפעם

Let me die now.¹⁷

2 Sam 17:16: אל-תלן הלילה בערבות המדבר

Do not lodge tonight at the fords of the wilderness.¹⁸

Examples like these show that the positioning of the adverbial phrase of time after the verbal form is indeed shared by the entire volitive paradigm. There are no counter-examples. The diagnostic syntagm, however, is the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase*, which is more frequent and more clearly marked than other combinations of volitive forms with temporal expressions.

2. ADVERBIAL TIME PHRASES IN IMPERATIVE CLAUSES: LATE BIBLICAL HEBREW

Turning to Late Biblical Hebrew, we find a number of instances of the “classical” sequence, *imperative–temporal phrase*:

¹⁶ See Judg 5:23; Isa 6:9 (twice); 55:2; Jer 22:10; Job 13:17; 21:2; 37:2; and similarly, with a cohortative, Zech 8:21.

¹⁷ Other examples: Gen 18:32; Judg 6:39; 1 Sam 14:36; 2 Sam 17:1.

¹⁸ Other examples: Exod 16:19; Lev 10:9; Josh 22:22.

Neh 1:11: והצליחה־נא לעבדך היום

Give success to your servant today.¹⁹

However, we also find several examples of the reverse order, *temporal phrase–imperative*:

Esth 5:14: ובבקר אמר למלך ויתלו את־מרדכי עליו

And in the morning tell the king to have Mordecai hanged on it.

Eccl 7:14: ביום טובה היה בטוב

In the day of prosperity be joyful.

Eccl 11:6: בבקר זרע את־זרעך

In the morning sow your seed.

2 Chr 20:16: מחר רדו עליהם

Tomorrow go down against them.

2 Chr 20:17: מחר צאו לפניהם

Tomorrow go out against them.

The fronting of the temporal phrase in the examples from the LBH corpus cannot be attributed to factors like contrast or highlighting. The examples in 2 Chr 20:16, 17, for instance (and perhaps Esth 5:14 as well), do not involve any perceptible measure of insistence. Moreover, as we saw above, in CBH when contrast or emphasis affects the temporal phrase they do not cause it to be fronted.²⁰ A different factor must be at work.

Five examples may seem like a small sample. The fact, however, that there are practically no such examples in the much larger corpus of Classical Biblical Hebrew shows that even these few instances are significant. This point is further confirmed by data from Qumran Hebrew, Tobit and Ben Sira.

¹⁹ See likewise 1 Chr 28:10. There are also two cases in the parallel passages in Chronicles: 2 Chr 10:12 par. 1 Kgs 12:12; 2 Chr 18:4 par. 1 Kgs 22:5.

²⁰ See Judg 16:18, quoted above.

3. ADVERBIAL TIME PHRASES IN IMPERATIVE CLAUSES: EARLY POSTBIBLICAL HEBREW

Early postbiblical Hebrew attests the same syntactical situation as Late Biblical Hebrew. A few cases of the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase* are found:

4Q409 (*Liturgical Work A*) 1 i 3: ...]הל וברך בימי הב[

Praise and bless in the days of...²¹

But in most cases where there is a temporal phrase, it precedes the imperative. There are two examples in Hebrew Tobit:

Tob 4:3 (4Q200 2 3): וכול ימיכה בני לאלהים הי[ה ז]כר

My son, remember God all your days.

Tob 13:15 (4Q200 7 i 1): אז שמחי ודוצי

Then rejoice and be glad.

In the book of Ben Sira, there are several examples:

Sir 14:13 A: בטרם תמות היטב לאוהב

Do good to friends before you die.

Sir 33:24/30:32 E: ביום המות הנח[ל]

In the hour of death, distribute your inheritance.²²

Sir 6:18: בני מנוער קבל מוסר ועד שיבה תשיג חכמה

My son, from your youth choose discipline, and when you have grey hair you will find wisdom.²³

Note also the following reconstructed example from *Jubilees*:

Jub. 37:23 (4Q223–224 2 iv 11–12): ואם ילבינו [העורבים כקא]ת אזי דע כי

[אהב]ת[י אותכה ואע]ש[ה] עמכה שלום.

*Wala^emma çâ^edawa q^e kama râzâ 'ammêhu 'â'amm^er kama 'afqarkuka
w^egabb^er m^eslêka salâma*

²¹ See also 4Q300 1a ii–b 1; 4Q416 2 iii 11, 12.

²² In Sir 4:28, המות עד “unto death,” is not a temporal expression.

²³ The first part of this verse occurs on the folio that was recently retrieved and published by Shulamit Elizur, “A New Hebrew Fragment of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus),” *Tarbiz* 76 (2006–2007): 17–28.

And if the ravens become white like a pelican, **then know** that I love you and will make peace with you.

There are several examples from the texts discovered for the first time in Qumran:

4Q418 (4QInstruction) 43–45 i 4: יום וְלַיְלָה הִגָּה בְּרַז נְהִיָּה

Day and night, meditate on the mystery of existence

4Q418 (4QInstruction) 81+81a 11: בְּטוֹרֵם תִּקַּח נַחֲלַתְכָּה מִיָּדוֹ כְּבֹד קְדוּשָׁיו

Before you take your inheritance from his hand, honor his holy ones

4Q525 (4QBeatitudes) 14 ii 24: לְפָנִים שָׁמַע אִמְרָם וְאַחַר תִּשְׁיַב

First hear their words, and afterwards answer . . .

4Q385a (4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^a) 18 ii 8: יוֹם דְּרָשׁוּ אֶת חֻקוֹתַי

Every day seek my statutes

4Q427 (4QHodayot^a) 7 i 17: וְלֹא קִצְיִם הֵשְׁמָעוּ

In all periods, make it be heard . . .

4. THE SEQUENCE *IMPERATIVE–TEMPORAL PHRASE* AND THE VERBAL SYSTEM

The difference between the classical corpus and the other texts is not that the former use one sequence and the latter the opposite one. Rather, while the classical texts use one sequence exclusively, the other writings admit both sequences.

The statistical difference between the classical corpus and the other texts is undeniable. In Genesis–2 Kings, the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase* is attested 28 times and the reverse sequence only once,²⁴ while in Late Biblical and early Postbiblical Hebrew the sequence *imperative–temporal phrase* is found 8 times (twice in parallel passages in Chronicles), and the sequence *temporal phrase–imperative*, 17 times.

²⁴ For the exception in Num 14:25, see the appendix.

	Imperative–Temp	Temp–Imperative
CBH	28	1
LBH, Ben Sira, DSS	8	17

This is no mere statistical blip. Indeed, the statistics cohere with other differences between classical and postclassical syntax. They are indicative of a systemic difference between two *états de langue*.

In Classical Biblical Hebrew, the postpositive positioning of a temporal phrase in imperative clauses reflects the peculiar placement rules of volitive sentences. Since the volitive is tied to the head of the clause, the temporal phrase is placed after it. The examples from Late Biblical and early postbiblical Hebrew indicate that, in these texts, the classical rules of word order do not operate. Word order does not serve to distinguish between volitives and nonvolitive forms. There are several other indications of this:

- In Late Biblical and early postbiblical Hebrew nonvolitive *yiqtol* is found regularly in clause-initial position.²⁵
- In Late Biblical and early postbiblical Hebrew, volitive forms may occur in third position in the clause. As I have shown in an earlier publication, volitives never occupy the third position in CBH.²⁶
- In CBH, all three volitive forms combine with the conjunction *w-* to express subordination when they follow another volitive and in some other types of phrases. In Late Biblical and early postbiblical Hebrew, the imperative is replaced by the imperfect in this function.²⁷
- There are strong indications in LBH and in Qumran Hebrew that the morphological distinction between the volitives and the normal imperfect does not express a semantic difference.²⁸ The jussive and the cohortative function as syntactically conditioned allomorphs of the imperfect.

²⁵ See J. Joosten, “The Syntax of Volitive Verbal Forms in Qoheleth in Historical Perspective,” in *The Language of Qoheleth in Its Context: Essays in Honour of Prof. A. Schoors on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. A. Berlejung, P. Van Hecke; OLA 164; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 47–61.

²⁶ See, e.g., Eccl 10:20, and Joosten, *ibid.*

²⁷ See J. Joosten, “The Distinction between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew as Reflected in Syntax,” *HS* 46 (2005): 327–39.

²⁸ This issue has been investigated by Elisha Qimron; see, notably, E. Qimron, “Consecutive and Conjunctive Imperfect: the Form of the Imperfect with *Waw* in Biblical Hebrew,” *JQR* 77 (1987): 151–53.

The volitive and nonvolitive paradigms of Classical Biblical Hebrew are only partly kept distinct in Late Biblical and early postbiblical Hebrew. Position in the clause plays no role in distinguishing volitive and nonvolitive forms. The verbal system is evolving toward the situation we find in Mishnaic Hebrew, where a single verbal form, the imperfect, covers all modal functions, replaced in its former indicative functions by the participle.

5. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASSICAL AND POSTCLASSICAL HEBREW

Up to this point, the labels “classical,” “postclassical,” and “late biblical” have been used in a purely conventional way in the present paper. In principle, the syntactical variation between the two corpora might be attributed to dialectal diversity. Several facts show, however, that this variation is to be interpreted in terms of a diachronic development. LBH is indeed later, in absolute terms, than CBH. Three main arguments would seem to carry particular weight.

A) *Language Typology*

To begin with, the syntax we find in classical texts is typologically earlier than the syntax of nonclassical texts. Taken in isolation, of course, the two sequences, *imperative–temporal phrase* and *temporal phrase–imperative*, do not reveal anything regarding their relative date. But, as we saw, each sequence coheres with a set of syntactical rules. There can be no doubt that the distinction between the volitive paradigm and the nonvolitive *yiqtol*, as in CBH, is typologically earlier than the system in which different forms are welded (or confused) into a single paradigm, as in LBH.

In the abstract, this argument does not prove that texts written in CBH are older than texts using the other syntactical system. Contemporary dialects may use verbal systems that are typologically of different dates. It is a well-known fact that the verbal system of southern German dialects, which has eliminated the old preterit (*er sprach*), is typologically later than the verbal system of *Hochdeutsch* and the northern dialects, which have preserved the preterit. Yet all these varieties of German are being spoken at the same time, as they have been for centuries.

Nevertheless, in the case discussed in this paper, the typological relation between the classical system and the nonclassical one makes it feasible to argue that the latter grew directly out of the former.

B) *The History of Hebrew Literature over the First Millennium BCE*

What strengthens this argument is the fact that this syntactical change coheres with what else is known about the history of Hebrew literature. On independent grounds—linguistic and nonlinguistic—the “classical” corpus is to be dated earlier than the texts exhibiting the other type of syntax. In light of the present turmoil in biblical studies, this point can be affirmed only hesitantly. But some points should be uncontroversial.

For the books belonging to the classical corpus—the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets—some scholars cling to the idea, widely accepted between the end of the nineteenth century and the 1980s or so, that the greater part of the corpus goes back to the time of the monarchy. Other specialists in this literature would date almost all of it to the Persian period. Later dates, although occasionally defended, run counter to the undeniable fact that a big chunk of this literature, the Pentateuch, was translated into Greek during the first quarter of the third century BCE.

In regard to books using the nonclassical type of syntax, the books of Chronicles and Esther date themselves to the Persian period at the earliest.²⁹ The extrabiblical writings—Tobit, Ben Sira, *Jubilees*, the Qumran texts—go back, by common consent, to the Hellenistic period, some of them to the first century BCE or later. If writings produced later use a later type of language, this is a strong indication that the differences between the corpora are due to diachronic developments.³⁰

C) *The Distribution of the Nonclassical Type of Syntax*

A final argument for the diachronic nature of the syntactical variation we have studied is the fact that the diagnostic feature, the sequence *temporal phrase–imperative*, is attested in a great variety of texts of differing provenance. Chronicles, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Tobit, Ben Sira, *Jubilees*, and the Qumran writings have very little in common. Nevertheless, in regard to the point investigated here, they all exhibit the same type of syntax. It would be strange to observe that writings belonging to the latest stratum

²⁹ For the date of Ecclesiastes, see Joosten, “The Syntax of Volitive Verbal Forms.”

³⁰ This line of argument may seem to be self-defeating: if it is clear on other grounds that the CBH corpus is earlier than the other writings, why should one need the diachronic study of language to prove it? The burden of the present paper, however, is to establish that the historical study of ancient Hebrew is well founded, even within a frame of reference that takes into account the existence of different dialects.

of biblical books, and extrabiblical writings to be dated primarily to an even later period, are all “tainted” by the same distinct dialect, while the dialect of the classical corpus had disappeared entirely.

The change affecting the syntax of the modal system appears to be like a wave that went right through the different dialects of Hebrew at some time between the time when the classical corpus was written and the end of the Persian period.

6. CONCLUSION

Syntactical evidence for language evolution typically involves complicated explanations that are hard for nonspecialists to follow. In a few cases, however, the facts line up in a way that carries conviction. The syntactical variation studied in this paper clearly sets the classical corpus apart from late biblical and postbiblical texts. On close inspection it turns out that this variation attests to a wide-ranging development within the Hebrew verbal system in the pre-Mishnaic age. Of course, like all diachronic developments, one may suppose that this process did not occur in entirely linear fashion, or at a constant pace. Nevertheless, it is possible, in a rough fashion, to relate single texts to the stages of linguistic evolution so as to define their relative dates. Postclassical Hebrew really does come after classical Hebrew, and Late Biblical Hebrew is indeed late relative to other types of biblical Hebrew.

While the dialectal explanation of linguistic variety in early Hebrew remains an important conceptual tool, it should not be used as an argument against historical studies geared towards the dating of undated texts. Both approaches, the dialectal and the diachronic, have a place in the study of the Hebrew of the biblical and early postbiblical periods.

Appendix

The sequence *imperative–temporal phrase* is used consistently in CBH, being attested almost 30 times. There is one incontrovertible exception however, where we find the reverse sequence:

Num 14:25:

העמלקי והכנעני יושב בעמק
מחר פנו וסעו לכם המדבר דרך ים־סוף

Now, since the Amalekites and the Canaanites live in the valleys, *turn tomorrow* and set out for the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea.

How is this exception to be explained? Does it show that the sequence *temporal phrase-imperative* may be used in CBH after all? Is it a lapse of the classical author into a different dialect? Apparently not. It is to be noted that the verse presents other oddities:

- a) The stylistic mode of the verse is remarkable: God speaks to Moses in the second person plural, as if he incorporates the entire people as addressees; this is unusual in the Tetrateuch.³¹
- b) In the following narrative, the divine command to set out for the desert by way of Yam Suph is never carried out. In Num 21:4 the Israelites go from Mount Hor by way of Yam Suph; this is not because God said so, however, but because the Edomites will not allow them to pass through their territory.

These observations strongly suggest that Num 14:25b is not an original part of the story in Numbers, but an addition made under the influence of the parallel account in Deuteronomy:

Deut 1:40: ואתם פנו לכם וסעו המדברה דרך ים־סוף

But as for you, journey back to the wilderness, in the direction of the Red Sea.

In Deuteronomy, this verse is well-integrated into the context. According to what follows, the divine command is carried out to the letter:

Deut 2:1: ונפנ ונסע המדברה דרך ים־סוף כאשר דבר יהוה אלי

We journeyed back into the wilderness, in the direction of the Red Sea, as the Lord had told me.

Moreover, in Deuteronomy, it is usual for God to address Moses in the second person plural. In addition to Deut 1:40, one may note especially Deut 2:2–3:

ויאמר יהוה אלי לאמר רב־לכם סב את־ההר הזה פנו לכם צפנה

The Lord said to me, “You (pl.) have been skirting this hill country long enough. Head north.”

In light of these observations, it may be argued that Num 14:25b is not an organic part of the original composition, but a late addition designed

³¹ The only other possible examples are Num 1:2 and 17:10.

to harmonize Numbers 14 with the parallel account in Deuteronomy 1.³² Similar additions have been identified here and there in the Masoretic Tetrateuch.³³ The phenomenon also affects the Septuagint and, much more frequently, the Samaritan text. In the present case, the harmonization is present in all textual witnesses.

The harmonizer has left a telltale indication of his intervention, however: in adapting the verse to its context in Numbers, he changed וְאֵתֶם—a marked topic, and as such good CBH—into מִחֹרֶר, a temporal phrase. In doing so, he inadvertently created a type of syntax unattested and irregular in CBH, but regular in LBH.

The sequence *temporal phrase–imperative* in Num 14:25b does not show that the later type of syntax was already known when the classical texts were composed. It shows that the classical corpus received occasional corrections and updates at a period when the classical syntax was no longer known in all its intricacies.

³² Some literary critics have arrived at the same conclusion. See E. Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter Israels: Eine Studie zum Mosebild im Alten Testament* (ConBOT 27; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksel, 1988), 134 n. 25.

³³ Exod 32:9 is absent in the Old Greek and may be an addition under the influence of Deut 9:13; see Aurelius, *Fürbitter*, 11, 13. In Deut 1:39, the words וְטַפְכֶם אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתֶּם לְבָז יִהְיֶה may have been added under the influence of Num 14:31. See N. Lohfink, “Canonical Signals in the Additions in Deuteronomy 1.39,” in *Seeing Signals, Reading Signs: The Art of Exegesis* (ed. M.A. O’Brien and H.N. Wallace; JSOTSup 415; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 30–43.

LAWS OF WISDOM:
SAPIENTIAL TRAITS IN THE *RULE OF THE COMMUNITY* (1QS 5–7)

Reinhard G. Kratz

The topic I want to discuss in this paper is the question of the origin of the rules that the Qumran community established for itself in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 5–7). I shall investigate this question by means of the language in which these rules are formulated. At first glance the rules seem to use both a religious (biblical) idiom, in order to express religious principles, and an everyday idiom, in order to express the concrete interests of daily life in the community. However, on closer inspection, it is striking that even in the case of the community's rules for everyday life we find not only everyday language but also a series of expressions couched in the distinctive language of *topoi* known to us from the wisdom literature. The linguistic evidence points to a spiritual milieu in which Torah and wisdom represent a unity. This is presumably the milieu from which the Qumran community emerged.

Maybe this result will not seem so surprising to some, since the relationship between law and wisdom (in general) has long been under consideration; and the influence of sapiential (i.e., cosmological, theological, ethical, eschatological, or apocalyptic) speculations on the Qumran community's thinking, including the rule books such as 1QS and CD, is very well known.¹ However, in the instructions for the community's daily life we are dealing neither with the general relationship between law and wisdom nor with sapiential speculation. Rather, we are dealing with admonitions for everyday behaviour, and in this realm, the role of wisdom

¹ See, e.g., D.J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996); C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger et al., eds., *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2002); F. García Martínez, ed., *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003); J.J. Collins, G.E. Sterling, and R.A. Clements, eds., *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20–22 May, 2001* (STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004); M.J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

seems to me not to have been thus far acknowledged.² Thus, I shall here investigate a couple of texts from 1QS 5–7 as examples, concentrating on the so-called penal code (1QS 6:24–7:25), which is also widely attested in CD (col. 14) and the 4Q parallels to QS and CD. I shall end by setting forth some of the implications of the results for the understanding of the community's rules as Torah.

1. PROPERTY

In 1QS 6:24–25, the first case to be addressed in the penal code is that of false statements in matters of property: **איש אשר ישקר בהון/בממון** “If a man is found among them who lies about property, and he knows . . .”³ Property also plays a central role elsewhere in the *Rule of the Community*. In col. 5:2–3—presumably the original beginning of the *Rule*—it is stated that the *Yahad* has come together to form a community “in the Torah and in property” (**להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון**); accordingly, this is often a topic of the legal regulations.⁴

Looking at the semantic background of this topic, the significant terms, **הון** or **ממון**, clearly point to the wisdom literature. There are twenty-six instances of the word **הון** in the Hebrew Bible. Eighteen of them, i.e., far more than half, appear in Proverbs, and there are two instances in so-called wisdom psalms (Pss 112:3; 119:14); the other six occurrences are distributed over Ezekiel 27 (vv. 12, 18, 27, 33), Ps 44:13 and Song 8:7. In addition, the word **ממון** occurs in 1QS (6:2; 6:24–25 according to 4Q261); the word is

² See for instance C. Hempel, “The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books,” in Hempel, Lange, and Lichtenberger, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 277–95; Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 146–59, 160–78, 245–46. Here, only the expression **למשכיל**, which occurs also in 4Q256 9:1 and 4Q258 1:1 (mss b and d of 1QS 5:1), is discussed. See also M.R. Lehmann, “Ben Sira and the Qumran Literature,” *RevQ* 3 (1961–1962): 209–218; E. Puech, “Le Livre de Ben Sira et les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” in *Treasures of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom* (ed. N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeylen; BETL 143; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 411–26, p. 419; idem., “Qumrân et il libro dei Proverbi,” in *Libro Dei Proverbi: Tradizione, redazione, teologia* (ed. G. Bella and A. Passaro; Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 1999), 169–89.

³ English translations of quotations from 1QS are according to J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 1–51.

⁴ It occurs in the penal code three times: 1QS 6:24–25; 7:6, 25; note also 1QS 11:2–13; 3:2; 5:14, 16, 20; 6:17, 19, 22; 8:23; 9:7–8, 22; 10:19; differently in 11:2. Cf. C.M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill 2002), 103–62.

familiar to us from the New Testament,⁵ but it also occurs in Ben Sira (Sir 31:8) and thus likewise has a background in wisdom tradition.

However, for a comparison, not only statistics but semantics is important. The semantics of these two words for possessions is rather ambivalent in wisdom literature. On the one hand wealth is clearly positive, while poverty has negative connotations. Thus in Prov 10:15 we read:

הון עשיר קרית עזו מחתת דלים רישם

The wealth of a rich man is his fortress;
The poverty of the poor is his ruin.⁶

On the other hand, there are also dangers in wealth. It may lead to avarice; it is easily lost; and in the end it is of no use. Thus, for instance:

נבהל להון איש רע עין ולא ידע בייחסר יבאנו

A miserly man runs after wealth;
He does not realize that loss will overtake it. (Prov 28:22)⁷

לא יועיל הון ביום עברה וצדקה תציל ממות

Wealth is of no avail on the day of wrath;
But righteousness saves from death. (Prov 11:4)⁸

Ben Sira, in particular, time and again levels the value of wealth and sets other values against it: bodily and spiritual health (Sir 30:14–16), or ethical perfection (Sir 31:1–11).⁹ All in all one can say that the valuation of possessions and wealth decreases steadily as the tradition develops.¹⁰

In the Qumran community, the ambivalence of possessions is done away with, and possessions are divided between two categories. The possessions that members donate on their entry into the community have positive connotations. Within the group, strict sharing of goods prevails.¹¹ The possessions are consecrated by the community and made subject to its rules and sanctions.¹² By contrast, the possessions of those who live

⁵ Matt 6:24; Luke 6:9, 11, 13.

⁶ Cf. also Prov 12:27; 13:7–8, 11; 18:11; 28:6; 29:3. English translation of biblical phrases here and in the following is according to the *NJPS*.

⁷ Cf. Sir 8:2; also Prov 13:11.

⁸ Cf. Sir 31:6.

⁹ Cf. Prov 11:4; 28:6.

¹⁰ But poverty is valued more, in so far as it is coupled with health or justice, according to the motto “poor, but righteous.” The so-called piety of the poor has its origin here.

¹¹ As later in early Christianity; cf. Acts 2:42–47; 4:32–37, and 5:1–11.

¹² 1QS 1:12–13; 6:19, 22; 9:7.

outside the community, who do not yet definitively belong to it, or who have left it, have negative connotations and should be avoided.¹³ In the hymn at the end of 1QS (10:19), such possessions are called “possessions of violence” (הון חמס) and are put in the same category as oppression and lies (1QS 11:2).

How does this division into good and bad possessions come about? To some degree this conception is certainly connected with the community’s notions of purity, a connection to which Lawrence Schiffman has referred.¹⁴ Entry into the community represented a purifying of the person and his possessions. But these different valuations of possessions can also be derived from the semantic development of the term הון (or ממון) in wisdom literature. Thus already in Proverbs and then above all in Ben Sira we can observe that the revaluation of wealth from a purely positive to a more negative entity goes along with the division between the righteous and the wicked. This can be demonstrated through a large number of examples. I have chosen a few—more or less arbitrarily. Proverbs 10:15 states:

הון עשיר קרית עזו מחתת דלים רישם

The wealth of a rich man is his fortress;
The poverty of the poor is his ruin.

The next verse, Prov 10:16, makes it clear, however, that the blessing of possessions applies only to the righteous and the curse of poverty only to the godless:

פעלת צדיק לחיים תבואת רשע לחטאת

The labour of the righteous man makes for life;
The produce of the wicked man makes for want.¹⁵

In 1QS the distinction between members and outsiders or apostate members is made according to the model of the division between righteous and wicked in the wisdom literature, and the positive and negative connotations are distributed accordingly.

So it is not surprising that the notions that 1QS associates with the possessions of the community have their closest linguistic parallels in the wisdom literature and probably also have their roots there. The community

¹³ 1QS 3:2; 5:14, 16, 20; 6:17; 7:25; 8:23; 9:8, 22.

¹⁴ L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983).

¹⁵ Similarly Prov 12:27–28; 18:10–11 and other passages; see also Ps 112:3.

“in the Torah and in property” goes back to the fact that the distinction between righteous and wicked in Psalm 1 (v. 2) and other texts of late wisdom is determined on the basis of their attitudes to the Torah. The righteous person studies and observes the Torah; only the one who observes the Torah also has the right relationship to possessions; and thus, only the righteous, as distinct from the wicked, have this right relationship. In this respect Proverbs 28, in which the topic of possessions plays an important role, is relevant. In v. 8 we read:

מרבה הונו בנשך ובתרביית [ותרבית] לחינן דלים יקבצנו

He who increases his wealth by loans at discount or interest
Amasses it for one who is generous to the poor.

It emerges from this text that the possessions of the righteous and even the interest on a loan—if interest is taken; according to Exod 22:24; Lev 25:36–37; Deut 23:19–20; Ezek 18:8, 13, this is a matter of debate—are to benefit the poor (see also Prov 28:27). In Ben Sira, too, the remarks on poor and rich in chs. 30 (vv. 14–20) and 31 (vv. 1–11) are followed in ch. 32 (vv. 14–23) by a lengthy passage on the Torah.¹⁶ In fact, the wisdom Psalm 119:14 already compares “your [God’s] laws” (עדותיך) with “all possessions” (בעל כל הון), The Qumran community has combined obedience to the Torah with the right way of dealing with possessions, and thus has gone one step further than the Psalm: the community is united “in the Torah and in property” (להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון).

Misappropriation of the community’s possessions also points in the same direction. Thus “lying” in matters having to do with possessions (1QS 6:24–25) recalls Sir 31:1, which speaks of the “lie of the rich” (שקר עשיר),¹⁷ that causes his flesh to waste away; this is parallel to the “travails of the rich” who are concerned to gather possessions (עמלי עשיר לקבל הון, v. 3). The opposite occurs in Sir 31:8:

אשרי איש נמצא תמים ואחר ממון לא נלוז

¹⁶ If we add Sir 38:11 (sacrifice in accordance with one’s means), it becomes clear that possessions are to benefit God as well as the poor. The Hebrew text is given here and in the following according to *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance, and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language; Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and The Shrine of the Book, 1973); see also P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of all Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of all Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997). The English translation is my own.

¹⁷ However, perhaps with G we should read שקד עשיר “the sleeplessness of the rich.”

Blessed is the man who is found blameless,
Who does not turn away after mammon.

Furthermore, it is no coincidence that the second passage in the penal code, which deals with the embezzlement of property (1QS 7:6), recalls Prov 29:3. In this text, the love of wisdom (in the context: of the Torah), which delights the father, is contrasted with the whoremongering which leads to the loss of possessions:

איש־אהב חכמה ישמח אביו ורעה זונות יאבד־הון

A man who loves wisdom brings joy to his father,
But he who keeps company with harlots will lose his wealth.

The loss of possessions is also the consequence that 1QS 7:6 attributes to the carelessness of a member: **ואם בהון היחד יתרמה לאבדו**. Only here and in Prov 29:3 does the combination of the words **הון** and **לאבד** appear. The vocabulary may follow from the subject matter, but the closeness of the linguistic parallel to Proverbs 28, the chapter about rich and poor, is quite striking and suggests that a *topos* is at work here.

Thus it can hardly be by chance that the regulations about possessions in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS) and in the penal code point precisely to the two chapters in the book of Proverbs (ch. 28) and in Ben Sira (ch. 31) which discuss at length the topics of possessions and the relationship between poor and rich. It seems that both the fundamental theological programme of 1QS's penal code and also the concrete cases adduced there are obligated to the Torah piety of the late wisdom tradition which is tangible in these chapters.

2. TABLE MANNERS

That our conclusion is not completely wrong is evident from a further theme which plays a central role in the *Rule of the Community*: the regulations concerning manners at table or in the "assembly of the many." In 1QS 6:2–3, after alluding to the proper conduct of common work and *mammon* there is mention of the theme of the common assembly, which likewise needs regulation:

ויחד יואכלו ויחד יברכו ויחד יועצו

And they shall eat together, say benedictions together, and give counsel together.

In the following section, specific regulations are given. At the table there is a strict hierarchy, in which the priest always has precedence (1QS 6:4–5, 8–9). In conversation no one may speak unasked, contributions to the discussion are made in order of seniority, and no one may interrupt another (1QS 6:10–13). The penal code also prohibits anyone from interrupting his neighbour in the “assembly of the many” (1QS 7:9) and goes into further detail. There is discussion of falling asleep during the assembly (7:10, 11); leaving without permission (6:10–12); spitting (7:13). Without explicit reference to the assembly, we find additional regulations against going naked and displaying one’s genitals (7:12, 13–14); loud laughter (7:14); and waving one’s left hand about (7:5).

These and other rules of social life recall the structures and customs of Hellenistic associations, with which Moshe Weinfeld has compared the rules of 1QS.¹⁸ The analogy is convincingly striking and makes it clear that the Qumran community did not move historically in a vacuum but participated fully in the modes of its time. Nevertheless, this analogy is not a sufficient explanation. For here, too, the language in which the regulations are formulated clearly leads to the sphere of late biblical wisdom. However, the historical analogy and the linguistic background are not mutually exclusive. For late biblical wisdom, too, takes up the themes of the Hellenistic period.

Thus, again, it can be no coincidence that particularly in Ben Sira 31 the remarks about possessions (vv. 1–11) are followed by an extended “instruction on bread and wine” (Sir 31:12–32:9, 11).¹⁹ Only the Hebrew text of Sir 31:12 (MS B) hands down a separate heading in which the keyword יחד “together” occurs: מוסר לחם ויין יחדו.²⁰ The teaching issues in general instructions and culminates in the admonition to observe the Torah and fear the Lord (Sir 32:10–23). In the heading of the teaching the keyword יחדו presumably refers only to bread and wine, which are taken together as a *topos*. In the *Rule of the Community* of Qumran, however, this *topos* has become the fellowship meal, the common assembly of the Yahad: ויחד ויאכלו ויחד יברכו ויחד יועצו.

¹⁸ M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Freiburg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

¹⁹ Similarly, in Prov 23:1–3, 4–6, the two themes (table manners and wealth) are combined and follow immediately one after the other.

²⁰ The heading is lacking in G; La has *De continentia* “On continence.”

In details, too, Ben Sira 31–32 offers the closest parallel to the prescriptions in the *Rule of the Community*. As in 1QS, so, too, in Ben Sira’s meal, a hierarchy—albeit a secular one—prevails, which must be observed by those taking part, especially when it comes to speaking (Sir 32:3, 7–9). It is worth mentioning that in relation to this topic, both in Ben Sira and also in the *Rule of the Community*, respect for the neighbour (רע) is written large; the biblical reference for this is Lev 19:17–18 (Sir 31:15, 31; 1QS 6:10; 7:8–9).²¹ It is stated explicitly in Sir 11:8 that one should not speak without being asked and should not interrupt another person. With Sir 11:8, compare 1QS 6:10 and 1QS 7:9:

בני אל תשיב דבר טרם תשמע ובתוך שיחה אל תדבר

My son, do not answer before listening,
In the middle of a talk do not speak. (Sir 11:8)

אל ידבר איש בתוך דברי רעהו טרם יכלה אחיהו לדבר

No man may speak during the speech of his fellow before his brother has finished speaking. (1QS 6:10)

למדבר בתוך דברי רעהו

Whoever speaks during his fellow’s speech . . . (1QS 7:9)

The themes of sleeping and of leaving during the fellowship meal are also common to both texts, but evaluated differently. Whereas both actions are prohibited in 1QS, Ben Sira’s “teaching on bread and wine” praises the “sleep of a good heart” and compares it to a sweetmeat (Sir 30:25). Ben Sira (Sir 31:20) also distinguishes between the “fleeting sleep” (נדד ישינה) of the “foolish man” (איש כסיל) and the “refreshing sleep” (שנות חיים) which lies “on an unburdened stomach” (על קרב צולל).²² And even “slumber” (נומה) is regarded as a respectable state which one loses through grief or sickness (Sir 31:1–2). In this respect, however, 1QS is more akin to the instruction of Prov 23:21, which puts drunkards and gluttons (סבא וזולל) and slumberers (נומה) on the same level; or with Prov 20:13, which says:

²¹ For Lev 19:11–18 as a biblical source for the penal code see A. Shemesh, “The Scriptural Background of the Penal Code in the *Rule of the Community* and *Damascus Document*,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 191–224 (198–210).

²² A variant reads: [אנו] ש נבוך “on an understanding man,” corrected above the line to נכוך “on an upright man”; cf. Sir 31:19.

אל־תאהב שנה פן־תורש פקח עיניך שבע־לחם

Do not love sleep lest you be impoverished;
Keep your eyes open and you will have plenty of food.²³

Ben Sira's "teaching on bread and wine" and 1QS also disagree on the matter of "spitting." Ben Sira commends spitting as a way to relieve the stomach (Sir 31:21G), whereas 1QS 7:13 forbids it. Here in one case "vomiting" (קיא), and in the other "spitting" (ירק) is meant. Again a passage in Proverbs, which classifies "vomiting" as an expression of disgust, comes closer to the *Rule of the Community*:

פתך־אכלת תקיאנה ושחת דבריך הנעימים

The morsel you eat you will vomit;
You will waste your courteous words. (Prov 23:8)

"Spitting" (ירק or רקק) is forbidden because it pollutes the place or the person whom it affects (Lev 15:8). At any rate the matter is evidently a topic in the "teaching on bread and wine," as is "waving the hand about" (יד הוציא or הושיט יד B/ ישית B^{marg}), which both Ben Sira (31:14, 18) and 1QS (7:15) forbid.²⁴ In 1QS (7:12, 13–14), this is combined with the further precept not to make one's nakedness visible under one's clothing by "stretching out the hand (penis?)" and not to go before one's neighbour naked. Ben Sira offers no parallel to this topic. One feels reminded more strongly of Noah in Gen 9:21–24 or the law of the altar in Exod 20:26. Perhaps here the customs or bad practices of the Greek symposium against which Ben Sira warns in his "teaching on bread and wine" (Sir 31:12–32:9) are in view.

Another classical *topos* of wisdom is the prohibition against laughing (too) loudly (1QS 7:14). However, this prohibition is not limited to the situation at the table but applies always and everywhere. Therefore it is not attested in the "teaching on bread and wine" but is to be found at another point in both Proverbs and Ben Sira (Prov 29:9; Sir 21:20; 27:13 only in Greek). Instead, Ben Sira's "teaching on bread and wine" deals at length with the excessive enjoyment of wine and its consequences, about which (in turn) there is nothing in the *Rule of the Community*.

²³ Remove oneself (פטר) has another, positive connotation in Sir 32:11, in contrast to 1QS 7:10, 12.

²⁴ In 1QS 7:15, however, the exact meaning of the regulation is disputed. See Y.M. Gillihan, "Posture or Gesture? A Note on לשיח/לשוח in the Qumran Penal Codes," *RevQ* 24 (2009): 291–96.

If we look at the commentaries on Ben Sira, chapters 31–32 are always explained as a controversy between Ben Sira and the Hellenistic institution of the symposium.²⁵ Granted, Ben Sira does not reject the institution as such but rather counsels moderation, in accordance with the ideals of (biblical) wisdom and with similar ideas of Greek popular philosophy. The explanation of these two chapters in terms of the institutions of their time is doubtless apt and fits Weinfeld's explanation of the penal code in 1QS in terms of the Greek association. But it must have become clear by now that in addition, Ben Sira 31–32, like Proverbs 29, represents a tradition of wisdom idiom and *topoi* which has also been taken up and worked out independently in 1QS. Like Ben Sira, the *Rule of the Community* thus also stands in the tradition of biblical wisdom and gives its answers to the challenges of the Hellenistic age in connection with that tradition.

3. WISDOM AND TORAH

These should be sufficient examples of wisdom language or wisdom *topoi* found in the rules of the Qumran community and paralleled in Ben Sira, chs. 31–32. To end, I would like to raise the question of what this evidence means for understanding these rules.

As I have already indicated, among scholars there are two positions on explaining the rules of the community. Moshe Weinfeld derives them from the model of the Hellenistic association and—against Lawrence Schiffman and others—rejects any reference to the Torah and interpretation of Jewish law; a model that fits the usual explanation of Ben Sira 31–32. By contrast, Lawrence Schiffman opposes the Hellenistic analogy and emphasizes the connection of the rules with Jewish law, especially with the notion of purity in halakhah.²⁶

If the observations presented in this paper are correct, a third component may now be brought into play: the idiom and tradition of (biblical) wisdom. Usually this component is recognized in the tradition of law in general, or in sapiential speculations such as the Qumran wisdom texts, the doctrine of the two spirits in 1QS 3–4, the hymn in 1QS 10–11, or some

²⁵ Cf. P.W. Skehan and A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987); G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach/Ben Sira* (ATDA 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000). See especially on this theme H.-V. Kieweler, "Benehmen bei Tisch," in *Der Einzelne und seine Gemeinschaft bei Ben Sira* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel and I. Krammer; BZAW 270; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 191–215.

²⁶ Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*; Weinfeld, *Organizational Pattern*.

of the *Hodayot* (1QH). Our few observations, however, show that wisdom *topoi* are also to be found in the rules for the community's daily life. Thus, the use of the term מִשְׁכִּיל in 4Q256 9:1 and 4Q258 1:1 (mss b and d of 1QS 5:1)—usually translated as “instructor” or “master,” but perhaps simply to be translated as “wise” or “knowledgeable” person (Dan 11:33, 35; 12:3)²⁷—signals such a wisdom framework. This third component, wisdom, could be the key to toning down the opposition between Weinfeld and Schiffman and reconciling the two positions.

As I have already said, the explanation in terms of the historical situation (the Hellenistic analogy) and the role of wisdom are not exclusive. Ben Sira and other wisdom texts within and outside the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls show that biblical wisdom in particular reacted to the atmosphere of the Hellenistic age and sought answers to the challenges of Hellenism. Thus, through the mediation of the wisdom tradition, the contemporary (Hellenistic) background also influenced the formulation of the rules of the Qumran community in 1QS.

As for the relationship of these community rules to Jewish law and halakhah, Schiffman refers above all to the theological principles of the Qumran community and to the notions of purity and impurity, which play an important role on entry to the community. Of the specific rules for the organization of the community Schiffman says that they “do not belong to the category termed *halakhah* by Rabbinic Judaism.”²⁸ But they are likewise to be understood in a wider sense as a kind of exegesis of the law:

Such regulations were no doubt enacted to facilitate the actualization of the life of Torah, although the content of these regulations appears in many cases to have no basis in Scripture. . . . Of course, these nonscriptural laws were ultimately intended to fulfill the ideals which the sect perceived inherent in the Bible, and it was in order to actualize these precepts that the sect was founded.²⁹

Shemesh goes a step further, arguing that the penal code (in 1QS and CD) “is based on three biblical pericopes concerning the holiness of the people of Israel and their dwelling place”; namely: Lev 19:11–18 (reflected in the provisions 1–12 and 24–25 of the penal code, which mainly concern

²⁷ Thus P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 66. For the usual translation see, for example, Hempel, “Sapiential Texts,” in Hempel, Lange and Lichtenberger, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 289–92; and Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 151.

²⁸ Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 212.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

the behaviour directed toward one's neighbour or fellow); Deut 23:11–15 (reflected in provisions 19–23 concerning behaviour in the session of the Many); and Numbers 16–17 (reflected in provisions 26–27 and the usage of the root לון).³⁰ But still, most of the parallels concern the theological principles underlying the code, which are concentrated at its beginning and end, whereas the details of the provisions are seen as “a sectarian ‘invention.’”³¹

Neither Schiffman nor Shemesh investigate the parallels between the penal code and wisdom literature, although such an investigation would confirm their viewpoints. It seems that the Qumran community makes use of the language and tradition of wisdom to formulate and organize the details, i.e., the everyday rules for a life of Torah. The identification of wisdom and Torah, as we find it, say, in Psalm 1 or Ben Sira 24, could stand in the background of this process. This would mean that people of the community had the view that by observing the precepts of biblical wisdom, they were living according to the Torah.³²

However, the connection of wisdom and Torah comes about not only through the reference to the Torah in the theological principles of the community or through the conditions of entry, which follow the laws of purity and holiness. Rather, the relationship is brought out explicitly in regard to the penal code. The heading in 1QS 6:24 ואלה המשפטים אשר בם ישפטו בם “These are the precepts by which they shall judge,” is formulated using the phrasing that introduces the so-called Book of the Covenant in Exod 21:1: תשים לפניהם אשר המשפטים אשר תשים לפניהם “These are the precepts that you shall set before them.”³³ This formulation occurs only here in the Hebrew Bible; and this is the passage at which for the first time in the Pentateuch a collection of individual laws begins, to which the following bodies of law, especially Deuteronomy, refer. It is, as I think, no coincidence that this heading is taken up in the *Rule of the Community* at 1QS 6.

³⁰ Shemesh, “Scriptural Background,” 191, 198–224.

³¹ Shemesh, “Scriptural Background,” 209.

³² This, in turn, explains the interest of the Qumran community in the sapiential speculations and other aspects of the so-called wisdom literature; see Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*; Hempel, Lange, and Lichtenberger, *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*; García Martínez, *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*; Collins, Sterling and Clements, *Sapiential Perspectives*; Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*.

³³ See also 1QS 8:20, which imitates the heading in 6:24 and is dependent on it. CD changes the heading to: [ישפטו] אשר המשפטים אשר (CD 14:18 and 4Q266 10 i 11–12).

If we follow this track, further linguistic details can easily be explained as borrowings from the Book of the Covenant. Here I am thinking of: the form of casuistic legal statements (that is, clauses beginning with ,אם ואשר); the frequent reiteration of the term “neighbour” (רע), which time and again takes the author also to Leviticus 19; the concept of punishment (עניש *Niph.*), which is used in the penal code and is attested both in the laws of Exodus 21–23 and—with the general sense of “punish”—in wisdom literature.³⁴

However, what follows in 1QS under the heading ואלה המשפטים אשר (6:24) are not the laws of the Book of the Covenant or the Torah but the rules for the life of the community which are taken from wisdom and provided with sanctions. This gives these rules the status of Torah, or of laws derived from Torah. Thus in both language and content traces of wisdom are to be found in the rules of the Qumran community. Theologically these have assumed the status of Torah. They have become “laws of wisdom.” Moreover, were we now to investigate the history of the tradition of the penal code and the other rules in 1QS itself and in CD—something for which there is no space here—we would see that the rules for community living gradually and ever more strongly become grounded biblically in the Torah. At the end of the trajectory of textual development of 1QS and CD these rules are even put in the framework of the biblical history and in an eschatological context.³⁵ But that is the topic for another paper.

³⁴ Cf. Exod 21:22; Prov 17:26; 21:11; 22:3; 27:12. Shemesh, “Scriptural Background,” 217 mentions Exodus 21–23 only in regard to 4Q251, not in regard to the penal code and its heading. But of course, the reference in the penal code to the Book of the Covenant in Exodus 21–23 fits his argument very well.

³⁵ See J.M. Baumgarten, “The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code,” *JJS* 43 (1992): 268–76; C. Hempel, “The Penal Code Reconsidered,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M.J. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 337–48; C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998); S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997); Shemesh, “Scriptural Background.”

ASPECTS OF POETIC STYLIZATION IN SECOND TEMPLE HEBREW:
A LINGUISTIC COMPARISON OF THE SONGS OF THE
SABBATH SACRIFICE WITH ANCIENT PIYYUT

Noam Mizrahi

INTRODUCTION

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, a liturgical composition discovered among the Judean Desert scrolls, survives in ten fragmentary copies.¹ These manuscripts preserve more than a third of the text of the original composition, and allow a reliable reconstruction of the scope and content of the entire work.² It contains thirteen literary units; each entitled שיר עולת השבת, “Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” and dated to a specific Sabbath. These dates fit the first quarter of the year according to the 364-day calendar embraced by some circles in the Second Temple period, most notably by the Qumran community.

¹ Eight copies of the work were discovered in Qumran Cave 4 (4Q400–4Q407); one in Cave 11 (11Q17); and one in Masada (Mas). Following preliminary publications, all the manuscripts were published officially: the Masada and Cave 4 manuscripts (4Q400–407) were admirably edited by C.A. Newsom, “Shirot ‘Olat Hashabbat,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (ed. E. Eshel et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 173–401, pl. xvi–xxxi. For the Masada scroll see also Newsom and Y. Yadin, “The Masada Fragment of the Qumran *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*,” in *Hebrew Fragments from Masada*, vol. 6 of *Masada: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965* (ed. S. Talmon; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 120–32. The copy from Cave 11 was published as “11QShirot ‘Olat ha-Shabbat,” in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (ed. F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar and A.S. van der Woude; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 259–304, pl. xxx–xxxiv. In the following discussion, safe restorations based on overlapping manuscripts are printed in regular letters (e.g., [גד]בא), while conjectural restorations, not documented in any given textual witness, are printed in outlined letters (e.g., [גד]בא).

² References to manuscripts of the *Songs* take into account the proposed reconstruction of the fragments into columns, which is essential for proper understanding of the passages in their original context. This applies especially to the three scrolls the evidence of which allows a material reconstruction: 4Q400 (see Newsom, “Shirot,” 174–75); 4Q405 (ibid., 309–15); and 11Q17 (see E.J.C. Tigchelaar, “Reconstructing 11Q17 Shirot ‘Olat Ha-Shabbat,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* [ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 171–85). References to reconstructed columns and lines are placed between square brackets, whereas lines numbered according to fragments are marked with the prime sign (e.g., 4Q405 17 3' [H 11]).

Although many passages are badly damaged, the better preserved portions of the text, aided by the existence of multiple copies, reveal a literary work fascinating in many respects. Not least among these is the language of the work, which is replete with semantic, phraseological, morphological, and syntactic peculiarities. The purpose of the present study is to illuminate one such phenomenon by comparing the *Songs* to the much later corpus of rabbinic liturgical poetry known as *piyyuṭ*.

This kind of comparison may seem at first glance to be somewhat far-fetched, given the long time span separating the *Songs* and *piyyuṭ*. From a diachronic perspective, the language of *piyyuṭ* represents a phase in the history of Hebrew that is subsequent to Mishnaic (or Rabbinic) Hebrew.³ The *piyyuṭ* preserves some traits of the living language spoken by the sages,⁴ and in some respects its language can be perceived as a direct continuation and further development of Mishnaic Hebrew.⁵ But on the whole, the *piyyuṭim* are highly stylized literary products of skillful poets of the Byzantine period,⁶ an era when Hebrew was no longer spoken and the vernaculars were local varieties of Greek and Late Western Aramaic.⁷ The language of the *piyyuṭim*, with its mix of seemingly contradictory

³ For general surveys of the language of *piyyuṭ* as a distinct variety in the history of Hebrew, see especially E. Goldenberg, "Medieval Hebrew," in *Encyclopædia Judaica* (2d ed.; 22 vols.; Detroit: Macmillan, 2007), 13:651–53 (originally published in 1971); cf. E.Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (ed. R. Kutscher; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1982), 155–58 §265–67; A. Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (trans. J. Elwolde; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 209–14 §7.2. For a linguistic description of classical *piyyuṭ*, based on a sample of poems drawn from the extensive—and as yet mostly unpublished—oeuvre of Eleazar Qillir, see M. Rand, *Introduction to the Grammar of Hebrew Poetry in Byzantine Palestine* (GD 22; Piscataway: Gorgias, 2006).

⁴ See, e.g., J. Yahalom, *Poetic Language in the Early Piyyuṭ* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1985), 162–76 (in Hebrew); I. Yeivin, "The Contribution of the *Piyyuṭ* Language to the Mishnaic Language," in *Massorot* 9–11 (1997): 77–90 (in Hebrew).

⁵ See especially I. Yeivin, "Characteristic Linguistic Features of *Piyyuṭ*," in *Studies in Hebrew and Jewish Languages: Presented to Shelomo Morag* (ed. M. Bar-Asher; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1996), 105–18 (in Hebrew).

⁶ The implications of this characterization were emphasized by E. Fleischer, "The Cultural Profile of Eastern Jewry in the Early Middle Ages as Reflected by the *Payyetaṅic* Texts of the Geniza," in *A Century of Geniza Research* (ed. M.A. Friedman; Te'uda 15; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1999), 1–22 (11–14) (in Hebrew).

⁷ For reflexes of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period in the language of *piyyuṭ*, see, e.g., Yahalom, *Poetic Language*, 48–49; A. Kor, "The Language of the *Piyyuṭim*: For Whom were They Written?" in *Proceedings of the Tenth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Division D* (Jerusalem: The World Union of Jewish Studies, 1990), 1:85–91 (in Hebrew). For reflexes of Greek see, e.g., Yahalom, *Poetic Language*, 41–44, 109–24. The Hebrew root *p-y-ṭ* itself, as is known, derives from Greek; hence /*piyyuṭ*/ "poetry" and /*payyaṭan*/ or /*payṭan*/ "poet" correspond to *ποίησις* and *ποιητής* respectively.

elements, is best described as a “living literary language”;⁸ and this mix is reflected in the variety of components and influences discernable in its lexicon and grammar.⁹

Nevertheless, such a comparative study as I propose has some merits, and to a limited degree it has even been previously pursued. There is a basic similarity in the literary function and formation of both corpora,¹⁰ since in both cases we are dealing with complex liturgical compositions, portions of which are rigidly structured according to some formal principles. Furthermore, the *Songs* is basically a Sabbath liturgy, and from a thematic point of view it focuses on the praises uttered by the angels and other divine beings in the heavenly temple; praises that are the celestial equivalent of human prayer and liturgical worship.¹¹ As noted by scholars, this notion of angelic liturgy may be a forerunner of a specific rabbinic liturgy known as the *Qedushah*, which forms one of the most spiritually intense moments in Jewish institutionalized prayer.¹² In light of this potential point of contact between the *Songs* and rabbinic liturgy, it is interesting to note a comment made recently by a scholar of *piyyuṭ*:

When one reads the angelic hymns in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Hekhalot* hymns, as well as the *silluqim*, the closing parts of the *qedushta*

⁸ This term is borrowed from G.B. Sarfatti, “The Tradition of Rabbinic Hebrew: A Tradition of a ‘Living Literary Language,’” in *Hebrew Language Studies: Presented to Professor Zeev Ben-Ḥayyim* (ed. M. Bar-Asher et al., Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1983), 451–58 (in Hebrew), who coined it to describe inner developments within Mishnaic Hebrew.

⁹ See especially M. Zulay, *Eretz Israel and Its Poetry: Studies in Piyyuṭim from the Cairo Geniza* (ed. E. Hazan; “Kinus” Series; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1995), 415–527 (in Hebrew).

¹⁰ Compare the similar—though largely implicit—view of Z. Malachi, “Seven Times Seven Wondrous Words: A Piyyuṭ for Sabbath from the Dead Sea Scrolls and Masada,” in *Mahut* 11 (1994): 23–28; continued in *Mahut* 12 (1994): 126–28 (in Hebrew).

¹¹ See E.G. Chazon, “Liturgical Communion with the Angels at Qumran,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo, 1998, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. D.K. Falk, F. García Martínez and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–105; eadem, “Human and Angelic Prayer in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E.G. Chazon with the collaboration of R. Clements and A. Pinnick; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–47.

¹² See especially E.G. Chazon, “The *Qedushah* Liturgy and Its History in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *From Qumran to Cairo: Studies in the History of Prayer* (ed. J. Tabory; Jerusalem: Orhot, 1999), 7–17.

composition, many literary features of those songs seem to justify a comparative and contrastive study of their components and contents.¹³

This assertion may be extended from the literary study of the *Songs* and the *piyyuṭim* to the linguistic analysis of the two corpora, as has already been remarked by Newsom:

The analogous use of masculine by-forms, neologisms, word-play, and complex syntax in the *piyyuṭim* and in *Hekhalot* hymns suggests that many of the linguistic features of the Sabbath Songs are the reflection of a mannered and artificial characteristic style of certain post-biblical liturgical poetry.¹⁴

The following discussion is aimed to amplify Newsom's observations and to contribute to the clarification of this issue. It focuses on several items that demonstrate a close affinity between the language of the *Songs* on the one hand and of *piyyuṭ* on the other. Needless to say, a full exploration of all aspects of the issue goes far beyond the limits of a single paper, and only a selection of items can be treated here in some detail. In order to set the data in its proper diachronic and synchronic contexts, each item discussed is compared with the main Hebrew corpora of antiquity.¹⁵ It is hoped that this comparison will shed light on wider questions relating to the linguistic nature of the Qumran Scrolls as a distinct corpus, most notably the role that literary stylization could have had in shaping the language of the Scrolls.

¹³ W.J. van Bekkum, "Qumran Poetry and Piyyut: Some Observations on Hebrew Poetic Traditions in Biblical and Post-Biblical Times," in *Zutot* 2 (2002): 26–33 (32). Cf. idem, "Qumran Hymnology and Piyyut: Contrast and Comparison," *RevQ* 23.3 (2008): 344–56. The Aramaic term *Qedushta* refers to a complex of *piyyuṭim* substituting for a prayer that includes a *Qedushah*; as a rule, this kind of prayer was recited in Byzantine Palestine only on Sabbaths and festivals. The term *silluq* refers to a specific literary unit of the *Qedushta* that serves as a passage to the recitation of the *Qedushah* liturgy itself. For a detailed structural description of the various realizations of the *Qedushta* genre and its constituents see E. Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1975) 138–82 (in Hebrew).

¹⁴ J.H. Charlesworth and C.A. Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (vol. 4B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation*; Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 6.

¹⁵ Abbreviated as follows: BH = Biblical Hebrew; QH = Qumran Hebrew; MH = Mishnaic Hebrew, which is further divided to MH₁ = Tannaitic Hebrew, and MH₂ = Amoraic Hebrew; PH = *Piyyuṭ* Hebrew. Quotations from MH sources are taken from *Ma'agarim*, the database of the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, which is based on the textual testimony of reliable manuscripts (<http://hebrew-treasures.huji.ac.il/>). PH is usually quoted from critical editions, including the editor's vocalization; only in the absence of a reliable edition are *piyyuṭim* quoted from *Ma'agarim*, in which case no vocalization is added.

MORPHOLOGICAL CASE STUDY:
MASCULINE SINGULAR BY-FORMS OF NOUNS

The Evidence

As mentioned above, a phenomenon conspicuous in the *Songs* is the use of masculine singular by-forms of nouns that in BH are attested only as feminine forms.¹⁶ Such grammatical doublets are of course well known from earlier and contemporaneous Hebrew corpora, but their appearance in the *Songs* seems to be exceptionally prominent.¹⁷ Similarly, the derivation of masculine by-forms—especially segholate ones—from nouns that in BH (and MH) appear only in the feminine form is acknowledged as one of the striking characteristics of PH.¹⁸

1. בִּין “*Understanding*”

The standard form in both BH and QH is the feminine בִּינָה: in BH this form is attested thirty-seven times in the singular, e.g., וְנָחָה עֲלָיו רוּחַ ה' וְנָחָה עֲלָיו רוּחַ ה' (Isa 11:2); וְיָדְעוּ תְעֵי רוּחַ בִּינָה (Isa 29:24),¹⁹ and in QH

¹⁶ The terms “masculine” and “feminine” refer here to grammatical form alone and do not imply any “real” or “natural” gender, as all the forms analyzed hereafter consist of either nominalized infinitives or substantives whose referents are inanimate. The feature discussed here should be distinguished from a seemingly similar phenomenon that is also widely attested in the *Songs*: the use of by-forms for the masculine plural. Such forms are often found only in the construct state, and their status as independent forms is in most cases purely hypothetical; see E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 67–68 §330.3. In contradistinction, all the masculine singular by-forms discussed below are indeed attested in the *Songs* in the absolute state. These are essentially two different phenomena that should not be conflated, as occurs, e.g., in J.F. Elwolde, “Developments in Hebrew Vocabulary between Bible and Mishnah,” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 17–55 (46–47).

¹⁷ The phenomenon was first noticed by J. Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran: 4Q Serek Šîrôt ‘Ōlat Haššabbāt,” in *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1960), 341 §19. His observations were later amplified by Carol Newsom in a chapter of her Harvard dissertation entitled “Grammatical and Lexical Observation,” based on her listing of “Words and Forms not Occurring in BH”; see C.A. Newsom, “4Q Serek Šîrôt ‘Ōlat Haššabbāt (The Qumran Angelic Liturgy): Edition, Translation, and Commentary” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982), 96–103 (esp. 101). A summary of her findings and conclusions was published in Charlesworth and Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy*, 5–6 §4. The material was grammatically analyzed by Qimron, *Hebrew*, 68–69 §330.4. Both Newsom and Qimron mentioned the connection with PH, but did not discuss it in detail.

¹⁸ See for instance Yeivin, “Characteristic Linguistic Features,” 115 §2.

¹⁹ The *hapax* form בִּינֹת in Isa 27:11 may represent the plural, but the *-ot* ending can also be explained as an alternative ending for the feminine singular, which is sometimes found with abstract nouns in BH. Compare for instance בִּתְהָה בִּתְהָה בִּתְהָה (Prov 9:1).

it is attested about eighty-five times in the singular, e.g., רוּחַ דַּעַת וּבִינָה (4Q444 1-4 i+5 3'); (4Q511 18 ii 6').

This is also the common form in the *Songs*, and there are more than five such occurrences in the extant fragments of the *Songs*.²⁰ But there is also one case in which the feminine form is replaced by a masculine by-form: בֵּין רוּחֵי לְכוּל בְּגוּבְרָתָא (4Q403 1 i 37; *Song VII*).

This kind of a doublet is known from BH,²¹ and the specific masculine form בֵּין is indeed used in late BH as an infinitive (Dan 10:1; cf. Prov 23:1).²² As a substantive, however, it is unattested in any other Hebrew source of antiquity, with the sole exception of PH; e.g., יִרְאֶה נֹתֵן בֵּין / אֲחֻקֹּר לְהַבִּין,²³ and טְפוּלִים בְּדָ שְׁעוֹת / יוֹדְעֵי בֵּין שְׁעוֹת.²⁴

2. בֵּין “Blessing”

The standard form in both BH and QH is the feminine בְּרָכָה: In BH this form is attested more than fifty-five times in the singular, e.g., יֵשָׁא בְרַכָּה, וַיִּבְרְכוּ שָׁם כְּבֹדְךָ וּמְרוֹמֶיךָ עַל כָּל בְּרַכָּה (Ps 24:5); וַיִּבְרְכוּ שָׁם כְּבֹדְךָ וּמְרוֹמֶיךָ עַל כָּל בְּרַכָּה (Ps 24:5); and in QH—more than thirty-five times, e.g., אַתָּה הַצְדָּקָה (Neh 9:5); and in QH—more than thirty-five times, e.g., וְלִשְׁמֵךְ הַבְּרִכָּה לְעוֹלָם (1QH^a 4[17]:20). This singular form is also used once in the *Songs*: [וְ]אֲדָ[ו]ן מִלְּךָ כוֹל מַעֲלָה לְכוּל בְּרַכָּה וְת[וֹ]ת[וֹ]ת [וְ]לְעוֹלָם (4Q403 1 i 28).²⁵ However, the more common singular form in the *Songs* is

²⁰ 4Q401 17 4' (*Song I*); 4Q400 2 [V] 9 (*Song II*); 4Q403 1 ii 23 (*Song VIII*); 4Q405 17 3' [H 11] (*Song X*); 4Q405 23 ii 13' [L 24] (*Song XIII*); cf. the less secured occurrences in *Song V*, 4Q402 3 ii 7' and 4 3'; and see further 4Q400 1 i [I] 6 (*Song I*). Note that the biblical collocation בֵּין רוּחַ is used in the *Songs* as an angelological designation, and the *nomen regens* may accordingly appear in the plural: רוּחֵי דַּעַת וּבִינָה (4Q405 17 3' [H 11]; *Song X*).

²¹ Verbal nouns derived from II- γ verbs usually have only one grammatical gender in BH; see Joüon–Muraoka, 220 §88Be. Nevertheless, some doublets are indeed attested: compare גִּילָה (Isa 65:18) with גִּיל, used either as a substantive (Isa 16:10 || Jer 48:33) or as an infinitive (Prov 23:24); שִׁירָה (Exod 15:1) vs. שִׁיר, used either as a substantive (Judg 5:12; Isa 26:1) or as an infinitive (Isa 23:16).

²² The occurrence of this form in Dan 9:23 is ambiguous: it can be interpreted as either an imperative or an infinitive.

²³ S. Elitzur, “Visit Your Land with Rain: Poetic Fragments of Early *Shiv'atot* for Rain,” in *Ginzei Qedem* 1 (2005): 53 (in Hebrew). The divine epithet בֵּין נֹתֵן is reminiscent of biblical verses in which the verb נָתַן governs the feminine form בְּיָנָה as its object (Job 38:36; 1 Chr 22:12).

²⁴ D. Goldschmidt and J. Fränkel, *Prayer-Book for Sukkoth* (Jerusalem: Koren, 1981), 173 (in Hebrew). The phrase בֵּין יוֹדְעֵי is based on a (late) biblical collocation that utilizes the feminine form בְּיָנָה (1 Chr 12:33; 2 Chr 2:11–12; cf. Dan 2:21).

²⁵ Also attested in the *Songs* is the feminine plural form: הֵלִי בְרַכּוֹת (11Q17 30 5'). This formula also appears in *Song VI*: שְׁבַע תְּהִלֵּי בְרַכּוֹתֵינוּ (Mas ii 19 || 4Q403 1 i 7); and it can be restored in the parallel text of *Song VIII*: שְׁבַע תְּהִלֵּי בְרַכּוֹת (11Q17 4a-e+5 [III] 5).

a masculine by-form; it is especially common in the collocation קול ברך,²⁶ and it is also attested once in the phrase שֹׁן ברך.²⁷

The grammatical pattern of this form is not certain. It can be compared to BH doublets such as צֶדֶק/צִדְקָה and סֶעַר/סִעָרָה,²⁸ and if the comparison is valid, ברך can be reconstructed as a segholate noun (בִּרְךָ).²⁹ If this vocalization is correct, the form is unique to the *Songs*, in comparison not only with BH and QH, but also with any other ancient Hebrew corpus; it is not documented even in Palestinian Byzantine *piyyut*.³⁰ The sole occurrence of this form recorded in *Ma'agarim* comes from a very late *Seder Avodah*, a liturgical poem for the Day of Atonement, by the Spanish medieval poet Joseph Ibn Abitur:³¹ ברך ככה ישא,³² as we shall see below, the lateness of this passage is instructive in its own right.

3. זמר "Song"

The BH lexicon contains two homonymic nouns that appear as זִמְרָה: the first (< PS *z-m-r) denotes "song, melody, music" (Isa 51:3; Ps 98:5; cf. Amos 5:23; Ps 81:3), while the second (< PS *δ-m-r) denotes "strength, power, protection" (Exod 15:2; Isa 12:2; Ps 118:14; witnessed in the collocation עזי זמרת יה). The two nouns fell together phonetically when PS *δ > Heb. z,

²⁶ Song VII (4Q403 1 ii 11–12); Song IX (4Q405 14–15 i 3' [G 18]); Song XII (4Q405 20 ii–22 12'–13' [J 22–23]; 23 i 7' [K 18]). This collocation may allude to Ezekiel's vision: ותשאני רוח ואשמע אחרי קול רעש גדול ברוך כבוד ה' ממקומו (Ezek 3:12).

²⁷ Song IX (4Q405 14–15 i 2' [G 17]). Contrast the collocation לישון ברכה in MH₂ (e.g., *y. Hag.* 21 [77c]).

²⁸ For a list of such doublets see I. Avinery, *Heical hammishqalim: A Thesaurus of the Hebrew Radical Nouns* (Tel-Aviv: Yizre'el, 1976), 198 §3 (in Hebrew).

²⁹ This presumed segholate form should obviously be distinguished from the homonym בִּרְךָ "knee," which in QH was probably בִּרְךָ (cf. Syriac ܒܪܟܐ), as indicated by the *plene* spellings בורך and בורכיים; compare 1QM 14:6 with 4QM^a (4Q491) 8–10 i 4; MT Isa 45:23; 66:12 with 1QIsa^a 39:4; 53:28 respectively; cf. E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 24, 201. The forms of "knee" thus belong to the well known interchange between *qitl/qaṭl nouns in the Tiberian tradition of BH and *qutl forms in QH (Qimron, *Hebrew*, 5 §330.1a).

³⁰ Note, however, that other reconstructions are possible. Professor Moshe Bar-Asher pointed out to me that the *qaṭālā* pattern is linked with the G verbal stem, while the standard verbal derivatives of ברך are forms of the D stem; he therefore prefers to vocalize the form as בִּרְךָ. Alternatively, it may be vocalized as the D infinitive בִּרְךָ (compare Num 23:20).

³¹ Cf. I. Davidson, *Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry* (4 vols.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary Press, 1925–1933; repr.: Library of Jewish Classics; New York: Ktav, 1970), 1:4624.

³² Cf. J. Rosenberg, *Anthology of Works by Ancient Geonim* (Berlin: Friedlander, 1856), Part II:19 (in Hebrew). The phrase ברך ישא seems to be based on a biblical verse: ישא ברכה מאת ה' (Ps 24:5).

but their actual usages demonstrate that the semantic distinction between them was still recognized in classical BH.³³

In contradistinction, in postbiblical literature the two nouns merged semantically as well, and the expression עזי זמרת יה was interpreted as if its second member denotes a song of praise.³⁴ This understanding seems to be shared by the *Songs*. The nouns עוז and זמרה are juxtaposed in a fragment that probably comes from *Song VIII*: עזי זמרת עון (4Q405 67 1' [F 7] || 11Q17 4a-e+5 [III] 3). Such an association is also found in the parallel section of *Song VI*, in the description of the praise of the seventh angelic prince, but this time the masculine by-form זמר is used: תה ל[ת] זמר בלשון [השב] יע[י] לנש[א]י ר[וש] [זמר עוז לאלוהי קודש בשבע] [ה זמרה] נפלאותיה [זומר השב] ל[ת] זמר עוז לאלוהי קודש בשבעה בש[בעה דברי זמרה] פלא למלך הקודש שבעה בש[בעה דברי זמרה] (Mas ii 16-19 || 4Q403 1 i 6-7). A structural comparison of this passage with the descriptions of the praises uttered by the other angelic princes clearly shows that זמר is used in the sense of a “song (of praise),” as its equivalents in the other descriptions are terms such as שבה and רגן.³⁵

The exact grammatical pattern of this form is again uncertain.³⁶ Since the biblical feminine form belongs to the *qitl(+at) pattern, it is reasonable to assume that the masculine by-form corresponds to זמר,³⁷ but alternative vocalizations cannot be ruled out.³⁸

³³ See my detailed discussion in “Textual History through the Prism of Historical Linguistics: The Case of Biblical Hebrew *z-m-r*,” in *From Author to Copyist: Composition, Redaction and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible* (ed. C. Werman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

³⁴ See for instance the Aramaic versions of Exod 15:2: *Tg. Onq.* תוקפי ותושבחהי; *Frg. Tg.* MS P רוב תושבחתה ורוב תוקפא; MS V רוב תושבחתה ורוב תוקפא; *Tg. Neof.* and *Ps.-J.* תוקפן ור(ו).

³⁵ For a structural analysis of *Song VI* see the useful table in Newsom, “4QShirot,” 249–50; the relevant forms are included in the components marked there as A, G, and I. The key terms of this section of *Song VI* are reiterated in a concluding passage (Mas ii 19–22 || 4Q403 1 i 37–39), where the praise of the seventh angelic prince is summarized as [שב] תהלי זמיר[ות] קודשו; comparable to the parallel summary of the first prince's praise: שבע תהלי ברבותיה.

³⁶ The current study focuses on the common noun. A similar form is attested once in BH (Deut 14:5) as the name of a certain species of an animal, probably a gazelle of some kind.

³⁷ Note that in BH such morphological doublets tend to be semantically differentiated; for example, בקע is a technical term denoting a certain weight, while בקעה means “valley.” The semantic equivalence between the BH collocation זמר + עז and the *Songs*' עוז + זמר therefore testifies to the secondary nature of the latter as a poetic by-form of the former.

³⁸ Consider, for example, the Aramaic form זמר (e.g., Dan 3:5; *Tg. Jon.* Isa 24:9). The plural forms documented in the *Songs* do not furnish any help in this respect. On the one hand, the spelling זמרות (4Q403 1 i 40) may be based on the feminine singular זמרה; the non-Tiberian form זמרות is indeed reflected in Jerome's transliterations; see A. Yuditsky,

This form is meagerly documented in MH. It is found once in MH₁, in the famous dictum of R. Akiba concerning the Song of Songs: המנענע בקולו בשיר השירים בבית המשת' ועושה אותן כמין זמר אין לו חלק לעולם הבא ("R. Akiba says: He who, at a banquet, renders the Song of Songs in a sing-song way, turning it into a common ditty, has no share in the world to come"; *t. Sanh.* 12:10).³⁹ It is also found in MH₂, as in another famous tradition concerning the various languages that were in contact in Palestine during the first centuries: ארבעה לשונות נאים שישתמש בהן העולם ואילו הן: לעז לזמר, רומי לקרב, סורסי לאיליא, עברי לדיבור, ויש אומ' אף ארבעה לשונות נאים שישתמש בהן העולם ("Four languages are suited for the world to use them, and these are: Greek for singing, Latin for battle, Syriac for mourning, Hebrew for speech, and some say also Assyrian (i.e., Aramaic) for writing"; *y. Meg* 1:8 [71b]; cf. *y. Sof.* 7:2 [21c]).

By contrast, the form זָמַר is widely used in all strata of *piyyuṭ* literature, as in the following example from a *Seder Avodah* by the preclassical poet Yosé ben Yosé: אָדָר מְתֵהוּמוֹת / שְׁבַח מִמְאֹרוֹת / אוֹמֵר מִיָּמִים / וְזָמַר מִלֵּילוֹת.⁴⁰ It is especially common in Qillirian poetry.

4. קורב "Approach"

The sacerdotal personnel officiating in the heavenly Temple are often referred to in the *Songs* by the unique collocation כוהני קורב.⁴¹ Newsom—followed by all other scholars—translates this term as "priests of the *inner sanctum*."⁴² However, as I have argued elsewhere,⁴³ the word קורב cannot

"On Origen's Transliterations as Preserved in the Works of the Church Fathers," in *Les* 69 (2007): 301–10 (306). On the other hand, the *plene* spelling זמירות (Mas ii 22) corresponds unambiguously to זמרות (e.g., Ps 95:2). See the discussion in Mizrahi, "Textual History through the Prism of Historical Linguistics."

³⁹ English translation by H. Danby, *Tractate Sanhedrin: Mishnah and Tosefta* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1919), 121.

⁴⁰ A. Mirsky, *Yosse Ben Yosse: Poems* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1991), 128 (in Hebrew). According to the editor, the last stich is based on a biblical expression: נתן זמרות [Job 35:10]. Note that the first word in each stich is a segholate noun.

⁴¹ See *Song I* (4Q400 1 i [I] 8, 17, 19); *Song VIII* (4Q403 1 ii 19, 24); *Song XI* (4Q405 20 ii–22 1' [J] 10) || 11Q17 16–18 [VII] 3). Cf. זת קורבו [כתובת] in *Song VIII* (4Q405 8–9 [E] 4–5 || 4Q403 1 ii 20 || 11Q17 3 [II] 6); קדושי קורב in *Song IV* (4Q401 16 2' || 4Q402 9 4'); רוחי קורב in *Song IX* (4Q405 14–15 i 4' [G] 19).

⁴² For her arguments in favor of this interpretation see C.A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 36–37; cf. B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 288 n. 47.

⁴³ See N. Mizrahi, "Priests of Qoreb: Linguistic Enigma and Social Code in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*," in *The Hebrew of the Late Second Temple Period between the Bible and the Mishnah* (ed. P. Van Hecke and E.J.C. Tigchelaar; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

be interpreted as an architectural term synonymous with דביר; it is rather a verbal noun, a *nomen actionis* of the verb קרב “to approach,” and the collocation as a whole alludes to a formulation typical of Ezekiel, which describes the priests as those who approach God in order to serve Him.⁴⁴

If this analysis is correct, then from a grammatical point of view קורב can be taken as a masculine by-form of the BH infinitive קרבה (Exod 36:2; cf. 40:32; Lev 16:1).⁴⁵ An exact parallel to this doublet can be found in the verb רחץ: in BH one finds a feminine form of the infinitive in the expression מים לרחצה “water for washing” (Exod 40:30; cf. 30:18; 2 Chr 4:6);⁴⁶ but in QH the infinitive became a masculine verbal noun of a segholate pattern: מי רחץ (1QS 3:5).⁴⁷ That רחץ is indeed a *nomen actionis* becomes evident when we compare the text of another manuscript of the *Community Rule*, which reads [מי] רחיצה (4QS^h [4Q262] 1 3).⁴⁸ The verbal noun קורב is unknown to me from any other Hebrew source,⁴⁹ including PH.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ See Ezek 40:46; 42:13; 43:19; 44:15; 45:4. Compare *Song I* (4Q400 1 i [I] 19–20).

⁴⁵ For the use of such feminine infinitival forms see A. Cohen, “The Infinitive plus Hé,” *Leš 33* (1969): 238 (in Hebrew).

⁴⁶ In this case also there is an alternative form of the infinitive in BH, e.g., ומים לרחץ (Gen 24:32). Cf. Exod 2:5; 1 Sam 25:41; Job 29:6.

⁴⁷ Pronounced as רחץ or רחץ. The two forms interchange in a liturgical text dealing with a purification rite: in one copy we find מי רחץ (4Q512 1–6 [XII] 5; cf. 42–44 5’); while in another, the attested form is מי רוחץ (4Q414 13 7’). Since 4Q512 usually represents the round vowels by *waw*, the lack of *plene* spelling in this case is indicative of a morphological interchange rather than an ambiguous conservative spelling.

⁴⁸ The nominal pattern *qatīlā* is a standard *nomen actionis* of the G stem in MH₁. See E.Y. Kutscher, “Studies in the Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew according to ms Kaufmann,” in *Bar-Ilan Volume in Humanities and Social Sciences: Decennial Volume II* (ed. M.Z. Kaddari; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1969), 51–77 (53–59) (in Hebrew); reprinted in idem, *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1977), 108–34 (110–16) (in Hebrew); S. Sharvit, “The Emergence and Crystallization of Verbal Nouns in Ancient Hebrew,” in *Samaritan, Hebrew and Aramaic Studies: Presented to Professor Abraham Tal* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and M. Florentin; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2005), 177–88 (in Hebrew). See, however, the cautionary comments of M. Bar-Asher, “Qumran Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew,” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 8–9* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and D. Dimant; Haifa: Haifa University Press; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2010), 287–317 (300–5) (in Hebrew).

⁴⁹ Hypothetically it might be related to the BH feminine form קרבה (Isa 58:2; Ps 73:28), which appears as the masculine form קרב in MH₁: הקרוב לפי קורבו והרחוק: כל הארצות היה רואה: הקרוב לפי קורבו והרחוק: כל הארצות היה רואה: לפי רוחקו (Sifre Zuta on Num 27:13 [see H.S. Horovitz, *Corpus Tannaiticum*, III.3.1: *Siphre ad Numeros adjecto Siphre Zutta* (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1917), 319]). However, קרב in this passage was probably formed independently, by analogy to other nouns that denote spatial dimensions such as ארך and רחב. In any case, this קרב is not a *nomen actionis*, as is the form used in the *Songs*.

⁵⁰ Nevertheless, one finds in PH several segholate nouns of the **qatl* type, whose counterparts in the Tiberian tradition of BH belong to the **qitl*/**qatl* types; see, e.g., H. Yalon,

5. רִנָּה "Jubilation"

The most common nouns derived from רִנָּה in BH are the feminine forms רִנָּה and (to a much lesser extent) רִנָּה. The form רִנָּה is found in BH over thirty times, only in the singular; e.g., החלו ברִנָּה ותהלה (2 Chr 20:22); paired with תִּפְלָה (1 Kgs 8:28 || 2 Chr 6:19; Jer 7:16; 11:14; Pss 17:1; 61:2; 88:3); or as part of the common collocation קול רִנָּה (Isa 48:20; Pss 42:5; 47:2; 118:15). The form רִנָּה is attested only four times (singular: Ps 100:2; Job 3:7; 20:5; plural: Ps 63:6). Non-feminine forms are found only as infinitives: רִנָּה (Ps 132:6) and רִן (Job 38:7; cf. Ps 32:7).

A similar state of affairs is found in QH, where the feminine רִנָּה prevails, especially in the biblical collocation קול רִנָּה (1QM 12:15; 1QH^a 19[11]:26). It is also used in the *Songs*, e.g., ומהללים שְׁעָרָיו בְּקוֹל רִנָּה (4Q405 23 i 7'-8' [K 18-19]; *Song XII*). But the *Songs* also utilize a masculine by-form when describing the praise of the sixth angelic prince: תה[תה] לַת רִנָּה בְּלִשׁוֹן הַשְּׁשִׁי [תה] לְאֵל [תה] טוֹב בְּשִׁבְעָה רִנוֹת [פְּלִאִיָּה וְ] רִנָּה לְמִ[לך] הַטּוֹב שִׁבְעָה בְשִׁ[בְעָה דְבָרַי] לְאֵל רִנוֹת (Mas ii 14 || 4Q403 1 i 4-5).⁵¹

Once again the vocalization is uncertain, since both the infinitive רִנָּה and the segholate רִנָּה are possible. The fact that the form functions as a *nomen rectum* in רִנָּה לַת [תה] might support the latter possibility, although it does not totally eliminate the former (cf. Ezek 16:49). Support for רִנָּה may also be found in yet another masculine by-form used in the *Songs*, if the reading is correct: רִנָּה מְרַנְנִי [דַעַתּוֹ בְּ] רִנָּה בְּאֱלוֹהֵי פְּלִא, וְהִגּוּ כְּבוֹדוֹ: בְּלִשׁוֹן כּוֹל הוֹגֵי דַעַת רִנוֹת פְּלִא (4Q403 1 i 36-37).⁵²

The interchange between רִנָּה and רִנוֹת in the *Songs* may be related to the interchange between MT רִנָּה and the spelling רִנוֹת in 1QIsa^a.⁵³ In other words, this may be another case of the *qitl/*quṭl interchange so typical of QH. If this is indeed the case, then it is noteworthy that the segholate form רִנָּה is not attested in any other Hebrew source from antiquity, while

Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Philological Essays (1949-1952) (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1967), 61, end of §16 (in Hebrew).

⁵¹ The form רִנוֹת is also preserved in a small fragment of the sectarian composition *Berachot* (4Q286 2 7), but the broken context renders any interpretation of its grammatical form and syntactic function mere speculation.

⁵² For the use of בְּ to mark the direct object (רִנוֹת בְּאֱלוֹהֵי פְּלִא), compare: רִנָּה צְדִיקִים (רִנוֹת בְּאֱלוֹהֵי פְּלִא), compare: רִנָּה צְדִיקִים בְּאֱלוֹהֵי פְּלִא (Ps 33:1), רִנָּה צְדִיקִים בְּאֱלוֹהֵי פְּלִא (4Q510 1 8). Note that this rection indicates that the form רִנוֹת functions as a *nomen actionis*.

⁵³ The evidence from the *Songs* suggests that this is in fact a morphological interchange between two segholate patterns (רִנָּה and רִנָּה), and their feminine counterparts (רִנָּה /rinn-ā/ and רִנוֹת /runn-ā/). Compare MT Isa 35:10; 48:20; 49:13, with 1QIsa^a 28:26; 40:25; 41:12, respectively. Kutscher, *1QIsa^a* (54 and *passim*), explained this interchange as phonologically conditioned (/u/ > /i/ in unaccented closed syllables).

it is abundant in PH, as in the following example from a poem ascribed to Yosé ben Yosé: אַפְתַּח פֶּה בְּרִנּוֹ / אֶהְלֵל לְשֵׁם פֶּה // בְּשִׁפְתַי רִנְנוֹת / גּוֹדֵל אֶתֶּן לְמִלֵּךְ.⁵⁴

6. תְּרוּמָה “Offering”

The cultic terminology employed in BH (most prominently, but not exclusively, in the Priestly Source of the Pentateuch) uses the verb הָרִים not in the usual sense of “to lift, heighten,” but rather as “to give / set aside (a sacral gift).” The related noun from this verb in BH appears in the feminine form: תְּרוּמָה “sacral offering” (compare תְּנוּפָה, related to הִנִּיחַ).⁵⁵ This form is also the usual one in QH,⁵⁶ including the *Songs*, where it is always used in the collocation תְּרוּמָה לְשׁוֹן.⁵⁷ There is, however, one small fragment of the *Songs* that seems to record the occurrence of a masculine by-form תְּרוּמָה (4Q405 32 3').⁵⁸

This form—if identified correctly—is unique to the *Songs*. It is not matched even in the vast *piyyuṭ* literature. Nevertheless, PH exhibits an exact morphological parallel to it in the form of תְּמוּרָה. This feminine noun is common in both BH and MH, but in PH one finds the masculine by-form תְּמוּרָה, as in the following example from the works of the classical poet Yannai: וְתְמוּרָה דְּבָרִים רְעִים / יְדוּבָר לָנוּ דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים.⁵⁹ It also appears in the medieval MS A of Ben Sira (3:14; 4:10).⁶⁰ If this is a genuine feature of Ben Sira’s language, then the combined testimony of Sirach and the

⁵⁴ Mirsky, *Yosse*, 239. The spelling of this form is sometimes *plene*; note, e.g., the pre-classical *təqi'ata*: הַמְלוּכָה לְאֲדִיר בְּרִינּוֹ אַרְיֵעָה אַרְיֵעָה (the editor believes that the first word is written twice due to dittography); see S. Elitzur, “*Teqi'ata* Fragments in the Style of Yose b. Yose,” *Tarbiz* 53 (1983–1984): 547–58 (553) (in Hebrew). Interestingly, Epstein lists many examples of *plene* spellings in which *yod* corresponds to *seghol*, but usually these are found in closed syllables, while in the case adduced here the correspondence is found in an open syllable. See J.N. Epstein, *Introduction to the Mishnaic Text* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1948; 3d ed. 2000), 2:21242 (in Hebrew). It might be better, therefore, to vocalize such forms as רִנּוֹ.

⁵⁵ For an analysis of these two cultic terms, see J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 473–81.

⁵⁶ In BH the singular form תְּרוּמָה is attested about seventy times. In QH it is found some thirty times.

⁵⁷ *Song II* (4Q400 2 [V] 7); *Song VIII* (4Q403 1 ii 26); *Song XIII* (4Q405 23 ii 12 [L 23]). For an analysis of this collocation, see N. Mizrahi, “The Lexicon and Phraseology of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*” (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008), 210–21.

⁵⁸ Newsom, *Songs*, 344 (=“Shirot,” 370).

⁵⁹ Z.M. Rabinovitz, *The Liturgical Poems of Rabbi Yannai according to the Triennial Cycle of the Pentateuch and the Holidays* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1985–87), 2:307–8.

⁶⁰ See M.H. Segal, *The Complete Book of Ben Sira* (2d ed.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1958), esp. 15–16 (in Hebrew), on v. 13, according to his numeration.

Songs allows one to surmise that the pattern *taqūl* (< *taqūl-ā* by elision of the feminine ending) was employed in Hebrew poetic diction of the Greco-Roman period.

General Discussion

The items discussed above are not identical in every respect. In purely morphological terms, they originate from a variety of nominal patterns: **qatal(+at)*,⁶¹ **qitl(+at)*⁶² and its II-*w/y* allomorph **qil(+at)*,⁶³ and **taqūl(+at)*⁶⁴ (the II-*w/y* allomorph of **taqtul+at*).⁶⁵ Nevertheless, a comparison of the *Songs* to the other Dead Sea Scrolls indicates that the varied use of such masculine by-forms is characteristic of the *Songs*, and constitutes a distinct marker of its style. As we have seen, parallels to the various forms can occasionally be adduced from BH, QH or MH; furthermore, the grammatical phenomenon itself is not alien to any phase of the Hebrew language, and it may even be used as a poetic device.⁶⁶ But in most cases the specific forms used in the *Songs* are by and large unique to this composition, and their presence distinguishes its language from that of other Hebrew corpora. The consistent use of this grammatical peculiarity thus indicates that it was applied as a stylistic device by the author of the *Songs*. In this respect, there is a marked typological similarity between the *Songs* and PH. The question then arises as to the wider implications of this finding.

It should be conceded that a relation of some kind between the *Songs* and *piyyuṭ* is not unimaginable. The discovery of a copy of the *Songs* in

⁶¹ Thus ברך takes the place of בִּרְכָה (see above, §2), and perhaps also רגן if it replaces רַגְנָה (see above, §5). The same phenomenon is found in PH, e.g., זַעֲקָה < זַעֲקָה (BH); בְּגָדָה < בְּגָדָה (BH); see Rand, *Grammar*, 49, 51.

⁶² Thus זמר replaces זְמִירָה (see above, §3), and perhaps also רגן if it replaces רַגְנָה (see above, §5). Compare in PH: לְהַקָּה < לְהַקָּה (BH); צְהִלָּה < צְהִלָּה (MH); see Rand, *Grammar*, 49–50, 51.

⁶³ Thus בִּין is derived from בִּינָה (see above, §1).

⁶⁴ Thus תרום is probably related to תְּרוּמָה. Compare in PH: תְּמוּרָה < תְּמוּרָה (BH); and see the preceding discussion, §6.

⁶⁵ Tellingly, no masculine forms of the pattern **taqūl* are found in BH, only feminine ones; see Jouon–Muraoka, 239 §88Ls.

⁶⁶ U. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath: Canaanite Epics of the Patriarchal Age* (trans I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1971), 45–46 (Hebrew orig.: Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1951), observed that masculine/feminine by-forms are occasionally used in BH for the purpose of filling in the “slots” required by a poetic structure that Watson later termed “gender-matched synonymous parallelism.” This structure is found, e.g., in Isa 3:1 (מִשְׁעָן/מִשְׁעָנָה); Nah 2:13 (טְרִיף/טְרִיפָה); see W.G.E. Watson, “Gender-Matched Synonymous Parallelism in the OT,” *JBL* 99 (1980): 321–41.

Masada shows that this composition was potentially known—and perhaps even used for concrete liturgical purposes—in circles wider than the Qumran community. It is thus possible to assume that the *Songs* was (or became at some point) part of a common stock of Jewish liturgical traditions, the full scope of which is unknown to us at present.⁶⁷ These traditions, in turn, were the sources from which rabbinic liturgy and eventually *piyyuṭ* have crystallized. If this is indeed the case, then the *Songs* present us, in a sense, with a primitive form of PH—i.e., an initial stage in the formation of linguistic peculiarities whose fully-fledged realization is revealed only centuries later in the baroque style of *piyyuṭ* literature.⁶⁸

It seems to me, however, that before we commit ourselves to such a reconstruction, some counterarguments should be taken into consideration. The foregoing analysis of the peculiar morphological tendency of the *Songs* to utilize masculine by-forms suggests that similarities between the language of the *Songs* and that of PH lies in the *typological*, not the historical, realm, since it is very difficult to establish a concrete diachronic continuity between the *Songs* and PH. In two cases (§4 קורב and §6 תרום), the by-forms in question are not at all attested in PH; and in another case (§2 ברך) the PH attestation is so late and distant that one may not assume it is directly connected with its usage in the *Songs*. There is also one case (§3 זמר) in which the masculine by-form is attested in MH; its appearance in the *Songs* thus reflects its being part and parcel of the living vernacular of the Second Temple period, while its occurrence in PH is best taken as a continuation of MH. Of the six cases discussed here, only two (§1 בין and §5 רנן) feature the exact same forms in both corpora, but they are embedded in different phrases.

Furthermore, the affinity demonstrated here between the *Songs* and PH depends to some extent on the reconstructed vocalization of segholate

⁶⁷ Such a hypothesis is not dependent on the exact provenance of the *Songs*; i.e., whether it is a sectarian work (as originally argued—although with some hesitation—by Newsom, *Songs*, 1–4, 59–72) that infiltrated the wider Jewish liturgy, or a widely known liturgy appropriated by the sectarians, as eventually argued by C.A. Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. W.H. Propp, B. Halpern and D.N. Freedman; Biblical and Judaic Studies 1; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87. In either case, one can assume that it was, at some point, part of a wider stock of liturgical texts and modes of expression.

⁶⁸ This proposition, of course, can be viewed from the opposite end of the spectrum as well: the *piyyuṭ*—and by extrapolation: both early and late rabbinic liturgical traditions—would then be firmly rooted in the Second Temple period, and some of its conspicuous features would be explainable as much older in origin than assumed thus far.

forms. It is well known that segholate nominal patterns are used extensively in PH, far beyond what is found in other Hebrew corpora.⁶⁹ But one cannot ignore the theoretical possibility that the by-forms attested in the *Songs* might be vocalized in ways other than the segholate patterns; in such a case, the similarity to PH may be diminished even further.

Even if the segholate vocalizations are assumed, however, the typological affinity with PH does not pertain to the *mechanism* that is responsible for generating such forms. Within PH, such masculine by-forms are sometimes the product of analogy caused by formal pairing or rhyming: for example, the BH pair of *משפט* and *צדק/צדקה* is transformed in PH to *שִׁפְט* and *צִדְק*; and the PH sobriquet *שְׁמֵי עֶרְץ* (an epithet of the sky and heaven) is made to match *אֶרֶץ* “earth.”⁷⁰ By contrast, as far as I am able to determine, no such conditioning was operative in the *Songs*.

These facts prevent us from drawing any historical conclusions concerning a hypothetical continuation between the two corpora.⁷¹ It seems that each corpus coined its own masculine by-forms (or most of them) independently. The similarities between them are therefore the result of comparable stylistic motivations and aesthetic principles that were at work in shaping the linguistic profile of the *Songs* on the one hand and of PH on the other.

The same conclusion may be reached by studying other characteristic features of the two corpora.⁷² For instance, while the *Songs* is preoccupied with the inhabitants of the heavenly Temple, the *names* of the various angels described are never mentioned, and they are always referred to by

⁶⁹ See for instance the analysis of Rand, *Grammar*, 43–65. While the list of segholate nouns originating from BH (ibid., 45–48) is already very long, the additional list of PH nouns formed in these patterns (ibid., 49–51) makes it by far the largest nominal category.

⁷⁰ Yalom, *Poetic Language*, 138–44.

⁷¹ By this I do not mean to deny the obvious fact that some elements of PH are indeed rooted in Second Temple Hebrew. This is demonstrated, inter alia, by the case of *תמור* discussed above. Other points of contact have been noted by various scholars; see, e.g., Yalon, *Studies*, 33–34 §9 on *דמיונים*; I. Yeivin, “Sidelights on Mishnaic and Paytannic Hebrew,” in *Hebrew Linguistics* 33–35 (1992): 53–64 (63 on *הַגִּי*) (in Hebrew); E. Qimron, “עֲנוּת and Its Kindred Forms,” *Leš* 67 (2005): 21–26 (in Hebrew), on the marking of intransitive verbs by passive stems. However, in terms of their distribution, such affinities are mostly *incidental*, and they usually do not involve *systematic* phenomena like those analyzed in the present study.

⁷² In addition to the phenomena mentioned below, see also my paper, “The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Biblical Priestly Literature: A Linguistic Reconsideration,” *HTR* 104 (2011): 33–57, especially 35–41.

a wide variety of general epithets.⁷³ This is most peculiar in comparison with contemporary angelological treatises, which express great interest in the names of celestial beings.⁷⁴ On the other hand, this feature is comparable with one of the most typical features of the poetic diction of PH: the use of poetic appellations (כינויים) as a substitute for proper names of biblical and other figures such as God, the patriarchs, the angels, etc.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the epithets used in the *Songs* follow patterns of formation and function that differ essentially from those found in PH, and as in the cases discussed above no direct continuity between them may be assumed.⁷⁶

The *Songs* deviates so sharply from Second Temple literature, both in the language employed and in its literary structuring, that it seems to me to represent an ambitious and radical effort to shape new modes of liturgical expression. As the Russian formalists recognized long ago, the process of establishing a new poetics often entails an intensive employment of linguistic neologisms in order to differentiate the nascent expressive mode from the older “fossilized” models that are no longer applicable to contemporary cultural sensitivities. A similar process took place in Hebrew poetry hundreds of years later, when the first *payyṭanim* sought to revitalize the formalized routine of institutional prayers with original and brilliantly crafted poetic substitutes. Due to this similar setting, and motivated by analogous reasons, both the *Songs* and *piyyuṭ* have developed comparable—but only seldom identical—linguistic features.

At the same time, the presence of both unique elements and biblical resonances in the *Songs* brings into focus the need to reevaluate the impact of stylization on the linguistic texture of the various compositions found at Qumran.⁷⁷ The great advancements achieved thus far in

⁷³ For lists of such epithets see Newsom, *Songs*, 23–38. This fact alone is enough to cast doubt on her restoration of the name מלכיצדק in two damaged contexts (4Q401 11 3; 22 3).

⁷⁴ See for instance 1 En. 6:7; 20:2–8.

⁷⁵ For a fuller definition of this stylistic device in *piyyuṭ* see Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry*, 105–7.

⁷⁶ Suffice it to say that the specific epithets used in the *Songs* are not at all similar to the standard appellations in PH. This can be inferred by examining the glossaries of such appellations appended to reliable critical editions of *piyyuṭ* texts. Compare for instance the angelic appellations used by Yannai (Rabinovitz, *Yannai*, 2:427) etc.

⁷⁷ The importance of literary stylization in QH was acknowledged even by scholars who usually tend to treat QH as reflecting a spoken language, i.e., a colloquial variety (or even an independent dialect) of Hebrew. See especially E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma‘aše ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 373 §3.7.3; S. Morag, “Qumran Hebrew: Some Structural Features,” in idem, *Studies on Biblical Hebrew*

all aspects of the study of the Scrolls and their language supplies a firm basis for a renewed and more nuanced appreciation of each composition in terms of the intricate relationship between the specific configuration of its linguistic constituents on the one hand, and the general linguistic background shared by other texts composed during the Second Temple period on the other.

(Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1995), 106–115 (113–14) (in Hebrew); this version of the paper is interestingly more explicit than the English version: “Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations,” *VT* 38 (1988): 148–64 (150).

THE LITERARY USE OF BIBLICAL LANGUAGE IN THE WORKS OF THE TANNAIM

Matthew Morgenstern

I. INTRODUCTION

Over the past century, great advances have been made in the diachronic study of Hebrew. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to state that the most significant reevaluation of the history of Hebrew came with the publication in 1908 of M.H. Segal's influential study on Rabbinic Hebrew and its relationship to Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. In this seminal work, Segal conclusively established that Rabbinic Hebrew represents a natural development of Biblical Hebrew, and that it is not to be regarded as an artificial literary dialect or merely a "Gelehrtensprache." Subsequent discoveries from the Judean desert, in particular the letters and documentary evidence from the Bar Kokhba period, appeared to confirm the assumption that Hebrew remained a spoken language at least until the mishnaic period and in the region of Judea.¹

Nonetheless, it was not until the mid-1960s that Kutscher demonstrated the importance of distinguishing between early rabbinic literature—the language of the Tannaim—and that of the later Talmudic corpus—the language of the Amoraim. The preceding generation of scholars, including important Hebraists such as Segal and Yalon, had drawn their linguistic evidence without distinction from all levels of the "Talmudic" corpus, from the earliest levels of the Mishnah through to the late midrashim, many of which are of uncertain provenance and date. By contrast, Kutscher emphasized the qualitative difference between the two levels: while Hebrew remained a spoken language in the Tannaitic period, by the Amoraic period it had apparently ceased to be spoken on a daily basis

¹ J.T. Milik, *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 70; E.Y. Kutscher, "The Hebrew and Aramaic Letters of Bar Koseba and his Contemporaries, Part II: The Hebrew Letters," *Leš* 26 (1961): 7–23 (in Hebrew); H.L. Ginsberg convincingly identified the significance of the phonetic forms for proving the oral nature of the language represented in these documents. See H.L. Ginsberg, "New Light on Tannaitic Jewry and on the State of Israel of the Years 132–135 CE," in *The Jewish Expression* (ed. J. Goldin; New York: Bantam Books, 1970), 18–43.

and become primarily a literary idiom, with Aramaic and Greek displacing it as the mother tongue of most Jews in the Land of Israel.² Following Kutscher's lead, Sokoloff, Moreshet, Bar-Asher, and more recently Breuer have brought further evidence of differences between the various levels of Rabbinic Hebrew, and gradually a fairly reliable picture has emerged of the history of Hebrew before the Islamic period.³ Today it is a truism that each level of Hebrew (perhaps even each textual witness) must first be described as individual entity and only then be compared to the other levels of the language.

In spite of these impressive advances in the diachronic study of Hebrew, questions still remain regarding the relationship between the different strata of ancient Hebrew. Many individual details do not fit into a simple chronological scheme. For example, several elements have been identified in Rabbinic Hebrew that retain archaic dialectal forms that were not part of the standard Biblical Hebrew idiom.⁴ One may assume that these existed as a part of the living Hebrew language throughout the preexilic period, but only found expression in a written form at a later period. By contrast, the literary Hebrew of the Second Temple period drew heavily on the language of classical prophecy and poetry, and contains numer-

² As far as I can tell, Kutscher first expressed in writing the distinction between Mhei (=Mittelhebräisch 1) and Mhez (=Mittelhebräisch 2) in his article "Mittelhebräisch und Jüdisch-Aramäisch im neuen Köhler-Baumgartner," in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* (ed. B. Hartmann et al.; VTSup 16; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 158–75.

³ M. Sokoloff, "The Hebrew of Bereshit-Rabba, Codex Vatican 30," *Leš* 33 (1969): 25–42, 135–49, 270–79 (in Hebrew); M. Moreshet, "The Hebrew Baraitot in the Babylonian Talmud are Not MH(1)," in *Henoch Yalon Memorial Volume* (ed. E.Y. Kutscher, S. Lieberman, and M.Z. Kaddari; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1974), 1–40 (in Hebrew) (in spite of its publication date, this preceded the next article); idem, "New and Revived Verbs in the Bāraytōt of the Babylonian Talmud," in *Archive of the New Dictionary of Rabbinical Literature* (2 vols.; E.Y. Kutscher and M.Z. Kaddari, eds.; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1972–1974), 1:117–62 (in Hebrew); idem, "Further Studies of the Language of the Hebrew Baraitot in the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds," in Kutscher and Kaddari, *Archive of the New Dictionary*, 2:31–73 (in Hebrew); M. Bar-Asher, "The Different Traditions of Mishnaic Hebrew," in *Working With No Data: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (ed. D.M. Golomb, with the assistance of S.T. Hollis; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 1–38; Y. Breuer, *The Hebrew in the Babylonian Talmud according to the Manuscripts of Tractate Pesahim* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2002) (in Hebrew); and recently, idem, "Early and Late in Mishnaic Hebrew: Temporal Expressions Change into Causal Expressions," in *Sha'arei Lashon: Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Jewish Languages Presented to Moshe Bar-Asher, Vol. 3: Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic* (ed. A. Maman, S.E. Fassberg, and Y. Breuer; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute), 62–81 (in Hebrew).

⁴ E.Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (ed. R. Kutscher; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press; Leiden: Brill, 1982), 134.

ous archaisms, the identification of which is not always simple. Alongside these, late Biblical Hebrew contains several unique constructions that have no precedent in the classical language and no continuation in the later post-Destruction idiom.⁵ Some of these features are shared with Hebrew texts from Qumran.⁶ As Rabin suggested, this may imply that they are literary forms that were at one time fashionable but later fell from currency.⁷

In the scholarly literature, Tannaitic Hebrew is generally presented as being less problematic than the language of the Second Temple period.⁸ Both grammatically and stylistically, Rabbinic Hebrew demonstrates far less dependence upon biblical models than does Second Temple Hebrew, and is often regarded as more closely reflecting the spoken idiom of late Second Temple and early post-Destruction times.⁹ Nonetheless, Tannaitic Hebrew is also not without indications of the influence of biblical language, though these tend to be less immediately obvious than their Second Temple period counterparts.

The best general discussion of the influence of Rabbinic Hebrew on Mishnaic Hebrew remains the concise but seminal study by Gideon Haneman.¹⁰ Haneman briefly laid out the most common ways in which

⁵ D. Talshir, "The Autonomic Status of Late Biblical Hebrew," in *Language Studies* 2–3 (= *A. Bendavid Festschrift*) (ed. M. Bar-Asher; Jerusalem: The Institute for the Study of Judaism, 1987), 161–72 (in Hebrew).

⁶ E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 88–97.

⁷ C. Rabin, "The Historical Background of Qumran Hebrew," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press), 144–61 (151–52). Joosten and Fassberg have pointed to classicizing features of Hebrew in the Second Temple period. See J. Joosten, "Pseudo-classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew, in Ben Sira, and in Qumran Hebrew," in *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 (1997)* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 146–59, and S.E. Fassberg, "The Infinitive Absolute as Finite Verb and Standard Literary Hebrew of the Second Temple Period," in *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey; STDJ 73; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 47–60.

⁸ See for example R.C. Steiner, "Ancient Hebrew," in *The Semitic Languages* (ed. R. Hetzron; London: Routledge, 1997), 146.

⁹ For a restatement of this position, see J. Blau, "A Conservative View of the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 20–25, with earlier bibliography.

¹⁰ G. Haneman, "Biblical Borrowings in the Mishnah," in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Papers* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1967–1968), 2:95–96 (in Hebrew).

the biblical idiom affected the language of the Mishnah. Beyond word-for-word borrowings, we find the reworking of biblical expressions in rabbinic language; for example, the biblical phrase מַבְטָא שְׁפִתַיִם “expression of the mouth” (compare Lev 5:4, Num 30:7) is “translated,” by means of a rabbinic gerund, to בִּיטוּי שְׁפִתַיִם, which bears the same meaning. Sometimes, new legal terminology is formed on the pattern of biblical expressions. Since the biblical text orders that וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יִפֹּל מִנְבִלְתָם עָלָיו יִטְמָא תַנּוּר “Everything on which the carcass of any of them falls shall be unclean; an oven or stove shall be smashed” (Lev 11:35, NJPS), the Mishnah declares נֹטֵל מִמֶּנָּה עֲצִים אֲסוּרִין בְּהַנִּייהָ. הִסִּיק בְּהֵן אֶת הַתַּנּוּר אִם חָדָשׁ וְכִירִים יִתֵּן “If a man took (pieces of) wood from it [an *Ashera*], it is prohibited to gain benefit from them. If he heated an oven with them, and it is new, it must be smashed; if it is old, it must be allowed to cool” (*m. ‘Abod. Zar.* 3:9).¹¹ The *Hiph’il/Hoph’al* of צָנַן is not found in Mishnaic Hebrew, and יוֹצֵן is thus to be regarded as having been formed in grammatical parallel to the biblical יִתֵּן, which itself is an archaic *Qal* passive form.¹²

In the same article, Haneman identified several contexts in which biblical borrowings were particularly common. The language of rabbinic law, halakhah, is especially influenced by Biblical Hebrew, and this is expressed both in individual terms and in the formulation of halakhot on the basis of biblical models. The Bible also serves as a model for the language of prayer.¹³ Haneman observed, too, that the midrashim on biblical verses make great use of the language of the verses that they discuss. It is this last topic that we shall seek to address here.

Several scholars have noted that the Tannaitic aggadah tends to be more conservative in its language than Tannaitic halakhah,¹⁴ but to the

¹¹ This is the reading of MS Parma de Rossi 138. In MS Kaufmann, the final word has been emended by the vocalizer to read יִצֵּן. The Parma reading appears original given that the Kaufmann reading reflects an emendation, and the Parma reading is supported by numerous parallels.

¹² G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929), 2:§15c.

¹³ Given what we now know of the history of these two genres from the Dead Sea Scrolls, we may assume that the biblicalizing character of both law and prayer are a retention from Second Temple period. See, e.g., R.S. Sarason, “The ‘Intersections’ of Qumran and Rabbinic Judaism: The Case of Prayer Texts and Liturgies,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 169–81.

¹⁴ See for example S. Naeh, “שְׁתֵי סוגֵי נְדוּשׁוֹת בְּלִשׁוֹן חוֹ”ל,” in *Talmudic Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Eliezer Shimshon Rosenthal* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and D. Rosenthal; Meḥqerei Talmud 2; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1993), 397 n. 53. Naeh refers to an unpublished study he wrote on the subject in which he also reached this conclusion.

best of my knowledge, no comprehensive study of this topic has been made. In this article I aim to consider some of the uses of Biblical Hebrew in Tannaitic midrash, and in so doing to outline some of the difficulties involved in distinguishing between literary influence from biblical texts and independent composition using biblical language. Several representative examples have been selected, though many more can be adduced.

II. אס"ר

1. אס"ר *Meaning "to bind" in Tannaitic Hebrew*

In Biblical Hebrew, the most common meaning of אס"ר is to tie or restrain someone or something physically; it is quite common in the senses of "to imprison" or "to harness." In only one biblical context do we find the Hebrew root אס"ר employed in a legal/moral sense of "restriction" or "binding condition" (though apparently not "prohibition"):

איש כי ידר נדר לה' או השבע שבועה לְאָסֵר אֶסֶר על נפשו לא יחל דברו ככל
היצא מפיו יעשה:

If a man makes a vow to the Lord or takes an oath imposing a condition upon himself, he shall not break his pledge; he must carry out all that comes out of his mouth. (Num 30:3)¹⁵

The Aramaic cognate also appears several times in this sense in Daniel 6:8–17; e.g., לְקִימָה קִים מְלַכְא וּלְתַקְפָּה אֶסֶר (Dan 6:8) "to establish a royal edict and to make a valid obligation."¹⁶ The use of אס"ר to indicate "a binding condition" continues further in the Hebrew and Aramaic legal documents from the Bar Kokhba period, e.g.:

כלא יהבת לכי אנתי מרים אנתתי מתנת עלם על אסרה די אהוא אכל ומחסן
ופרע פרעון מלכהון

I have given it all to you, my wife Miriam, as an eternal gift, on condition that I shall enjoy the usufruct, and retain possession and remit possession of property taxes (*P. Yadin* 7:14–15).¹⁷

¹⁵ All translations in this paper are my own.

¹⁶ See S.M. Paul, "Dan 6,8: An Aramaic Reflex of Assyrian Legal Terminology," in *Bib* 65 (1984): 106–10; repr. in S.M. Paul, *Divrei Shalom: Collected Studies of Shalom M. Paul on the Bible and the Ancient Near East 1967–2007* (London: Brill, 2005), 139–44.

¹⁷ *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (ed. Y. Yadin et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 82.

It is found once in a Hebrew deed for the division of a property:

על אסרי שיהיו ארבע>ת< האנשים הלוו שוקלים תחבור המקומות, הלוו
<ש>חכרו

On condition that these four people will keep on paying the rental fee for these places that they have rented (*P. Yadin* 44:16).¹⁸

In Tannaitic Hebrew, the semantic shift of the verb from “physically bind” to “morally/legally restrict” is almost absolute. There are no examples of the root אס"ר employed in the physical meaning in the Mishnah.¹⁹ Nonetheless, a few examples of the verb do appear in the Tannaitic midrashim with the older, biblical meaning—but always in connection with a biblical verse:

”ויאסר את רכבו”. בידו אסרו. דרך מלכים להיות עומדים ואחרים מציעין להם.
אבל כן בידו אסרו.

“And he harnessed his chariot” (Exod 14:6): With his own hand he harnessed it. It is customary for kings to stand (aside) while others arrange for them. But here he harnessed it with his own hand. (*MekhRI Beshallah* 1)²⁰

In Mishnaic Hebrew, the regular verb for harnessing animals, either to each other or to a carriage, is קש"ר; e.g., אין קושרין את הסוס לא לצדדי, “One may not tie a horse to the sides of a wagon, or behind a wagon” (*m. Kil.* 8:4). The midrash presented in the *Mekhilta* has employed the biblical root אס"ר to produce a new verbal form in the perfect that is not part of the citation, namely אסרו “he bound it.”

The midrash continues by adducing other cases in which biblical protagonists are described as harnessing or saddling their animals, which is understood as a sign of great willingness to undertake their mission:

ארבעה אסרו בשמחה:
אברהם אסר בשמחה. שנ' "וישכם אברהם בבקר ויחבש" וג'!
בלעם אסר בשמחה. שנ' "ויקם בלעם בבקר ויחבש" וג'!
יוסף אסר בשמחה. "ויאסר יוסף מרכבתו" וג'!
פרעה אסר בשמחה. "ויאסר את רכבו".

¹⁸ Yadin et al., *Documents*, 45. My translation here differs somewhat from that of the *editio princeps*.

¹⁹ Although the *Historical Dictionary* project records *m. Shev.* 4:13 as having this meaning, in my opinion, the context demonstrates that such is not the case: משיבוע אני עליכם. אוסרכם אני מצוה אני עליכם. “I adjure you; I command you; I forbid you.”

²⁰ *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Ismael* (ed. H.S. Horovitz and I.A. Rabin; Frankfurt am Main: Kauffmann, 1928–1931), 88.

תבא חבשה שחבש אברהם אבינו לילך לעשות רצון קונו ותעמד על חבשה
 שחבש בלעם הרשע לילך לקלל את ישראל.
 תבא אסרה שאסר יוסף לעלות לקראת ישראל אביו ותעמד על אסרה שאסר
 פרעה הרשע לילך לרדוף אחר ישראל.

Four harnessed with enthusiasm:²¹

Abraham harnessed with enthusiasm, as it is written, "And Abraham rose early in the morning, and he saddled (ויחבש)" etc. (Gen 22:3).

Balaam harnessed with enthusiasm, as it is written, "So Balaam rose early in the morning, and he saddled (ויחבש)" etc. (Num 22:21).

Joseph harnessed with enthusiasm, as it is written, "And Joseph harnessed his chariot" etc. (Gen 46:29).

Pharaoh harnessed with enthusiasm: "And he harnessed his chariot" (Exod 14:6).

Let the saddling that Abraham did in order to go and perform the will of his creator come and stand against the saddling that the wicked Balaam did in order to go and curse Israel.

Let the harnessing that Joseph did in order to go and meet Israel his father come and stand against the harnessing that the wicked Pharaoh did in order to go and pursue Israel.

The midrash draws a parallel between two sets of actions which employ the same verb and structure, one the action of a righteous forefather, the other the action of a wicked enemy of Israel. The merit of the righteous forefather stands to the credit of Israel against its enemies.

The use of language in this midrash is interesting for several reasons. First, in addition to חב"ש"ר, the midrash employs the biblical root חב"ש"ר, which has a similar semantic range to biblical חב"ש"ר but appears only in physical, never in legal/ethical meanings. Indeed, beyond our midrash and its direct parallel in the *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai*, the meaning of the verb חב"ש"ר becomes restricted in Tannaitic Hebrew to "confine to prison," e.g., או שהיה חבוש בבית האסורים, "or who was confined in to prison house" (*m. Soṭah* 4:5).

Furthermore, our midrash uses the biblical root חב"ש"ר to describe an action that in the biblical account is portrayed with the root חב"ש"ר. We may assume that the author did this because he wished to draw together the two instances of parallel verbal usage to create a single message, i.e., that patriarchal merit stands to the credit of future generations. The root חב"ש"ר is given precedence over חב"ש"ר in the opening statement ארבעה אסרו בשמחה "Four harnessed with enthusiasm" since the midrash has

²¹ For this rendering of בשמחה see Y. Muffs, *Love and Joy: Law, Language, and Religion in Ancient Israel* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America Press, 1992), 167–69.

been formed in relation to the biblical narrative of Exod 14:6, which employs the root אס"ר.

Finally, we may note that the midrash extracts the lexical element of the meaning of both biblical roots and presents it as a gerund (אסרה, חבשה). In the case of the root אס"ר, this gerund definitely differs from that employed for אס"ר in its rabbinic meaning of prohibit, i.e., איסור.²² As Sharvit has commented, this common midrashic practice has given rise to many biblicizing gerunds, some of which cannot be regarded as anything more than the abstraction of a specific biblical form.²³ For example, Sharvit has rightly drawn attention to several unusual examples in the *Mekhilta* in which morphemes added to the root have been taken with the roots themselves to form the gerunds. Of these the most striking is undoubtedly גיהום, derived from verb גָּהַם "led them" (Exod 13:17), in which the affixed object pronoun has been drawn into the gerund pattern *qittūl*.²⁴ However, our examples illustrate that even gerunds that are ostensibly regular Rabbinic Hebrew forms may have hidden biblical influences, particularly with regard to their semantic value.

²² In the parallel text in *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yoḥai* (ed. N.Y. Epstein and E.Z. Melamed; Jerusalem: Meqitse Nirdamim, 1955), 51, the gerunds appear as חבשה and אסירה. It is not possible to determine if אסרה and אסירה are merely variant orthographies for the noun pattern *qatela*. Compare for example the variant spellings in *Amalek 2*, in Horovitz–Rabin, *Mekhilta*, 183, cited according to MS Oxford 151:2: הואיל ונגזרה גזרה שלא הואיל ונגזרה גזרה גזרה שלא אכנס לה. On the pattern of the noun גזרה, compare E.Y. Kutscher, "Studies in the Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew according to MS Kaufmann," in *Bar-Ilan Annual, Humanities and Social Sciences: Decennial Volume II* (ed. M.Z. Kaddari; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1969), 51–77 (59), reprinted in Kutscher, *Studies*, 108–34 (116).

²³ S. Sharvit, "The Emergence and Crystallization of Verbal Nouns in Ancient Hebrew," in *Samaritan, Hebrew, and Aramaic Studies Presented to Professor Abraham Tal* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and M. Florentin; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2005), 177–88 (18285–) (in Hebrew), reprinted in S. Sharvit, *Studies in Mishnaic Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2008), 113–22 (118–20) (in Hebrew).

²⁴ *Beshallah*, Proem, in Horovitz–Rabin, *Mekhilta*, 75, cited in Sharvit, "Emergence," 184 (=Sharvit, *Studies*, 19). The example גמיגה, derived from נמוגו of Exod 15:15 (Sharvit, *ibid.*), shows the absorption of the stem morpheme into the pattern of the *Qal* gerund; it cannot, however, be taken as a simple "gerundization" of a specific biblical form. As Ben-Ḥayyim has demonstrated, in Hebrew these morphemes were sometimes treated in derived forms as part of the root. See Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, "Word Studies III," *Tarbiz* 50 (1980–1981): 197–98 (in Hebrew). See also M. Florentin, *Late Samaritan Hebrew: A Linguistic Analysis of Its Different Types* (SSLL 43; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 292–93.

2. Indirect Influence

The next example demonstrates how complex the biblical influence may sometimes be. Once again, the root אס"ר is employed in the meaning of "to bind," but in this case, it is not found in the verse upon which the midrash is based.

”אדני משה כלאם”. א' לו. רבוני משה. כלם מן העולם לבני אדם שבישרוני בשורה רעה זו. ד'א'. אוסרם בזיקים ובקולרות. כמה שנ' "ונתתם אתו אל בית הכלא".

“My lord, Moses, restrain them! (כָּלְאֵם) (Num 11:28). He said to him: My master Moses! Remove them (כָּלְאֵם) from the world, those people who brought me this bad tiding. Another interpretation: bind them in chains and neck-irons, as it is written, “And you shall put him (*sic*) in the prison house (Jer 37:18).” (*Sifre Num.* 96)²⁵

At first blush, the prooftext cited by the midrash is problematic. Not only does the Masoretic Text contain a significantly different reading (and one which is contextually required), but also the verse does not appear to entirely support the details provided by the midrash:

ויאמר ירמיהו אל המלך צדקיהו מה חטאתי לך ולעבדיך ולעם הזה כי נתתם אותי אל בית הכלא:

And Jeremiah said to King Zedekiah “What wrong have I done to you, to your courtiers and to this people that you have put me in the prison house?” (Jer 37:18).

The prooftext makes no mention of the chains and neck-irons, nor, furthermore, does it employ the root אס"ר as a semantic equivalent of כל"א/כל"י. However, when we look at the wider text of Jeremiah, we find that the equivalence of אס"ר and כל"א is established elsewhere in the narrative. Three verses before our prooftext we read:

ויקצפו השרים על ירמיהו והכו אתו ונתנו אותו בית האסור בית יהונתן הספר כי אתו עשו לבית הכלא:

The officials were furious with Jeremiah; they beat him and put him into the *jail house*, the house of Jonathan the scribe, because it had been turned into the *prison house* (Jer 37:15).

²⁵ H.S. Horowitz, ed., *Sifre on Numbers and Sifre Zuta* (Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1917), 96.

Jer 37:15 establishes the connection between אס"ר and כל"א in relation to the story of Jeremiah.²⁶ However, it appears that the detail regarding the chains is drawn from yet another verse dealing with the imprisonment of Jeremiah:

הדבר אשר היה אל ירמיהו מאת ה' אחר שלח אתו נבוזראדן רב טבחים מן הרמה בקחתו אתו והוא אסור באזקים בתוך כל גלות ירושלם ויהודה המגלים בבלה:

The word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord after Nebuzaradan, the chief of the guards, set him free at Ramah, to which he had taken him, *chained in fetters*, among those from Jerusalem and Judah who were being exiled to Babylon (Jer 40:1).

The word זיקים is rare in Tannaitic Hebrew, and is found only in our text and in two parallel versions of a midrash preserved in *Seder Olam Rabbah* 25 and *Sifre Deut.* 321.²⁷ The lexeme only returns to full use in Hebrew in the *piyyut*. It may perhaps also be regarded as a word borrowed from Biblical Hebrew into the language of midrash.

We have thus seen that the semantic connection that the midrash creates between אס"ר בזיקים and כל"א/כל"י may be derived from the proof-text from Jeremiah only if we take into account that it is drawing upon the wider context of the prophet's experiences.²⁸ The midrash draws much of its language from the story of Jeremiah, even though this is not immediately apparent.

3. Summary: אס"ר "to bind" in the Midrash

We have seen that in Biblical Hebrew אסר generally means "to bind physically," and is only employed with the meaning of "to restrain legally/morally" in one text. By contrast, the regular meaning in Rabbinic Hebrew is "to prohibit." Several of the examples found in midrash with the meaning "to bind" stand in close relationship with a specific biblical verse,

²⁶ Three other verses contain both roots: 1 Sam 6:10, which employs the inflected form כָּלַן as though from a III-*yod* root; 2 Kgs 17:4, which contains the phrase ויאסרוהו בית כלא "and he imprisoned him in the prison house"; and Isa 42:7, which includes the expression "and he rescued prisoners from confinement, from the dungeon those who sit in darkness" (NJPS).

²⁷ *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (ed. L. Finkelstein; Berlin: Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1939), 370.

²⁸ The connection between אס"ר and זיקים, "chains," is also found in Ps 149:8 and Job 36:8, but it is only in Jeremiah that a connection with כל"א is found; furthermore, the midrash explicitly cites Jeremiah.

and are borrowing the meaning from the biblical idiom. This borrowing extends to the creation of new verbal forms and gerunds. In one case, we have proposed that the midrash borrows widely from the biblical narrative of Jeremiah to suggest that the verb כָּלְאֵם may be interpreted as “bind in a chain and neck-irons.”

III. זעם AND עברה

The biblical nouns עברה and זעם are not regularly employed in Tannaitic Hebrew. עברה is only attested twice, and in both cases it is in the context of a homiletical interpretation of the verb עבר. The two attestations of זעם also appear in the same context:

“ועברתי בארץ מצר’.” ר' יהוד' או'. ?כמלך שהוא עובר ממקום למקום. ד'א. נותן אני עברתי ויראתי במצ'. אין עברה אלא זעם. שנ' “ישלח בם חרון אפו עברה [וזעם וצרה]” וגו'. ואוי’ “יום עברה היום” וגו'. ואוי’ “הנה יום יי בא אכז' וע'” וגו'.

“And I shall pass through the land of Egypt.” R. Judah said, like a king who passes from one place to another. Another interpretation: I shall put my wrath and my fear upon Egypt.

Wrath (עברה) is nothing but indignation, as it is written “He inflicted upon them his fierce anger, wrath, [indignation, and trouble]” (Ps 78:49), and it is written: “That day is a day of wrath” (Zeph 1:15), and it is written: “Behold, the day of the Lord is coming, cruel with fury etc. (Isa 13:9).” (*MekhRI, Pisha* 7)²⁹

The almost identical exegetical process is found in the following passage:

ד'א. “ועבר יי’.” נותן הוא עברתו ויראתו במצרים. אין עברה אלא זעם. שנ' “ישלח בם” וגו'. וכת' “יום עברה היום ההוא.” וכת' “הנה יום יי בא אכזרי ועברה” וגו'. וכת' “ובכל כרמים מספד כי אעבור בקרבך נאם יי’.”

Another interpretation: And the Lord will pass (ועבר) (Exod 12:23)—He will put his wrath and fear upon Egypt. Wrath (עברה) is nothing but indignation, as it is written “He inflicted upon them” etc. (Ps 78:49), and it is written: “That day is a day of wrath (Zeph 1:15), and it is written: Behold, the day of the Lord is coming, cruel with fury” etc (Isa 13:9) and it is written “And in all vineyards shall be wailing: for I will pass (אעבור) through you, says the Lord (Amos 5:17).” (*MekhRI, Pisha* 11)³⁰

²⁹ Horovitz–Rabin, *Mechilta*, 23.

³⁰ Horovitz–Rabin, *Mechilta*, 38.

Although the noun *יראה* is common in Tannaitic Hebrew, the collocation *עברה ויראה* appears to be borrowed from Biblical Hebrew. The two terms are found together in Ps 90:11: *מִי יוֹדַע עֵז אַפְךָ וּכְיִרְאַתְךָ עֲבַרְתְּךָ*: “Who can know your furious anger? Your wrath matches the fear of you.” The two versions of this midrash are also unusual for glossing the biblical *עברה* with another biblical noun, *זעם*.³¹ The structure *אין...אלא* is a common exegetical formula, but it is almost invariably built around the pattern *'ēn* [BH word] *'ellā* [rabbinic definition].³² While the proof texts are commonly biblical,³³ definitions are generally rabbinic. By contrast, our midrash unusually employs the formula to indicate lexicographical equivalence between two biblical Hebrew words.

IV. ICONOGRAPHIC USAGE

In several cases, a biblical noun, verb or expression is picked up by the midrash and employed exclusively to refer to a specific biblical event. Here we shall consider two such examples.

1. עוגה

”וּיֵאָפוּ אֶת הַבֶּצֶק אֲשֶׁר הוֹצִיאוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם מִצּוֹת מֵצוֹת.” אין “עוגה” אלא חררה.
כענין שנא' “לושי ועשי עוגות.”

“They baked the dough that they brought out of Egypt into unleavened cakes” (Exod 12:39). “Cake” (עוגה) is nothing but “loaf” (חררה), as it is written: “Knead and make cakes (Gen 18:6).” (*MekhRSBY* 12:38)³⁴

דבר-אחר. מה ת'ל “ובני ישראל אכלו את המן ארבעים שנה.” והלא חסירין שלשים יום. אלא שאכלו עוגות מצות שהוציאו בידן ממצרים שהיו יפות להן כמן.

Another explanation: Why is it written “And the children of Israel ate Manna for forty years”? Are there not thirty days lacking? (Indeed)—but they ate the cakes of unleaven bread that they brought out with them from Egypt, which were as pleasing to them as the Manna. (*t. Soṭah* 11:5)

³¹ I owe this observation to Prof. Isaac Gottlieb.

³² I. Gottlieb, “Midrash as Biblical Philology,” *JQR* 75 (1984): 142–44 (with his definition of the formula on p. 142); G.B. Sarfatti, “Mishnaic Vocabulary and Mishnaic Literature as Tools for the Study of Biblical Semantics,” in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics* (ed. T. Muraoka; *AbrNSup* 4; Louvain: Peeters, 1995), 41–43.

³³ S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (2nd improved ed.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America Press, 1962), 48–51.

³⁴ Epstein and Melamed, *Mekhilta*, 33.

In both cases, the term עוגות is used to describe the unleavened cakes that the Israelites prepared upon their departure from Egypt. Although recorded in the dictionaries of Rabbinic Hebrew with the definition “cake,”³⁵ in Tannaitic literature עוגות is attested exclusively in this meaning.

2. ג"ז

A similar example is the verb ג"ז. While in Biblical Hebrew this verb is not uncommon, in Rabbinic Hebrew its use is restricted to a single usage; i.e., describing God's “sweeping” of the quails from the sea:

... וי"י הולך לפניהם יום. ללמדך שבמידה שאדם מודד בה מודדין לו...
באברהם אומר “ואל הבקר רץ”.
והק' הגיז לבניו את השליו במדבר. שנ' “ורוח נסע מאת יי” וג'.

“And the Lord would go before them by day” (Exod 13:21). To teach you that by the unit that a man measures, so they measure for him. It says of Abraham: “And he ran to the cattle” (Gen 18:7); so the lord swept forth the quails for his descendents in the wilderness, as it is written, “And a wind came forth from the Lord (Num 11:31).” (*MekhRI Beshallah Proem*)³⁶

כך הוציא המקום את ישראל ממצרים. קרע להן את הים. הוריד להן את המן. הגיז להן את השליו. העלה להן את הבאר. עשה להן מלחמת עמלק. אמ' להן. אמלוד עליכם. אמרו לו. הן והן.

This is how God brought Israel out of Egypt. He split the sea for them. He brought down the Manna for them. He swept forth the quails for them. He brought up the well for them. He made war with Amalek for them. He said to them: “Let me rule over you.” They said to him, “Hear, hear.” (*MekhRI Ba-Hodesh 5*)³⁷

The verb is clearly derived from the biblical description of the event:

ורוח נסע מאת ה' ויגז שליו מן הים ויטש על המחנה כדרך יום כה וכדרך יום כה סביבות המחנה וכאמתים על פני הארץ:

And a wind from the Lord went forth, and swept quails from the sea and strewed them over the camp, about a day's journey on this side, and about a day's journey on that side, all around the camp about two cubits deep on the ground. (Num 11:31)

³⁵ E.g., M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (London: Luzac; New York: Putnam, 1903), 1047 s.v. עוגה.

³⁶ Horovitz–Rabin, *Mechilta*, 81.

³⁷ Horovitz–Rabin, *Mechilta*, 219.

While the biblical verb is in the *Qal*, the midrash employs the *Hiph'il*. It is not clear if in the Tannaitic period the biblical verb was *read* as a *Hiph'il*, or if we have before us the use of the *Hiph'il* in Rabbinic Hebrew *in place of* the *Qal* in Biblical Hebrew, a phenomenon that is paralleled in the case of other biblical verbs.³⁸

This usage of very specific biblical language to allude to or describe specific biblical events appears to be part of the ongoing development of iconic usage of biblical Hebrew. By this I mean that the semantic value of certain general words is reduced to its value in the narrative of a particular event, while in turn that event is described using a particular biblical term. This process is very common in Tannaitic Hebrew in the realm of halakhah, but as we have seen, it is also employed with regard to biblical narrative. Thus while it might initially appear that we are dealing with the continued and “living” use of a biblical expression, closer examination reveals that its semantic value is changed.

V. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have attempted to demonstrate that like the previous levels of Hebrew, so Tannaitic Hebrew is apt to borrow words and expressions from the older levels of the Hebrew language. Sometimes, these may be archaisms that are employed within the context of a discussion of a specific verse or concept, which may be deemed necessary to facilitate interpretation by keeping the focus on the specific term, as in the case of אִסְטִ"ר. At other times, the desire to interpret the Bible according to the Bible is what has apparently brought the composer of the midrash to use a biblical term, as in the case of the use of עֲבֵרָה. We should keep in mind, however, that the Bible is not exclusively interpreted according to biblical meanings.³⁹ Finally, we saw that some biblical lexemes are retained by the midrash but greatly reduced in their range of meanings, employed in an iconic manner to signify a specific biblical event or concept.

The implications of this phenomenon of biblical borrowings are several, both grammatical and lexicographical. Regarding grammatical

³⁸ M. Moreshet, “The *Hif'il* in Mishnaic Hebrew as Equivalent to the *Qal*,” *Bar-Ilan* 13 (1976): 249–81 (in Hebrew).

³⁹ This point was convincingly demonstrated by G.B. Sarfatti, “Some Observations on the Semantics of Mishnaic Hebrew,” in *Leš* 29 (1964–1965): 238–44; and 30 (1965–1966): 29–40 (in Hebrew).

implications, in a recent study of noun patterns Bar-Asher has noted the necessity of distinguishing living and productive forms in Tannaitic Hebrew from inherited forms.⁴⁰ Sometimes, the distribution of a lexeme may enable us to make this distinction. Regarding lexical implications, it is clear that these appearances in Rabbinic Hebrew cannot be regarded as wholly independent attestations of the lexemes in question. They are best regarded as standing somewhere between independent witness and biblical exegesis. While it may not always be possible to do so, a dictionary of Tannaitic Hebrew should aim to mark such lexemes as borrowings from Biblical Hebrew.

⁴⁰ M. Bar-Asher, "On the Noun's Morphology in Mishnaic Hebrew," in Bar-Asher and Florentin, *Samaritan, Hebrew and Aramaic Studies*, 189–212 (in Hebrew) (repr. in M. Bar-Asher, *Studies in Mishnaic Hebrew, Vol. 2: Grammatical Topics* [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2009], 157–17).

THE THIRD PERSON MASCULINE PLURAL PRONOUN AND PRONOMINAL SUFFIX IN EARLY HEBREW

Elisha Qimron

INTRODUCTION

The third person masculine plural independent pronoun and third person masculine plural suffix have many diverse forms in early Hebrew sources, and their origin and development are disputed.¹ Until the last generation, only the forms in the Tiberian tradition were taken as representing original Biblical Hebrew. The forms in the Babylonian tradition were considered merely additional phonological variants. This is also the case with regard to other sources of Biblical Hebrew that have become available in the last few generations. The extensive research on these sources indicates that Tiberian Hebrew represents only one type of early Hebrew. Hebrew, like other languages, had many dialects. Any description of early Hebrew must take into consideration all the available sources. Admittedly, Kutscher in his monumental study of the Hebrew of the Isaiah Scroll did not ignore any source.² Yet, even he did not treat the sources equally: he took Tiberian Biblical Hebrew to be the main representative of Biblical Hebrew, just as he considered the Kaufmann manuscript of the Mishnah to be the main representative of Mishnaic Hebrew. He judged the other sources as less reliable witnesses of early Hebrew. He also considered Tiberian Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew as one continuous language even though he certainly knew that Mishnaic Hebrew was not a direct offshoot of Biblical Hebrew.

¹ W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen personale Suffixum 2. und 3. pers. plur. des Hebräischen in der alttestamentlichen Ueberlieferung* (Giessen: Ricker, 1895); J. Barth, *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913), 18–22, 65–71; H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1922), 226, 256–57; M. Lambert, *Traité de grammaire hébraïque* (Paris: University Presses of France, 1946), §326–29; 847–81. When one looks at the description of the 3 m. pl. independent pronoun in the monumental book of Jacob Barth, one will see that the description of these forms in Hebrew comprises only ten lines, while the discussion of the Aramaic and Arabic forms comprises two pages each. Is the Hebrew evidence for these forms really so meager?

² E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1959) (in Hebrew).

The following discussion of the 3 m. pl. independent pronoun and the 3 m. pl. suffix treats the sources equally and is based on the accepted view that early spoken Hebrew, like other spoken languages, was in fact made up of different dialects. The various sources of early Hebrew do not represent a single language developed over time, nor are any of them the result of a fusion between Tiberian Biblical Hebrew grammar and Mishnaic Hebrew grammar.

This article will not deal with the use of **הם** and **המה** as feminine pronouns or pronominal suffixes; nor with the intermediate vowel before the 3 m. pl. suffix; nor with the distribution of the 3 m. pl. suffix with or without initial *h*. It will merely reexamine two issues: the final *a* vowel and the duplication of the consonant *m*. It will be suggested that the 3 m. pl. independent pronoun **הֵם** in the Bible and in the Dead Sea Scrolls must be a defective spelling of **הֵמָּה**, and that the 3 m. pl. suffix **-ם** (as in **דברם**) in the Dead Sea Scrolls is almost always a defective spelling of **מָּה**, as in Samaritan Hebrew.

The question of the final *a* vowel has not been thoroughly addressed, since most scholars have assumed that final vowels are regularly indicated in the Bible by **אהו"י**. This assumption is obviously incorrect with regard to the final unstressed vowels in pronominal forms—e.g., **שִׁמְרָתְךָ**, **סִפְרָךְ**—in Hebrew as well as in Aramaic and Arabic orthography. Therefore, **הם** and **ם(ה)-** may well be defective spellings for **המה** and **מה(ה)-**. We shall see that the defective spelling of final vowels occurs even in the Dead Sea Scrolls. One should no longer ignore the strong possibility that what have previously been taken as morphological variants are in fact orthographical variants.

Before dealing with the evidence, it should be noted that there seems to be no general agreement on the question of whether **להמה**, **בהמה**, and **מהמה** are independent pronominal forms or pronominal suffix forms. In most dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew, they are considered together with the independent pronouns (Ben-Ḥayyim is an exception here);³ while in most of the Biblical Hebrew grammars, they are discussed together with the pronominal suffixes (in this case, Yeivin is an exception).⁴ The three

³ See e.g. Gesenius–Buhl, 183; and for the exception, Z. Ben-Ḥayyim, *Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans* (5 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957–1977), 4:78 (in Hebrew).

⁴ See Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, 639–40; and for the exception, I. Yeivin, *Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization* (2 vols.; The Academy of the Hebrew Language Texts and Studies 12; Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1985), 2:1104 (in Hebrew).

forms להמה, בהמה, and מהמה bear on our discussion since they include final ה-, which is atypical of this pronominal suffix in the Bible.

The Evidence from the Consonantal Text of the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls

A. 3 m. pl. Independent Pronoun

The Masoretic Text and Qumran biblical and nonbiblical texts have both הם and המה; by contrast, in the Samaritan Pentateuch only הם is found. The distribution of the forms in the Bible is surprising:

In the Pentateuch: הם × 87, המה × 23;

In other parts of the Bible המה is more frequent than הם (especially in Ezekiel and Psalms).

This distribution apparently does not accord with the view that הם developed from המה unless one posits that הם is a defective spelling of המה.

Sometimes the forms occur side by side:

Gen 6:4 הנפלים היו בארץ בימים ההם... וילדו להם המה הגברים אשר מעולם אנשי השם

Num 1:50 המה ישאו את-המשכן ואת-כל-כליו והם ישרתהו וסביב למשכן יחנו

Deut 1:39 המה יבאו שמה ולהם אתננה והם יירשוה

Deut 14:7 כי-מעלה גרה המה ופרסה לא הפריסו טמאים הם לכם

Jer 31:32 אחרי הימים ההם... והייתי להם לאלהים והמה יהיו-לי לעם

Prov 30:24 ארבעה הם קטני-ארץ והמה חכמים מחכמים

Eccl 3:18 ולראות שהם-בהמה המה-להם

1 Chr 9:26 כי באמונה המה ארבעת גברי השערים הם הלויים

B. 3 m. pl. Suffix

There are only a few cases with indication of final *a* in the Masoretic consonantal text (see below) and none in the Samaritan Pentateuch. Only at Qumran is the *a* frequently indicated: מה(ה)-. The forms with ה- occur side by side with forms without ה-. Here are some examples (according to computerized lists compiled by D. Talshir):

In biblical texts:

1QIsa^a 13:16 ועילוליהמה ירוטשו לעיניהם וישסו בתיהם ונשיהמה ת[שכ]בנה

1QIsa^a 34:3 וחלליהם יושלכו ופגריהמה יעלה באושמה ונמסו ההרים מדמם

1QIsa^a 59:6 ולוא יכסו במעשיהם מעשיהמה מעשי און ופועול חמס בכפיהם
 1QIsa^a 63:10⁵ ויהפך להמה לאויב והואה נלחם במ
 11QPs^a 149:8 לאסור מלכיהם בזקים ונכבדיהם בכבלי ברזל

In nonbiblical texts:

1QM 7:6–7 ורוח יהיה בין כול מהניהמה למקום היד כאלפים באמה וכול ערות
 דבר רע לוא יראה סביבות כול מהניהם
 4Q364 30:1–2 ואת בתיהם... [ואת כול היקום אשר ברגלי]המה
 4Q390 1:6 ואדברה בהמה ואשלחה אליהם מצוה
 4Q390 1:9 והסתרת פני מהמה ונתתים ביד איביהם
 4Q390 1:10–11 ובהסתר [פני] מהם ומשלו בהמה מלאכי המש[ט]מות
 4Q394 8 iv 7 כי לחת המוצקות והמקבל מהמה כהמ לחה אחת
 4Q398 11–13 6 [זכור] את מלכי ישרא[ל] והתבגן במעשיהמה שמי מהם
 11QT^a 32:11–12 אשר יהיו מניחים עליהמה את בגדיהמה... בבואם

The Forms in the Pronunciation Traditions

The Tiberian and the Babylonian pronunciation traditions follow the consonantal text (never adding a *qamaṣ* to the final ם-, and never ignoring the final ה- in המה).⁶ The Hexapla has -εμ (=MT המה)⁷ and -αμ. By contrast, the Samaritan oral reading tradition differs completely from the written text of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It pronounces both the 3 m. pl. independent pronoun and the 3 m. pl. suffix with final *a*, while the Samaritan Pentateuch never has final ה- in either type.

⁵ Such a use of the open *mem* in pronominal elements should be taken as an indication that the *mem* was followed by a vowel. This phenomenon is frequent in 1QIsa^a and is regular in 4Q364. See E. Qimron, "A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976), 131 (in Hebrew).

⁶ The Babylonian tradition has *pataḥ* instead of (short) *šere* or *segol* in the Tiberian tradition. See E. Qimron, "The Pausal *Pataḥ* in Biblical Hebrew," in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (ed. by S.E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz; Publication of the Institute for Advanced Studies, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 1; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Magnes Press; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 305–14. Note, however, 2 Sam 21:9; and see Yeivin, *Hebrew Language Tradition*, 2:1104.

⁷ See F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), 98. This is in keeping with the preference for short pronominal elements in this tradition.

Scholarly Views on the Development of the Forms

Most scholars agree that the form הַמָּה did not developed phonologically from the Proto-Semitic **húmu* but was patterned after the West Semitic feminine form **húmma* (הַמָּה).⁸ Bauer and Leander suggest the following process: **húmu* > **hímu* (dissimilation) > **hému* > הַמָּה and sometimes הַמָּה (by analogy to the feminine הַמָּה).

Kutscher and Harris suggest another reconstruction: (Phoen.) הַמָּה > הַמָּה; **húmu* > הַמָּה.⁹ Kutscher ignores the duplication of the *m* and the penultimate stress of הַמָּה.

Yalon suggests that the 3 m. pl. suffix מ(ה)- in the biblical Masoretic Text is a defective spelling of מ(ה)מה- of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Samaritan Hebrew.¹⁰ He argues that the form מ(ה)מה- was already beginning to be replaced by מ(ה)- in the Dead Sea Scrolls, since the first form is only rarely used in some scrolls and is completely absent in the transcriptions of Origen and Jerome.¹¹

Some Comprehensive Reflections on the Development of the Forms

Keeping in mind all this evidence, the following developmental picture is hereby suggested, which can account for all the data.

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide a good starting point since their time and place are known and since their orthography is more developed than that of the Hebrew Bible. In this dialect, the forms under discussion (like other pronominal elements)¹² frequently terminate with ה-, which accords with the vowel *a* found in these pronominal elements in Samaritan Hebrew. The similarity to Samaritan Hebrew is striking and apparently indicates that these forms are quite old, not later than the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. The similarity to Samaritan Hebrew also suggests that forms such as דברמה in the Dead Sea Scrolls would have been pronounced *דְּבַרְמָה. Those suffixes that were patterned after feminine counterparts in Hebrew include the initial *i(e)* vowel, the duplication of *m* and the final *a* vowel

⁸ See Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, 20 (no explanation is given for the elision of the final vowel in the form הַמָּה).

⁹ Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 344; Z.S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation in Linguistic History* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1939), 53–54.

¹⁰ H. Yalon, *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Philological Essays* (Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 1967), 21–22 (in Hebrew).

¹¹ These transcriptions, however, record a different type of Hebrew.

¹² This rubric includes personal pronouns, pronominal suffixes and perfect affirmatives.

(there is no מָה in Hebrew).¹³ Yet, forms such as כתבתים and כתבום in the Dead Sea Scrolls are never patterned after the feminine, and they never have final ה- .¹⁴

How Old are the Qumran and Samaritan Hebrew Analogical Forms?

It has already been observed that the pronominal suffix -המה with initial h has precedents in the consonantal biblical text (occurring even in the Torah): אליהמה Ezek 40:16; להמה Jer 14:16; בהמה Exod 30:4; 36:1; Hab 1:16; בהמה Jer 36:32; and מהמה Jer 10:2; Qoh 12:12. This indicates that such analogical forms may be very old. Yet, forms such as לָמו , בָּם , דְּבָרָם are even older, occurring in El Amarna: *maḥsiramu*, *taḥtamu* (with the final original vowel).¹⁵ On the development of these forms, see below.

One might wonder why such forms as להמה are so rare in the Bible and much more frequent in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This may be explained by referring to the development of early Hebrew orthography. As is known, defective spelling of a final vowel is common in pronominal elements and other types of words terminating in an unstressed vowel, such as עָתָה (“now” in early Hebrew inscriptions. This is also the case in Aramaic and Arabic orthography.¹⁶ In the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, *plene* spellings became more frequent. The distribution of המה/הם in the Bible is in keeping with the development of *plene* orthography. What is unexpected, however, is the sharp contrast with the regular *plene* spelling of the feminine counterpart הָנָה . This should not trouble us too much, since there are other cases of such inconsistency in biblical orthography. For example, the affirmative נָה- is mostly *plene* while the affirmative תָּ- is mostly defective.¹⁷

¹³ M. Bar-Asher, “On Several Linguistic Features of Qumran Hebrew,” *Leš* 64 (2002): 7–31 (8 n. 4; in Hebrew), has ingeniously observed that in the form הַנוּמָה in the Isaiah Scroll at Isa 41:27 (for MT הַנָּמָה) the m must be geminated, since the assimilation of the vowel to the m is more likely to occur in the same syllable. Other suggestions deny the correspondence between הַנוּמָה and הַנָּמָה in the Masoretic Text.

¹⁴ See E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 62. In Biblical Hebrew, forms such as שמרום are both masculine and feminine, and there are no feminine forms such as שמרונה * or שמרונה *.

¹⁵ See D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th–13th c.b.C. from Canaan and Syria* (AOAT 214; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984), 128.

¹⁶ E.M. Cook, “The Orthography of Final Unstressed Long Vowels in Old and Imperial Aramaic,” *Maarav* 5–6 (1990): 53–67.

¹⁷ According to a computerized list compiled by D. Talshir, the *plene* spelling of the affirmative נָה- occurs some 350 times in the Hebrew Bible, while the defective spelling תָּ-

As mentioned above, Yalon suggested that the suffix ה- is a defective spelling of ה-מה. He refers to Samaritan Hebrew, where such forms in the consonantal text of the Pentateuch are realized according to the reading tradition as cases of defective spelling.¹⁸ Similarly, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the suffixes ם(ה)- and מה(ה)- occur side by side, which strongly suggests that they may well be orthographical rather than morphological variants.

Based on all the data previously adduced, let me now delineate the development of these forms:

The 3 m. pl. suffix had two basic forms in the Bible: one without initial *h*, such as דברם; and one with initial *h*, such as דבריהֶם, written defectively. These forms occasionally interchange, especially with prepositions: אתהֶם / כלם; למו / להם / להמה; עמם / עמהם;¹⁹ בהם / בהמה / אתהֶם;²¹

occurs 38 times (28 of them in the Torah). All the pronunciation traditions add final *a* to the defective spelling תקטלן. This is not the case regarding קטלן (imperative) where a few cases without final *a* are found among these traditions (e.g., שמען Gen 4:23). Bergsträsser's reconstructed form **tihyen* (G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik: Mit Benutzung der von E. Kautzsch bearbeiteten 28. Aufl. von Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräischer Grammatik* [with the collaboration of M. Lidzbarski.; 3 vol. in 1; Leipzig: Vogel, 1918–1929]), 2:§5a should therefore be deleted.

¹⁸ Yalon supported his suggestion concerning the defective הֶם with other cases in which the Dead Sea Scrolls orthography indicates that the form in the Hebrew Bible should be considered a defective spelling. For example, he suggested that the conversive imperfect וְאִקְטֹל in the Bible may be a defective spelling of וְאִקְטֹלָה in the Dead Sea Scrolls. This suggestion is in complete harmony with the view of David Talshir in his excellent study of the history of וְאִקְטֹלָה, see D. Talshir, "The Development of the Imperfect Consecutive Forms in Relation to the Modal System," *Tarbiz* 56 (1987): 585–91 (in Hebrew). Talshir follows Bergsträsser's view that the conversive imperfect forms such as וְאִקְטֹמָה are patterned after the old cohortative forms, while forms such as וְאִקְטֹמִים instead of the old conversive form וְאִקְטֹמִים are inexplicable; see Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 2:§5d. As is well known, the form וְאִקְטֹלָה occurs already in the Torah and is found more frequently in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The assumption that it was written defectively can adequately account for all the data.

¹⁹ It is virtually not used in Mishnaic Hebrew. Note Qoh 10:9: בוקע בהם יעצב בהם מטיע אבנים. While in the masculine, בהם and בם are equally used in Biblical Hebrew, in the feminine בהם is strikingly preferred over בם (see A. Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible* [3 vols.; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1977], 1:271b–272a). In Late Biblical Hebrew, the form בם is very rare; but in the Dead Sea Scrolls בם(ה) is very frequent, occurring some seventy times, while בהם(ה) occurs some fifty times.

²⁰ Typical of postclassical sources (see Gesenius–Buhl, §103c). The form עמהן prevails in Mishnaic Hebrew, while עמן is extremely rare. Similarly the form עמהם (עמהמה) prevails in the Dead Sea Scrolls (eight times), while עמם is found only once (4QJub^f 3 6; and in its parallel 4QJub^h 2 iv 24).

²¹ Gen 32:1; Exod 18:20; Num 21:3; Ezek 34:12; 1 Chr 6:50.

פּרִים / פּרִיִּהֶם; תַּחֲתִיָּהֶם / תַּחֲתָם; אַבּוֹתָם / אַבּוֹתֵיהֶם; אוֹתָם / אוֹתֵיהֶם)²² (אוֹתֵיהֶם) / פּרִיִּמוֹ).²⁵

The suffix *-am* in דְּבָרָם has developed from the Proto-Semitic masculine form **húmu* and is recorded in the El Amarna letters; while the suffix *-הֶמָּה* as in דְּבַר־הֶמָּה (written defectively) is an analogical form patterned after the feminine counterpart *-הֶנָּה*.

The final vowel is occasionally found in early biblical texts, but only in suffixes with initial *h*, such as לֵהֶמָּה. It is not found in a suffix without initial *h*, such as דְּבָרָם. This last form could not have developed from *-הֶמָּה*, since the *h* would not have been elided before duplicated *m*. These two forms evolved separately from Proto-Semitic **húmu*, and had no final *ה* in early Hebrew texts (prior to the Dead Sea Scrolls).

Over time the form דְּבַר־הֶמָּה became דְּבַר־מָּה, patterned after *-הֶמָּה* and other similar forms. This last development occurred in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Samaritan Hebrew but not in the Tiberian and Babylonian traditions and not in the Hexapla.

²² Ezek 23:45.

²³ Note the feminine גְּוִי־הֶנָּה (Ezek 1:11). The form אַבּוֹתָם, which seems exceptional in the paradigm (אֲבוֹתַי, אֲבוֹתֵיךְ, etc.), should be viewed as resulting from *abôt + ay+ham*, while the form אַבּוֹתֵיהֶם results from *abôt + ay+hemma*. In the former, the *y* and the *h* were elided, while in the latter, the elision is precluded before the duplicated *m* of *hemma* (cf. *tahtaw←*tahtau←*tahtayhu*). Only this explanation accounts for all the above doublets and for the fact that אַבּוֹתֵיהֶם, תַּחֲתִיָּהֶם, and עִמָּהֶם are typical of post-Classical Hebrew, while אַבּוֹתָם, תַּחֲתָם, and עִמָּם are typical of Classical Biblical Hebrew and developed directly from the old masculine suffix. According to this explanation, אַבּוֹתָם also had had the m. pl. *ay* added to the f. pl. *-ôt*, as is usual in Hebrew. On the distribution of these forms in early Hebrew sources, see Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, §322.182 and n. 81.

²⁴ Refers to גּוֹת (Amos 9:14); in Jer 29:28, פּרִיִּהֶן refers to גּוֹת and it interchanges with פּרִין in v. 5.

²⁵ Ps 21:11.

ON THE PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT WITH *BET* IN QUMRAN HEBREW¹

Jean-Sébastien Rey

The syntax of Qumran Hebrew presents some peculiarities which are not attested in Classical Hebrew. Among these, the evolution of verb complementation merits particular attention. For example, in *4QInstruction* the syntagm *רז נהיה* is almost always governed by the preposition *ב* when it is the object of verbs such as *גלה*, *לקח*, *נהיב* or *גלה*:

4Q417 2 i 5: *הבט ברז נהיה*

4Q417 77 4: *קח ברז נהיה*

4Q418 43–45 i 4: *יום ו[לילה הגה ברז נהיה*

4Q416 2 iii 18: *גלה אֶזְזַנְיִכָּה ברז נהיה* (// 4Q418 123 ii 4; 4Q418 184 2)

This syntactic construction is not attested in Classical Hebrew for three of these four verbs (*גלה*, *לקח*, *נהיב*). Consequently, this usage in *4QInstruction* seems to indicate linguistic evolution.

In this paper, after a brief presentation of the state of research, I will investigate the use of the preposition *ב* to introduce the object,² focusing on six verbs that belong to the semantic field of instruction in Qumran Hebrew (*בין*, *שכל*, *נהיב*, *ידע*, *גלה*, *לקח*). For each verb, I aim to answer two questions: a) does the verb complementation evolve diachronically; and b) are the different modes of complementation semantically opposed?

¹ I wish to thank Philip Newman, Jill Husser-Munro, and Ruth Clements for their careful reading of my English text.

² I retain the definition of the verbal object provided by Gilbert Lazard: “Nous posons par hypothèse que la construction des phrases ‘d’action,’ c’est-à-dire exprimant une action exercée par un agent sur un patient qui en est affecté, constitue, dans la plupart des langues, la ‘construction biactancielle majeure,’ qui sert de modèle à toutes sortes de phrases exprimant autre chose que des actions. Nous définissons l’objet comme l’actant représentant le patient et tout actant traité de même par cette construction.” See G. Lazard, “Le marquage différentiel de l’objet,” in *Language Typology and Language Universals* (ed. M. Haspelmath et al.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 873–74.

I. THE STATE OF RESEARCH

In Classical Hebrew, the verbal object may be introduced in different ways: without complementation (direct object), with the particle **את** (definite direct object), with a preposition (prepositional object), or with a suffixed pronoun (suffixed object). These different modes of complementation may be illustrated with the verb **שמע** as follows:

- with zero-complementation (direct object): **וישמע קולי** (Ps 55:18)
- with the particle **את** (definite direct object): **וישמעו את-קול יהוה אלהים** (Gen 3:8)
- with a preposition (prepositional object): **ולא ישמעו בקלי** (Exod 4:1)
- with a suffixed pronoun (suffixed object): **ואיך ישמעני פרעה** (Exod 6:12)

The use of the preposition **ב** to introduce the object is well known in Classical Hebrew. In his grammar, W. Gesenius notes the function of this construction:

To introduce the object after transitive verbs, which denote *touching, striking, reaching to something*... To the same category belongs also the construction of verbs denoting *authority* (**מְשֵׁל, מְשַׁל, מְרִיד, נָגַשׁ, נָגַד**) with **ב**, inasmuch as the exercise of the authority is regarded as a laying hold of the person ruled; so also, the introduction of the object by **ב** after certain *verba dicendi*, or when the mental action is to be represented as extending *to* some one or something: e. g., **בְּקִרְאָה**, to call *on* some one, **בְּנִשְׁבַּע** *iurare per aliquem*, **בְּשִׂאֵל** *to enquire of* some one. Again: **בְּרִאָה** *to look upon*, **בְּשִׁמְעָה** *to hearken to*, generally with the secondary idea of participation, or of the pleasure with which one sees or hears anything, especially pleasure at the misfortunes of others, hence **בְּרִאָה** *to see his desire on anyone or anything*; cf. however, Gn 21:16 *let me not look upon the death of the child*; 1 S 6:19 *because they had looked [irreverently] at the ark of the Lord*.

Closely related to this is the use of **ב**:

To introduce the person or thing, which is the object of a *mental act*, e.g., **בְּהֶאֱמִין** *to trust in* (to cleave trustingly *to*) somebody or something; **בְּבִטְחָה** *to have confidence in*...; **בְּשִׂמְחָה** *to rejoice in or at* something, &c.; **בְּדִבְרֵי** *to speak of (about)* some one or something, Dt 6:7, 1 S 19:3f, &c.³

The question of verb complementation has been studied by T. Muraoka in three articles: one dealing with Biblical Hebrew,⁴ one with Qumran

³ GKC §19k-l; See also C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen, Kreis Moers: Erziehungsvereins, 1956), §106d and Joüon-Muraoka §125m.

⁴ T. Muraoka, "On Verb Complementation in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 29 (1979): 425-35.

Aramaic,⁵ and the third with Qumran Hebrew.⁶ The last paper was presented at one of the previous symposia on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira. For this study, Muraoka produced a useful database comprising the verbs from 1QS and 1QH and their complementations. He noted a diachronic evolution of the prepositional object with verbs such as ידע, בין, and שכל.⁷ As regards the semantics, Muraoka is more elusive. He considers that multiple modes of complementation seem to be synonymous in the case of verbs such as בין or שכל.⁸

On the subject of verb complementation in Biblical Hebrew, two studies merit attention: the monograph of E. Jenni⁹ regarding the preposition ב, and the dissertation of M. Malessa on verbal valence in Biblical Hebrew.¹⁰ With regard to the diachronic evolution of the prepositional object with ב, Malessa is cautious. A comparison of the books of Chronicles with the books of Samuel and Kings does not present such an evolution. Sometimes, the Chronicler replaces the direct object with a prepositional object (compare ב + דרש in 2 Chr 34:26 with את + דרש in 2 Kgs 22:8); but at other times, he does the opposite (compare את + כנה in 1 Chr 14:15 with ב + כנה in 2 Sam 5:24). Malessa concludes that syntactical evolution is neither proved nor disproved. As regards the semantics, both Jenni and Malessa agree that there is a modal variation between the prepositional object introduced by ב and the direct object. Jenni distinguishes between verbs that imply physical contact and verbs that imply intellectual contact. In the first instance, the semantic distinction seems to be insignificant, while for the second, the connection between subject and object is greater. W.R. Garr summarizes Jenni's observations as follows: "Objective ב implies subject-object connectedness or interaction, especially a greater

⁵ T. Muraoka, "The Verbal Rectification in Qumran Aramaic," in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (ed. T. Muraoka; AbrNSup 3; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 99–118.

⁶ T. Muraoka, "Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew," in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University, 11–14 December 1995* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 92–149.

⁷ Muraoka, "Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew," 94–96. Gesenius highlighted a similar development in relation to the introduction of the object with the preposition ל (GKC §117n), which could be the result of Aramaic influence. See also Muraoka, "Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew," 100.

⁸ Muraoka, "Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew," 99.

⁹ E. Jenni, *Die Hebräischen Präpositionen, Band 1: Die Präposition Beth* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992). Concerning the preposition ב in the Qumran texts, see Y. Thorion, "Die Syntax der Präposition B in der Qumranliteratur," *RevQ* 12 (1985): 17–63.

¹⁰ M. Malessa, *Untersuchungen zur verbalen Valenz im biblischen Hebräisch* (SSN 49; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2006).

involvement and participation by the subject in the object.”¹¹ Using the aspectual terminology of H.-J. Sasse,¹² Malessa shows that the alternation between direct object and prepositional object marked by **ב** implies an aspectual variation of the verb. For example, with certain verbs, such as **בנה** in the *Qal*, **עשה**, and **קרא**, the prepositional object with **ב** tends to show a lower degree of transitivity or a less fully affected object, and the action tends to be more durative than with a direct object.

These observations of Jenni and Malessa should be compared with the data of the Qumran texts. In the second part of this study, I will examine the diachronic evolution of the prepositional object with **ב** and try to explain the alternation between the different modes of complementation from a semantic point of view.

II. **בין**¹³

The verb **בין** evolves syntactically and semantically in Late Biblical Hebrew. For example, we may note the appearance of the *Hiph'il* participle **מבין** and the *Polel* stem.¹⁴ This evolution also involves verb complementation.¹⁵ In Classical Hebrew, the verbal object of **בין** is generally introduced without complementation. There are some rare exceptions; most of them are found in late biblical texts,¹⁶ in particular when the object is introduced by the preposition **ב**. This construction, attested ten times with *Qal* or *Hiph'il* stems, is only found in late biblical books (Dan 1:17b; 9:2, 23bc; 10:11;

¹¹ W. Randall Garr, *In His Own Image and Likeness: Humanity, Divinity, and Monotheism* (CHANE 15; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 106–7.

¹² H.-J. Sasse, “Aspekttheorie,” in *Aspektsysteme* (ed. H.-J. Sasse; Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität zu Köln n.f. 14; Köln: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 1991), 1–35; H.-J. Sasse, “Aspect and Aktionsart: A Reconciliation,” *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 6 (1991): 31–44.

¹³ Two methodological remarks: 1) In examining the situation of the object, I have not taken into account (a) passive constructions of the verb; or (b) the participle, when it is employed as a noun (like **נבון** or **מבין**); 2) I have considered only the cases where the attestations of the verb are shown sufficiently clearly in a context, and I have excluded all phrases which are too fragmentary.

¹⁴ Attested only once in Classical Hebrew (Deut 32:10) against eight times in Qumran texts, in particular with the participial form **מבונן**.

¹⁵ On the complementation of **בין**, see Muraoka, “Verb Complementation in Qumran Hebrew,” 95.

¹⁶ We may notice some variations in late biblical texts: *Qal* stem with **על** in Dan 11:30, 37; with **אל** in Ps 28:5; and with **ל** in Deut 32:29; Pss 73:17; 139:2; Prov 14:15; Job 9:11; 13:1; 14:21; 23:8; *Hiph'il* stem with **ל** in Neh 8:2.

Ezra 8:15ab; Neh 8:8, 12; 13:7; 2 Chr 26:5; 34:12).¹⁷ However, it is used extensively in Qumran texts. Indeed, apart from intransitive uses of the verb (eleven times in the *Hiph'il* and *Hitpolel*), the prepositional object with **ב** is found sixty-six times in all stems (*Qal*, *Hiph'il*,¹⁸ *Polel*, and *Hitpolel*), against only seven occurrences of the verb with zero-complementation and one occurrence each with **א**, **ל** and **על**.

This diachronic evolution of the syntax can be illustrated by a few examples. A comparison of Isa 43:18 and 1Q27 1 i 3 is illustrative:

Isa 43:18: וקדמוניות אל-תתבננו
Do not consider the ancient matters.

1Q27 1 i 3: ובקדמוניות לוא התבוננו
They did not consider the ancient matters.¹⁹

The expressions are similar, but the verb complementation differs. Certainly, the context and intention are different,²⁰ but both use the same object with the same referent. Different quotations illustrate this phenomenon. For example, with **דעת** as the object, we can compare Prov 19:25: **בין דעת** with 1QS 4:22 **בדעת . . . להבין**. With **משפט** as the object, we can compare Job 32:9: **משפט יבינו משפט** (“The elders [do not] understand judgment”); Prov 2:9: **אז תבין צדק ומשפט** (“Then you will understand justice and judgment”); and Prov 28:5: **אנש-רע לא-יבינו משפט** (“The evil do not understand judgment”); with 1QS 6:15: **וה{ל}בינהו בכול משפטי היחד** (“and to cause him to understand all the precepts of the community”); 1Q28a 1:5: **והבינם בכול משפטיהמה** (“and to cause them to understand all their regulations”); and 4Q418 77 3: **ואז תבין במשפט אנוש** (“and then you shall discern the judgment of man”).

¹⁷ Jenni, *Hebräischen Präpositionen*, 253. We find three of the older attestations in the *Hitpolel* with **ב** (Jer 23:20; 30:24; Job 30:20). In the *Hitpolel*, we also find **א** (1 Kgs 3:21; Isa 14:16); **על** (Job 31:1; Ps 37:10); and **עד** (Job 32:12; 38:18).

¹⁸ In the *Hiph'il* stem, when the preposition **ב** introduces the object, the recipient of understanding (dative) is generally suffixed to the verb or follows it without complementation (see, e.g., 1QS 4:22).

¹⁹ Translations are mine, if not otherwise stated. Citations of the Qumran texts come from the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*. For the Hodayot, citations and numbering come from H. Stegeman, E. Schuller and C. Newsom, *Qumran Cave 1. III. 1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}* (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009).

²⁰ The first quotation is prohibitive but has a positive aim—that is to say, “you have to consider the new thing” (cf. Isa 43:19 “I am to do about a new thing”); whereas the second one is constative and expresses a negative view, a reproach.

Muraoka has noted a similar evolution in Qumran Aramaic.²¹ However, this peculiarity seems to be limited to the Qumran texts. Indeed, Ben Sira follows the traditional zero-complementation of Classical Hebrew and we do not find any use of *בין* with *ב*. It appears to be the same in Rabbinic Hebrew; *בין* with *ב* is attested neither in the Talmud²² nor in the Mishnah.

Concerning the semantic distinction,²³ when the verbal object is introduced by *ב*, it deals primarily with theological motifs: human understanding of the deeds of God, his marvels, his strength, his truth, his wisdom, his mysteries, the past and the future, the book of the law or the words of God:

1) *The Deeds of God*

Qal

- a) CD 1:1 // 4Q268 1 9: *ובינו במעשי אל*
And understand the deeds of God...
- b) 1QH^a 20:30–31: *ומ[ה] יבין [במ]עשיו*
And how can it understand his works?

Hiph'il

- c) CD 2:14: *ולהבין במעשי אל*
And to understand the deeds of God... (see also 5Q13 1 9)

Hitpolel

- d) 1QH^a 15:35 // 4Q432 (papH^f) 12 3: *להתבונן במעשי פלאך*
To understand your wonderful deeds...
- e) 4Q436 1a–b i 2: *להתבונן בעלילותיכה*
To understand your deeds...

²¹ Cf. Muraoka, "The Verbal Rection in Qumran Aramaic," 105.

²² I have found one exception, in *b. B. Qam.* 27b.

²³ For the semantic value of the verb *בין*, see A. Lemaire, "Le vocabulaire hébreu de l'enseignement et de l'étude à Qumrân et dans Ben Sira," in *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 and Ben Sira* (ed. J. Joosten and J.-S. Rey; STDJ 73; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 109–24.

2) *The Marvels of God, His Strength*

Hiph'il

- a) CD 13:8: ויבינם בגבורות פלאו
He caused them to understand his mighty marvels.
- b) 1Q34+34bis 3 ii 4: ולא הבינו בכוחך הגדול
They did not understand your powerful strength.
- c) 1QH^a 19:31: להבין בנפלאותיכה
To understand your wonders...
- d) 4Q509 97-98 i 4: הב[ינו בכוחכה] וי
They [did not underst]and your strength.

Hitpolel

- e) 1QS 11:19: ולהתבונן בכול נפלאותיכה
To understand all your marvels...
- f) 4Q380 7 ii 2:]י[תבונן בגבורתך ח^וח^ו
He will understand the might of [...]

3) *The Truth of God, His Wisdom*

Hiph'il

- a) 1QS 4:22: להבין ישרים בדעת עליון
To cause the upright to understand the knowledge of the Most High...
- b) 1QH^a 19:7:]ה[בינני בסוד אמתכה
You make me [underst]and the secret counsel of your truth.
- c) 4Q428 10 6: להבין באמתכה
To understand your truth...

Hitpolel

- d) 1QH^a 18:4: ולא יתבונן כול בחוכ[מתכה]
No one understands [your] wisd[om].
- e) 4Q416 2 iii 14: והתבונן בכל דרכי אמת
And understand all the ways of truth.

4) *Past, Present and Future*

Qal or Hiph'il

- a) 4Q268 1 8: ויבינו בכול נהיות עד
And they understood all that is to be before.

- b) 4Q298 3-4 ii 9: תבינו בקץ עולמות
You will consider the end of ages.

Hitpolel

- c) 1Q27 1 i 3: בקדמוניות לוא התבוננו
They did not understand the ancient matters.

5) *The Mysteries of God*

Hitpolel

- a) 4Q417 1 i 25: התבונן ברזיכה
Get understanding about all the mysteries concerning you.

6) *The Law, the Decrees,²⁴ the Book of HAGY*

Qal or Hiph'il

- a) 4Q377 2 ii 2: יבינו בחוקות מושה
They will understand the statutes of Moses.
- b) 4QMMT^d 4 10: שתבין בספר מוֹשֶׁה [ו] בספר [הנ] ביאים ובדוֹי [ד] 10:
That you must understand the book of Moses [and] the book[s of the pr]ophets and Davi[d]...

Hiph'il

- c) CD 13:5: והבינו המבקר בפרוש התורה
And the overseer shall teach him the exact interpretation of the law.
- d) 4Q298 1-2 i 2: הבי[נ]ו במלי
Understand my (God's) word...
- e) 11QPs^a 24:8: הבינני יהוה בתורתכה
Grant me, O LORD, to understand your law.

Hitpolel

- f) 4Q423 5 6: ה[ת]בונן בכל תבואתכה
Medi]tate on all your crops.
- g) 4Q504 3:3: להתבונן בכל חוקי
To understand all decree[s of]...

²⁴ We could add the expression, with the *Polel* participle, מבונינים בספר ההגי "men who are learned in the *Book of HAGY*" attested a few times in the *Damascus Document* (CD 10:6 [|| 4Q266 8 iii 5; 4Q270 6 iv 17]; 13:2; 14:7).

In a few cases, the object deals with more practical or ethical matters like human deeds, ways, and iniquity; the precepts of the Community; or, more generally, human precepts.

7) *Human Deeds, Human Ways*

Qal

- a) 4Q413 1-2 4: וְבִינֵי דְ[וֹר וְ]דְּוֹר
Consider the years of each generation.

Hiph'il

- b) 4Q270 (D^e) 2 ii 21: וּבְהִינְכָה בְּמַעֲשֵׂי דֹר וְדֹר
And when you consider the deeds of each generation . . .

Hitpolel

- c) 4QMMT^e 11-13 6: וְהִתְבּוֹנֵן בְּמַעֲשֵׂיהֶמָּה
Reflect on their deeds.
d) 4Q413 1-2 1: וְהִתְבּוֹנֵנוּ בְּדַרְכֵי אָנוֹשׁ וּבַפּוֹעֵלוֹת בְּנֵי אַדְ]ם
Understand the ways of man and the works of the sons of m[an].

8) *Human Iniquity*

Qal or Hiph'il

- a) CD 1:8 (// 4Q268 1 15): וַיְבִינּוּ בְּעוֹנָם
They considered their iniquity.
b) 4Q169 3-4 iii 4: וְרַבִּים יְבִינּוּ בְּעוֹנָם
And many will understand their iniquity.

9) *The Precepts of the Community, Human Precepts*

Qal or Hiph'il

- a) 4Q418 77 3: וְאָז תְּבִין בְּמִשְׁפַּט אָנוֹשׁ
And then you shall discern the judgment of man.

Hiph'il

- b) 1QS 6:15: וְהִ{ל}בִּינְהוּ בְּכֹל מִשְׁפַּטֵּי הַיְחָד
He shall be made to understand all the precepts of the Community.
c) 1QSa 1:5: וְלִהְבִּינוּ בְּכֹל מִשְׁפַּטֵּיהֶמָּה
To make them understand all their regulations . . .

In the several examples where the object is introduced either without complementation or with another preposition (על, ל, or אל), it pertains in each instance to practical or ethical matters and never to theological matters:

10) *Seven Examples without Complementation*

Qal or Hiph'il

- a) 1QH^a 9:39–40: ואון[ילי לב לא יבינו אלה
But the fo]lish at heart do not understand these things. (The antecedent of אלה is unknown)
- b) 4Q424 3 2: כי לא יבין משפטם
For he will not be able to discern the judgment due in their case.

Hiph'il

- c) 4Q372 3 3: ולבב להבין חק[יד]
And a heart to understand [your] statut[es]...
- d) 4Q418 2a–c 7 (// 4Q416 1 15): להבין צדיק בין טוב לרע
That the righteous may discern between good and evil...
- e) 4Q418 43–45 i 15 (// 4Q417 2 i 20): הבינ[ה] בין רב ל[מעט]
Understa]nd the difference between the great and the s[mall].

Hitpolel

- f) 1QH^a 19:23: ותשובת אנוש אַתְּ בּוֹנְנָה
I [consider] the repentance of humankind.
- g) 11Q5 21:17: ומערמיה אתבונן
and] I consider her nakedness.

11) *Three Examples with Different Prepositional Complements*

- a) With אל, Qal or Hiph'il:
CD 1:10 (// 4Q266 2 i 7): ויבן אל אל מעשיהם:
And God considered their deeds.²⁵
- b) With ל,²⁶ Qal or Hiph'il:
1QS 9:22 (// 4Q256 23:1): ולעצת מה יבין
And what counsel will he understand?

²⁵ The use of אל with בין is well attested in Biblical Hebrew (1 Kgs 3:21 and Isa 14:16) but only in the *Hitpolel*.

²⁶ Two examples are too fragmentary to be discussed here (4Q266 [D^a] 9 iii 5 and 4Q372 2 5).

- c) With על (quoting Ps 37:10), *Hitpolel*:
 4Q171 (pPs^a) 1–10 ii 7: ואתבוננה על מקומו
 When I look carefully at his territory...²⁷

These examples would seem to imply a semantic distinction between different modes of complementation. However, some parallel expressions show different complementations and seem to be synonymous. For example, is there a semantic difference between 4Q398 (MMT^e) 11–13 6 with ב-complementation and CD 1:10 with אל?

- 4Q398 (MMT^e) 11–13 6: וזהבנן במעשיהמה [ל] את מלכי ישראל
 Remember the kings of Israel[!] and consider their deeds. (*Hitpolel* + ב)
 CD 1:10 (// 4Q266 2 i 7): ויבן אל אל מעשיהם
 And God considered their deeds. (*Qal* + אל)

Similarly, is there a semantic opposition between 1QS^a 1:5 with ב-complementation and 4Q424 3 2 without complementation?²⁸

- 1QS^a 1:5: ולהבינם בכול משפטיהמה
 To cause them to understand all their precepts. (*Hiph'il* + ב)
 4Q424 3 2: כי לא יבין משפטם
 For he will not be able to understand their precept. (*Qal* or *Hiph'il* + direct object)

These examples demonstrate that variation in the mode of complementation does not necessarily indicate semantic differentiation.

I would like to summarize this brief survey of ב complementation of the verb בן. With regard to diachronic development, we can conclude that for this verb, the use of the prepositional object with ב becomes almost systematic in the Qumran texts and attests a clear syntactical evolution in Late Biblical Hebrew. This phenomenon is also attested in Qumran Aramaic,²⁹ but seems to be limited to the Qumran texts. Indeed, such an evolution is attested neither in the book of Ben Sira nor in Rabbinic Hebrew (except in one example). Thus, this construction could be a sociolect of the Qumran community.

Concerning the semantic value of the construction, we note that the object is always introduced by the preposition ב when the sentence deals with theological matters. However, when the object is introduced

²⁷ The use of על with בן is also attested two times in Biblical Hebrew (Ps 37:10 and Job 31:1), but here, too, only in *Hitpolel*.

²⁸ Compare similarly 4Q504 3:3 (*Hitpolel* + ב) and 4Q372 3 3 (*Hiph'il* with zero-complementation).

²⁹ Cf. Muraoka, "The Verbal Rection in Qumran Aramaic," 105.

by another mode of complementation, it always has to do with practical or ethical matters. In some cases, the semantic distinction between the different modes of complementation does not appear clearly and in fact seems rather to indicate synonymy. Nevertheless the extensive use of **ב** complementation for theological matters is sufficiently convincing.

III. שכל

In Biblical Hebrew the object of the *Hiph'il* of שכל, in the sense of “give attention to, consider, ponder,” is normally introduced directly, without complementation. Dictionaries note some exceptions, most of them in late biblical texts. Thus, שכל with **ב** is attested in four biblical passages: Ps 101:2; Dan 1:4, 17a; 9:13.³⁰ As we saw with **בין** שכל followed by a prepositional object with **ב** is widely used in Qumran Hebrew. We find nineteen examples of this usage, against only three examples without complementation and one with **ל**. As with **בין** + **ב**, this construction does not appear in the book of Ben Sira or in rabbinic literature.

With regard to the semantic value of the construction, the object of שכל introduced by **ב** deals always with theological or spiritual matters. Examples include: the deeds of God (CD 13:7); his wonderful deeds (1QH^a 19:7); his wonderful mysteries (1QH^a 19:13; 1QS 9:18 // 4Q256 18:1 // 4Q258 [S^d] 8:3); all his mysteries (1QH^a 20:23); his holy thought (1QS 11:18 // 4Q264 [S^j] 6); the foundation of his great wonders (1QH^a 5:31); wonders (1QH^a 18:6); his truth (1QH^a 15:29); all that has been discovered (4Q256 [S^b] 18:3 // 4Q258 [S^d] 8:4); the teaching (1QS 11:1); the precepts of the covenant (1Q28a 1:7); knowledge (4Q300 1a ii-b 2); all the times of the world (11Q13 2:20).

CD 13:7: ישכיל את הרבים במעשי אל

He shall teach the many the deeds of God (את pers. + **ב** of thing);

1QS 9:18 // 4Q256 18:1 // 4Q258 (S^d) 8:3: וכן להשכילם ברזי פלא

To teach them the mysteries of wonder. (inf. + pers. suff. + **ב** of thing)

³⁰ Note also the occurrence of the verb with **אל** in Neh 8:13 and Ps 41:2; with **על** in Prov 16:20; with **ל** in Prov 21:12.

1QS 11:1: ולהשכיל רוכנים בלקח

To teach the instruction to those who complain... (inf. + pers. + ב of thing)

1QS 11:18 // 4Q264 (S^d) 6: ולהשכיל בכול מחשבת קודשכה

To teach all of your holy thought. (inf + ב of thing)

1Q28a 1:7: ישכילוהו בחוקי הברית

They shall teach him the precepts of the covenant. (pers. suff. + ב of thing)

1QH^a 5:31: ולהשכיל בסודך [גדול]

To teach the foundation of [your] great wonders.³¹ (inf + ב of thing)

1QH^a 15:29: כי השכלתני באמתכה

For you have taught me your truth. (pers. suff. + ב of thing)

1QH^a 18:6: כי תשכילנו בנפלאות כאלה

For you have taught him wonders like these. (pers. suff. + ב of thing)

1QH^a 19:7: [ה]בְּיָנוּתְנִי בְּסוּד אִמְתְּכָה וְתִשְׁכִּילֵנִי בְּמַעֲשֵׂי פִלְאָכָה

You make me [underst]and the secret counsel of your truth and have taught me your wonderful works. (pers. suff. + ב of thing)

1QH^a 19:13: וברזי פלאכה השכלתם

You have taught them your wonderful mysteries. (pers. suff. + ב of thing)

1QH^a 20:23: ו[ל]השכיל בכול רזיכה

And[to]understand all your mysteries. (inf. + ב of thing)

4Q256 (S^b) 18:3 // 4Q258 (S^d) 8:4: להשכילם בכול הנמצא

To make them understand all that has been discovered. (inf. + pers. suff. + ב of thing)

4Q300 1a ii-b 2: ובבינה לא השכלתם

You have not understood knowledge. (+ ב of thing)

4Q418 197 2: שְׁכִילוּ בְּכֹל

They will understand everything. (+ ב of thing)

11Q13 2:20: ל[ה]שְׁכִילְמָה בְּכֹל קְצֵי הָעוֹלָם

To make them understand all the times of the world. (inf + pers. suff. + ב of thing)

By contrast, in the four cases where the verb *שכל* is used with another mode of complementation, it does not apply to practical matters only:

Zero-complementation:

11Q5 19:3: וצדקתכה תשכילם

And you teach them your righteousness.

³¹ For the restoration, see DJD XL, 83.

1QS 9:20: ולהשכילם כול הנמצא

To teach them all that has been discovered.

1QH^a 25:13: וקצ תעודה השכלתה

And you have made known the time of testimony.

ל-complementation:

4Q381 76–77 8: ותשכילו לחכמה

And you will pay attention to the wisdom.

The example of 1QS 9:20 given above is particularly interesting. The object of שכל is introduced here without complementation; but the copies of the same text in 4Q256 18:3 and 4Q258 8:4 are constructed with the prepositional object using ב:

1QS 9:20:

ולהשכילם כול הנמצא

4Q256 (S^b) 18:3 // 4Q258 (S^d) 8:4: ולהשכילם בכול הנמצא

This variation could show that the two uses are semantically interchangeable.

From these observations, we may conclude that, as for the verb בין, there is a clear syntactical evolution in the use of the verb שכל from Classical Hebrew to Qumran Hebrew. The use of ב-complementation tends to replace zero-complementation, which is the norm in Biblical Hebrew, Ben Sira and rabbinic literature. Concerning the semantic distinction between these two constructions, as we saw in connection with בין, the prepositional object with ב always concerns spiritual or theological matters. Nevertheless, in some cases the semantic distinction between zero-complementation and the prepositional object is unclear, and the two constructions could be synonymous (cf. the case of 1QS and its duplicates in 4Q256 and 4Q258).

IV. נבט

The *Hiph'il* of the verb נבט is often used to describe an intellectual perception. In Classical Hebrew, this usage requires a local complement generally introduced by אל; more rarely by ל,³² אחרי,³³ על;³⁴ zero-

³² Ps 74:20 (covenant); Ps 104:32; Job 28:24; 39:29; Prov 4:25.

³³ Gen 19:17, 26; Exod 33:8.

³⁴ Hab 2:15.

complementation with locative ה;³⁵ or zero-complementation alone.³⁶ Complementation with ב may appear in 1 Sam 2:32 and Ps 92:12, though both verses are difficult.

As we saw with the preceding verbs, the prepositional object with ב becomes widely used with נבט in the Qumran texts: it is attested eleven times against four times with zero-complementation and four times with א. Ben Sira follows the usage of Classical Hebrew with two exceptions: Sir 51:19^[B] and Sir 51:21^[B]; but both instances are generally accepted by scholars as retroversions from the Syriac. In contrast to the preceding verbs, ב-complementation becomes systematic for this verb in rabbinic Hebrew. Thus, syntactical evolution is well attested.

From a semantic point of view, the object introduced by ב always belongs to the semantic field of spiritual knowledge. Examples include: the light of life (1QS 3:7); his [God's] wonders (1QS 11:3); the mystery of existence (1QS 11:3; 4Q416 2 i 5); what always is (1QS 11:6); the abyss of your [God's] mysteries (1QS 11:19); your glory (1QH^a 18:22); the ancient matters (4Q298 3-4 ii 10); the eternal mysteries (4Q300 1a ii-b 2); the root of wisdom (4Q300 1a ii-b 3):

1QS 3:7: להביט באור החיים
To look upon the light of life.

1QS 11:3: ובנפלאותיו הביטה עיני ואורת לבבי ברו נהיה
My eye has observed his wonders and the light of my heart the mystery of existence.

1QS 11:6: בהויא עלום הביטה עיני
My eye has observed what always is.

1QS 11:19: ולהביט בעומק רזיכה
To gaze into the abyss of your mysteries.

1QH^a 18:22: ובהביטי בכבודכה
And when I contemplate your glory.

4Q298 3-4 ii 10: ובקד[מ]וניות תביטו
You examine the anc[i]ent matters.

4Q300 1a ii-b 2: וברזי עד לא הבתתם ובבינה לא השכלתם
And you have not considered the eternal mysteries, and knowledge you have not understood.

³⁵ Gen 15:5; 1 Kgs 18:43; Ps 142:5; Job 35:5. Cf. Malessa, *Untersuchungen zur verbalen Valenz*, 11.

³⁶ I note that the particle א is rarely used with נבט; e.g., Isa 5:12.

4Q300 1a ii-b 3: כי לא הבטתם בשורש חוכמה
For you have not considered the root of wisdom.

4Q416 2 i 5: הבט ברז נהיה
Consider the mystery of existence.

4Q417 1 i 18: ואתה בן מבין הבט ברז נהיה (// 4Q418 43-45 i 14)
And you, understanding son, consider the mystery of existence.

4Q418 123 ii 5: [ו]אתה מבין בהביטכה בכול אלה
And you, understanding, when you consider all these things...

However, when the object is introduced with zero-complementation or with the preposition **אל**, it always refers to practical or ethical matters: wickedness (ועמל תביט 1QpHab 1:5; והבט אל עמל in 1QpHab 5:2); darkness (חושך יביט 1QS 3:3 // 4Q257 1a iii-2a-g 5 [4Qpap^S 3:5]); all the roots of iniquity (וכול שורש עולה תביט 4Q416 2 iii 15 // 4Q418 9-9c 16); their holy days (אל כול ברית) (הבט אל מועדימה 1QpHab 11:3); any human covenant (אל כול ברית) (אדם אביט 1QH^a 4:39); their error (אל תעותם) (הבט אל 1QH^a 12:12-13).

Another parameter must also be considered here. The preceding examples show that with zero-complementation, the object always precedes the verb, but when the object is introduced by **אל**, it follows the verb. Compare, for example, these two constructions in *Pesher Habakkuk*: ועמל תביט (1QpHab 1:5); and והבט אל עמל (1QpHab 5:2).

In conclusion, we can see that, once again, the prepositional object with **ב** appears extensively in Qumran Hebrew, while it is not attested in Classical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, or Ben Sira. Nevertheless, it becomes the norm in rabbinic literature. Concerning the semantic value of the construction, the prepositional object with **ב** always belongs to the semantic field of spiritual knowledge, while zero-complementation or complementation with **אל** seems to be reserved for practical or ethical matters.

V. ידע

In Classical Hebrew, the object of **ידע** in *Qal* or *Hiph'il* stems may be introduced by **את**, may be suffixed, or may occur without any complementation.³⁷ The prepositional object with **ב** is not common. Only four cases are attested in the *Qal*:

³⁷ In the *Hiph'il* stem, “to make known something to someone,” the dative may be introduced by **ב** (1 Chr 16:8); **ל** (Exod 18:20); **את** (Gen 41:39); or suffixed (in this case the suffixed personal pronoun is dative); and the object may either be introduced by **את** or be without complementation.

1 Sam 22:15: כי לא־ידע עבדך בכל־זאת דבר
For your servant has known nothing of all this.

Ps 31:8: ידעת בצרות נפשי
You have known my adversities.

Job 35:15: ולא־ידע בפש מאד
He does not really know the arrogance (?)...

Jer 38:24: אל־ידע בדברים־האלה
Do not let anyone know these words.

In Qumran Hebrew, the evolution of forms of verbal complementation is less obvious for ידע than for the preceding verbs. The authors generally follow the biblical rules, but there is a greater use of ב-complementation. Eleven cases are attested in the *Qal* stem, and six in the *Hiph'il*.³⁸

The semantic value of the prepositional object with ב is ambiguous. Concerning the nature of the object, we may observe that when it is introduced by ב, it deals most of the time with theological or spiritual matters: the strength of God's power (1QH^a 12:33); God's truth (1QH^a 17:9–10); the secret counsel of God's truth (1QH^a 18:6–7; 19:12); the glory of God's might (4Q417 1 i 13); the glory (1QH^a 7:14); the understanding of hidden things (4Q401 17 4); the mysteries of God's wonder (1QH^a 12:28–29; 15:30); the psalms of God's glory (4Q503 51–55 9); the thought of God's great intelligence (4Q503 51–55 13). But in a few rare cases, the construction is associated with practical or ethical matters: all their counsel (1QS 8:18); in what way you may walk with him (4Q417 2 i 8); disease (1QH^a 16:27–28).

*Qal*³⁹

1QS 8:18: ואל ידע בכול עצתם
He is not to know all their counsel.

³⁸ One case is attested in Qumran Aramaic: 4QEn^c 5 ii 26 מריא ברזי "I know the mysteries [of the Lord]" (Muraoka, "The Verbal Rection in Qumran Aramaic," 109). In Ben Sira the prepositional object with ב is not attested.

³⁹ There are some ambiguous cases: 1QH^a 5:35–36: בי אשר נתתה ברי "And I, your servant, I have known the spirit which you placed in me"; or, with F. García Martínez and E. Tigchelaar, "And I, your servant, have known thanks to the spirit you have placed in me" (*DSSSE* 1:150–51). Nevertheless the intransitive use of ידע seems here unclear and, in view of the number of cases where ידע introduces the object with ב, the first translation is highly probable. The same situation arises in 1QH^a 6:28: [ואני ידעתי] בריב טובך "And I, I have known the abundance of your goodness," where García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate, "I, I know, thanks to the abundance of your goodness" (*DSSSE* 1:152–53).

1QH^a 12:33: רוב רחמיו ורוב גבורתו בכוח מעשיו כול ידעו כול מעשיו בכוח גבורתו ורוב רחמיו
So that all his creatures come to know the strength of his power and the abundance of his compassion.⁴⁰

1QH^a 17:9–10: כי ידעתי באמתכה
For I have known your truth.

4Q414 1 ii–2 i 5: לא יד[עתי] בכול דבר
I [did not kn]ow everything.

4Q417 1 i 13: ואז תדע בכבוד ע[ו]ו וזו
And then you shall know the glory of [his] m[ight];⁴¹

4Q417 2 i 8: ודע במה תתהלך עמו
But know in what way you may walk with him.

4Q503 51–55 14: למען נדע באותו[ת]
So that we know the sign[s].⁴²

Qal Infinitive

1QH^a 7:14: לדעת {ב} כבוד[כה]
To know your glory.

4Q265 4 i 11: בדעתו בכול דבר
When he knows everything.

Qal Participle

4Q286 7a i b–d 3: וכול [י]דעיהמה בתהלי
And all those who have [k]nowledge in psalms of [...]

4Q401 17 4: יד[ע]י בבינת נס[תרות]
Those who have kn[ow]ledge of the understanding of h[idden] things.

Hiph'il (Pers. suff. + ב of thing)

1QH^a 12:28–29: כי הודעתני ברזי פלאכה
For you have made me know the mysteries of your wonder.

1QH^a 15:30: וברזי פלאכה הודעתני
You have made me know the mysteries of your wonder.

1QH^a 18:6–7: ובסוד אמ[תכה] תודיענו
For you have made us know the secret counsel of your truth.

⁴⁰ The translation is from *DSSSE*, 1:171.

⁴¹ The next part of the sentence is interesting: it is written ע[ם] רזי פלא and not ע[ם] רזי פלא. Why is the first object preceded by ב and not the second? Note also the same phenomenon in 1QS 11:19, with ב[ין].

⁴² This case is ambiguous; we could translate “that we may know by the signs.”

1QH^a 19:12: כי הודעתם בסוד אמתכה

For you have made known to them the secret counsel of your truth.

4Q503 51–55 9: הוד[עתנו בתהלי כבודכה

You have made us know the psalms of your glory.

4Q503 51–55 13: [ה]ודיענו במחשבת בינתו הגד[ולה]

He has made us know the thought of his great intelligence.

When complementation varies in similar expressions, we see that some examples seem to involve semantic differentiation, but others do not. For example, in 4Q417 1 i 6, the verb ידע is used without complementation. The object of the verb ידע concerns the distinction between “truth and iniquity,” “wisdom and foolishness” (ואז תדע אמת ועול חכמה ואולת) “and then, you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom and foolishness”). But a few lines later, in 4Q417 1 i 13, the same expression takes the prepositional object with ב, in relation to the glory of God (וְזוֹ) עֲבוֹד בְּכבוֹד “and then, you will know the glory of [his]m[ight]”). In this case, the prepositional object implies a more intimate knowledge, like contemplation of the glory of God’s might.⁴³ We can find another example in 1QH^a 19:12, כי הודעתם בסוד אמתכה “For you have made known to them the secret counsel of your truth.” Nevertheless, a few lines later in 1QH^a 19:19, we find exactly the same sentence, with the same object, but without complementation: לִי הודעתני סוד אמת “For you have made known to me the secret counsel of the truth.” In the first case, the prepositional object with ב introduces the truth of God, while in the second example, the same object with zero-complementation refers to truth in general, without determination. This would indicate a semantic variation in the different modes of complementation.

However, some attestations might indicate the opposite. For example, in the *Hodayot*, we may find different modes of complementations of the verb ידע when the object is the glory of God. Essentially the same expression is found once with את (1QH^a 7:33); once without complementation (1QH^a 5:30); and once with ב (1QH^a 25:11); and the three seem synonymous:⁴⁴

⁴³ This semantic variation could be confirmed by the scribal correction in 1QH^a 7:14. The first scribe wrote לדעת בכבוד “to know the glory,” but a second scribe deleted the ב. This correction would indicate that the two constructions were not seen as similar in meaning.

⁴⁴ In the same way, compare the complementation in 4Q504 15:11 (ולמען דעת את כוחכה) “so that your great power might be known”) with that in 1QH^a 12:33 (ולמען ידעו כול) “so that all his creatures come to know the strength of his power”); or

1QH^a 7:33: לדעת כּוֹל אֶת כבודך

That all may know your glory (cf. 1QpHab 10:14 יהוה את כבוד יהוה)

1QH^a 5:30: להודיע כבודך

To make known your glory

1QH^a 25:11: ולדעת כול בכבודכה

And that all may know your glory⁴⁵

In conclusion, we can see that for the verb ידע, the diachronic evolution of the prepositional object with ב is less impressive than for בין, שכל, and נבט. Nevertheless, this construction is used extensively in the *Qal* stem, compared to Classical Hebrew, and seems to be a Qumranic innovation in the *Hiph'il* stem.⁴⁶ Concerning the semantic value of the construction, we have seen that the object introduced by ב is almost always linked to theological or spiritual matters. But a close survey of the different modes of complementation shows that the semantic variation is not truly uniform in the texts.

VI. גלה

In Classical Hebrew, the object of גלה may be introduced by the particle את or occur without complementation; but it is never introduced by the preposition ב.⁴⁷ Generally, the Qumran authors follow this biblical usage.⁴⁸ However, in nine instances a peculiar construction occurs. Six of these

compare 1QH^a 17:9–10 (באמתכה) כי ידעתי באמתכה) with 1QH^a 14:15 (and all peoples may know your truth) “and all peoples may know your truth”).

⁴⁵ We might also translate this passage, “and to know everything by means of your glory,” as proposed by C. Newsom, DJD 40.297.

⁴⁶ The prepositional object with ב in the *Hiph'il* stem seems to be limited to the *Hodayot* and 4Q503.

⁴⁷ One case merits attention: ויגל בלחץ אונם (Job 36:15). In this sentence, the ב is generally understood as instrumental, “he opens their ears by means of adversity”; nevertheless, it is possible to construe בלחץ as a prepositional object: “he opens their ears to adversity.” Indeed, a few verses before, in Job 36:10, the same construction is attested with a prepositional object introduced by ל: ויגל אונם למוסר “He opens their ears to instruction.”

⁴⁸ Five examples without complementation are attested (1QH^a 19:17: גליתיה [ונס]תְרוֹתֶיכֶם גליתיה; 1QH^a 22:26: ואתה גליתיה; 1QH^a 25:12: ואוון בשר גליתיה; 1QH^a 26:15: ולגלות נסתרות; 4Q427 7 i 19) “you have revealed your [hid]den things to me”; 1QH^a 22:26: ואתה גליתיה; 1QH^a 25:12: ואוון בשר גליתיה; 1QH^a 26:15: ולגלות נסתרות; 4Q427 7 i 19) “you have opened the ear of flesh”; 1QH^a 26:15: ולגלות נסתרות; 4Q427 7 i 19) “revealing hidden things”; 4Q434 1 i 9: ויגל להם תּוֹרוֹת שלום ואמת “He revealed to them the laws of peace and truth”; and three cases with the particle את (CD 5:10: את ערות אחי אביה; 4Q165 1–2 3: גלה את תּוֹרַת הַצֶּדֶק “and therefore to the daughter of a brother who uncovers the nakedness of the brother of her father” (transl. DSSSE, 1:557); 4Q165 1–2 3: גלה את תּוֹרַת הַצֶּדֶק “he reveals the j[ust] teaching”; 4Q270 2 ii 13: יגלה את רז עמו “he will divulge the secret of his people”).

instances are found in related statements in *4QInstruction*: גלה אֲזוֹנִיכָהּ בַּרְז נְהִיָּה (1Q26 1 4; 4Q416 2 iii 18; 4Q418 123 ii 4; 184 2; 4Q423 5 1; 7 6); “He revealed to you the mystery of existence,” or “he opened your ears to the mystery of existence.” The same formulation appears three times elsewhere in the Qumran texts, with some variations:⁴⁹

CD 2:2 וְאֲגִלָּה אֲזוֹנְכֶם בְּדַרְכֵי רְשָׁעִים

I will open your ears to the paths of the wicked.

4Q268 1 7 (4QD^c): וַיִּגַּל עַל[יְנִיָּה] מָה בְּנִסְתָּרוֹת

He uncovered their e[yes] to hidden things.

4Q299 8 6: בְּרוֹב שְׁכַל גְּלָה אֲזוֹנֵנוּ

He opened our ears to a great insight⁵⁰

In each case, the verb גלה is followed directly by the recipient of the revelation (indicated by the metonymy אֲזוֹן [or עֵין] + pronominal suffix), and subsequently by the object of the revelation introduced by the preposition ב.⁵¹ The verbal complement introduced by ב should not be considered instrumental in these cases;⁵² indeed the examples of CD 2:2 and 4Q268 1 7 seems sufficiently convincing on that score. So, the sense of the construction would be “to reveal to someone something.”

A similar expression is well attested in Classical Hebrew under the formulation, גלה את אֲזוֹנְכָהּ. In contrast to the Qumran construction, the particle את invariably introduces the addressee of the revelation and is never followed by a complement, and is therefore intransitive (1 Sam 9:15; 20:2, 12–13; 22:8, 17).⁵³ Thus, we should notice once again an explicit syntactical evolution. The expression גלה את אֲזוֹנְכָהּ, attested in Classical Hebrew, is never attested in Qumran; it is replaced by the construction גלה אֲזוֹנְכָהּ, without the particle את and usually followed by a prepositional

⁴⁹ To these examples, we should add some cases with ל: 1QH^a 9:23: כִּי־אֲגִלִּיתָ אֲזוֹנֵי לְרוּי; 1QH^a 14:7: פִּלְאָ בְּמַלְאָכָהּ אֲזוֹנֵי בְּמַלְאָכָהּ cf. Job 36:10.

⁵⁰ García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate “by his great insight he opened our ears” (*DSSSE*, 2:661); but see my remarks *infra*.

⁵¹ J. Strugnell and D. Harrington consider that בַּרְז נְהִיָּה is the object of the verb גלה. See J. Strugnell, D.J. Harrington and T. Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4 XXIV, Sapiential Texts, Part 2* (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 122.

⁵² In some cases the ב seems clearly instrumental; e.g., 1QS 8:16: וְכַאֲשֶׁר גָּלוּ הַנְּבִיאִים: בְּרוּחַ קוֹדֶשׁוֹ “And according to what the prophets have revealed through his holy spirit.” But the expression is not exactly the same.

⁵³ The construction may be followed by an infinitive clause: “he opened your ears, saying . . .” (2 Sam 7:27; 1 Chr 17:25). The construction גלה אֲזוֹנְכָהּ without את is attested only in Job 33:16; 36:10, 15; and Ruth 4:4.

object introduced by ב. Such an expression, then, is idiomatic and appears to be newer.

VII. לקח

Finally, I would like to examine the use of the verb לקח. This verb takes on a particular significance in the book of Ben Sira and in *4QInstruction*, with a cognitive connotation in the sense of “to grasp.” This sense can be easily deduced from the object of the verb (רז נהיה, תולדות) (מוסר משפט, מצוה, רז נהיה, תולדות) (אדם, מולדי ישע, בינה), as well as from its parallels with ידע in 4Q417 2 i 11 and with ראה in 4Q418 77 2. A. Lange⁵⁴ has pointed out that this usage is attested several times in biblical books,⁵⁵ six times in Ben Sira,⁵⁶ and six times in *4QInstruction*.⁵⁷ This usage seems to be attested twice elsewhere in the Qumran texts as well, in 4Q469 2 2 and 11Q5 22:13.⁵⁸

In all these cases, the verbal object is introduced without complementation, apart from one instance in 4Q418 77 4, where we find the prepositional object with ב:

4Q418 77 4: וקח ברז נהיה על [מ]שכל קצים

And grasp the mystery of existence, according to the [w]eight of the times.

The fact that the verb לקח is never constructed with the preposition ב except when the object is רז נהיה seems significant. Indeed, when רז נהיה is the object of a verb, it is almost always introduced by the preposition ב: we gaze ברז נהיה, we meditate ברז נהיה, he reveals ברז נהיה, we grasp

⁵⁴ See A. Lange, “Kognitives *lqh* in Sap A, im T^enak und Sir,” *ZAH* 9 (1996): 190–92.

⁵⁵ Jer 9:19; Ezek 3:10; Prov 4:10; 21:11; 24:32.

⁵⁶ Sir 8:9: שכל תקח שכל כי ממנו תקח שכל “Because from him, you will grasp understanding”; Sir 16:24: שמע בני וקח מוסרי “Listen to me, and grasp my instruction”; Sir 31:22: שמע בני וקח מוסרי “Listen, my son, and grasp my instruction”; Sir 32:14: דורש אל יקח מוסר “who seeks God will grasp instruction”; Sir 32:14: דורש חפצי אל יקח לקח “who seeks the God’s pleasure will grasp the teaching”; Sir 32:18: יקח מצוה: זר וליץ לא יקח מצוה “a stranger and a proud person will not grasp the commandment.”

⁵⁷ 4Q417 2 i 11 // 4Q416 2 i 6: ועל מי נוחל כבוד ועל “and grasp the origin of salvation and know who is to inherit glory and elevation”; 4Q418 77 2: אדם “and grasp instruction”; Sir 32:14: יקח לקח “and grasp the nature of [m]an”; 4Q418 77 4: [מ]שכל קצים “and grasp the mystery of existence, according to the [w]eight of the times”; 4Q418 177 4: יקח בינה “and grasp understanding”; 4Q418 197 3: [ח] [מ]צות ש “and gra[sp] [the] commandment of...”; 4Q418 228 3: קח משפט “and grasp the judgment...”

⁵⁸ 4Q469 2 2: קחי “Have they not grasped the instruction?”; 11Q5 22:13: קחי “Grasp the vision spoken of you.”

ברז נהיה. In this case, the preposition appears to be linked more closely to the object than to the verb.

VIII. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to highlight both emphases of this survey: the diachronic and the semantic perspectives.

The research has shown that in the historical evolution of the Hebrew language, verbs like *בין*, *שכל*, and *גבט*, belonging to the semantic field of intellectual perception, have evolved syntactically in their complementation. The use of the preposition *ב* to introduce the object becomes extensive in Qumran texts. However, it is missing in Classical Hebrew and its use is rare in late biblical texts. The particular construction of the verb *גלה*—... *גלה אוזנכה ב*—presents a good example of this evolution. In the case of the verb *ידע* (and possibly verbs such *למד* or *דרש*), the development is not so clear, but the use of the prepositional object with *ב* is still more extensive than in Classical Hebrew.

The study has also shown that the book of Ben Sira does not demonstrate such a syntactic evolution. Historically, therefore, this usage may well have emerged during the second century BCE. On the other hand, for verbs such *בין*, *שכל* or *גלה*, this syntactical peculiarity seems to be limited to the Qumran corpus, nor is it attested in later literature. In that case, do we consider the phenomenon to be a sociolect or a dialectal peculiarity of the Qumran texts?

As regards the semantic value of the prepositional object introduced by *ב*, the situation is complex. A few examples indicate that under certain circumstances, the different modes of complementation may be synonymous:

- a) When two different copies of an identical manuscript present a variation in verbal complementation; for example: 1QS 9:20 (ולהשכילם כול) (הנמצא) vs. 4Q256 18:3 // 4Q258 8:4 (ולהשכילם בכול הנמצא) (הנמצא); or 4Q270 2 i 10 (ידרו] ש את א[ו]בות ו]א[ת]) vs. 4Q267 4 ii (ידעוני]ם).
- b) When the variation in verb complementation appears with the same object in the same context. For example: 1QH^a 7:33: לדעת כול את כבודך "That all may know your glory," 1QH^a 5:30: להודיע כבודך "to make known your glory" and 1QH^a 25:11: ולדעת כול בכבודכה "and to know all your glory."

However, these examples may be challenged. Indeed, a variation between two copies of an identical manuscript or a variation in complementation with the same object could leave open the possibility of a semantic variation, even when such a distinction is not directly perceptible from the context.⁵⁹

In fact, some other examples argue for such a semantic distinction:

- a) The scribal correction in 1QH^a 7:14, which suppresses the **ב** before **כבוד** in the sentence **לדעת {ב} כבוד**, could imply that the two constructions are not semantically identical.
- b) The example of 4Q417 1 i is semantically significant. While we read **ואז תדע אמת** “and then you will know the truth” in line 6, a few lines later, in line 13, we read **ואז תדע בכבוד ע'וזו** “and then, you will know the glory of [his]m[ight].” The variation in complementation might be explained by the fact that knowledge of truth does not have the same implication as knowledge of God’s glory.

Nevertheless, the principal argument for a semantic distinction between these usages is the nature of the object. Indeed, an object introduced by **ב** deals almost always with spiritual or theological matters. By contrast, the object introduced with other modes of complementation deals principally with ethical or practical matters and, on rare occasions, with theological or intellectual matters. This observation implies that the prepositional object with **ב** supposes a modal nuance of intensity or a modal nuance of deeper intellectual involvement. Compare the following sentences:

- a) In *4QInstruction*: “you must consider the mystery of existence” (4Q416 2 i 5 **הבט ברז נהיה**) vs. “you will consider all the roots of iniquity” (4Q416 2 iii 14–15 **כול שורשי עולה תביט**). The first expression, with **ב**, is more intensive, directing the reader to ponder the heart of the mystery of existence, while the second, without complementation, concerns the knowledge of an ethical point of view.
- b) 1QH^a 17:9–10, **כי ידעתי באמתכה** “For I have known your truth,” with **ב**, does not have the same implication as 4Q417 1 i 6–7, **ואז תדע אמת ועול**, **חכמה [ואול]ת** “And then you will know truth and iniquity, wisdom [and foolish]ness,” without complementation. The first example concerns God’s truth, while the second concerns truth in a practical or an ethical domain.

⁵⁹ For example, concerning the variation of the complementation in 1QH^a 19:12 and 19, we have noticed that the first sentence, with **ב**, concerns God’s truth; while the second, without complementation, concern truth in general.

These few examples show that in Qumran Hebrew, the prepositional object with **ב** implies a more intense relationship or deeper involvement of the subject with the object. The last example of the verb **לָקַח** has highlighted the special connection between the preposition **ב** and the **רַז נְהִיָּה**, the “mystery of existence” when it is the object of the verb. In such a case, the use of the preposition **ב** seems more closely linked to the nature of the object than to the verb itself.

This preliminary survey of the prepositional object with **ב** in Qumran Hebrew was limited to verbs belonging to the semantic field of instruction. But these representative examples have demonstrated that verbal complementation with **ב** has clearly evolved in Qumran Hebrew and that this construction appears to involve semantic differentiation. Research should continue to address: (a) Whether this syntactical evolution is also attested with verbs other than those relating to instruction or knowledge; (b) Whether this development persists in rabbinic literature or is limited to the Qumran literature; and finally, (c) Whether a broader linguistic analysis can provide a more precise understanding of the semantic variation implied by different modes of complementation.

FROM THE “FOUNDATION” OF THE TEMPLE TO THE “FOUNDATION”
OF A COMMUNITY: ON THE SEMANTIC EVOLUTION OF **ʾuś* (אוֹס) IN
THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS*

Ursula Schattner-Rieser

The present paper traces the semantic evolution of the term **ʾuś* (אוֹס) “foundation” from its technical, architecturally based origins to its figurative use to describe either the leader of a religious community or God as the creator of the world.

In the Hebrew Bible the noun appears only in the Aramaic of Ezra 4:12, 5:16, and 6:3, where the m. pl. *ʾuśšayyâ* means “foundation” and refers to the physical foundations of a building. In the Greek of the LXX the term is rendered by two different terms: θεμέλιος in Ezra 4:12; 5:16; and ἔπαρμα in Ezra 6:3. In the Latin (Vulgate), it is rendered by *paries* “wall” in Ezra 4:12, but by *fundamentum* “foundation” in 5:16 (*fundamenta templi Dei*) and 6:3 (*fundamenta*).¹ In all three passages, the original Semitic term and its Greek and Latin renderings represent the initial phase of semantic development. All these terms refer to the substructure (*fundamentum*) linked to the rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem and its Temple walls. Thus, in this initial phase, the technical term is exclusively connected with the process of temple construction.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the term is used in both its literal, concrete meaning and in figurative meanings. Here we can find the beginnings of a semantic shift towards an exclusively metaphorical usage in the Hebrew language. This development is comparable to the use of θεμέλιος² and

* This paper is a more developed version of my lexical entry אוֹס* in the first volume of the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* (ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Dahmen; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011) 1:112–15. Translations in this paper are my own, sometimes inspired by the DSSSE. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Linda Fulponi of Paris, and Dr. Ruth Clements, for improving my English; and to Prof. Dr. Jörg Frey, Zurich, for discussions on this subject.

¹ The Greek equivalent to the text of 1 En 14:10 is ἐδάφη < ἐδάφος “foundations of a house,” which is then translated in the Ethiopian text by *madr* “ground.” In 4QEn^s 1 iv 14 the *nomen regens* *ʾuśšê* is parallel to the architectural term *ʾobād* “work; deed” (equivalent to the Greek ἔργον).

² Cf. Eph 2:20: “And (you) are built upon the *foundation* of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone” (ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ; < θεμέλιος “foundation”)

καταβολή³ as architectural metaphors in the New Testament, also in reference to laying the foundations of a religious community.

I. ETYMOLOGY

Opinions regarding the etymology of *ʿušš(ayyâ)* are divided. While some scholars favor a Semitic origin for the word, it seems clear since the work of H. Zimmern⁴ that the term is actually a loanword from Akkadian *uššu* “floor, foundation of a building”—which is itself a loanword from Sumerian *uš*, *uš-sa*, *uš-us*. It is likely that the word made its way into the Aramaic *lingua franca* in the Persian period (fifth or fourth century BCE),⁵ although to the best of my knowledge it does not appear in other Imperial Aramaic texts. There might be one example in the *Aḥiqar* palimpsest from Elephantine (450 BCE), but unfortunately this possibility is based on reconstruction and therefore remains uncertain.

In Biblical Aramaic the word appears only three times in the plural (Ezra 4:12; 5:16; 6:3): twice in the determinate plural א״שׂא (ʿuššayyâ) and once with the third m. sing. suffix, א״שׂוהי (ʿuššôhî). In the Targums we generally find the masculine plural forms א״שׂא (ʿuššayyâ) and א״שׂי (ʿuššey); twice we find the feminine plural א״שׂוהתהא (ʿuššwâtahâ), but only occasionally do we see the singular, with a collective meaning.⁶

The analysis of this term in the Aramaic section of *HALOT* is misleading, because it gives the impression that the lexeme *א״שׂ is commonly in use in several Aramaic dialects as well as in Mishnaic Hebrew.⁷ M. Sokoloff,

is used literally in Luke 6:48–49; 14:29; Heb 11:10 (and to signify “foundation stones” in Rev 21:14, 19); it is used figuratively in Rom 15:20; 1 Cor 3:10–12; Eph 2:20; Heb 6:1; 2 Tim 2:19; and (in the sense of “treasure, reserve”) 1 Tim 6:19. Note that in Eph 2:20 and especially 1 Pet 2:6–7, θεμέλιος and ἀκρογωνιαίος draw from Isa 28:16 and Ps. 118:22 respectively (which have different underlying Hebrew terms).

³ καταβολή is used in the sense of “house” in 2 Macc 2:29; it appears frequently in the NT in the expression καταβολή κόσμου in Matt 13:35; 25:34; Luke 11:50; John 17:24; Eph 1:4; Hebr 4:3; 9:26; 1 Pet 1:20; Rev 13:8; 17:8).

⁴ “Grund, Fundament eines Baues,” see H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1917), 31; W. Baumgartner, “Untersuchungen zu den akkadischen Bauausdrücken,” *ZA* 36 (1925): 29–40, 128–38, 219–53 (236); C.G. Tuland “uššayyâ’ and ʿuššarnâ: A Clarification of Terms, Date, and Text,” *JNES* 17/4 (1958): 269–75.

⁵ See also Tuland, “uššayyâ’ and ʿuššarnâ,” 270.

⁶ See the discussion below on p. 223, with examples given in n. 44.

⁷ See *HALOT* (CD-Rom), Vol. 5: *א״שׂ = ʾoš.

however, corrected this impression in his review of the *Lexicon*.⁸ The word appears only rarely in the Late Jewish Aramaic of the Targums⁹ and even more rarely in Mishnaic Hebrew; a later derivative is *ʿašita*, which occurs in Eastern Aramaic, and thus in Syriac, Hatranic and Mandaic.¹⁰ From the noun there also seems to derive a denominative verbal form in the Hebrew Bible, which occurs in Isa 46:8:¹¹ הַתְּאַשְׁשׁוּ—“make firm in mind” or “experience grief”—which is the imperative *Hitpoʿel* of the root אוּשׁ “be firm.”

II. MEANING AND REFERENCE

Concerning the basic meaning of the term, C.G. Tuland demonstrated that the meaning of the architectural term **uš* in Ezra corresponds to its Akkadian usage, so that it refers to the “lowest part of the substructure or foundations on bed rock.” Excavations in Neolithic Gezer (ca. 1400 BCE) and elsewhere in the Holy Land demonstrate the utilization of an architectural principle very similar to that found in Mesopotamia; that is, “below ground-level” substructures.¹² Tuland continues:

Thus the principle of erecting buildings or walls on a special fundament, a platform or bed rock, in Palestine can be found as early as in the third millennium BC. Parker found in the Jebusite fortress (Zion) two parallel sections from the third millennium BC which were set in the bed rock. This system continued through the time of Solomon, where the Phoenician workmen placed the lowest layer of stones in carefully cut-out steps in the bed rock.¹³

The reference to יָסֵד “foundation” in Ezra 3:6, 10, 11, 12, thus corresponds to the word אוּשַׁיָּא *ʿuššayyā* in Ezra 5:16, used by the Persian administrator

⁸ M. Sokoloff, “Review: Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*,” *DSD* 7 (2000): 74–109 (84): “*אוּשׁ—No indeterminate form אוּשַׁיָּא exists in the JA dialects. Rather, the pl. det. אוּשַׁיָּא TJ 1 Kgs 7:7 should also be derived from a sg. אוּשׁ*. Moreover, the cited MH אוּשַׁיָּא is also non-existent. Only the pl. אוּשַׁיָּא (unvocalized!) appears once in the Mishnaic Hebrew of Babylonia in the phrase הַחֹפְרִין לְאוּשַׁיָּא ‘the ones who dig for foundations’ *b. B.Q.* 50a, and the quoted sg. f. does not exist.”

⁹ In the Targums we generally find the word שִׁיתָּסִין for “foundation.”

¹⁰ Cf. also Arabic *ʿuss* “foundation” and *ʿassasa* “to found.”

¹¹ זָכְרוּ זֹאת וְהִתְאַשְׁשׁוּ “remember this and make it firm / and be grieved.”

¹² See Tuland, “*uššayyā*’ and *ʿuššarnā*,” 270; quoting Peter Thomsen: “Das älteste, wenn auch noch recht unvollkommene und steinzeitl. anmutende Beispiel der mesopotamischen Befestigungskunst bietet Gezer. Hier ist im 3. Jht. die w. Kuppe des Hügels (Dm etwa 200 m) mit einer Mauer aus geschichteten Bruchsteinen (o. 66 m dick) umgeben worden, die auf dem natürlichen Felsen aufsass.”

¹³ Tuland, “*uššayyā*’ and *ʿuššarnā*,” 270.

and author of the Aramaic document, and shows that the returning Jews had to begin the building of the Temple from its very foundations.¹⁴

In light of these considerations, we have every reason to believe that the Second Temple from the days of Zerubbabel was rebuilt on the same foundations that had supported the earlier Temple.

III. ATTESTATIONS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Although $\text{ʾ}u\text{š}$ appears rather rarely in the Bible, it is used twenty-four times in eleven different nonbiblical texts (eight in Hebrew and three in Aramaic) found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. We can see that the word is attested more frequently in Hebrew texts than in the Aramaic documents. This may easily be explained by the larger mass of the Hebrew material that has come down to us. It is also important to emphasize, however, that the word entered Hebrew as a loanword with a change in its meaning. It functions in this corpus as a metaphorical term only loosely connected with its originally architectural meaning, and thus fills a completely different semantic function.

Hebrew examples (nineteen times in eight different texts):¹⁵

- a. *Damascus Document* = CD (3× in three mss.)¹⁶
- b. *Rule of Blessings* = 1QSB (1×)¹⁷
- c. *Hodayot* (5× in three mss. + 2 reconstructed instances)¹⁸
- d. *Instruction*, also called 4Q Sap A or *Musar le-Mevin* (4× in two mss.)¹⁹
- e. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (1×)²⁰
- f. *Mysteries* (1×)²¹
- g. *Blessings* = 4Q Berakhot^a (1×)²²
- h. *Hymnic Composition* = 1Q36 (1×)²³

¹⁴ See also 2 Chr 24:25 בית האלהים ויסוד “and the foundation [here in the context of rebuilding] of the house of God”; 2 Chr 31:7 ליסוד החלו הערמות “they began to lay the foundation of the heaps.”

¹⁵ Included in this total are six reconstructed examples which are underlined in the notes that follow.

¹⁶ CD 14:8; 4QD^d=4Q266 10 i 11; 4QCD^e=4Q269 11 i 1.

¹⁷ 1QSB=1Q28b 3:20.

¹⁸ 1QH^a 11:14; 11:31; 11:36; 15:7; 15:12. Entirely reconstructed are 4QH^b=4Q428 4 2 and 5 6; 4QH^f=4Q432 6 6 is partially reconstructed.

¹⁹ 4Q Instruction^c =417 1 i 9; 1 i 25; 4Q Instruction^d =4Q418 43–45 i 6; 95 2.

²⁰ 11QShirShab=11Q17 8 8.

²¹ 4QMyst^a=4Q299 38 2.

²² 4QBer^a=4Q286 5 4.

²³ 1Q36 17 2.

The Aramaic texts include five examples in three different texts:

- i. *Enoch* (3× in three mss.)²⁴
- j. *Targum of Job* (1×)²⁵
- k. *New Jerusalem* (1×)²⁶

A. Categorization and Dating of the Texts

The word *uš* is present in a number of pre-Maccabean writings;²⁷ that is, compositions dated prior to 175 BCE. Among these are four Hebrew texts—*1QHymnic Composition*, *4QInstruction*, *4QMysteries*, *11QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*—and three Aramaic texts: the Book of Watchers (*4QEnoch*), the *New Jerusalem* (*2QNJ*), and the Aramaic translation of Job, *11QTgJob*. Among the Aramaic texts, the *Vorlagen* of the Book of Watchers and the *New Jerusalem* fragments may be dated on linguistic grounds to the fourth or fifth century BCE and thus belong to the Persian period.

The four remaining Hebrew texts—the *Hodayot*, the *Damascus Document*, the *Rule of Blessings* (*1QSb*), and the *Berakhot* (*4QBer*)—must be classified as post-Maccabean and sectarian, but they are all strongly influenced by ideas from pre-Maccabean wisdom literature.

Paleographically, the manuscript copies of the sectarian texts may be dated to the first century BCE, but this does not affect the dating of their composition. The pre-Maccabean works may be dated to the third or fourth century BCE.

B. Qumran Hebrew and Aramaic

In the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the noun is generally used in the plural construct form אוּשֵׁי *uššê*. The singular אוּשׁ, probably bearing a collective meaning,²⁸ occurs only in *4Q417* and *4Q418*, while the plural absolute state is totally missing in the Hebrew texts. The two occurrences of the plural absolute in Aramaic (אוּשֵׁין *uššîn*) are reconstructed (*4Q204* and *4Q205*). Only once, in *11Q10*, do we have the Aramaic plural emphatic state, אוּשֵׁיהּ. The noun is equivalent to Hebrew

²⁴ *4QEnoch*^c=*4Q204* 1 vi 24, *4QEnoch*^d=*4Q205* 1 xi 6, *4QEnoch*^g=*4Q212* 1 iv 14.

²⁵ *11TgJob*=*11Q10* 30:4.

²⁶ *2QNJ*=*2Q24* 9 2.

²⁷ According to the classification of A. Lange, "The Pre-Maccabean Literature from the Qumran Library and the Hebrew Bible," *DSD* 13 (2006): 276–305 (285–86).

²⁸ As is known from the Targums; see, e.g., *Tg. Mic.* 1:6 אֲגַלֵּי אַּאֲוּשֵׁיהּ, which parallels the Hebrew אֲגַלֵּהּ וַיִּסְדֵּיָהּ "and uncover her foundations."

$\gamma^{\text{p}}s\ddot{o}d$ (יסוד), $m\ddot{o}s\ddot{a}d$ (מוסד) and $s\ddot{o}d$ (סוד). The biblical expression יהב אושיא “to lay foundations” corresponds to the verb יסד. In the Targums, $\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}(ayy\acute{a})$ means “foundation, column, wall,” and is synonymous with Hebrew $\gamma^{\text{p}}s\ddot{o}d$, $\dot{h}\ddot{o}m\ddot{a}$ and $\ddot{s}\ddot{u}r$ “wall.”²⁹

In the Qumran texts, the word אוש is almost exclusively employed together with architectural terms, either in parallel or redundantly:³⁰

- 1) Thus, we find it used in connection with the following nouns: $m\ddot{o}s\ddot{a}d$ (מוסד) “fundament, foundation or base wall”; $mabn\ddot{u}t$ (מבנית) “building, structure, construction”; $q\ddot{u}r$ (קיר) “wall”; $\gamma^{\text{p}}s\ddot{o}d$, $s\ddot{o}d$ (יסוד, סוד)³¹ “foundation(s)”; $ma^{\text{c}}\ddot{s}eh$ (מעשה) “work” in 4Q417 (*Instruction*^c) 1 i 9; Aram. $\ddot{o}b\ddot{a}d$ (עובד) “creation, structure”; and with the construction material $\dot{h}mr$ (חמר) “clay” and “asphalt.”
- 2) The noun אוש is constructed with the following verbs: ysd (יסד) “to found”; kwn (כון) (*Hiph.*) “to establish, to erect”;³² r^{c} (רעע) “to burst, be broken”;³³ r^{d} (רעד) “to quake, to tremble”;³⁴ byn (בין) (*Hitpo.*) “to recognize, to discern”;³⁵ qr (עקר) “to root out, uproot”;³⁶ kl (אכל) “to consume.”³⁷

²⁹ Cf. J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Baumgärtner, 1867–1868), 1:70.

³⁰ אש m. n. “foundation”; m. n. pl. constr. אושי is used as subject with רעע (*Niph.*) “to be broken” (1QH^a 11:14; 15:7); with רעד “to be shaken” (1QH^a 11:35); with מוג (*Hitpol.*) “to be melted” (1QH^a 11:35); as object with כון (*Hiph.*) “to establish” (1QSb 3:20; 1QH^a 15:12). It is used in the construct state: אושי קיר “foundations of [the] wall” (1QH^a 11:14); חמר “of clay” (1QH^a 11:31); עולם “of eternity” (1QH^a 11:35; 15:12); מבניתי “of my structure” (1QH^a 15:7); possibly also מעשיהם “of their works” (1QH^a 6:18; formerly frg. 18 7, reconstructed in DSSSE; אושי is also used in אושי כול “all the foundations of” (1QSb 3:20; 1QH^a 15:7); כול אושהם “all their foundations” (11QShirShab 5:7; 1Q36 17 2; 4QBer^a 2 4).

³¹ For example, CD 14:17–18 [... *w'lh yswdot* $\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ *hq*]hl, reconstructed with the aid of 4Q266 10 i 11 and 4Q269 11 i 1.

³² $\dot{k}\ddot{y}$ 'l $\dot{h}kyn$ kwl $\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ “because God has established all the foundations” (1QSb 3:20); $wttkn$ 'l sl' $mbnyty$ $w\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ $\dot{w}lm$ $lswdy$ “you placed my edifice upon the cliffs and eternal foundations for my base” (1QH^a 15:11–12).

³³ $w\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ $\dot{w}'w$ $\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ qyr k^{c} $wnyh$ (1QH^a 11:14), thus also in 4Q428 4 2; $w\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ $\dot{w}'w$ kwl $\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ $mbnyty$ (1QH^a 15:7).

³⁴ $wytmwggw$ wyr^{c} $\dot{d}w$ $\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ $\dot{w}lm$ “the eternal foundations shake and tremble” (1QH^a 11:36).

³⁵ $\dot{h}tbwnen$ $brzykh$ wb $\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ [...] “get understanding about the mysteries concerning thee, and about the foundations...!” in 4Q417 1 i 25.

³⁶ $wlhw$ $\dot{w}n$ $\dot{q}ryn$ $\dot{z}\ddot{y}$ $\dot{h}msh$ “they shall uproot the foundations of violence” (4QEn^s 1 iv 14).

³⁷ b^{c} $\gamma^{\text{u}}\ddot{s}\ddot{s}$ $\dot{h}mr$ t^{c} wkl “it (the fire) consumes the foundations of clay” (1QH^a 11:3; also in 4Q428 5 6 and 4Q432 6 6).

IV. SEMANTIC EVOLUTION

Since its use in Biblical Aramaic, the term *ʾuš* has changed or widened its meaning. In marked difference from its former concrete and nonreligious signification as “foundation or base of a building,” the sectarian texts from the Qumran library use the term metaphorically to denote the “foundations of the community.” In these texts, “foundation stones” or “foundations of the walls” serve as metaphorical expressions for the members of the community. Similar to Biblical Hebrew, where the root *y-s-d* was originally a technical term in the semantic field of construction or building terminology, and found its way into cultic and metaphorical language,³⁸ so here a quite similar evolution can be observed with regard to the term *ʾuš*. It moved from exclusive usage in the context of construction and building terminology and became a term which could refer to the creation of the world and could also occur within a cultic framework.³⁹ The noun occurs in the sapiential texts and the sectarian poetical texts along with those terms that deal with hidden and/or heavenly wisdom as the foundations of the world and its order (e.g., 11QTgJob and 4QEn).⁴⁰

The concrete, literal meaning of this term is only preserved in Aramaic texts (4QEn^c = 4Q204 1 vi 24; 4QEn^d = 4Q205 1 xi 6; and the fragment 2QNJ = 2Q24 9 2). In 4QEn^c 1 vi 24, Enoch’s heavenly journey is mentioned, and the visionary describes the heavenly Temple: “the walls of that house were built from snow, and t]he foundation[s] from snow (*tlg ʾš[n...]*)” (1 En 14:10). But in the description of Enoch’s cosmic journey and vision in 4QEn^d 1 xi 6, the use of the term has already adopted a metaphorical dimension: “[And he showed me mountains] between [which there were] grounds of [fl]aring [fire] ([... *d]lq ʾšn*)” (1 En 24:1).

The fragment of the description of the New Jerusalem with the description of the eschatological Temple and the Temple district is poorly preserved, and thus the word sequence [... *ʾwšy kwl* [...] “foundations entirely of...” cannot be assigned to a particular construction. Nonetheless, it is clear that the text deals with the Temple: The preceding fragments of 2Q24, i.e., frgs. 3–5, give a detailed description of the altar, which might

³⁸ See, e.g., Prov 10:25: “But the righteous is the foundation of the world (צדיק יסוד עולם); and further Prov 3:19 יסוד־ארץ יהוה בחכמה “the LORD by wisdom founded the earth.”

³⁹ Thus W.H. Schmidt, “יִסַּד *jsd* gründen,” in *ThWAT*, 1:736–38 (738).

⁴⁰ Cf. A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 115.

have been influenced by Ezekiel 3; further fragments of the manuscript deal with the Temple walls.

A clearly figurative usage of *ʿuš* may be found, however, in the Apocalypse of Weeks, which is characterized by a strongly dualistic worldview. In the concluding phrase of the description of the events of the seventh week in 4Q212 1 iv 14, we find a reference to the end of the “foundations” of evil and of the victory of justice: “They (i.e., the elect) will pull out the foundations (*ʿwšy*) of iniquity and the related work (*ʿbd*) of deceit in order to practice justice.”⁴¹ Mention should also be made of the Aramaic example from 11QTgJob 30:4 (on Job 38:4) where God the creator asks Job whether he knows “on what the foundations (*šyh*) of it (i.e., the earth) rest.”

In the nonsectarian sapiential Hebrew texts 4Q299 (*Mysteries*), 4Q417, and 4Q418 (*Instruction*), and in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (11Q17), on the other hand the term is used as a reference to the foundations of the divine order of the world.

The expression “foundations of the firmament” (*mwsdy rgyʿ*) in 11QShirShab 8 5 recalls the “foundations of heaven” in *Jub.* 19:25; i.e., that which holds the firmament above the earth, like the “pillars of heaven” in Job 26:11. In 11QShirShab 8 7, these are called the “wondrous foundations” (*plʿ mwsdy*), a phrase that is paralleled by the noun *šy* in the following very fragmentary line, 11QShirShab 8 8. In the liturgical text 4QBer (4Q286) 5 4, the “foundations of its building” (*ʿwšy mbnyth*) refer to the earth.⁴²

In 4QInstruction (4Q417 1 i 8–9), the text reads: “and then you will (be able to) discern between [goo]d and [evil] [according to] their [works], since the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth, and in the mystery to come he has laid out its foundation.” A similar notion can be found in the instructions to the student of wisdom: *ky(?) mškył htbwnn brzykh wbʿwš[y . . .] 26 [y/m]sdw bkh . . .* “because the insightful (son?) acquired knowledge concerning your mysteries and concerning the foundations (=principles?) . . . its [b]ase . . .” in 4Q417 1 i 25–26. It should be noted here that Armin Lange⁴³ suggests a different reading in 4Q417–4Q418 replacing *ʿwšh* “foundation” by *ʿyšh* “wife” and *ʿyš* “man”; but the term “foundation” is clearly possible in view of the context. Furthermore, we also find in these passages the root *ysd* “to found; foundation” and *sōd* “foundation,” along

⁴¹ J.T. Milik (*The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrān Cave 4* [London: Oxford University Press, 1976], 266) observes that the copyist first wrote *ʿwšy ʿwlh* and then corrected it to *ʿwšy hms̄h*.

⁴² An earlier reading is *ʿwšy bwmwth* “foundations of its heights”; see Garcia-Martinez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:636.

⁴³ A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 50–53.

with the architectural term *ma^aśê* “work,” which are related to ʾwš in the biblical passages and also in the *Damascus Document*, the *Hodayot*, and the *Berakhot*.

It is surprising that the passages from Qumran use only the singular of ʾwš whereas the later Jewish Aramaic tradition generally employs the m. plural (ʾwšy, ʾwšy) and twice uses the f. plural (ʾwšwwt).⁴⁴

In the manuscripts of the *Hodayot* (1QH^a, 4QH^b and 4QH^f) the term is used in various ways. In certain relevant passages it is quite clear that ʾwš refers to the foundations of the community. Thus, in 1QH^a the term denotes the life of a community leader (eventually the Righteous Teacher) who has fallen into distress and is metaphorically compared with a ship (1QH^a 11:7). This image is, then, taken up again a few lines later: “the foundations of the wall groan like a ship upon the surface of the waters . . .” (1QH^a 11:14). Then it is said that the one who is “a creature of clay” (1QH^a 11:24–25) is surrounded by evil and quivering flames (1QH^a 11:25, 30) and that the fire “eats away at the foundations of clay (*bʾwšy ḥmr*)” (1QH^a 11:31). In another poem, at 1QH^a 15:7, the author in great distress compares his shaken body to a building.⁴⁵ Horrified over the evil caused by Belial he says: “and all the foundations of my building (*ʾwšy mbnyty*) burst and my bones fall apart, and my members are with me like a ship in a wild storm.”⁴⁶ In 1QH^a 15:8–9, the author compares himself with a strong tower, and in speaking directly to God he explains: “and you founded upon rock my building and everlasting foundations (*šy wlm*) as my base (*lswdy*).” In 1QH^a 11:36, the term refers to the fundamental order of the world; “the eternal foundations tremble and shake” when God thunders.

In CD 14:17–18 (and 4Q269 11 i 1, reconstructed with reference to 4Q266 10 i 11) the term is used for the fundamental rules of the assembly of the community. The Overseer (*m^abaqqr*), who is also a shepherd (*rōʿē*) of his community (CD 13:7–9) and the instructor of the many who live in the

⁴⁴ The f. plur. אוּשׁוּוּתָהּ appears twice in a variant of *Tg. Lam* 4:11. Examples of the singular construct state with the third f. sing. suffix, אוּשָׁהּ, which carry a collective meaning (“foundations”), can be found in the following Targum passages: *Tg. Ezek.* 13:14; 30:4; *Tg. Mic.* 1:6; *Tg. Lam.* 4:11; *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Cant 8:9 features the singular emphatic state, אוּשָׁהּ. There is no attestation of a singular absolute form, which should be undoubtedly a noun of the type **qull*; thus אוּשָׁהּ or אוּשָׁהּ.

⁴⁵ Note also the New Testament, where the church is portrayed as built upon the foundation of Christ, Eph 2:21–22 (also Eph 1:22–23).

⁴⁶ Here, mention should be made of *T. Naph.* 6:2–10, where the image of the ship is used to signify the unity of the twelve tribes of Israel, while the broken ship symbolizes the separation and Diaspora.

camps, summarizes the instructions for the members concerning orphans, the poor, and the homeless, in the following words: “And this is the exact ordinance concerning those who live in the camps, and these are the basic rules of the community (*ysdwt ʿwšy hqhl*)” (CD 14:17–18).

The text of 1QSB 3:20 is too fragmentary to categorize precisely. The text deals with the instruction and blessing of the high priest, the offspring of Zadoq “because God has firmly established all foundations (*hkyn kwl ʿwšy . . .*) [of the community?].”

V. CONCLUSION

The attestations of *ʿuš (אוש) “foundation” in the Dead Sea Scrolls show that the concrete meaning of the term is preserved only in the Aramaic fragments of *Enoch* (4QEn^c 1 vi 24; 4QEn^d 1 xi 6) and the *New Jerusalem* text (2QNJ 9 2). As in the Biblical Aramaic text of Ezra, the word is connected in these texts with the building of the Temple—with the important difference that the Temple in question is now the heavenly Temple. In the Hebrew texts from Qumran, where the term had entered the language as a loanword, we find a metaphorical usage which points to a semantic evolution from (1) the base/foundation of a building (*ʿwšy mbnyt*) or foundation walls (*ʿwšy qyr*); to (2) the foundation of the earth/world; or (3) an everlasting foundation in the context of a sapiential or primordial world order (*ʿwšy wlm*); and further on to (4) the ground of wickedness and corruption (*ʿšy hmsh*); and (5) the “foundation stones” of the community (*yswdwt ʿšy hqhl*). This last use highlights the importance of this “new” term for documents and contexts expressing sectarian identity and history.

This kind of metaphorical usage is also paralleled in the NT, where terms like *καταβολή* and *θεμέλιος* are used also to express the foundation of the world (*καταβολή κόσμου*) and the everlasting foundation of Wisdom, and where the apostles and prophets can be called the foundation stones of the building of the community, as in Eph 2:20.⁴⁷ This metaphorical similarity points to another close parallel between the New Testament and the writings of Qumran: the shared notion of the community as a temple, which is quite common in the New Testament epistles.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Compare also Sir 1:14–15 (LXX): “to fear the Lord is the beginning of wisdom . . . she made among humans an eternal foundation (*θεμέλιον αἰώνος*).”

⁴⁸ Cf. 1 Cor 3:16–17; 2 Cor 6:16; and also 1 Tim 3:15, where the community is compared to parts of the foundation material of the sanctuary.

SYNDETTIC BINOMIALS IN SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD HEBREW*

David Talshir

INTRODUCTION

A considerable discontinuity can be noted between the languages of classical and late biblical literature. The books that constitute the latter stage of the biblical corpus—Daniel, Ezra–Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther and Qoheleth—belong to diverse genres and were probably composed by different writers, in different milieus, and at various times during the late Persian and Hellenistic periods. Naturally, the language represented in these books is scarcely uniform.

In comparison with Classical Hebrew, itself a stylistically diversified medium, Late Biblical Hebrew shows a fair degree of grammatical and lexical innovation, which testifies both to the drift of internal change and to the influence of contact with other languages. These innovations distinguishing Late from Classical Biblical Hebrew prove that the works in question originated at a later time. Particularly indicative of this periodization are Persian loan words, which occur in all these books, attesting to their late provenance.

Nevertheless, an assessment of these grammatical and lexical innovations calls for due caution since they cannot be claimed to represent a consistent trait but rather occur in sporadic and irregular fashion. It is difficult to pinpoint a characteristic grammatical or lexical innovation common to all the books assumed to exemplify this late linguistic stratum. It is, therefore, legitimate to inquire as to whether “Late Biblical Hebrew” evidences a single unified literary tradition or an amalgam of several layers that emerged concurrently during the second half of the first millennium BCE.

Since the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the study of the language of the late biblical books has gained momentum, and attempts have continually been made to detect linguistic forms common to both corpora

* See also the related section of S. Fassberg’s paper in this volume, “Shifts in Word Order in the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period,” pp. 65–69. I thank Dr. Ruth Clements for her enlightening comments on her reading of this paper.

and to define the relationship between them. However, the phenomenon of collocations, an essential and indicative feature of the language, has remained quite neglected.

As expected, the collocations that first appear in Second Temple literature comprise elements common in Classical Hebrew as well, and therefore do not appear at first sight to be late. Only when frequently combined may these joined elements pass as collocations characteristic of later strata. After having been tested by established criteria and found indeed to be late,¹ the “new” collocations may be added to the reservoir of late forms and syntagms that characterize this layer of Hebrew as a living and unique linguistic stratum.

Establishing a collection of new phrases has additional benefits. Such a collection provides a more comprehensive perspective on the relationship between the language of the late biblical books and the languages current at the same time and place. It might also contribute, albeit indirectly, to the dating of older texts that do not use these collocations.

While free collocations are not lexical entries, those distinctively common in late biblical and Qumran texts still deserve to be part of the collection of late forms. For example, the syntagms for “Temple”—*בית המקדש*, *בית הק(ו)דש*—are not bound collocations, since the meaning of the construct phrase equals the meaning of its combined constituents—but it nevertheless deserves an entry in the lexicon. Some examples of the different kinds of collocations common to late biblical and Qumran literature, but absent from Classical Hebrew, include:

Nominal phrases: *לחם המערכת* “the rows of bread”; *ספר מ(ו)שה* “the Book of (the Teaching of) Moses”; *Adjectival phrases:* *רחמים רבים* “abundant mercies”; *מים עזים* “raging waters”; *Adverbial and Prepositional phrases:* *בכּן* “then”, *כאחד* “together”; *מקצת* “some.”

The status of phrasal units, i.e., collocations, has been discussed at length during recent years, as a phenomenon relating to syntax and vocabulary.² In the present paper, I deal with a special sort of collocation:³ that is, the

¹ The groundwork for this methodology was laid by A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1972), 15–47 (in Hebrew).

² An updated summary is provided by R. Halevy-Nemirovsky, *Between Syntax and Lexicon: Restricted Collocations in Contemporary Hebrew* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1998), 15–108 (in Hebrew).

³ M.A.K. Halliday et al., *Lexicology and Corpus Linguistics: An Introduction* (Open Linguistics Series; London: Continuum, 2004), 168, define “collocation” as follows: “The habitual meaningful co-occurrence of two or more words in close proximity to each other.”

category of binomials; specifically, binomials whose word order reflects their chronology.

Malkiel defines the binomial as: "Two words pertaining to the same form-class, placed on identical levels of syntactic hierarchy, and ordinarily connected to some kind of lexical link."⁴ In this paper, I deal with unlexicalized phrases whose only restriction is their word order: a kind of "irreversible binomial."⁵

Two scholars dealt with the question of the reversibility of binomials in the *Abraham Even-Shoshan Memorial Volume* (1985).⁶ The first, Y. Avishur, argued that the word order of binomials in the Hebrew Bible is not fixed but rather a matter of stylistic variation.⁷ On the other hand, G.B. Sarfatti showed that in Rabbinic Hebrew the constituents are set in a fixed order, and that Friedman's "law of increasing members"⁸—defined by Malkiel as "short plus long"⁹—is only partially applicable.¹⁰ He further suggested a series of additional factors that might affect the order of constituents in a phrase. A. Hurvitz dealt with three such phrases—מקטן ועד גדול "young and old"; מן ועד באר שבע "from Dan to Beer-sheba"; and כסף וזהב "silver and gold"—and showed that "the breaking up of these idiomatic

⁴ Y. Malkiel, "Studies in Irreversible Binomials," in *Lingua* 8 (1959): 113–60 (113).

⁵ Using the nomenclature of Malkiel, "Studies in Irreversible Binomials"; see also D.A. Cruse, "The Syntagmatic Delimitation of Lexical Units," in idem, *Lexical Semantics* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); R. Nir, "Bound Collocations—A Lexicographical Challenge," in *Hebrew through the Ages: In Memory of Shoshanna Bahat* (ed. M. Bar-Asher; Studies in Language 2; Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1997), 273–82 (in Hebrew); Halevy-Nemirovsky, *Between Syntax and Lexicon*, 91. Y. Peretz, "Idioms and Their Place in the Hebrew School," *Ha-hinuch* 35/3–4 (1963): 226–32 (228) (in Hebrew), argues that binomials of this sort are meant to emphasize and embellish the text.

⁶ I further mention two important studies that deal with the quality of the constituents of such phrases: E.Z. Melamed, "EN ΔΙΑ ΔΥΟΙΝ in the Old Testament," in *Tarbiz* 16 (1945): 173–89, 242 (in Hebrew), who labels these collocations EN ΔΙΑ ΔΥΟΙΝ "hendiads"; and M.Z. Kaddari, "Pairs of Substantives ('Dvandva' Compounds) in Biblical Hebrew," in *Leš* 30 (1966): 113–35 (in Hebrew), who chooses to label such binomials "dvandva."

⁷ Y. Avishur, "The Order of Pair Constituents in the Bible and in Ugaritic," in *Sefer Abraham Even-Shoshan* (ed. B.Z. Luria; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1985), 335–51 (340) (in Hebrew).

⁸ S. Friedman, "The 'Law of Increasing Members' in Mishnaic Hebrew," in *Leš* 35 (1971): 117–29; 192–206 (in Hebrew).

⁹ Malkiel, "Studies in Irreversible Binomials," 149.

¹⁰ G.B. Sarfatti, "Irreversible Binomials in Rabbinic Hebrew," in Luria, *Sefer Abraham Even-Shoshan*, 301–13 (305–8) (in Hebrew).

formulas, by changing their word order, is clearly characteristic of Late Biblical Hebrew.”¹¹

Admittedly, the order of constituents in these phrases may be accidental, given that, as mentioned before, the order of constituents in the Hebrew Bible is not fixed, and hence may not always be chronologically indicative. For example, the phrase *יום ולילה* “day and night” is common throughout the Hebrew Bible, where it occurs nineteen times, and likewise in the Scrolls, occurring eight times; similarly, *יום ולילה* occurs once in Gen 8:22 and four times in the Scrolls, while the phrase in reverse order, *לילה ויום*, occurs three times in different strata of the Hebrew Bible and once in Qumran.

The binomial is a free or bound lexical collocation made of two lexical constituents that usually belong to the same semantic field, function as the same part of speech, stand in the same syntactic hierarchy, and have a fixed order. The syndetic binomials adduced below indeed comprise two constituents connected by a *waw*, in a fixed order; pertaining to the same semantic field; standing in the same syntactic hierarchy; and indicating a single notion. Semantically, these binomials fall into three categories, as phrases whose constituents are (nearly) synonymous, antonymous, or complementary (co-hyponyms).¹² In addition, we should distinguish between literary and stylistic phrases on the one hand, and political and social phrases on the other. Both are a reflection of their time, but while binomials such as “power and strength” or “young and old” are figures of speech, binomials such as “Judah and Benjamin” or “priests and Levites” are not merely phrases, but rather “real” terms that mirror actual social and governmental order.

Below I analyze several syndetic binomials common to the late biblical books and to Qumran (as well as to Tannaitic literature), which are either absent from classical biblical books or represent a change in word order by comparison with classical literature. This analysis will underscore, on the one hand, the affinities between these late linguistic layers, and, on the other hand, the differences between the styles of the First and Second Temple periods.

¹¹ A. Hurvitz, “‘Diachronic Chiasm’ in Biblical Hebrew,” in *Bible and Jewish History: Studies in Bible and Jewish History Dedicated to the Memory of Jacob Liver* (ed. B. Uffenheimer; Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1971), 248–55 (in Hebrew), xxvi (English summary).

¹² See G. Toury, “About Construct Phrases and Synonyms,” in *Hasifrut/Literature* 27 (1978): 153–56 (153) (in Hebrew); Sarfatti, “Irreversible Binomials,” 308–9.

1. כח וגבורה “POWER AND STRENGTH”

The almost synonymous binomial כח וגבורה is not attested in classical biblical literature, although its constituents are used in parallelism: מכין מכות הרים בכחו נאזר בגבורה “who by his power fixed the mountains firmly, who is girded with might” (Ps 65:7).¹³

The phrase כח וגבורה occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible, both times in Chronicles: כח ובידך בכל מושל בך ואתה מלפניך ואתה מושל בכל “Riches and honor are yours to dispense; you have dominion over all; with you are strength and might, and it is in your power to make anyone great and strong” (1 Chr 29:12); ואתה מושל בכל “and you rule over the kingdoms of the nations; power and strength are yours; none can oppose you” (2 Chr 20:6).

The order of the constituents accords with both rules that govern irreversible binomials. That is, “the shorter constituent comes first” (“the law of increasing members”);¹⁴ and “the common element precedes the less common.”¹⁵ The opposite word order is not attested.

The phrase כח וגבורה is unattested in Ben Sira, but in the writings of Qumran this sequence is quite common, occurring either as a construct phrase or as a syndetic binomial. The construct phrase, כוח גבורה (including pronominal suffixes) occurs ten times, e.g.: למען ידעו כול מעשיו בכוח “so that they (humankind) may know all his works by his mighty power” (1QH^a 12:33);¹⁶ בכוח גבורה “in strong power” (1QH^a 26:34).¹⁷ These constituents are combined as a syndetic binomial twice in the *Damascus Document*: once in CD 2:3–6, וכוח וגבורה וחמה גדולה “God, who loves (true) knowledge... and strength and might, and great wrath in the flames of fire”; and once again in 13:11, though as part of a longer list.¹⁸

¹³ Unless otherwise stated, I follow the translation of the NJPS (New Jewish Publication Society).

¹⁴ Friedman, “The ‘Law of Increasing Members.’”

¹⁵ See, for instance, Kaddari, “Pairs of Substantives,” 116, 120.

¹⁶ For citations from the Dead Sea Scrolls, I use the English translation of M.G. Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (3 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2003–2010).

¹⁷ The other occurrences are: 1QH^a 5:15; 23:9, 4Q418 159 ii 3; 4Q264 1 7; 4Q427 7 ii 15; 4Q491 11 i 9; 4Q510 1 3; 4Q511 81 2.

¹⁸ On pairs of words as part of longer lists, see Hurvitz, “‘Diachronic Chiasm,’” 248 n. 2. On the relationship between construct phrases and syndetic binomials that contain the same constituents, see Y. Avishur, *The Construct State of Synonyms in Biblical Rhetoric* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1977), 91–96.

Both the construct and binomial forms occur in prayers dated to the end of the second century CE: 1) as a binomial: לשמוע כח וגבורה “you possess strength and might to hear a prayer of every mouth” (*Amidah*, sixteenth benediction);¹⁹ and 2) as a construct phrase: כראו בניו את כח גבורתו “when sons saw his mighty power” (*Maariv Prayer*, third benediction).

The Tannaitic and Amoraic corpora follow suit, e.g.: לו כח וגבורה “he possesses strength and might” (*MekhRI*, *Shira* 4);²⁰ בכח ובגבורה—דכת’ “strongly and mightily—as it is written: who, by his power, fixed the mountains firmly, who is girded with might” (*b. Hag.* 12a); ‘מצינו כחו וגבורתו שלהק’ “Shaddai...—we did not find God’s strength and might” (*y. Ber.* 12d). The phrase also occurs in the early *piyyuṭim*, e.g.: דם המתיש כוח וגבורה “blood which weakens strength and might” (Yannai, *Kerova* to Lev 15:25).²¹

Western Amoraic literature also attests to a construct phrase: יסיף אמן—זה משה שהוא מעצים כוח גבורה “Grows stronger—this is Moses who becomes more powerful with strength and might” (*Pes. Rab. Kah.*, *Seliḥot* 1).²²

Jewish Aramaic further shows that this literary feature was a living element; the well-known verse לא בחיל ולא בכח (Zech 4:6) was rendered in *Targum Jonathan* as לא בחיל ולא בגבורה “neither by strength, nor by might.” Interestingly, the *Targumim* on the Hagiographa (Psalms, Song of Songs and Qoheleth) feature the constituents of this phrase in construct state nine times, e.g., כח גבורתא דיהוה (Ps 22:31),²³ while the *Targum* on Ruth 3:15 uses the syndetic binomial: כח וגבורה.

In sum, this pair of words is attested from the late biblical period as a syndetic binomial, a construct phrase, and in parallelism; i.e., in three characteristic parallel patterns of poetic literature.²⁴

¹⁹ Similarly *Birkhot Ha-Re’iyya*. For these texts see *Ma’agarim*, the database of the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of the Hebrew Language (<http://hebrew-treasures.huji.ac.il/>).

²⁰ H.S. Horovitz and I.A. Rabin, *Mechilta D’Rabbi Ismael* (Frankfurt: Kauffman, 1931), 130.

²¹ M. Zulay, *Piyyute Yannai: Liturgical Poems of Yannai, Collected from Geniza Manuscripts and Other Sources* (Sifre ha-Makhon le-Ḥeḳer ha-Shirah ha-Ivrit 3.2; Berlin: Schocken, 1938), קנז (in Hebrew).

²² B. Mandelbaum, *Pesikta de-Rav Kahana* (2 vols.; New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary Press, 1962), 2:379.

²³ Other references in the Hagiographa *Targumim* utilizing such construct phrases include: Pss 16:3; 54:3; 65:7; 66:7; 71:18; 80:3; Song 1:9; and Qoh 9:16.

²⁴ See Avishur, *Construct State of Synonyms*, 91–96.

2. שמחה וששון "GLADNESS AND JOY"

The phrase שמחה וששון (including the parallelism וקול שמחה) occurs eleven times in the prophets—Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zechariah 8—and once in Psalm 51. In this sequence, the B-word ששון (22 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible), precedes the A-word שמחה (94 occurrences), as in other cases where the less common word precedes the more common one.²⁵ The author of Esther, however, twice chose the opposite order. On the first occasion the pair is part of a longer string: ליהודים היתה אורה וששון ויקר "The Jews enjoyed light and gladness, happiness and honor" (Esth 8:16); on the second occasion it forms a phrase in its own right: ובכל מדינה ומדינה ובכל עיר ועיר מקום אשר דבר המלך ודתו מגיע טוב "And in every province and in every city, when the king's command and decree arrived, there was gladness and joy among the Jews, a feast and a holiday" (Esth 8:17). It probably reflects the word order which was then fashionable.

Ben Sira 15:6 (Mss A and B) presents the classical phrase שמחה וששון, but in 34:28 (Mss B and F) the opposite order appears in parallelism: שמחת לב וששון ועודי "Gladness of heart and joy and merriment."

In Qumran the phrase is attested only once, in the *Hodayot*, following the "late" word order—: ויהי תוכחתכה לי לשמחה וששון "your chastisement has become gladness and joy to me" (1QH^a 17:24).

Later on there is evidence for both sequences. In the ancient marriage blessings (the end of the second century CE) the common biblical word order prevails: אשר ברא ששון ושמחה חתן וכלה "who created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride"; as well as קול ששון וקול שמחה (citing the recurring formula in Jeremiah). The same is true for the Talmudim and the early *piyyuṭ*. The reverse order is preserved in the liturgical composition, *Kedushat ha-Yom la-Yamim ha-Nora'im* (dated to 120 CE), in *parallelismus membrorum*: שמחה לארצך וששון לעירך; and, in binomials such as: בשמחה וששון (*Kiddush* for the three festivals; circa 600 CE).

²⁵ See for instance C. Cohen, "New Directions in Modern Biblical Hebrew Lexicography," in *Birkat Shalom: Studies in the Bible, Ancient Near Eastern Literature, and Postbiblical Judaism. Presented to Shalom M. Paul on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. C. Cohen; 2 vols.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 1:441–73 (458–64).

It would seem, then, that this phrase—a syndetic binomial involving synonyms—may be added to the already known cases of diachronic chiasm in the Second Temple period.²⁶

3. טף ונשים “CHILDREN AND WOMEN”

The pair נשים והטף or נשים וטף (without pronominal suffixes) is attested eight times in the Hebrew Bible, all in the classical books, e.g.: לכו והכיתם את יושבי יבש גלעד לפי חרב והנשים והטף “Go and put the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead to the sword, women and children included” (Judg 21:10). The order of the constituents agrees with the rule that the common precedes the less common (טף occurs 42×, while נשים is by far more common—214×). On the other hand, the opposite word order, טף ונשים (without pronominal suffixes), is documented three times in late biblical books, e.g.: להשמיד להרג ולאבד את כל היהודים מנער ועד זקן טף ונשים “to destroy, massacre, and exterminate all the Jews, young and old, children and women, on a single day” (Esth 3:13); note similarly, Esth 8:11 and Ezek 9:6. The “late” word order follows instead the law of increasing members.²⁷

This observation should however be modified, since the word order for this phrase becomes flexible when its constituents display pronominal suffixes; compare, for example, נשיכם וטפכם ומקנכם “your wives, children, and livestock” (Deut 3:19), to טפכם נשיכם וגרך אשר בקרב מחניך “your children, your wives and the aliens who live in your camp” (Deut 29:10).

The phrase under discussion does not occur in Ben Sira, but in Qumran the classical word order occurs twice, once in *Peshar Habakkuk* and once in the *Temple Scroll*, albeit in each case as part of a longer sequence: נערים וטף וזקנים נשים וטף “boys, adults, old men, women, and children” (1QpHab 6:11); note similarly, 11QT^a 62:10.²⁸ However, the “late” word order does appear once, where the phrase is used as a merism: מטף ועד נשים “including women and children” (1QSa 1:4).

In Tannaitic literature this phrase in its “late” word order is rare and occurs only twice, in the *Mekhilta* (of Rabbi Ishmael): יעשו בן... שלא “and they did so... in order not to break the

²⁶ See Hurvitz, “Diachronic Chiasm.”

²⁷ S. Friedman, “The ‘Law of Increasing Members.’”

²⁸ Compare נשיו עילוליו וטפו “his women, his infants, and his children” (4Q169 3–4 iv 4).

heart(s) of the women and children that were with them" (*Beshallah* 1);²⁹ "what about the children and women that are with you" (*Amalek-Jethro*, 1).³⁰ In Amoraic literature, however, the classical order returns; e.g., "ומי עונה אחריהן אמון—הנשים והטף" "and who respond Amen after them—the women and the children" (*y. Ber.* 9d); "והרגו בה אנשים" "and they killed in it (the city) men, women and children" (*b. Git.* 57a).³¹ The early paytan, Eleazar Kallir, prefers the "late" word order: "טף ונשים הרוג" "to kill children and women" (*Krovot* 18; *Purim*, l. 53).³²

In sum, a survey of the phrases that combine נשים and טף, without taking into account possessive pronouns, presents the following picture:

1. Classical biblical literature uses the phrase נשים וטף, following the rule that the common precedes the less common.
2. Late biblical books—represented in this case by Ezekiel and Esther—prefer the reverse order, טף ונשים, in accordance with the rule of increasing members.
3. In Qumran the classical order prevails, נשים וטף (although the phrase only occurs within a longer series of elements); but as a meristic collocation, the "late" word order is preferred: נשים ועד מטף.
4. The "late" word order is employed in Tannaitic literature and in early *piyyuṭim*: טף ונשים.
5. Amoraic literature reverts to the classical word order, נשים וטף.

While the word order may be occasional, it would seem that the phrase נשים וטף is characteristic of the Second Temple period.

4. מגדול ועד קטן "OLD AND YOUNG ALIKE"

The antonyms גדול and קטן are used side by side in different strata of Hebrew. While קטן more commonly precedes גדול, both sequences occur in the classical books as well as in late biblical books. Examples include: "do anything, little or big" (Num 22:18), as against לא גדולה "My father does not do anything, great or

²⁹ Horovitz and Rabin, *Mechilta*, 86.

³⁰ Horovitz and Rabin, *Mechilta*, 191.

³¹ Similarly, *Qoh. Rab.* 7:16; *Exod. Rab.* 21:8. In *Esth. Rab.* 7:13, however, the order follows the biblical text: טף ונשים.

³² Text in *Ma'agarim*.

small" (1 Sam 20:2); "You shall not have in your pouch alternate weights, larger and smaller" (Deut 25:13), as against "all the vessels of the House of God, large and small" (2 Chr 36:18); "small and great alike" (1 Chr 26:13), as against "great and small alike" (2 Chr 31:15).

In Qumran literature these two adjectives seldom appear together, except in the recurring phrase "Thus each will obey his fellow, the inferior his superior" (e.g., 1QS 5:23).³³

In rabbinic literature גדול usually precedes קטן, although the opposite order also appears. Note, on the one hand, "adult and minor sons" (*m. B. Bat.* 8:7); "male or female, large or small" (*m. Bek.* 1:4); "not a large and not a small, but a medium-sized [egg]" (*m. Kelim* 17:6); and, on the other hand: "whether it is small or large" (*m. Ma'as.* 1:1); "the milk of cattle, which is intended for both infants and adults" (*m. Makš.* 6:8).

Contrary to these data, the meristic binomial³⁴ / מגדול / ועד גדול / מקטן ועד גדול functions as a clear cut diachronic chiasm that distinguishes between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew.³⁵

The phrase "young and old alike" occurs ten times in the Hebrew Bible; nine of these are found in the classical books, and one is found in 2 Chr 15:13 (an unparalleled passage in 1 Kings).

In Second Temple literature the reverse sequence gains ground: on four occasions, in three different books, we find the phrase "old and young alike" (Esther, Chronicles, and Jonah).³⁶ In 2 Chr 34:30 the "late" sequence and "old and young alike" replaces the early sequence in the parallel passage: "old and young alike" (2 Kgs 23:2). The same tendency continues in

³³ A context-less fragment of the *Damascus Document* (4Q266 1 i 18) reads: "old and young alike."

³⁴ See A.M. Honeyman, "Merismus in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL* 71 (1952): 11–18; H.A. Brongers, "Merismus, Synekdoche und Hendiadys in der Bibel-Hebräischen Sprache," in *Kaf He 1940–1965* (ed. P.A.H. de Boer; OtSt 14; Leiden: Brill, 1965), 100–114; M.Z. Kaddari, *Post-Biblical Hebrew Syntax and Semantics: Studies in Diachronic Hebrew* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1991), 1:385–86 n. 5 (in Hebrew).

³⁵ As defined by Hurvitz, "Diachronic Chiasm"; see also B. Dan, "The Language of the Book of Jonah in the Scientific Literature—Additional Study and Evaluation," *Beit Mikra* 41 (1996): 344–68 (358–59) (in Hebrew).

³⁶ Under influence of disjunctive accents קטן becomes קטן; see I. Ben-David, "Alternation of Holam and Qamaš," in *Lešonenu La'am* 42 (1991): 12–17 (14) (in Hebrew); and lately M. Bar-Asher, "Qatan and Qaton in Biblical, Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew," in *ISRAEL: Linguistic Studies in the Memory of Israel Yeivin* (eds. R.I. Zer and Y. Ofer; Jerusalem: Hebrew University Bible Project, 2011), 279–296.

Qumran literature, where the “late” phrase occurs in two different copies of the *Temple Scroll*—[קטן] ועד [ל] ו[עד] מגדול in 11Q19 21:6, and [מגדול] ו[עד] קטן in 11Q20 5:10—while the classical word order, *מקטן ועד גדול*, is never attested.

The sequence *מגדול ועד קטן* appears in rabbinic literature as well, e.g.: *מגדולם ועד קטנם* (*Sifre Deut.* 1);³⁷ *מגדוליכם ועד קטניכם* (*Lam. Rab.* 1:19; *Der. Er. Rab.* 6:3). Nevertheless, the late *Pirqe R. Eliezer* features both sequences (chapters 38, 43 and 46).

In the independent Aramaic literature this meristic binomial is not attested (in either sequence).

5. הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם “THE PRIESTS AND THE LEVITES”

The pair *הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם* is very common in Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles. Examples include: *וַיִּקְוּמוּ רֹאשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת לַיהוּדָה וּבְנֵימִן וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם* “So the chiefs of the clans of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites rose up” (Ezra 1:5); *וְאֶעֱמִידָה מִשְׁמֵרוֹת לַכֹּהֲנִים וְלַלְוִיִּם אִישׁ בְּמַלְאכְתּוֹ* “and I arranged for the priests and the Levites to work each at his task by shifts” (Neh 13:30); *וַיִּתְקַדְּשׁוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם לְהַעֲלוֹת אֶת אֲרוֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* “The priests and the Levites sanctified themselves in order to bring up the Ark of the Lord God of Israel” (1 Chr 15:14). The numbers speak for themselves: The phrase occurs a total of thirty-seven times in Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles, and only once in the classical books, at 1 Kgs 8:4b (from which it is absent in the Septuagint!).

The parallel phrase appears an additional four times in the Aramaic portions of Ezra, e.g.: *וַעֲבָדוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּהֲנֵי וְלוֹיָא וְשָׂאֵר בְּנֵי גְלוּתָא חֲנֻכַּת בֵּית אֱלֹהָא דְנָה בְּחֻדְוָה* “The Israelites, the priests and the Levites, and all the other exiles celebrated the dedication of the House of God with joy” (Ezra 6:16); similarly Ezra 6:18; 7:13, 24.

The phrase also occurs three times in the reverse order, *הַלְוִיִּם וְהַכֹּהֲנִים*; e.g.: *וּמַהֲלִלִים לַיהוָה יוֹם בְּיוֹם הַלְוִיִּם וְהַכֹּהֲנִים בְּכָל עֵז לַיהוָה* “the Levites and the priests were praising the Lord daily with powerful instruments for the Lord” (2 Chr 30:21); similarly Neh 10:1; 2 Chr 19:8.

The frequent use of this phrase in Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah is not merely a stylistic matter. According to the book of Numbers, the Levites were subordinates of the priests, and did not have an independent status in

³⁷ S. Horowitz and L. Finkelstein, *Siphre ad Deuteronomium* (Berlin: Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1939), 3.

the Temple (Num 8:19). In Deuteronomy it is emphasized that the priests who conduct worship in Jerusalem must be descendants of Levi and that all Levites have the right to serve in the Temple of Jerusalem. The Chronicler obviously made a special effort to endow the Levites with independent cultic rights and to grant them a place of honor beside the priests.³⁸ In this case, then, we are dealing with a syndetic binomial that reflects an actual development in the Second Temple era regarding the status of the Levitical institution.

In Qumran, too, priests and Levites operate as one unit, e.g., in the *Rule of the Community*: והוסיפו הכהנים והלויים ואמרו ארור בגלולי לבו לעבור “then the priests and Levites shall go on to declare: Cursed be anyone initiated with unrepentant heart” (1QS 2:11); and in the *Temple Scroll*: ועמדו שני האנשים אשר להמה [הריב] לפני ולפני הכהנים והלויים ולפני השופטים “then both men in the dispute must stand before me, that is before the priests and the Levites, and before the judges who are then in office” (11Q19 61:8–9); similarly 1QM 7ג:5; 13:1; 15:4; 18:5; 4Q257 2 8; 4Q491 1–3 9; 4Q494 1 2.³⁹

In Tannaitic literature this phrase is used for juridical argumentation (about twenty-five times). Thus we find הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם פְּטוּרִים מִקָּל מִקֵּל—(regarding the law of redemption) “the priests and the Levites are exempt by an *a fortiori* argument” (*m. Bek.* 1:1); יהו יכול הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם יהו יכול הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם “is it possible that the priests and the Levites declare [something] *herem*?” (*Sifra Beḥuqotai* 5:2).⁴⁰

In Amoraic literature (both Talmudim), the phrase “priests and Levites” is quite rare (less than ten occurrences). These include, e.g., הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם “the priests and the

³⁸ See R.H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper, 1941), 792–801; J. Licht, “Levi, Levites,” in *Encyclopaedia Biblica: Thesaurus Rerum Biblicarum Alphabetico Ordine Digestus* (ed. U. Cassuto; 9 vols.; Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1965), 4:450–85 (470–72) (in Hebrew); J. Liver, *Chapters in the History of the Priests and Levites* (Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1968), 32 (in Hebrew). The asyndetic phrase הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם, together with בני לוי הַכֹּהֲנִים, is used in the Deuteronomistic literature (Deuteronomy, Joshua, Jeremiah), as well as in Isaiah 66 and Ezekiel. In Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles, the word pair הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם usually appears as part of a longer list, but on three occasions (out of thirteen), it appears in its own right (all in 2 Chronicles: 5:5; 23:18; 30:27).

³⁹ See Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of The War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1955), 51, 227 (in Hebrew).

⁴⁰ I.H. Weiss, *Sifra de-Ve Rav Hu Sefer Torat Kohanim* (Vienna: Schlossberg, 1862), (in Hebrew), קיד ע"ד.

Levites, and those who were helping out in the threshing floors—they do not get heave-offering and tithes” (*y. Ned.* 42d; *b. Bek.* 26b).

While the separate components כהנים and לויים are equally common throughout the Hebrew Bible, the phrase כהנים ולויים occurs only once in the entire classical corpus. On the other hand, it becomes common in Late Biblical Hebrew, and continues to be used in Qumranic and Tannaitic literature to designate those who perform cultic tasks, in distinction from the rest of the people. The phrase thus reflects the development of worship in Second Temple times and is characteristic of that era,⁴¹ and its overall absence from classical literature is obviously a telling fact and is probably related to differences in the conception of the relations between priests and Levites.

6. יהודה ובנימן “JUDAH AND BENJAMIN” (AS A SINGLE UNIT)

In the Second Temple era, around the middle of the 5th century BCE, a new phrase emerges, intended to designate the expanded province of Judah, which included the territory of Benjamin and its lowland areas: יהודה ובנימן.⁴²

This syndetic binomial occurs fifteen times in the Hebrew Bible, all in the books of Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles. Here are two examples: “(when) the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin heard that the returned exiles were building a Temple to the Lord God of Israel” (*Ezra* 4:1); and ויבן ויפרץ מכל “He prudently distributed all his sons throughout the regions of Judah and Benjamin, throughout the fortified towns” (*2 Chr* 11:23); similarly *Ezra* 1:5; 10:9; *Neh* 11:4;⁴³ *2 Chr* 11:1, 3, 12, 23; 15:2, 8, 9; 25:5; 31:1; 34:9. The phrase occurs once in the reverse order, as well: ויבאו מן בני בנימן ויהודה עד למצד דויד “Some of the Benjaminites and Judahites came to the stronghold to David” (*1 Chr* 12:17).⁴⁴

⁴¹ The Chronicler probably invests his description of the kingdom of Judah with concepts stemming from his own milieu.

⁴² See D. Talshir, “The Habitat and History of Hebrew during the Second Temple Period,” in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (ed. I. Young; JSOTSup 369; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 251–75 (256–62); K.-D. Schunck, “Benjamin,” *ABD* 1:671–73 (673).

⁴³ מן בני בנימן ויהודה “in Jerusalem lived some of the Judahites and some of the Benjaminites.” The only other reference to Judah and Benjamin in Nehemiah is the rather obscure *Neh* 11:36. In *Neh* 12:34 Judah and Benjamin are personal names.

⁴⁴ *Judg* 10:9 and *1 Kgs* 12:23 do not refer to Judah and Benjamin as one political unit, but rather as part of a threefold division: ויבנימן ובבית אפרים “to make

Qumran literature emerged at a later time, under different political conditions. Nevertheless, the phrase יהודה ובנימין is echoed several times in reference to the sect. The members of the community refer to themselves in the *War Scroll* as ילחמו גולת המדבר ובנימין בני לוי ובני יהודה בני לוי ובני יהודה ובני בנימין גולת המדבר ילחמו בם “The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, those exiled to the wilderness, shall fight against them” (1QM 1:2).⁴⁵ The phrase is similarly used in a piece entitled, “Narrative and Poetic Composition”: “they spoke every sort of untruth, intending to enrage Levi, Judah and Benjamin with their words” (4Q372 1 14). A slightly different formulation appears in the “Words of Jeremiah in Egypt”: “speak to the children of Israel and to the children of Judah and Benjamin” (4Q385a 18 ii 6–7).⁴⁶

Rabbinic literature similarly uses the phrase שבט יהודה ובנימין in reference to a single, delimited unit, e.g.: שבט יהודה ובנימין מפוזרין בכל הארצות “The tribe of Judah and Benjamin are dispersed in all countries” (*Gen. Rab.* 73:6).⁴⁷

In this last case, the use of the phrase is conditioned by the political situation. For our purposes, however, the syndetic binomial יהודה ובנימין is one of the most indicative phrases of Second Temple Hebrew, traces of which have survived in Qumran and rabbinic literature.

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, I have presented here six phrases, syndetic binomials and merisms characteristic of Late Biblical and Qumranic Hebrew. Semantically, the constituents of the binomials are either (nearly) synonymous, like כח וגבורה and כח וששון; meristic antonyms, such as ועד קטן; or complementary (co-hyponyms), as is the case with טף והלויים, and יהודה ובנימין. The last two pairs do not simply indicate semantic change but rather mirror the social or political milieu in which they

war on Judah, Benjamin, and the House of Ephraim” (Judg 10:9); אמר אל רחבעם... ואל כל בית יהודה ובנימין ויתר העם ויהודה ובנימין ויתר העם “Say to King Rehoboam... and to all the House of Judah and Benjamin and the rest of the people” (1 Kgs 12:23).

⁴⁵ See Yadin, *The Scroll of The War*, 227, 255.

⁴⁶ The form בנימין, with a final *mem* (here and in 4Q385a 18 ii 7), is exclusively used in the Samaritan tradition.

⁴⁷ There are more than thirty phrases of this sort.

were created. These six binomials are either seldom used in or altogether absent from Classical Hebrew; alternatively, they are used in reverse order.

Late Biblical Hebrew differs from Classical Hebrew in terms of both formal grammar and lexical usage. These formal differences often correlate with parallel forms in contemporary and later Hebrew and Aramaic dialects. Such forms are considered “late,” since their absence from the classical books suggests that these forms were not yet in use.

The new forms were not created at a fixed point in time. The change was probably gradual and may have started during the exile and the first return, but, in my view, a substantial linguistic change took place a hundred years later with the great wave of returnees in the age of Ezra and Nehemiah; i.e., in the middle of the fifth century BCE. Indeed, the books composed during the exile and the sixth century BCE do not yet show a substantial shift in language use, but rather tentative minor changes; such is the case with the books of Haggai, Zechariah and Second Isaiah. Only books such as Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah, Esther and Daniel are characterized by a massive influx of new morphemes, syntactical patterns, and lexemes, which turn these works into exemplars of Late Biblical Hebrew. Establishing a collection of “late” phrases contributes to the compilation of a more substantial body of language forms that characterize this layer and document the break between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew.

There are some fifty phrases common to late biblical and Qumranic literature, only a few of which are attested in rabbinic and non-Jewish Aramaic literature. These constitute about a third of the phrases exclusive to late biblical literature. This ratio may indicate both the affinity and the distinction between these two linguistic strata (Late Biblical Hebrew and Qumran Hebrew); but it undoubtedly also evidences the substantial gap between these two dialects and Classical Hebrew, thus undermining the “minimalist” claim that the entire biblical literature was composed in one drive.

SCRIBAL FEATURES OF TWO QUMRAN SCROLLS*

Emanuel Tov

This paper is concerned with the statistical background of and scribal corrections found within the Qumran scribal practice, and not with its linguistic background, which has been illustrated well by Kutscher, Qimron, and Fassberg among others.¹ The composite scrolls 1QIsa^a and 1QH^a were copied by more than one scribe, each one writing a part of the scroll within the Qumran scribal practice. The differences between these scribes show that diversity is possible within the same scribal practice, and furthermore that all scribes were inconsistent within their own units. If the figures are taken at face value, apparent scribal inconsistency within these scrolls may sometimes be attributed to the presence of different spelling blocks and in one case from the use of a different source. These possibilities need to be taken into consideration when analyzing the statistical evidence, which as a whole is rather convincing. In the second part of the paper I turn to corrective additions after final letters, such as the *he* of עֲלִיהֶם. I hope to have collected all the relevant evidence with the aid of electronic databases. I analyze the questions of how, when, and where

* Thanks are due to E. Schuller for offering helpful remarks on this paper.

¹ See the bibliography provided by S. Fassberg, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Contribution to the Study of Hebrew and Aramaic," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures, Vienna, February 11–14* (ed. A. Lange, E. Tov, and M. Weigold; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1:127–39. See further idem, "The Preference for Lengthened Forms in Qumran Hebrew," *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 1* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and D. Dimant; Haifa: Haifa University Press; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2003), 227–40 (in Hebrew). E. Qimron describes the language of the scrolls as a "spoken dialect of late Second Temple period Jerusalem and its environs"; see "The Nature of DSS Hebrew and Its Relation to BH and MH," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 232–44 (234). The seminal monograph of E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), was the basis for all subsequent work. See further S. Morag, "The Independent Pronouns of the Third Person Masculine and Feminine in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *ErIsr* 3 (1954): 166–69; M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Linguistic Structure and Tradition in the Qumran Documents," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1958), 1–37; W.M. Schniedewind, "Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew," in Muraoka and Elwolde, *Diggers at the Well*, 235–52.

these added letters were inserted. I believe that they provide further support for establishing the assumption of a Qumran scribal practice.

That assumption, in short, runs as follows. Within the Qumran corpus, a group of some 160 nonbiblical and biblical texts has been isolated as reflecting an idiosyncratic practice, the characteristics of which are visible in peculiarities in orthography, morphology, and scribal features. This group of texts is closely connected with the Qumran community, since it includes virtually all writings commonly agreed upon as sectarian (with the exception of seven or eight sectarian texts that do not display these characteristics). The texts found at Qumran can thus be subdivided into texts presumably copied by a sectarian group of scribes, and other texts which were presumably brought there from elsewhere. The combined evidence shows that the great majority of the distinctive scribal features is more or less limited to texts that also display the Qumran orthography and morphology. The texts written according to the Qumran scribal practice could have been penned anywhere in ancient Israel, but they were probably written mainly at Qumran.

I. PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF STATISTICS

1. *The Two Scribes of 1QIsa^a*

Scribe A of 1QIsa^a left three lines empty on the last sheet written by him, at the end of col. 27. Scribe B started at the beginning of the next sheet with col. 28 (Isa 34:1).² It is unlikely that the two scribes worked concurrently, since the number of sheets needed for the first scribe's assignment could not be easily calculated; and thus scribe B, who started at a new sheet,

² For an analysis of the features of the two scribal hands of Isaiah, see M. Noth, "Eine Bemerkung zur Jesajarolle vom Toten Meer," *VT* 1 (1951): 224–26; C. Kuhl, "Schreiber-eigentümlichkeiten: Bemerkungen zur Jesajarolle (DSIa)," *VT* 2 (1952): 307–33, especially 332–33; W.H. Brownlee, "The Literary Significance of the Bisection of Isaiah in the Ancient Scroll of Isaiah from Qumran," in *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists* (2 vols.; Moscow: Periodicals Service Company, 1962–1963), 1:431–37; K.H. Richards, "A Note on the Bisection of Isaiah," *RevQ* 5 (1965): 257–58; R.L. Giese, "Further Evidence for the Bisection of 1QIsa^a," *Textus* 14 (1988): 61–70; J. Cook, "The Dichotomy of 1QIsa^a," in *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z.J. Kapera; 2 vols.; Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Cracow: Enigma, 1992), 1:7–24; M. Abegg, "1QIsa^a and 1QIsa^b: A Rematch," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: Oak Knoll, 2002), 221–28 (giving statistics of different orthographic systems); P. Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran: The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsa^a* (JSOTSup 34; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 18–20.

would not have known where to begin. Several scholars have accepted the assumption of different scribes for 1QIsa^a, while others³ maintain that the two segments of that scroll were written by the same scribe. However, the assumption of different scribes seems to be preferable, not only at the paleographical level, but also on other levels. Scribe B, whose handwriting differs from that of scribe A, inserted fewer corrections in guttural letters than scribe A,⁴ and he used different scribal marks (although possibly some of these marks were inserted by later readers). He also left out several groups of verses, which were filled in subsequently by his own or a different hand, in small letters, between the lines and in the margin.⁵

Scribe B also adopted a fuller *orthography* than scribe A (see Table 2, first part).

- a. The figures clearly indicate the preponderance of the short form of the second person singular masculine suffix in nouns, prepositions, and verbs (־) in the first part of the scroll, as against the longer form (כה־) in the second part:⁶ 97/17 (or 85/15%) in A; as against the reversed preference in B (18/210 or 8/92%).⁷ This is probably the strongest evidence that two different scribes were involved in the writing of this scroll. Each adhered to his own practice, deviating from it only slightly. Sometimes the deviations occur in little groups. Thus in the middle of the impressive evidence for the full writing for scribe B (כה־), there is a “patch” of 4 short forms (־) in col. 51:13–14 (Isa 63:17–18).

³ M. Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Bibliothèque du Muséon 44–45; Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1958), 1:65–73; Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 564–66; J. Cook, “Orthographical Peculiarities in the Dead Sea Biblical Scrolls,” *RevQ* 14 (1989): 293–305, especially 303–4. Kutscher’s arguments are very forceful, but he mistakenly thought that the main criterion for the distinction between the two scribes was their different practices of orthography and morphology, while in reality the criterion consists in their differences in script and scribal habits. As for the different systems of scribes A and B, Kutscher had to admit, “I think that one scribe wrote the entire scroll, and that *for some reason* [my italics, E. T.] he decided to use plene spellings from chapter 34 and on” (564). Kutscher’s main argument for a single scribe is thus based on the assumption of inconsistency in both segments of the book; he argues that also in modern times persons writing in Hebrew are inconsistent in their spelling habits (566).

⁴ Thus Giese, “Further Evidence.”

⁵ Cols. 28:18 (Isa 34:17b–35:2); 30:11–12 (Isa 37:4b–7); 32:14 (Isa 38:21); 33:7 (Isa 40:7); 33:15–16 (Isa 40:14a–16).

⁶ For a preliminary report, see M. Martin, “The Use of the Second Person Singular Suffixes in 1QIsa,” *Le Muséon* 70 (1957): 127–44.

⁷ In my description, the short form is always mentioned first and the full form is mentioned second, so: 18 short forms / 210 full forms for scribe B in this example.

- b. For כה/בוה the figures are equally clear: 13/1 for scribe A and 0/38 for scribe B.
- c. There are remarkable differences between the two scribes in the writing of *ki* (for a total of 337 occurrences of *ki* in 1QIsa^a). Scribe B consistently writes כיא *plene* (168 cases [97%], with only four exceptions).⁸ On the other hand, scribe A has a majority of כי spellings: 126/39 (76/24%).

The internal differences within the columns of scribe A may reveal to us something of a pattern (see Table 1). From col. 13 (Isa 14:29) onwards until the end of the text written by scribe A (end of col. 27 at Isa 33:24), all the occurrences of כי are defective, with only two exceptions (16:9; 18:4). However, the first twelve chapters, subdivided into two blocks, display a different pattern. In the first block (cols. 1–7) כיא is predominant, while in the second block (cols. 8–11) כי is the predominant spelling; in both blocks, the predominant form is joined by minority spellings.⁹ While it is difficult to draw conclusions on the basis of the spelling of a single word, it looks like this scribe oscillated regarding the spelling of this word in the first two blocks of columns (1–7, 8–11), but from col. 13 onwards he firmly employed the defective spelling כי.

The spelling pattern of *ki* may represent what James Barr named “block spelling” in the Masoretic Text; that is, the presence of different spelling blocks in the same context.¹⁰ Barr’s innovative study showed that in MT, two different spellings sometimes “rapidly alternate” in the same context without any discernible system; while at other times a certain pattern may be recognized. Thus in Numbers 1–3 in MT we notice interchanging spelling clusters of שמת and שמות, arranged in groups of verses as if the scribe varied purposely,¹¹ although the groups are of unequal size, and the alternating spellings sometimes appear only as single occurrences.¹² Whether

⁸ Isa 52:5, 6; and supralinear corrections in Isa 38:21 and 40:7 by a different scribe.

⁹ The origin of these spelling blocks is unclear, and they are presented here as differences between columns, rather than differences between chapters, since neither presentation contributes to the solution.

¹⁰ J. Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1986; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

¹¹ שמות Num 1:2, 5, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24; שמת Num 1:26, 28, 30, 32; שמות Num 1:34; שמת Num 1:36, 38, 40, 42; שמות Num 3:2, 3, 18, 43.

¹² Barr, *Variable Spellings*, 22. The phenomena recognized by Barr resemble individual features of playful spelling rather than a system. In a world in which there were no spelling norms, scribes oscillated between some variant spellings by clustering them in groups, inconsistently, but still with some design.

Table 1. Different Spellings of *ki* in 1QIsa^a

<i>Chapters</i>	<i>Scribe A, Cols.</i>	כִּי	כִּיאַ
1:1–26	1	1	3
1:26–2:21	2	1	5
2:21–3:24	3	2	8
3:24–5:14	4	0	3
5:14–6:7	5	1	2
6:7–7:15	6	3	2
7:15–8:8	7	1	4
8:8–9:11	8	5	2
9:11–10:14	9	5	2
10:14–11:12	10	3	1
11:12–14:1	11	7	2
14:1–29	12	7	1
14:29–33:24	13–27	92	2 (Isa 16:9; 18:4)
	total	122	37
	<i>Scribe B, Cols.</i>	כִּי	כִּיאַ
34–66	28–54	4 (twice by a different scribe)	168

purposely or not, scribe A of 1QIsa^a vacillated between two spellings in different spelling blocks.

Scribe B also adopted a consistently fuller *morphology* than scribe A; the differences between the two scribes are usually quite clear:¹³

- Scribe A adhered to the short form הוּא , while scribe B used the long form הוּאֵה (66/0 in A and 2/29 in B).
- Scribe A adhered to the short form הִיא , while scribe B used the long form הִיאֵה (6/0 in A and 3/3 in B).

¹³ In all these cases, there is no evidence that col. 28 served as a transition area between the practice of scribe A and that of scribe B. If that were the case, possibly scribe B continued the work of scribe A, but the present evidence allows for the possibility that the two scribes were working simultaneously. Nevertheless in the first column of scribe B we find הוּאֵה , contrary to B's preference, in 28:17 (Isa 34:16) and 32:11 (Isa 38:19), while all other 29 occurrences of this pronoun in B present the long form. We also find עַמֵּמ in 28:7 (Isa 34:7), and a 5/4 relation between regular and lengthened pronominal suffixes in nouns in col. 28, much different from the ratio elsewhere in section B.

- c. For the suffixes of the 2d and 3d person plural in nouns,¹⁴ the statistics are 79/7 (92/8%) for scribe A and 53/111 (32/68%) for scribe B.¹⁵
- d. For the suffixes of the 2d and 3d person plural in prepositions the statistics are 26/14 (65/35%) for scribe A and 8/49 (14/86%) for scribe B.
- e. For *qəṭaltem/qəṭaltemah* the statistics are 13/4 for scribe A and 0/10 for scribe B.

Beyond the issue of spelling blocks, the differences in orthography and morphology between the two scribes may be summarized as follows:

Table 2. Significant Differences between Scribes A and B in 1QIsa^a

	<i>Scribe A</i>	<i>Scribe B</i>
suffix כה/ך in nouns, prepositions, and verbs	97/17 (85/15%)	18/210 (8/92%)
כוה/כה	13/1 (93/7%)	0/38 (0/100%)
כיא/כי	126/39 (76/24%)	4/168 (2/98%)
הואה/הוא	66/0 (100/0%)	2/29 (6/94%)
היאה/היא	6/0	3/3
2d and 3d person plural suffixes in nouns	79/7 (92/8%)	53/111 (32/68%)
2d and 3d person plural suffixes in prepositions	26/14 (65/35%)	8/49 (14/86%)
<i>qəṭaltem/qəṭaltemah</i>	13/4 (76/24%)	0/10 (0/100%)

The distinction between the two scribes of the large Isaiah scroll is apparent, but neither scribe is consistent within his own practice. Statistical analysis is effective, but if the figures are taken at face value, the apparent inconsistency in the spelling of *ki* within the section of scribe A may actually reflect two spelling blocks, probably a result of the scribe's vacillation.

¹⁴ On the other hand, for the 2d and 3d person plural in verbs the statistics are similar: 23/0 (100/0%) for scribe A and 49/17 (87/13%) for scribe B.

¹⁵ Many of the short forms in scribe B (that is, the words differing from the majority system in B) pertain to two-syllable words, such as כולם, but this fact does not influence the statistics since the Isaiah text of section A does not differ from that of B in relation to these forms.

2. *The Three Scribes of 1QH^a*

Scribes A and C of 1QH^a differ in major ways.¹⁶ The transition between the scribes is clearly visible in col. 19 in the numbering system of Stegemann–Schuller’s recent *DJD* edition.¹⁷ Scribe A copied until the middle of line 25 of that column, scribe B wrote only five lines (25–29), while scribe C wrote from line 29 until the end of the composition.¹⁸ Scribe C used larger, different, and less regular letters than scribe A.

The extent of the columns written by the individual scribes in 1QH^a is not as clear as it is in the case of 1QIsa^a due to uncertainty of the various reconstructions of the sequence of the columns of the scroll by Sukenik, Holm-Nielsen, Carmignac, Puech, and Stegemann–Schuller.¹⁹ I accept the most recent reconstruction of this scroll, that of Stegemann–Schuller, which is based on the principle that the distinction between the scribal hands determines the scribal divisions between the sections of the scroll, and that we should not be guided by spelling patterns since they may be misleading.

The major differences in orthography between scribes A and C are summarized in Table 4:

- a. In the columns of scribe A the majority of the occurrences of כִּי are written defectively (100/24 or 80/20%) while the *plene* spelling כִּיָּא prevails in C (5/27 or 16/84%).
- b. Scribe A preferred the pronominal suffix ךֿ– for the form of the second person masculine singular (136/258 or 35/65%), while scribe C used only the *plene* form כִּיָּא– (0/105 or 0/100%).
- c. Scribe A had a clear preference for the defective spelling of the negation אֵלֶּי (91/25 or 78/22%), while scribe C preferred the *plene* forms

¹⁶ The scribal features of the three scribes of this scroll were described by Martin, *Scribal Character*, 59–64.

¹⁷ H. Stegemann and E. Schuller, eds., *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}* (translation of texts by C. Newsom; in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

¹⁸ For details see Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40.241–42.

¹⁹ E. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1955); S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (ATDan 2; Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960); J. Carmignac, “Remarques sur le texte des hymnes de Qumrân,” *Bib* 39 (1958): 139–55; idem, “Localisation des fragments 15, 18 et 22 des hymnes,” *RevQ* 1 (1958–1959): 425–30; É. Puech, “Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes,” *RevQ* 13 (1998): 59–88; idem, “Restauration d’un texte hymnique à partir de trois manuscrits fragmentaires,” *RevQ* 16 (1995): 543–58. For the reconstruction of Stegemann and Schuller, see Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40.

Table 3. Significant Differences between Scribes A and C of 1QH^a

	<i>Scribe A</i> Cols. 1–19:25	<i>Scribe C</i> Cols. 19:29ff.
כיא/כי	100/24 (80/20%)	5/27 (16/84%)
	4 4/0	19 1/1
	5 4/0	20 1/8, <i>supra</i>
	6 6/0	21 0/6
	7 7/5	22 1/5
	8 5/1	23 0/4
	9 0/2	24 2/1
	10 3/5	25 0/2
	11 3/7	
	12 13/4	
	13 8/0	
	14 6/0	
	15 11/0	
	16 8/0	
	17 10/1	
	18 8/0	
	19 5/0	
Suffix כה/ך in nouns and prepositions	136/258 (35/65%)	0/105 (0/100%)
	4 19/0	19 0/19
	5 22/1	20 0/21
	6 25/1	21 0/7
	7 17/14	22 0/12
	8 37/0	23 0/33
	9 2/27	24 0/5
	10 2/14	25 0/6
	11 0/5	26 0/2
	12 3/37	
	13 0/12	
	14 1/18	
	15 5/41	
	16 0/2	
	17 1/29	
	18 2/32	
	19 0/25	
לוא/לוא, including ל(ו)א, בל(ו)א	91/25 (78/22%)	1/17 (6/94%)
	//4 2/4	19 1/0
	5 4/0	20 0/5
	6 5/1	21 0/3
	7 9/0	22 0/5
	8 3/0	23 0/2
	9 7/2	24 0/1
	10 3/0	25 0/1

Table 3 (*cont.*)

	<i>Scribe A</i> Cols. 1–19:25	<i>Scribe C</i> Cols. 19:29ff.
	11 1/0	
	12 13/3	
	13 7/2	
	14 2/2	
	15 5/4	
	16 11/1	
	17 8/0	
	18 12/5	
	19 1/1	
אָל/אָל not including	84/7 (92/8%)	1/15 (6/94%)
אָ(ו)בל, אָ(ו)לל	4 2/0	19 1/0
	5 4/0	2 0/4
	6 5/0	21 0/3
	7 9/0	22 0/4
	8 3/0	23 0/2
	9 5/2	24 0/1
	10 3/0	25 0/1
	11 1/0	
	12 13/3	
	13 7/0	
	14 2/0	
	15 5/2	
	16 7/0	
	17 8/0	
	18 9/0	
	19 1/0	

(1/17 or 6/94%). The differences between these two scribes are more evident statistically if אָ(ו)בל and אָ(ו)לל (usually spelled *plene* in A) are removed from the calculations: A's preference for the defective form then computes as 84/7 or 92/8%; B's preference for the *plene* form as 1/15 or 6/94%.

The differences between the two segments of the scroll cannot be coincidental. The two main scribes of 1QH^a, A and C, are distinguished in that scribe A wrote in a more defective spelling style than scribe C (similarly, scribe A of 1QIsa^a used more defective spellings than scribe B). In the categories other than the three mentioned above the scribes are rather similar.

Table 4. Summary of the Significant Differences between Scribes A and C of 1QH^a

	<i>Scribe A</i> cols. 1–19:25	<i>Scribe C</i> cols. 19:29ff
כיא/כי	100/24 (80/20%)	5/27 (16/84%)
suffix כה/ך in nouns, prepositions, and verbs	136/258 (35/65%)	0/105 (0/100%)
לוא/ל	91/25 (78/22%) w/o א(1)בל, א(1)לל: 84/7 (92/8%)	1/17 (6/94%) w/o א(1)בל, א(1)לל: 1/15 (6/94%)

I now turn to a significant pattern in the spelling practices within the columns copied by scribe A.

In the representation of the second person masculine singular suffix there is a clear difference between scribes A and C. At the same time, however, the character of the spellings used by scribe A seems to be rather inconsistent if the figures are taken at face value, although he prefers the full form (136/258 or 35/65%). Here, too, the mere counting of numbers is misleading since the presumed inconsistency was probably caused by this scribe's use of different sources for the *Hodayot*, even though we cannot exactly pinpoint the extent of these sources. The scribe's sources probably did not differ from column to column, but from *Hodayah* to *Hodayah*. This would not be a far-fetched assumption, since the *Hodayot* of 1QH^a are organized differently from those of the cave 4 *Hodayot* collections.²⁰ As a result, scribe A could have copied the individual *Hodayot* from different sources written in different types of orthography and morphology.

²⁰ For example, in her publication of 4QH^a in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. E.G. Chazon et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 78, E. Schuller describes the differences in sequence between that scroll and 1QH^a. E.G. Chazon pointed out differences between individual *Hodayot* and clusters of *Hodayot* with the *Hodayot* collections; see her paper, "Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 *Hodayot* Collection," in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana* (ed. D.K. Falk et al.; STDJ 91; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135–50. Thanks are due to E.G. Chazon for sharing the pre-publication text of this paper with me. See further H. Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QH^a and Some of Their Sections," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E.G. Chazon, with the collaboration of R. Clements and A. Pinnick; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 191–234.

Table 5. Spelling of the Suffix כה/ך in Psalms 3–6 of 1QH^a (scribe A)

<i>Hodayah</i> 3 (6:34–7:11) defective (8/1)
<i>Hodayah</i> 4 (7:12–20) full (0/5)
<i>Hodayah</i> 5 (7:21–8:40/41) defective (56/3)
<i>Hodayah</i> 6 (9:1–10:4) and ff.: full until 19:25 (16/242)

In the beginning of A's columns (cols. 4–8), we mainly witness the defective spelling of the suffix, while the remaining columns, 9–19, have a full spelling (as in the columns of scribe C). These data create the impression that scribe A's practices are inconsistent if one merely counts the occurrences, but in reality section A consists of different spelling blocks of the suffix כה/ך- (see Table 5).

In other words, in the spelling of the suffix כה/ך-, *Hodayah* 3 is defective (8/1), *Hodayah* 4 is full (0/5),²¹ *Hodayah* 5 is again defective (56/3), and *Hodayah* 6 and following are full. Probably these *Hodayot* were copied from different sources in which the pronominal suffix of the second person masculine was presented in different ways.

In short, in this part of my study I have tried to establish that statistics are a good source for distinguishing between scribes, and that as a rule the evidence is overwhelmingly revealing (see, for example, Table 2). At the same time, statistics ought to be used carefully since scribes may have written in different ways in some spelling blocks and they may have copied from different sources.

II. CORRECTIONS IN SPELLING MADE IN ACCORD WITH THE QUMRAN SCRIBAL PRACTICE

The features of the texts that were probably copied by the Qumran scribal group, covering the great majority of the *sectarian* Qumran writings, but not all of them, have been described in the past.²² In the first part of my

²¹ This was already observed by Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40.100, in their comments on col. 7. See also A.K. Harkins, "Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-Called Community Hymns from 1QH^a and 4QH^a (4Q427)," *DSD* 12 (2005): 233–56 (249).

²² E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 261–73. It is unclear how this theory relates to the more recent study by A. Yardeni, "A Note on a Qumran Scribe," in *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform* (ed. M. Lubetski, HBM 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2007), 287–98. Quite a number of these texts display the features of the Qumran scribal practice. In this study, Yardeni describes the script used by a single "Qumran scribe" who

study I focused on two scrolls, each of which was copied by more than one scribe writing in the Qumran scribal practice, who differed in matters of detail. These texts show that there was room for individuality among these scribes. There was no consistency within the Qumran scribal practice, just like there is no consistency within any of the books of MT.

1. *Corrective Additions*

To the arguments given in the past for the very existence of the Qumran scribal practice I wish to refer here to a specific group of *corrective* additions in the manuscripts. Most corrections in the Qumran scrolls take the form of added elements, although there are also many deletions indicated with cancellation dots and reshaping of letters.

Many of the corrective additions in the scrolls are letters or words left out by mistake, e.g.:

1QSam	4:5 (2 Sam 23:12)	וייה	MT: ויך
11QPs ^a	25:11 (Ps 143:5)	בכול	MT: בכל

Other corrections are linguistic or orthographical, usually in the direction of a full spelling:

Table 6. Sundry Spelling Corrections (small sample)

1QM	2:7	הגוים
1QH ^a	12:31, 31, 32	ליא
1QH ^a	15:24	בח'ק
1QIsa ^a scribe A	17:18 (Isa 22:12)	צ'אן
1QIsa ^a scribe A	23:27 (Isa 29:16)	י'אמר
1QIsa ^a scribe B	50:19 (Isa 62:7)	ירושלים

In addition, many of these changes correct towards spellings and forms that within the Qumran scrolls are characteristic of the Qumran scribal

penned more than fifty, or possibly more than eighty, different texts, of completely different natures, biblical and nonbiblical, sectarian and nonsectarian, on leather and papyrus. The script of this scribe developed over the course of the years, and the scribe's letters were penned in different sizes. These parameters leave room for doubt, but even if the view were correct for only a small number of manuscripts, it would still provide a welcome addition to our knowledge.

practice. For example, in those scrolls, כִּי was often changed to כִּיָּא, הוּא to הוּאָּ, etc. Interestingly enough, we can sometimes perceive the moment of inserting these changes, since the same scribe sometimes added them after he had initially forgotten to employ the spelling or form that constituted the majority form in his system.

A remarkably large number of such corrections pertain to the long pronominal suffixes characteristic of the Qumran scribal practice, such as 4QDeut^h 10:2 (Exod 12:48) אַתְּכֶסֶה and 4QTest (4Q175) 5 לְאַהֲסֶה, אַחִיהֶסֶה. In particular, scribe B of 1QIsa^a employed such forms.²³ Two different conditions may be distinguished:

a. *The scribe recognized his mistake while writing.* An example is 1QH^a 10 (2) 24 וּבְבִרִיתְךָ: Upon writing וּבְבִרִיתְךָ, the scribe realized that he should have written the long form, with a *he*, which he then added before continuing the writing. A space is left between this and the following word, which indicates that the scribe recognized his mistake just after he completed writing וּבְבִרִיתְךָ. In such cases the scribe did not bother to change the final *kaph* to a nonfinal letter, especially as he did not always distinguish between final and nonfinal letters.

Most corrections are of this type, and they indicate, in my view, that the scribe must have copied from a text that was written in MT-like spelling. Otherwise I cannot explain the relative frequency of changes of this type.

b. *The scribe recognized his mistake after completing the writing.* Less frequently, when the scribe recognized the mistake only upon completing the following word or later, the correction was made by using the *space* between the words. Thus, in some cases, the additional letter was added above the line, as in 1QH^a 20 (12) 24 בִּיָּא, and 4QD^a (4Q266) 11:13 מִרְעִיתְךָֿ; or was written smaller than the surrounding letters, as in 4Qapoc^rJosh^a (4Q378) 3 i 8 עֲלִידָה. These changes are usually made in segments in which the longer spellings represent the majority.

²³ See below and J.P. Siegel, "The Scribes of Qumran: Studies in the Early History of Jewish Scribal Customs, with Special Reference to the Qumran Biblical Scrolls and to the Tannaitic Traditions of *Massekheh Soferim*" (Ph.D. diss.; Brandeis University, 1971; University Microfilms, 1972), Appendix III (242–44).

2. *The he Added to the Second or Third Person Pronominal Suffix after a Final mem or kaph, and Similar Additions*

I now turn to the actual evidence for the corrective additions, collected with the aid of electronic databases.²⁴ I searched for final letters in non-final position, and for raised characters. I hope to have located all the relevant evidence relating to these corrections. The evidence pertains to forms that I have identified as characteristic of the Qumran scribal practice, such as *עליהסה*, *מרעיתך*, *הוא* and the *aleph* of *כיי*. In my analysis, I refer to the questions of how, when, and where these corrections were inserted.

When adding a *he* to a word like *עליהסה*, the scribe did not bother to change the final *mem* to a nonfinal letter, especially as he did not always distinguish between final and nonfinal letter forms. Similarly, in reference to some other scribal mistakes, when a letter was written after a final letter, that letter was left as is, for example:

Table 7. Sundry Letters Added after Final Letters by Way of Correction

1QIsa ^a scribe A	1:8 (Isa 1:6)	בשםן	
1QIsa ^a scribe A	3:17 (Isa 3:12)	דרדי	
1QIsa ^a scribe A	23:24 (Isa 29:14)	חכסת	
1QIsa ^a scribe A	25:7 (Isa 30:24)	האדסה	also 18:23 (Isa 23:17)
1QIsa ^a scribe A	26:26 (Isa 32:15)	לכרסל	
1QIsa ^a scribe B	28:10 (Isa 34:10)	ויוסם	
1QIsa ^a scribe B	43:14 (Isa 51:23)	ותשימי	
1QpHab	5:3	עמי	written in the space
4QTest (4Q175)	18	יש'סוקטורה	written in the space
4QDibHam ^a	9:4	יש'סו	
(4Q504)			
11QPs ^a	4:12 (Ps 126:3)	עסנו	

The following table catalogues the evidence for the added letters of this type in the Qumran scrolls.

²⁴ The evidence for letters indicated as raised and final in the middle of the word was located with the aid of the Qumran modules (ed. M. Abegg) in *Accordance* 8.1.1, and in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (ed. E. Tov; rev. ed.; Brigham Young University, 2006), a part of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (ed. E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

Table 8. Letters Added after Final Letters by Way of Correction

a. *He* Added after Final *mem* (53×)

1QIsa ^a scribe A	12:23 (Isa 14:22)	עליהסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	28:8 (Isa 34:7)	ארצסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	34:21 (Isa 41:16)	אותסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	37:24 (Isa 44:18)	לבותסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	38:30 (Isa 45:20)	פסלסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	42:1 (Isa 50:1)	אמכסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	42:10 (Isa 50:10)	בכסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	42:15 (Isa 51:2)	תחוללכסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	43:17 (Isa 52:3)	נמכרתסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	45:22 (Isa 55:3)	נפשכסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	46:20 (Isa 56:7)	עולותיהסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	47:8 (Isa 57:8)	משכבסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	47:22 (Isa 58:1)	פשעיהסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	47:23 (Isa 58:1)	חטאותסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	48:13 (Isa 59:2)	וחטאתיכסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	48:14 (Isa 59:3)	כפיכסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	48:17 (Isa 59:6)	במעשיהסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	50:6 (Isa 61:9)	רואיהסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	51:2 (Isa 63:6)	ואשכירסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	52:6 (Isa 65:7)	פועלתסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	52:7 (Isa 65:7)	חיקסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	53:15 (Isa 66:4)	ובמגורותיהסה	space after <i>he</i>
1QpHab	12:14	להסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QDeut ^j	10:2 (Exod 12:48)	אתכסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QTest (4Q175)	5	לאהסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QTest (4Q175)	5	אחיהסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QTest (4Q175)	6	אליהסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QSapiential Work (4Q185)	1–2 ii 7	ואתסה	<i>he</i> poss. added in left margin
4QJub ^f (4Q221)	3:4	ההסה	fragmentary
4QToh A (4Q274)	3 i 8	בהסה	fragmentary
4QRP ^c (4Q365)	32:9	בי]דכמסה	fragmentary
4QMMT ^d (4Q397)	6–13 10	ה]ס[ה	fragmentary
4QParaGen–Exod (4Q422)	3:8	בבתי]הסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QParaGen–Exod (4Q422)	3:8	פ[]הסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QParaGen–Exod (4Q422)	3:9	מקניהסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QParaGen–Exod (4Q422)	3:9	ב]בתי]הסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QPers Prayer (4Q443)	12 i 3	[להסה	space after <i>he</i> , in margin

Table 8 (cont.)

4QNarrative C (4Q462)	1:12	יהסה[space after <i>he</i>
4QM ^a (4Q491)	13:5	ידסה	space after <i>he</i>
4QpapPrQuot (4Q503)	14:2	ש[סכה	space after <i>he</i>
4QDibHam ^a (4Q504)	3 ii 19	הסה[space after <i>he</i>
4QDibHam ^a (4Q504)	18:2	יהסה[space after <i>he</i>
4QpapPrFêtes ^c (4Q509)	9–10 i 3	סה°[space after <i>he</i>
11QPs ^a (11Q5)	18:11 (Ps 154:13)	אוכלסה ²⁵	space after <i>he</i>
11QPs ^a (11Q5)	19:6 (11QPs ^a Plea)	מ הסה	end of the line, smaller <i>he</i>
11QPs ^a (11Q5)	26:2 (Ps 149:8)	ונכבדיהסה	space after <i>he</i>
11QSefer ha-Milhamah (11Q14)	1 ii 8	ארצכסה	space after <i>he</i>
11QT ^a (11Q19)	2:6	מזבח[ו]תיהסה	space after <i>he</i>
11QT ^a (11Q19)	39:5	סה°°[uncertain, space after <i>he</i>
11QT ^a (11Q19)	41:13	ולפניסה	space after <i>he</i>
11QT ^a (11Q19)	49:10	לבבסה	space after <i>he</i>
11QT ^b (11Q20) ²⁶	5:24	ומנחתס ^ה	above space between words

b. *He* Added after Final *kaph* (9×)

1QH ^a	10:24 (2:24)	ובבריתדה	space after <i>he</i>
1QH ^a	15 (7):32	ח{כ}מתדה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	31:6 (Isa 38:5)	ימידה	space after <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	40:9 (Isa 48:4)	עורפך ה	minute space betw <i>pe</i> and <i>he</i>
1QIsa ^a scribe B	48:6 (Isa 58:11)	ועצמותי ^ה	<i>he</i> in space betw the words
4QD ^a (4Q266)	11:13	מרעיתד ^ה	end of the line
4QapocrJosh ^a (4Q378)	3 i 8	עליד ^ה	end of the line
4QInstr ^c (4Q417)	2 ii + 23 7	בד ^ה	above the space between words

²⁵ Followed by שתותמה without the final *mem*.²⁶ מנחתמה occurs frequently in 11Q19 (e.g., 17:14, 20:8, 25:6, 14, 28:11) and 11Q20 (3:22, 4:5).

Table 8 (*cont.*)

c. Aleph Added Supralinearly to *ki* (6×) above the Space between Words or in the Line (3×)²⁷

1QH ^a	7 (15):20	כיא	in v 25 the <i>aleph</i> is written in the space between the words and in vv 35, 37 at the end of the line.
	7 (15):25, 35, 37	כיא	
4QD ^b (4Q267)	12 (4):6	כיא	
	12 (4):9	כיא	
	20 (7):24	כיא	
	9 v 5	כיא	

If this evidence regarding the added letters in the Qumran scrolls is as exhaustive as I think it is, it shows preeminently that the corrections of the types described here were found exclusively in the texts that for other reasons have been ascribed to the Qumran scribal practice, with the exception of 4QSapiential Work (4Q185) and 4QapocrJosh^a (4Q378). The easiest explanation of the procedure followed is that the scribe copied from a manuscript that contained words of the type of ארצם, forgot that his preferred form is ארצמה, then added the *he* after the final *mem* of ארצם as an afterthought, followed by a space and by the next word. Since the corrections were made in one direction only, namely towards the extremely full spelling of the Qumran scribal practice (rather than the reverse), this procedure further strengthens, in my view, the assumption of a Qumran scribal practice.²⁸ This assumption pertains especially to those environments in which the full spelling prevails. Thus in 1QH^a 9–19 the great majority of the pronominal suffixes of the second person singular were written *plene*. Therefore in 15 (7): 32 the scribe felt the need to correct an earlier spelling of חכמתך to the more frequent one in those columns by adding a *he*: ח.ח{כ}מתך. The same correction is found in an adjacent column, 10 (2): 24 ובבריתך.

I suggest that forms like עליהם reflect a certain thought process of the Qumran scribes, involving some form of an oversight. This assumption

²⁷ According to Martin, *Scribal Character*, 478, 483, 485, and Stegemann and Schuller, DJD 40.102, 105, 160, 257, the letters were added by a corrector, possibly scribe B.

²⁸ Thus also W.M. Schniedewind, "Linguistic Ideology," 252: "It should be noted at this point that scribal corrections are toward Qumran scribal practice, not toward the standard."

would explain why such forms appear more frequently in certain sources than in others. By far the greatest conglomeration of these added letters after final letters (see Table 8a) is in the columns of scribe B of the large Isaiah scroll (22 times of a total of 53 such instances in the Qumran scrolls, biblical and nonbiblical). Within that scroll, some 13% of all the relevant forms were written in this way; especially in col. 18, which involves a rather high percentage of the total (all the 2d and 3d person suffixes in scribe B's columns are 231, of which 170 are long forms). It is not impossible that all 22 of these instances represent oversights. Alternatively, these forms represent some form of a *custos* reminding the reader of the earlier scribal system. In that case, forms like עֲלִיהֶם represent some pedantic way to show that the scribe knew that the earlier form was written with a final *mem* or *kaph*, and that the added *he* represents the new convention. In 4QTest (4Q175), the three forms with *he* after the final *mem* (see Table 8a) are the majority (lines 5, 5, 6), since elsewhere in that text we find only one short form (בְּנִיהֶם) and one long one (שְׁנִיהֶם).

In sum, the composite scrolls 1QIsa^a and 1QH^a were copied by more than one scribe, with each writing a part of the scroll within the Qumran scribal practice. The differences between these scribes show that diversity is possible within the same scribal practice, and furthermore that all scribes were inconsistent within their own units. I suggested that the apparent inconsistency within these scrolls, if the figures are taken at face value, sometimes derives from different spelling blocks and in one case from the use by a scribe of different sources. In the second part of my study I turned to corrective additions after final letters, such as the *he* of עֲלִיהֶם. I hope to have collected all the relevant evidence for such additions with the aid of electronic databases. These corrections were inserted especially by the second scribe of 1QIsa^a. I believe that they provide further support for establishing the assumption of a Qumran scribal practice since they always correct towards the full Qumran spelling and never away from it.

THE NON-CONSTRUCT כַּל/הַכַּל IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS*

Alexey (Eliyahu) Yuditsky

1. INTRODUCTION

The usage of the word כַּל “all” in Hebrew is not easy to pin down. On the one hand, the word can take the definite article as a noun, הַכַּל; on the other hand, it most often behaves as a quantifier. It seems that כַּל would be better defined as a determiner, rather than as a noun: first, it is impossible to identify its gender and number; second, in the Tiberian tradition the suffix is connected to כַּל by the vowel \bar{a} as in כַּלְנֹו (rather than the \bar{e} usually found with nouns; c.f. בֵּיתָנֹו);¹ third, in כַּל the vowel o is easily affected by the accent in proclitic position (in the noun the accented vowel o is fairly stable), and one primarily finds כַּל־ in the Tiberian Bible.

This paper focuses on the syntax of the non-construct forms כַּל and הַכַּל in the Dead Sea Scrolls in comparison to that of their equivalents in the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah.

Semantically, there would seem to be no need for the use of a definite article with כַּל, just as in English the word *all* is not preceded by “the.” Yet, in Hebrew this is not the case, and there are indeed many cases of הַכַּל in the Hebrew Bible. In fact, it seems that in Biblical Hebrew the indefinite כַּל reflects the more original usage. Non-construct כַּל usually occurs in the Torah without the definite article, e.g., וְכִי יִשְׁלִיכֶכֶּל (Gen 33:11)—even following the direct object particle אֵת, e.g., כִּירַק עֵשֶׂב נִתְּתִי לָכֶם אֶת־כַּל (Gen 9:3).² The non-construct definite הַכַּל is found in the Torah only five times, always as a direct object, and in four of these instances it is preceded by the particle אֵת, as in וְהִקְטִיר הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַכַּל הַמְּזַבְּחָה (Lev 1:9).

* I would like to thank Prof. E. Qimron for his valuable comments. My thanks are also due to Prof. C. Cohen and Prof. A. Borg, who have corrected the English style of the article and have suggested important improvements.

¹ Additional evidence for the status of כַּל as a determiner is the alternation of its pronominal suffix in the Scrolls: one finds כֹּוֹלֶם along side of כֹּוֹלֶהֶם. Such a phenomenon is inherent in particles; see in this volume; E. Qimron, “The Third Personal Masculine Plural Pronoun and Pronominal Suffix in Early Hebrew,” 181–88.

² One finds here in the Samaritan Pentateuch אֵת הַכַּל לָכֶם אֵת הַכַּל, where the intrusion of the definite article probably results from the presence of the particle אֵת.

Over time, the use of the non-construct definite **הכל** became more widespread. Thus, in the later biblical books, one most often finds **הכל**.³ In the Mishnah, there are no cases of indefinite non-construct **כל**; only the definite form **הכל** is used in the non-construct position. It is interesting that Rashi, in his commentary to the phrase **ידו בכל ויד כל בו** (Gen 16:12), wrote **הכל** “**הכל שונאין אותו ומתגרין בו**” using the definite form **הכל**.⁴

In Biblical Aramaic, only the penultimately stressed form **כלא** occurs with a definite (or pseudo-definite) suffix. Accordingly, *Targum Onqelos* usually translates the cases of the indefinite **כל** as **כלא**. The interpretation of the form **כלא** is debated.⁵ Fitzmyer and others argue that **כלא** is simply **כל** with the definite article; they ignore the penultimate stress.⁶ Montgomery, Muraoka, and others, on the other hand, view **כלא** as **כל** with the unstressed adverbial suffix *-a*.⁷

³ For example, in the Book of Chronicles, non-construct **כל** occurs twice (1 Chr 29:11; 2 Chr 32:22), while **הכל** occurs twelve times. It is quite striking that in Proverbs the non-construct **כל** is found five times, whereas **הכל** is absent.

⁴ Since the non-construct indefinite **כל** was so rarely used in the later Hebrew dialects, it is not surprising that the Masoretes occasionally failed to determine the correct structure of some verses containing **כל**. C. Cohen recently identified two such possible cases: Jer 9:24—**פקדתי עלי-כל: הנה ימים באים נאם-יהוה ופקדתי עלי-כל-מול בערלה**—“... I will command everyone: Circumcise with respect to the foreskin!”; and Hos 14:3—**קחו עמכם דברים ושובו אליהוה אמרו אליו כלי-תשא עון וקחי-טוב ונשלמה פרים**—“... Say to him, everyone: Forgive guilt and accept good (words)...”; see C. Cohen, “Two Misunderstood Verses in the Latter Prophets: Jer 9:24, Amos 1:13,” in *“An Experienced Scribe who Neglects Nothing”*: *Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein* (ed. Y. Sefati et al.; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 2005), 692–93. One other possible example of such a misunderstanding is Gen 4:22: **... וצלה גסיהווא ילדה את-תובל קין לטש כלי-חרש נחשת וברזל** (which could be construed as: **... תובל קין לטש-כל, חרש נחשת וברזל**).

⁵ In the Hebrew Bible one finds a suspiciously large number (eighteen according to the concordance) of pairings of the *Kethib* **כלה** with the *Qere* **בָּלוּ**; e.g., Isa 15:3; Jer 2:21; Ezra 20:40. See R. Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere* (augm. ed.; New York: Ktav, 1971), 93–94. Gordis maintained that this form represents merely the archaic writing of the suffix; but all the cases are in the prophetic books, a fact that contradicts the hypotheses of Gordis. As has been implied by Montgomery, the *Kethib* **כלה** probably reflects the word **כל** with the unstressed adverbial suffix *-a*, similar to its Aramaic counterpart; this suffix is also found in Hebrew adverbial forms like **עָתָה** (in pause), **שָׁמָּה**, **אָנָּה**, etc.; see J.A. Montgomery, “Adverbial *Kúlla* in Biblical Aramaic and Hebrew,” in *JAOS* 43 (1923): 391–95 (esp. 394–95). This is another indication that **כל** was originally a kind of particle and not a noun.

⁶ See J. Fitzmyer, “The Syntax of **כל**, **כלא**, ‘All’ in Aramaic Texts from Egypt and in Biblical Aramaic,” in idem, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1979), 205–17.

⁷ See T. Muraoka and B. Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (HO 32; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 93, 247–48. Compare also the 3d masc. form *k’ellu* in Ge’ez, which is used adverbially in the sense “everything, everybody”; see J. Tropper, *Altäthiopisch: Grammatik des Ge’ez*

In what follows, I present the data from the Dead Sea Scrolls for the syntactic function of the non-construct term כל in comparison with the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira and Mishnaic sources.⁸ The cases of indefinite כל are presented under the rubric (a) in each of the sections that follow; the cases of definite הכל are presented under the rubric (b).

2. כל/הכל AS SUBJECT

2.1. *With Singular Predicate in Verbal Sentence ("Everything")*

- a) על פי רצ[נכה נ]היה כול (1QH^a 9:22 [1:20])⁹; ובדעתו נהיה כול (1QS 11:11); פיהו יהיה כול [ועל] (4Q417 2 i 20).
- b) והכול מצופה [זהב]; (11QT^a 16:2; 4Q271 4 ii 4); כי בה הכל מדוקדק (CD 16:2; 4Q177 2 12); הכול כתוב בלוחות (1QH^a 9:26 [1:23]);

Note that in the syntactic construction (b), the term הכול is found only with the passive participle.

In the Hebrew Bible, the single example of indefinite כל as the subject of a verbal clause with a singular predicate is the quite dubious text of Isa 30:5: כל הבאיש על-עם לא-יועילו למו. In fact, the reading may not have existed in the version(s) of Isaiah available to the writers of the Scrolls; in the *Isaiah Scroll* (1QIsa^a) this expression is written as כלה באש על עמ לוא, which seems to fit the context better.

The definite form הכל in such a construction appears six or seven times, mostly in Ecclesiastes, as already noted by BDB and discussed by Avi Hurvitz,¹⁰ e.g., הכל הולך אל מקום אחד (Eccl 3:20) and הכל נשכח (Eccl 2:16). The only biblical occurrence of הכל with a passive participial predicate is in 1 Kgs 7:33: וחסקיהם וחסריהם הכל מוצק. Here the

mit Übungstexten und Glossar (ELO 2; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002), 50; T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)* (HSS 24; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978), 46.

⁸ All more or less certain cases of the non-construct כל/הכל are presented.

⁹ The quotations from the *Hodayot* are presented according to the edition of Stegemann et al., *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^e, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot^{g-f} and 1QHodayot^b* (ed. H. Stegemann and E. Schuller; trans. C. Newsom; DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2008); but for the reader's convenience, the references to the Sukenik edition in E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1955) (in Hebrew), have been added in brackets.

¹⁰ See A. Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972), 91 (in Hebrew).

form הכל is anaphoric; it stands in apposition to the preceding text (see section 6 below).

In Ben Sira one finds, e. g., כל מארץ אל ארץ ישוב (40:11); but on the other hand, e.g., כי הכל לצרכו נבחר (39:21); and כי הכל בעתו יגביר (39:34).

In the Mishnah, the form הכל is widely used as the subject in verbal sentences, usually with a singular participle as predicate, e.g., הכל מפסיק (m. *Pe'ah* 2:3); ובית הלל אומרים: הכל יפדה ויאכל בחוץ (m. *Ma'as. Š.* 3:9).

2.2. *With Plural Predicate in a Verbal Sentence (“Everyone”)*

- a) וכל לא ידעוך (4Q374 2 ii 9); ויתפזרו כול (4Q510 1 3);¹¹
 b) ונשאלו הכול על דבריו (1QS 2:24); והכול יהיו ביחד אמת (1QS 6:16).

The only clear biblical example of such a construction is ותמו כל בארץ ומצרים (Jer 44:12).¹²

In Ben Sira, there is הכל נסכתו (12:23).

The Mishnah features many examples of this construction; e.g., הכל כשרין להוליכו (m. *Yoma* 6:3); הכל חיבין בראיה (m. *Hag.* 1:1). All Mishnaic cases entail use of הכל with participles, but in the early midrash it occurs once with a future form: . . . יכול הכל יעלו . . . (*Mekhilta Yitro Baḥodesh*, section 4).¹³

2.3. *With the Infinitive Construct as a Predicate*

- a) להדשן כול מארץ; לדעת כול את כבודך (1QH^a 18:28 [10:26]).
 b) להשמע הכול איש לרעהו (1QS 5:23; 4Q258 2:3).

In this construction, which is typical in Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew but is lacking in other Hebrew dialects, the grammatical number of the predicate is unmarked, and must be inferred from the context.

¹¹ The passage אחד קול ועם השופרות יריעו קול אחד (1QM 8:9; 16:7; 17:13; 4Q491 ii 22), is perhaps best understood as “all the people of the horns”; compare Josh 6:16. On the other hand, it might possibly be interpreted as “all with the horns.”

¹² There is another possible biblical occurrence in Josh 23:14—כי לא־נפל דבר אחד מכל—הדברים הטובים אשר דבר יהוה אליהם עליכם הכל באו לכם לא־נפל ממנו דבר אחד, where הכל is anaphoric; it occurs in apposition to the previous phrase and means “everything”; regarding this construction see §6 below.

¹³ See H.S. Horowitz and I.A. Rabin, *Mekhilta D'Rabbi Ismael* (Frankfurt a.M.: Kauffmann, 1928–1931), 218. In the later midrash the construction occurs quite often with verbal forms, e.g., כיון שראו הכל כן התחילו הכל צוחים (Gen. Rab. 42).

2.4. *In a Nominal Sentence*

The sole example of such a construction found in the Scrolls is אשר מעשיך (1QH^a 8:26 [16:8]).

In the Hebrew Bible, only the definite form הכול is used in nominal sentences; for instance, למשפטיך עמדו היום כי הכל עבדיך (Ps 119:91); or הכל הבל (Eccl 12:8), while the indefinite form כל never occurs.¹⁴

In Ben Sira we find הכול (ה') הוא (43:27).

In the Mishnah, note הכול אילן סרק, חוץ מן הזית והתאנה (*m. Kil.* 6:5).

2.5. *In a Negative Sentence*

In this construction, only the indefinite כל is used:

- 1) "anything, nothing": ובלו רצונכה לא יעשה כול (1QS 11:17; 1QH^a 8:13 [13:6]); ומבלעדיכה לא יעשה כול (1QH^a 18:11 [10:9]).
- 2) "anybody, nobody": ולא יוכל כל להתיצב לפני חמתך (1QH^a 15:32 [7:29]); ואיכה יוכל כל לא יצדק כול במשפטיכה (1QH^a 17:14 [9:14]). The sentence כל (1QH^a 7:27 [15:14]) should also be interpreted as negative.

It appears that neither כל nor הכל (as non-construct forms) are used in negative verbal clauses in the Hebrew Bible or Ben Sira. כל . . . אין, which occurs four times in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., אין לשפחתך כל בבית [2 Kgs 4:2]),¹⁵ should be understood differently, in my opinion: the construction כל . . . אין is nominal, as is indicated by the negation אין, whereas the negative sentences in the Scrolls are verbal and the verbal predicate is negated.

Mishnaic Hebrew also features a negative construction with הכל, as in הכל מעלין לירושלים, ואין הכל מוציאין (*m. Ketub.* 13:11). Yet, the expression הכל מוציאין is should actually be understood as הכל אין מוציאין. Thus, it is not הכל, but the predicate מוציאין that is negated.¹⁶ However, in *m.*

¹⁴ Apart from the ambiguous בהם כל נשיא בהם (Num 13:2), where כל was considered a non-construct form by some commentators; see, e.g., the commentary of Ibn Ezra on this verse.

¹⁵ Num 11:6; 2 Sam 12:3; 2 Kgs 4:2; Prov 13:7. In Deut 8:9 . . . the subject is "You," while כל is the object, compare *Tg. Onq.*: לא תחסר כל מדעם בה.

¹⁶ Compare as well אין הכל הולך אלא אחר העובד (*m. Hul.* 2:7); and note, in Amoraic Hebrew, הכל מסתכלין בה חמה במערב הכל מסתכלין בה חמה באמצע רקיע אין, הכל מסתכלין בה (*b. Tamid* 32a); see also *b. Beṣah* 23b; *b. Ber.* 43b. On this construction,

Sanh. 4:1 חובה מלמדין זכות ואין הכל מלמדין חובה 1:1 the word הכל itself is apparently negated.

3. כל/הכל AS DIRECT OBJECT

Almost all the examples of this usage take the article, but most of them lack את.

3.1. Without את

- a) [כי]א הוא עשה כול (4Q 418 81 2);
 b) ותפרו הכל ביד [רמה] (11QT^a 23:17; 4Q220 1 5); [רמה] לטרך הכול איש לפני (4Q390 1 8) ויפרו הכול (4Q387 1 5); (4Q385a 3a-c 9; 4Q421 1 i 3) and possibly הכול (4Q266 11 9) רע[הו].

3.2. With את

- b) לצוות (11QT^a 34:13-14) והקטירו הכהנים בני אהרון את הכול על המזבח (1Q22 1:4) או[תם] באזוניה[ם] את הכול שהזה והורד ונפסד את (Mur 24 ii 13).¹⁷

Both כל and הכל are widely used as direct objects in the Hebrew Bible, both without את, e.g., ומבקשי יהוה יבינו כל (Prov 28:5); ושמת הכל על כפי (Gen 9:3); and with את, e.g., אהרן (Exod 29:24); והקטיר הכהן את־הכל המזבחה (Lev 1:9).

Such a construction is unattested, however, in the extant parts of Ben Sira.

In the Mishnah, הכל usually occurs with את when used as a direct object, e.g., שהטמאה סותרת את הכל (m. Naz. 6:5). It may be functioning as a direct object without את in לה הכל תרומה (m. Ketub. 5:2).

4. כל/הכל AS INDIRECT OBJECT

In the Hebrew Bible, forms of כל with the prepositions ב, כ, ל seem always to be definite (there may be one exception in 1 Chr 29:11). But when analyzing כל with the preposition מ-, a striking fact emerges: there are no cases of מן הכל in the Hebrew Bible; the indefinite מכל is always used

see M. Azar, *Syntax of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1995), 175-76 (in Hebrew).

¹⁷ Here הכול may be anaphoric; see below §6.

(e.g., ויתן־לו מעשר מכל [Gen 14:20]). Moreover, in the phrase ידו בכל יוד בכל (Gen 16:12), the word בכל with the preposition includes the article, whereas the phrase without the preposition (ויד כל בו) does not. It could be proposed, therefore, that in at least some cases the original biblical scribes intended indefinite forms כָּבֵל, לָכֵל, בְּכֵל, while the Masoretes vocalized them as definite כֶּבֶל, לֶכֶל, בֶּכֶל. It has already been observed by Hurvitz that הכל, and accordingly, לָכֵל, should be understood as late forms.¹⁸ Taking into consideration that the article of לָכֵל may not be original, one should distinguish between the forms הכל and לכל or בכל, since the latter may well reflect a later tradition rather than the original dialect of the biblical scribes. It seems, therefore, that the presence of לָכֵל should not be used to characterize a text as late.

In this analysis, forms with the prepositions ל, כ, ב, are classified as definite (following the Tiberian tradition) even though in at least some cases they were probably indefinite in both the biblical consonantal text and in Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew.

Examples from the Scrolls corpus:

- a) לה־ת־ וירשיעו מכול (1Q34^{bis} 3 ii 4); כי בס בחרתה מכול (1QH^a 7:36 [15:23]); ה־לך עם כול (1QS 8:4; 4Q259 2:12); וכן ישאלו (1QS 11:4); ותצלה בכול (4Q219 ii 29); וללויים אחד מן המאה (4Q393 3 6); ויתרוממו למעלה לכול (CD 14:6); מן הכול (11QT^a 58:14).

Note that in contrast to the Masoretic Text, we *do* find the construction מן הכול in the Scrolls.

In the Hebrew Bible, we find many examples, e.g.: ומכל־החי מכל־בשר (Gen 6:19); כי ולא־ישוב מפני־כל (Prov 30:30); לא יצלה לכל (Ps 103:19); על־כל יתגדל (Dan 11:37); ומביט לכל (Jer 13:7).

In Ben Sira, note מימיו לא זע מכל (48:12), which uses the preposition מ, but without the article. In terms of other prepositions, note ומביט לכל (15:18); שמש זור[ח]ת על כל נגלתה (41:1); ומצליח בכל (42:16).

In the Mishnah, we find, for example, והשאר תרומה על הכל (*m. Demai* 5:3); הוא נותן פאה לכל (*m. Git.* 2:3); כותבין בכל כותבין (*m. Pe'ah* 2:2). In the midrash, note זו קשה עלי יותר מן הכול (*Sifre Deut.* 1).

¹⁸ See Hurvitz, *The Transition Period*, 91–93.

5. כל/הכל AS THE NOMEN RECTUM IN CONSTRUCT PHRASES

5.1. *With Singular Nomen Regens*

- a) וגבורת כול (1QS 10:12); בערמת כול (1QS 4:6); ובחסור כול (11QT^a 59:3).
 b) אדון הכול (11Q5 28:7; 4Q409 1 i 8); אלוה הכול (11Q5 28:8), and perhaps מל[ך ה]כול (4Q403 1 i 29).¹⁹

The authenticity of such constructions as אדון הכל has been discussed by Hurvitz.²⁰ In his opinion, they should be considered original expressions of postbiblical Hebrew.

5.2. *With Plural Nomen Regens*

- a) למעשי (1QS 3:17) ואין להשנות בידו משפטי כול (4Q381 1 9); לאכול חלבי כול (4Q511 52-59 3).
 b) Possibly אלוהי הכול [(5Q13 1 i 2), from a fragmentary context.

In the Hebrew Bible, indefinite כל as the *nomen rectum* occurs primarily in the classical books, whereas definite הכל occurs mainly in the later books; for example: כל (Deut 28:48) ובחסר כל (Ps 145:15); עיני כל אליך ישברו (Jer 10:16). כל with a *nomen regens* in the plural has not been found in the biblical sources.

In Ben Sira, we find כל וחווה (15:18); כל בחסר (35:12); as well as אלהי הכול (33:1); ליוצר הכל (51:12); to which we may compare similar biblical expressions. Also to note is כל בקנאו לאלוה [י] (45:23). In this phrase, however, the letter *yod* was the result of a scribal correction; originally the text read לאלוה כל.²¹

In the Mishnah, הכל occurs only once as a *nomen rectum*, in the expression דברי הכל (*m. Yebam.* 13:6).

6. כל/הכל IN APPOSITION

The term “apposition” refers here to the construction whereby כל/הכל sums up the list of previously stated items, frequently providing the total of the quantities involved. In the Scrolls this construction generally takes the form הכל; it is often used together with numbers. For example:

¹⁹ The expression ועושה הכול 4Q266 11 9 mentioned above in section 3.1 may also be treated as a construct state.

²⁰ See A. Hurvitz, “Adon Hakkol,” in *Tarbiz* 34 (1964): 224–27 (in Hebrew).

²¹ See Hurvitz, “Adon Hakkol,” 225 n. 9.

- b) יהיה הכול ארבעת אלפים וחמ- (1QM 6:10); הכול שש מאות וארבעת אלפים שים (11Q5 27:10).

The construction also occurs three times—once with the form כל and twice with הכל—in the *Copper Scroll*, which seemingly reflects a different dialect of postbiblical Hebrew:

- a) מזרקות כוסות מנקיאות קסאות כל שש מאות ותשעה (3Q15 3:3–4);
 b) הכל משקל ככרין (3Q15 12:7, 71); הכל ככרין שש מאות (3Q15 12:9).

In the Hebrew Bible, we find בני חטיטא בני שבי הכל מאה שלשים... ואת-כל-אנשי החיל שבעת אלפים והחרש (Ezra 2:42). Compare also ועשי מלחמה (2 Kgs 24:16).

Such a construction is unattested in the extant parts of Ben Sira.

In the Mishnah, הכל is only rarely used in apposition. Only one example has been found: בשחר היה לובש של שמונה עשר מנה, וחכמים אומרים: ובין הערבים של שנים עשר מנה, הכל שלשים מנה (*m. Yoma* 3:7).

This construction also exists in Aramaic. In Egyptian documents we find, for example, the indefinite כל 5 [חסף] זי עק 2 זי אבן 1 כל (B3, 8:19);²² as well as the definite כל ארז לובר חסין תמיס אמן עשרן בלא (A6, 2:13).²³ As has already been observed in section 1, the form כל can be explained either as כל with the definite article or as כל with the adverbial suffix -a. It should further be noted that in the form כל without the suffix, there may have been a vocalic ending that was not expressed in the consonantal text.

7. CONCLUSION

Both the non-construct indefinite form כל and the non-construct definite form הכל are extensively used in the Dead Sea Scrolls. At first sight, it seems that there is no significant difference in usage between the Hebrew of the Scrolls and Biblical Hebrew with respect to this particle. It should be noted, however, that in the Hebrew Bible, indefinite כל is used syntactically as a subject in a very restricted way, while in the Scrolls it is much more prevalent. There are also some constructions, such as כל with constructive infinitive predicate, and כל in the negative sentence, that appear

²² B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Contracts* (vol. 2 of idem, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* [2 vols.; Texts and Studies for Students; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Press, distributed by Eisenbrauns, 1986–1999]), 78.

²³ *Letters* (vol. 1. of Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*), 96. Compare also Muraoka and Porten, *Egyptian Aramaic*, 247–48.

exclusively in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, the more extensive usage of the non-construct indefinite כל in the Scrolls is unique and quite strange. It is unreasonable to assume that the usage of non-construct כל/הכל in the Scrolls is merely an imitation and reinstatement of the more limited Biblical Hebrew usage. Why would one imitate and reinforce such an unusual construction? On the other hand, Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew differs strikingly from Mishnaic Hebrew in terms of the syntax of the non-construct כל/הכל. It would be better, therefore, to maintain that syntactically, the non-construct כל/הכל of the Hebrew dialect of the Dead Sea Scrolls reflects an independent, distinctive feature that is not a result of influence from either Biblical Hebrew or Mishnaic Hebrew. Moreover, the relatively extensive usage of the indefinite כל points to its archaic origins.

BETWEEN “RIGHTEOUSNESS” AND “ALMS”:
A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE LEXEME צדקה IN THE
DEAD SEA SCROLLS¹

Francesco Zanella

INTRODUCTION

The present paper analyzes the substantive צדקה, especially as far as its semantic shift from the meaning “righteousness” to the meaning “alms” is concerned. This paper argues that the language of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) reflects a decisive stage in the semantic development of צדקה: the Scrolls provide enough evidence that traces of this semantic shift are already clearly visible in Qumran Hebrew (QH).

The paper is divided into the following three sections:

- a) A preliminary analysis of four occurrences of צדקה in the DSS, where the substantive appears to be used with reference to a charitable donation.
- b) A brief overview of a group of Biblical Hebrew (BH) lexemes which refer to “generous gifts,” perhaps even to “almsgiving.” In this regard I indicate that these lexemes lose their specific meanings in QH. In the language reflected by the DSS, the concept of “alms” therefore seems to correspond to a lexical vacuum which might need to be filled by other lexemes acting as substitutes for the biblical ones.
- c) A description of the overall use of the substantive צדקה in QH. In this section I specifically refer to significant semantic data which are at variance with BH and which in my view could help to trace and explain the semantic development of צדקה.

¹ I am grateful to Prof. Moshe Bar-Asher and to Prof. Steven Fassberg for inviting me to take part in this symposium.

I. TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

There are four significant Qumranic occurrences of the substantive צדקה which show that the lexeme can be used already in the DSS with its new Mishnaic—or even “Talmudic”²—meaning: 4Q200 2 6, 8, 9; 4Q424 3 9.

1. 4Q200 2 6–9

The first text I would like to focus on is 4Q200 2 6–9. The passage consists of four lines of text in which the substantive צדקה occurs three times.³

6 [] וְכִבְרֵךְ יִדְכֶה בְּנֵי הַיְהוּה [עוֹשֶׂה] צְדָקוֹת וְאֵל תִּסְתַּר פְּנֵיךְ מִן כּוֹל
7 [ע] נִזְ אִף מִמְכָּה לּוֹא יִסְתַּר פְּנֵי אֱלֹהֵי־ם⁸ אִם יִהְיֶה לְכֶה בְּנֵי רֹב כְּרֹב הַיְהוּה
8 [עוֹשֶׂה] הֶמְנֹנוּ צְדָקוֹת [vacat] אִם יִהְיֶה לְךָ מַעֲט כְּמַעֲט []
9 [] בְּעֵשׂ וְתִתְּן צְדָקָה

According to the length of your hand, my son, per[form] צְדָקוֹת and hi[de] not [your face from any] [p]oor person. Then [Go]d[’s face] will not be h[idden] from you. If you have [much, my] son, [according to (your) bounty] [mak]e from it צְדָקוֹת [vacat]. If you have little, according to the little (you have) [] [By] your [perfo]rming צְדָקָה.

The passage belongs to the Hebrew fragments of the Book of Tobit. No parallels have been found in the Aramaic fragments aside from a single correlation between the Hebrew lexeme צדקה and the reconstructed Aramaic form צדקתא (4Q196 10 1).⁴ The text exhorts its audience—more specifically, its *Hebrew-speaking* audience⁵—to cultivate and practice

² A. Hurvitz defines “Talmudic צדקה (הצדקה התלמודית)” as “a generous gift to the poor ones” (נדבה לעניים); cf. his, “The Biblical Roots of a Talmudic Term: The Early History of the Concept צדקה [=Charity, Alms],” in *Language Studies* 2–3 (1987): 155–60 (159) (in Hebrew).

³ The Hebrew texts quoted depend on *DSSSEL*. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations are my own.

⁴ The Aramaic lexeme צדקה occurs a total of eight times in the DSS. A quick analysis of the use of the substantive reveals a frequent (four occurrences out of eight) contextual relationship with the lexeme קשט (“truth, righteousness”). The occurrences of the Aramaic substantive in the DSS do not seem to attest to the meaning of “a charitable donation.” This is confirmed by, e.g., K. Beyer (*Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984], 674; cf. also his *Ergänzungsband* to vol. 1 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994], 402; as well as *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Vol. 2* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004], 467), according to whom the Aramaic lexeme צדקה merely signifies “rechtes Handeln.”

⁵ “The Tobit texts from Qumran . . . show that *some* Jews at least in pre-Christian Palestine did read the story of Tobit in Hebrew”: J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655–75 (659). According to current scholarship (e.g., Fitzmyer, *ibid.*; idem, “Tobit,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XIV: Parabiblical Texts*,

honesty and virtuous behavior. In this context, the substantive צדקה clearly lexicalizes a kind of generous gift, perhaps even a “charitable donation.” I support this position with the aid of three textual arguments.

- a) The first argument consists in the syntagmatic relationship between the lexemes צדקה and יד: according to the length of one’s hand (וְכַאֲרֵךְ יָדָהּ), one should לעשות צדקות (“to do,” “to practice,” perhaps even “to give” צדקות). In BH the substantive יד frequently occurs in fixed pairs together with gift lexemes; such recurrent syntagmatic relations actually lexicalize an act of “gift-giving.”⁶ Thus, in the case of a suspected “gift lexeme,” such as צדקה, the syntagmatic relationship with the lexeme יד may not be accidental, since—if analyzed within the context of the whole passage—it can actually serve as evidence for the use of צדקה with reference to a gift.

Part 2 [ed. M. Broshi et. al., in consultation with J.C. VanderKam; DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995], 1–76; R. Kessler, “Die Rolle des Armen für Gerechtigkeit und Sünde des Reichen: Hintergrund und Bedeutung von Dtn 15,9; 24,13.15” in *Was ist der Mensch...? Beiträge zur Anthropologie des Alten Testaments: Hans Walter Wolff zum 80. Geburtstag* [ed. F. Crüsemann, C. Hardmeier and R. Kessler; Munich: Kaiser, 1992], 153–63; H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Tobit* [HTKAT, Freiburg: Herder, 2000]), the Hebrew and Aramaic Qumran fragments of the Book of Tobit reflect a type of text which may be considered to be close to the original Semitic *Vorlage*. The issue of the original language of this *Vorlage*—whether it was Hebrew or Aramaic—still remains unresolved. Following Milik, for instance, Fitzmyer (“The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit,” 671–72) opts for an Aramaic *Vorlage*, understanding the Hebrew passages as mere translations of the Aramaic original. In my view, the issue of the original language of the Book of Tobit does not play a meaningful role in the quest for the semantic development of the Hebrew lexeme צדקה. For the sake of the present paper, it is enough that *this* Hebrew text, regardless of whether or not it is a translation, had a clear and unambiguous meaning for its Hebrew-speaking audience. Conversely, the issue of the *dating* of this book is more important for the study of the semantic development of the Hebrew lexeme צדקה: current scholarship tends to view the text as “late,” from both a linguistic (Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments”) and a theological (Schüngel-Straumann, *Tobit*, 39) perspective. The late dating of this text is actually compatible with the occurrence of the “late” meaning of the Hebrew lexeme צדקה, which is highlighted by 4Q200.

⁶ Cf. the syntagm ידו מתת (“the מתת of his hand”) in Ezek 46:5, the exact meaning of which is defined in v. 7 by the clause כאשר תשיג ידו (“as much as his hand can bring”). Other relevant syntagms and clauses that highlight the recurrent lexical relations between “gift lexemes” and יד include: את־המנחה אשר־בידם (“the מנחה which is in their hand”—Gen 43:26); ויקח מן־הבא בידו מנחה (“and took of that which came to his hand a מנחה”—Gen 32:14); ומנחה ולבונה בידם (“and a מנחה and frankincense in their hand”—Jer 41:5); מסת נדבת ידך (“the sufficiency of the נדבה of your hand”—Deut 16:10); תרומת יד (“the תרומה of a hand”—Deut 12:6 [יד plural]; 11[יד plural]; 17). These lexical relations also seem to apply to QH, as the following example shows: נדר כי דרוש אדורשנו מידכה (“a vow, for I will surely require it from your hand”—11Q19 53:11).

- b) Secondly, the text shows that the צדקה can *materially* consist of portions of the possessions of the potential donor (עוֹשׂ[ה] מִמֶּנּוּ צִדְקוֹ[ת]), who can decide on the right amount of his צדקה according to what he owns.
- c) Thirdly, the passage even mentions the recipients of this *suspected* gift, namely the “poor ones,” who are referred to in the clause וְאֵל תַּסְתֵּר [תּוֹרֵם]. This sentence, moreover, emphasizes the close connection between the act of לעֲשׂוֹת צִדְקָה and the act of taking care of the poor.

2. 4Q424 3 9

The use of צדקה with this concrete reference to “charitable donations” does not occur only in the Book of Tobit; it can also be found in 4Q424 3 9. This additional occurrence argues against an explanation of the new use of צדקה as a merely *contextual* feature. In other words, the identification of this same “new” use of צדקה in different types of texts actually speaks for a functional, linguistic feature, rather than for a temporary or idiosyncratic one.

The passage in 4Q424 3 9 reads as follows:

אִישׁ רַחֲמִים יַעֲשֶׂה[ה]] צִדְקָה לְאֲבִיּוֹנִים[

A man of compassion does a צדקה for the poor one(s).⁷

A brief consideration of the passage’s wider context shows that the text deals with different kinds of human qualities and provides concrete examples highlighting the main features of each individual human temperament. Thus, a “man of unreceptive mind”⁸ (אִישׁ שֶׁמֶן לֵב—l. 6) is not able to devise plots (אֵל תִּשְׁלַח לְכַרּוֹת מַחֲשָׁבוֹת); a man of intelligence (אִישׁ שֶׁכֵּל—l. 7) is likely to accept instruction ([יִקְבַּל מִוֶּסֶר]; a man of knowledge (אִישׁ יָדַע—l. 7) obtains wisdom (יִפְיֵק חִכְמָה); an upright man (אִישׁ יֵשֶׁר—l. 8) takes delight in justice (בְּמִשְׁפַּט יִרְצֶה); a man of truth (אִישׁ אֱמֶת—l. 8) rejoices in a proverb (יֵשׁ מִחַ בְּמִשְׁלָל). Within this framework, the text states that a man of compassion, אִישׁ רַחֲמִים (perhaps even a *generous* man?) performs a צדקה for the poor one(s). The text goes even further (l. 10), thereby connecting the action of] צִדְקָה לְאֲבִיּוֹנִים[to the action of taking care of all who lack property (וְלֹא לְכָל חֲסְרֵי הוֹן).

⁷ For the reading of the passage, see *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S.J. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 345.

⁸ So Pfann, DJD 36.343.

In 4Q424 3 9, as in the Hebrew text of Tobit, the substantive צדקה clearly has a relational function, as it lexicalizes a relationship between human beings.⁹ Textual evidence from 4Q200 2 6–9 and 4Q424 3 9 further suggests that this relationship exhibits the following features:

- a) It involves two participants.
- b) These participants embody contrasting characteristics. One participant is rich בנִי רוֹב (אם יהיה לכה) —4Q200 2 7) and merciful (איש רחמִים) —4Q424 3 9), perhaps even generous; the other participant is poor (עָנִי) —4Q200 2 7; אביוֹן —4Q424 3 9; חסרי הון —4Q424 3 10).
- c) The relationship consists in a concrete *interaction* between the two participants, which is lexicalized by the verb עשה (4Q200 2 6–9; 4Q424 3 9).
- d) The rich and merciful person is the *agent* of the action whereas the poor person is the *target* of the action (cf. the syntagm לֹא אֲבִיּוֹן, which expresses a dative). In light of the textual evidence I would tend to label the rich and generous person the “donor” and the poor person the “recipient,” and to interpret the substantive צדקה as referring to a “gift.”

These textual examples from the DSS may reflect the fact that the Hebrew language is in the process of selecting—or has already selected—a *new lexeme* to lexicalize “generous gifts intended for the poor ones.” This brings us to the next section of the paper: a quick overview of the semantic field of “generous gifts,” viz., “charitable donations,” in BH and in QH; which will help us to identify possible differences between the two corpora.

⁹ In her commentary on the Book of Tobit, Schüngel-Strumann (*Tobit*, 101) ascribes this relational quality to the Hebrew substantive חסד, which should express a “Verhältnisbegriff, der nicht nur ein Gefühl ausdrückt, sondern immer die Tat einschließt.” The relational character of the concept expressed by the substantive חסד is also clearly stressed by J. Joosten (“חסד ‘bienveillance’ et ELEOS ‘pitié’: Réflexions sur une équivalence lexicale dans la Septante,” in “*Car c’est l’amour qui me plaît, non le sacrifice*”: *Recherches sur Osée 6:6 et son interprétation juive et chrétienne* [ed. E. Bons; JSJSup 88; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 25–42 [26]). In light of these textual examples, I contend that the same may be said of the Hebrew substantive צדקה. As for the concrete reference of the substantive to “alms,” cf. Pfann, DJD 36.345: “In view of line 10 we should probably take צדקה in the late sense of ‘charity’ rather than its broader meaning ‘acts of righteousness.’”

II. CHARITABLE DONATIONS IN BH

The results of my doctoral research¹⁰ attest to the presence of a discrete group of lexical units¹¹ in BH (Standard Biblical Hebrew [SBH] as well as Late Biblical Hebrew [LBH]) and also in Ben Sira (BSH) with meanings semantically related to giving generous gifts, or even almsgiving:

Table 1. Substantives referring to generous gifts in SBH, LBH, and BSH

<i>Polysemous Variant</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Linguistic Level in AH corpus</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
ברכה ¹	“gift of goodwill”	SBH—Narrative and Poetical Texts	Gen 33:11; Josh 15:19; Judg 1:15; 1 Sam 25:27; 30:26; 2 Kgs 5:15
ברכה ²	“charitable donation”	BSH	Sir 7:32
מתן	“gift as a means of	SBH—Poetical Texts BSH	Prov 18:16; 19:6; 21:14
מתנה ²	social climbing”	SBH—Poetical Texts LBH—Narrative Texts BSH	Prov 15:27; Esth 9:22 (also “generous gift”); Eccl 7:7; Sir 3:17 [Ms. A]
מתת ¹		SBH—Poetical Texts BSH	Prov 25:14
מתת ²	“gift of hospitality”	SBH—Narrative Texts	1 Kgs 13:7

In light of the foregoing table, the following preliminary observations may be made:

- a) First, from a distributional point of view, one may observe that this semantic field is attested within a remarkably wide diachronic area of the Ancient Hebrew (AH) corpus, namely from SBH to LBH, and including the Hebrew of Ben Sira. Surprisingly enough, no traces of such meanings have been found in the Qumran corpus.

¹⁰ F. Zanella, *The Lexical Field of the Substantives of “Gift” in Ancient Hebrew* (SSN 54, Leiden: Brill, 2010).

¹¹ The superscript numbers of the substantives indicate that these lexical items correspond to polysemous variants of the respective lexemes, which I identified and analyzed in my dissertation.

- b) Secondly, the substantive צדקה does not belong to this group of lexemes: according to my research, צדקה does not share systematic paradigmatic relations with the members of this group of lexemes.¹²
- c) Finally, from a stylistic point of view, one may note that terms from this specific semantic field mostly occur in poetic and wisdom texts. In this regard, we may observe that an easily identifiable semantic pattern of paradigmatic and oppositional relations between the sense-components of this group of lexemes allows the *references* of these substantives (e.g., “gift of goodwill,” “gift as a means of social climbing,” etc.) to be understood in terms of *meaning*. In other words, the paradigmatic relations between these lexemes result in specific sense-components which comprise the final meanings of each of these substantives, as Figure 1 demonstrates.

As Figure 1 shows, the sense relations within this group of lexemes reflect a net of recurring paradigmatic oppositions which apply to SBH, LBH, and to BSH. It is worth noting that such paradigmatic relations do not apply to QH. Thus, in SBH, the meaning of ברכה (“gift of goodwill”) is qualified by the semes “intended for an important recipient”; “expression of benevolence and goodwill”; and “act of simple generosity.” The first two semes of ברכה (“intended for an important recipient,” “expression of benevolence and goodwill”) result from the opposition between ברכה and מתת (“gift of hospitality”). Conversely, the third seme of ברכה (“act of simple generosity”) results from the paradigmatic opposition

¹² In relation to the Book of Ben Sira, L.J. Prockter (“Alms and the Man: The Merits of Charity,” *JNSL* 17 [1991]: 69–80 [69]) argues that “the definition of *zedaqah* as almsgiving is clearly demonstrated in Ben Sira.” As far as the Hebrew text of Ben Sira is concerned, I do not entirely agree with Prockter’s conclusions, which to my mind lack a convincing and strong semantic argumentation. On the one hand, there are no plausible textual and functional reasons to argue for a substitution of the “classical” meaning of צדקה by the later one. It is not clear to me why Sir 3:14a, 31 should serve as evidence for the “later” meaning of צדקה (Prockter, “Alms and the Man,” 72); the “classical” meaning of the substantive—“righteousness”—seems to fit the logical sense of these passages very well, without the need to postulate a new meaning. On the other hand, the most meaningful Ben Sira passages referring to the concept of alms (e.g., Sir 4:31; 7:32—respectively discussed by Prockter on pp. 78 and 74) do not involve the lexeme צדקה at all! The relevance of Prockter’s paper thus consists in providing an overall picture of the concept of “alms” in early Judaism, even if Prockter does not come to the conclusion that BH and BSH lexicalize this specific concept with lexemes other than צדקה. An interesting theological and anthropological analysis of the relevance of the concept of “alms” in Second Temple Judaism is available in G.A. Anderson, “Redeem Your Sins by the Giving of Alms: Sin, Debt, and the ‘Treasury of Merit’ in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition,” *Letter & Spirit* 3 (2007): 39–69; and see also his paper in this volume, “How does Almsgiving Purge Sins,” especially pp. 8–10.

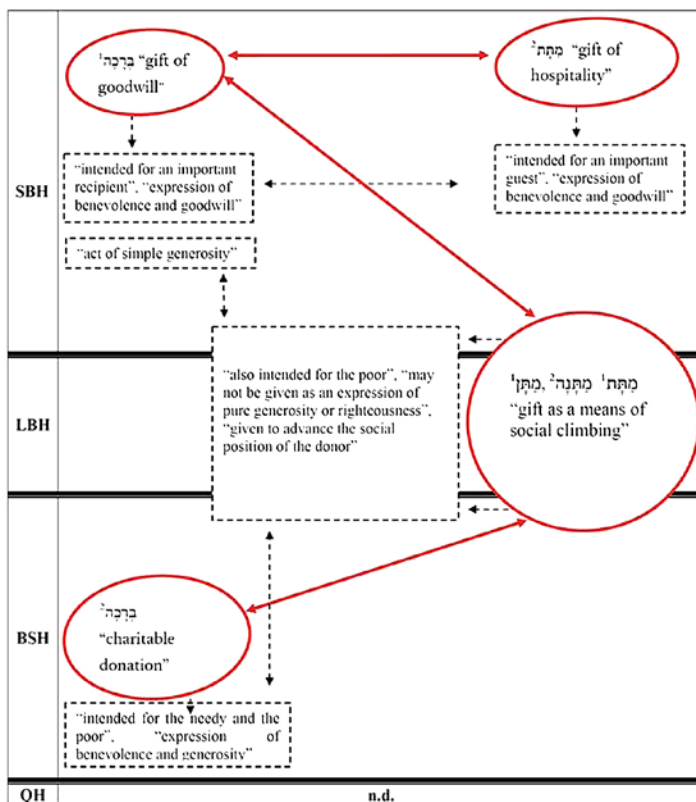


Figure 1. Paradigmatic sense-relations between lexemes referring to “generous gifts” in AH.

between ברכה¹ and מתן¹, מתנה², מתת¹ (“gift as means of social climbing”)—which also function with this meaning in LBH. Similarly, in BSH the meaning of ברכה² (“charitable donation”) is qualified by the semes “intended for the needy and the poor”; and “expression of benevolence and generosity”; both of these result from the semantic opposition between ברכה² and מתן¹, מתנה², מתת¹ (“gift as means of social climbing”). For the sake of precision and completeness I want to point out that this semantic data also results from paradigmatic sense-relations with other neighboring lexemes, such as substantives denoting bribes (e.g., שוחד and כופר), which are not mentioned in Fig. 1.

Furthermore, an exhaustive analysis of the paradigmatic relations within this group of substantives shows that the language distinguishes between “genuine” and “nongenuine” alms: namely, between generous, freely-given gifts and gifts motivated by selfish forethought. One may

therefore identify a positive and a negative pole of “charitable donations,” as the following table demonstrates:

Table 2. Charitable Donations

<i>Positive Pole (Generous Gifts)</i>	<i>Negative Pole (Selfish Gifts)</i>
ברכה ¹ (“gift of goodwill”)	מתת ¹ , מתנה ² , מתן ³ (“gift as means of social climbing”)
ברכה ² (“charitable donation”)	[Substantives referring to bribes]
מתת ² (“gift of hospitality”)	

To conclude, the group of lexemes semantically related to “charitable donations” in BH and in BSH attests to a well-defined and structured pattern of lexical relations. According to my research, every one of these lexemes loses its semantic reference to a “charitable donation” in QH, so that no traces of this discrete semantic field are left in the language of the DSS. In light of the data resulting from BH and BSH, I believe it is unlikely that this well-organized semantic field corresponds to a lexical vacuum in QH. Although I decided not to explore this issue in my dissertation, I nevertheless have become increasingly convinced that the apparent absence of “alms lexemes” in QH actually masks a different linguistic development. In other words, this apparent lexical vacuum should encourage the researcher to look at QH for possible lexical elements which may function as *substitutes* for the biblical ones. The diachronic evolution of AH shows us that in a later phase of the language this substitutive role is taken up by the lexeme צדקה. The previously analyzed Qumran passages clearly demonstrate that צדקה may already function with this very meaning in QH.

III. צדקה: A SYNTAGMATIC AND PARADIGMATIC OVERVIEW OF QH AND BH

In what follows, I will provide an overview of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic background of the lexeme צדקה in the DSS. I particularly aim at isolating semantic features typical of QH that may be at variance with BH, and that act as evidence for a modification in the meaning of צדקה.

After a preliminary review of the Hebrew occurrences of צדקה in the DSS, I must acknowledge that the majority of the texts provide data that is roughly consistent with BH. I decided nonetheless to deepen the investigation for the following reasons: The above mentioned passages (4Q200 2 6–9; 4Q424 3 9) clearly show that in QH *something* has been happening to the meaning of צדקה. Theoretically speaking, moreover, the acquisition

of a new meaning merely reflects the final stage in the semantic development of a lexeme: reaching this final stage always requires a specific linguistic period of time. A semantic development may therefore be *diachronically* retraced. From a diachronic perspective, the development in the meaning of צדקה can thus be understood as a semantic shift from “righteousness” (in BH) to “alms” (in Mishnaic Hebrew, MH). One would therefore expect such a clear semantic development to leave some traces in the language of the DSS, which current scholarship believes to reflect a phase of the Hebrew language between BH and MH.¹³

1. *Two Distinct Usages of צדקה*

A preliminary step in the analysis of the Qumranic occurrences of this term consists in first isolating and eliminating those occurrences (sixteen) that are either biblical quotations¹⁴ or too fragmentary¹⁵ to allow for any significant conclusions to be drawn. The investigation of the remaining fifty-five Hebrew occurrences has allowed me to identify two main groups of texts.

- 1) Passages reflecting “Bible-like” syntagmatic and paradigmatic structures.
- 2) Passages reflecting typically Qumranic semantic features.

It is important to mention that this categorization merely corresponds to different ways of using the substantive צדקה. These groups of occurrences are therefore independent of any *a priori* consideration concerning the style, genre, and nature (e.g., “sectarian” or “non-sectarian”) of the given texts. I am convinced that the development in meaning of צדקה constitutes a purely diachronic, semantic feature, completely independent of stylistic, dialectal, and even sociolinguistic factors.¹⁶ If it is true that the majority of the Qumran occurrences of צדקה (64%) highlight a “classical,” biblical usage of the substantive, it is likewise true that the percentage of occurrences which attests to a specifically Qumranic usage is striking (36%). I will now discuss these two groups in detail.

¹³ For a recent analysis of the linguistic status of QH as between BH and MH see M. Bar Asher, “Qumran Hebrew between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew: A Morphological Study,” in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran* (ed. D. Dimant and R.G. Kratz; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2009), 3–17.

¹⁴ CD 8:14; 19:27; 4Q161 2–6 7.

¹⁵ 1QH^a 21:2; 45 1; 4Q176 20 1; 4Q178 4 3; 4Q377 1 i 3; 4Q382 39 2; 4Q418 143 2; 4Q420 1a ii–b 8; 4Q422 L 1a; 4Q475 7; 4Q504 11 4; 5Q18 2 4; 11Q11 5:13.

¹⁶ The excerpts discussed in the first section of this paper are diverse in genre and nature, consisting of an apocryphal work (4Q200 2 6–9) and a wisdom text (4Q424 3 9).

1.1. The “classical” Bible-like uses of צדקה

This group consists of thirty-five occurrences. I have subdivided these occurrences into two groups, based on usages of the substantive which themselves result from two different patterns of lexical relations, generally consistent with the biblical data:¹⁷

- a) צדקה as an abstract divine quality.
- b) צדקה as concrete righteous deeds.

a) צדקה as an abstract divine quality

This first subgroup involves thirty occurrences, in which צדקה lexicalizes a feature of the divine nature. In the DSS, the substantive צדקה is often predicated of God, thereby referring to a divine attribute: the texts often refer to the צדקה of God (אל—צדקת—1QS 10:23, 25; 11:12; 4Q260 5:5;¹⁸ see also צדקתו—1QS 11:3, 5, 14; 4Q511 20 i 1;¹⁹ and צדקתך/צדקתכה—1QH^a 6:16; 15:19; 16:2; 11Q5 19:3). Within this framework, it is clearly stated that God coincides with his own צדקה (אתה הצדקה—1QH^a 4:20), thereby generating a source of צדקה (מקור צדקה—1QS 11:6) that is to be revealed before all of his creatures (לעיני כול מעשיך—1QH^a 6:16). This use of the substantive is frequently found in the biblical texts, especially in the Psalms.

b) צדקה as concrete righteous deeds

The second subgroup comprises only five occurrences (CD 20:20; 1QS 1:5, 21; 1QH^a 9:26; 12:31). In these passages, the substantive does not simply refer to an abstract notion of “righteousness”; rather, צדקה here denotes *concrete* and divine righteous deeds.²⁰ As in the biblical texts, such deeds may result in salvation (ישע וצדקה—CD 20:20). On the one hand, as Rosenthal points out,²¹ one may trace a similar concrete use of צדקה in the biblical texts; on the other hand, however, the DSS seem to rework this idea,

¹⁷ Cf. in this regard B. Johnson (“צדק,” *ThWAT* 6:898–924, esp. 912–13), who argues that “die צדקה JHWHs wird als seine Größe mit festem Bestand und großer Ausbreitung beschrieben. . . . Die צדקה kann auch als seine selbständige Größe in positiver Relation zu Gott auftreten. Sie ist bei ihm und nur bei ihm vorhanden (Jes 45,24; Dan 9,7). . . . Vor allem ist צדקה das positive, heilsame Eingreifen JHWHs.”

¹⁸ In 1QS 10:23 and 4Q260 5:5, the substantive is plural.

¹⁹ In 1QS 11:3, the substantive is plural.

²⁰ Cf. Johnson (“צדק,” 912), according to whom the substantive צדקה can also refer to “Handlungen, in denen sich die Gerechtigkeit manifestiert”; meaning that the substantive can also express “eine Tat, oder wohl besser ein Tun” (916).

²¹ F. Rosenthal, “Sedaka, Charity,” *HUCA* 23 (1950/1951): 411–30 (430).

thereby generating syntagms that do not occur in BH (cf., e.g., the genitive מעשי צדקה—1QH^a 9:26;²² 12:31).

1.2. *Peculiar Qumranic usages*

The second group—passages highlighting peculiar Qumranic features—consists of twenty occurrences, within which I have identified three subgroups on the basis of different usages of the substantive reflecting three respective patterns of lexical organization:

- a) צדקה in “sectarian” idiolects.
- b) צדקה as an expression of a merciful and compassionate relationship.
- c) צדקה as a charitable donation.

a) צדקה in “sectarian” idiolects:

The first subgroup only contains one occurrence, 1QpHab 2:2, where the genitival syntagm מורה הַצְדָּקָה (“the teacher of צדקה”) is attested. This syntagm never occurs in BH²³ and may be understood as a “sectarian” idiolect of *Pesher Habakkuk*, where it actually substitutes for the more frequent, “sectarian” syntagm מורה הצדק (“the teacher of righteousness”).²⁴ In 1QpHab 2:2 צדקה denotes a positively connoted ethical and theological state; this reference results from the opposition between the syntagms מורה הַצְדָּקָה (“the teacher of צדקה”) and איש הכוזב (“the man of the Lie”).

b) צדקה as an expression of a compassionate and merciful relationship: The second subgroup involves fifteen occurrences. In these passages, צדקה occurs within long lists of lexemes that explicitly refer to positively connoted feelings and temperaments, such as compassion (רחמים), love (אהבה), mercifulness (חסד), humility (צנע, *Hiph.*), and patience (ארוך אפים), to name a few. The following passage (1QS 8:2) exemplifies this usage:

לעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת איש אמ רעה

To perform truth [אמת], righteousness [צדקה], lovingkindness [אהבת חסד], and modesty [הצנע], one with another.²⁵

²² In 1QH^a 9:26, צדקה is attested with the article. The syntagm מעשה הצדקה occurs once in BH (Isa 32:17).

²³ Cf., however, the syntagm לצדקה המורה (Joel 2:23), where the homonymous lexeme מורה (“early rain”) occurs.

²⁴ The syntagm מורה הצדק occurs six times in 1QpHab: 1:13; 5:10; 7:4; 8:3; 9:9–10; 11:5.

²⁵ Note also 4Q223–224 2 ii 49 and 4Q258 1 (1a i, 1b) 3, which provide a very similar contextual and syntagmatic background, in which the substantive צדקה does occur: ולעשות [הצנע] חסד והצנע ענוה וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת [חסד והצנע] (4Q258 1 [1a i, 1b] 3).

Such a paradigmatic and syntagmatic context *is not found* in the biblical texts; many biblical lists of words denoting positively connoted feelings and temperaments *do not include* the lexeme צדקה. Cf. for instance Zech 7:9:

משפט אמת שפטו וחסד ורחמים עשו איש את־אחיו

You shall perform a precept of righteousness, and do grace and compassion every one to his brother.

One should note that here the lexemes אמת, חסד, and רחמים do occur together. A further relevant example is provided by Ps 145:8–9, which explicitly exalts God’s compassion (חֲנוּן וְרַחוּם יְהוָה), goodness (טוֹב־יְהוָה), and patience (אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם) without referring, *within the same syntagm*, to the substantive צדקה (although this is mentioned in the previous verse). Compare, however, 1QH^a 4:17–18, which mentions God’s patience (אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם), abundant grace (וְרַב חַסְדִּי), and mighty deeds (וּמַעֲשֵׂי יְמִין עוֹזֵד), *together with* God’s righteousness (צְדָקוֹתֶיךָ): צְדָקוֹתֶיךָ וְאֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם [וְרַב חַסְדִּי] וּמַעֲשֵׂי יְמִין עוֹזֵד וְסִלְיָחוֹת. These are not isolated examples. Isaiah 63:7, for instance, refers to the greatness of God’s compassion and mercy (וְרַב־טוֹב [...] כְּרַחֲמָיו וְכִרְבַּח חַסְדָּיו), without attesting to any lexical relationship between those syntagms and צדקה.²⁶ These very data allow for an understanding of the absence of direct syntagmatic relations between צדקה and other lexemes that describe divine qualities as a functional and systematic linguistic feature. Within such new semantic coordinates, צדקה clearly has a relational function (similar to the case of a “charity donation”). The substantive indeed expresses a relationship which results from the positive feelings and temperaments mentioned above, and which one may define as a “compassionate and merciful relationship.” This relationship involves two participants (again, as in the case of a “charity donation”). Unlike the “charity donation,” however, which only applies to human beings, this “compassionate and merciful relationship” obtains among the following constituencies:

²⁶ Cf. also Ps 25:6; Lam 3:32. Cf., on the contrary, 11Q5 19:5; 11Q6 4–5 5; 4Q427 7 i 22; all of which provide similar contextual and syntagmatic backgrounds in which the substantive צדקה *does* occur. Furthermore, in Jer 16:5 the lexemes חסד and רחמים are attested together with the syntagm אֶת־שְׁלוֹמִי (“my [= God’s] peace”), but not with the substantive צדקה. A similar syntagmatic and paradigmatic background also applies to Pss 40:12; 51:3; 69:17; 103:4 to name but a few. Moreover, in the biblical texts, the substantive צדקה does not occur even in fixed “grace-formulae” (*Gnadenformeln*; cf., e.g., M. Franz, *Der barmherzige und gnädige Gott: die Gnadenrede vom Sinai [Exodus 34,6–7] und ihre Parallelen im Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt* [BWANT 160; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003], esp. 246–49).

- 1) Human beings in general (with one another).
- 2) Members of the so called Qumran Community (viz., the grouping behind the S-Literature) (among themselves).
- 3) Human beings and God.

I shall describe these three categories in detail with the aid of textual examples.

1) Merciful relationships between human beings in general: Compassion, mercifulness, and love are general attributes of human nature. 4Q223–224 2 ii 49, for instance, states that each person should love his brother (ויאהבו ויִאִישׁ אִישׁ אֶת אַחִיו) with compassion and with צדקה (וב[צדקה]), so that the one will not seek to do evil against the other.

2) Merciful relationships within the community and amongst its members: In light of their positive ethical and theological influence, qualities such as compassion, humility, and mercifulness become indispensable parameters in establishing and maintaining relationships amongst the members of the so-called Qumran Community, as 1QS 5:3–4 clearly exemplifies: the members are supposed to “practice truth (לעשות אמת) together with humility (ענוה), righteousness (צדקה), lovingkindness (ואהבת חסד), and modesty (הצנע), in all their ways.” Such ideas are echoed by other passages, as we have seen; in addition to 1QS 8:2, discussed earlier, note 4Q258 1 (1ai, 1b) 2–3:

לכל דבר לתורה ולהון ולעשות ענוה וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת[חסד וה]ענע לכת
בכל דרכיהם

for any issue concerning law and possession, and to perform humility (ענוה) and צדקה and justice and loving[kindness (ואהבת[חסד]) and modest behavior (וה]ענע לכת) in all their ways.

These passages show that the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations between צדקה and lexemes referring to positively connoted feelings and temperaments actually correspond—at least in the S tradition—to recurrent fixed formulae. Moreover, the reciprocal nature of the compassionate relationship expressed by the substantive צדקה is clearly referred to by syntagms such as איש אמ רעה (“one with another”—1QS 8:2) and איש את אחיו (“each his brother”—4Q223–224 2 ii 49).

3) Merciful relationships between God and human beings: If these positive temperaments and feelings can be predicated of human nature, then they

must belong *a fortiori* to the divine being. Many passages not only use long lists of terms to exalt the compassion (רחמיכה), the goodness (טובכה), the mercy (חסד), and the צדקה of God,²⁷ but also claim that God possesses these positive qualities in an incomparable measure, as the following syntagms point out: “רוב צדקותיכה” (11Q5 19:5; 11Q6 4–5 7); “רוב רחמיכה” (again, 11Q6 4–5 7); or “רוב רחמימ” (4Q427 7 i 22). In the face of such greatness, the human petitioner admits to searching for adequate words to praise God for these qualities (א[מ]צאָה מענה) (1QH^a 4:17–18). Within this framework, it is worth highlighting 11Q5 19:7–9, since this passage allows for an understanding of the act of praise itself as a concrete and grateful acknowledgement of the merciful relationship expressed by the lexeme צדקה:

7 ברוך יהוה עושה צדקות מעטר חסידיו
8 חסד ורחמים שאגה נפשי להלל^א שמכה להודות ברנה
9 חסדיכה להגיד אמונתכה

Blessed be the Lord, doer of righteousness, who crowns his pious ones (with) mercy and compassion. My soul clamours to praise your name, to give thanks with a joyous cry for your mercy, to tell of your faithfulness.

c) צדקה as a “charitable donation”

This last-noted Qumranic nuancing of צדקה under the rubric of “merciful and compassionate relationship” represents the conceptual and semantic prerequisite for a definition of צדקה as “almsgiving.” Alms are in fact nothing other than a tangible sign of a “merciful and compassionate relationship”; they materialize it. Semantically, one may thus understand the reference of צדקה to “almsgiving” in QH as a synecdoche: צדקה here lexicalizes an *object*, which constitutes the implementation of the “merciful and compassionate relationship”; that is, צדקה denotes a gift. Within this framework, one should also note that the reference to a “merciful and compassionate relationship” is itself the result of the concretization of the more general (and biblical) concept of righteousness. According to the semantic and diachronic framework proposed in this paper one may attempt to represent the semantic development of the substantive צדקה as follows:

²⁷ Cf., e.g., 11Q5 19:5 (parallel to 11Q6 4–5 7): כטובכה כרוב רחמיכה וכרוב צדקותיכה; 4Q427 7 i 22: בחסד צדקה וברוב רחמימ.



Figure 2. The semantic development of the substantive צדקה between BH and MH.

Such a metonymic use of צדקה with reference to “almsgiving” is likely to be connected with the semantic development of the adjective צדיק, which may already be noticed within the biblical corpus. This matter has been thoroughly investigated by A. Hurvitz.²⁸ According to Hurvitz,²⁹ the use of the adjective צדיק reflects recurrent paradigmatic relations—at least in the Psalms and in Proverbs—with lexemes belonging to the domain of charity and generosity (e.g., the root חנן), which themselves actually lexicalize the act of “giving to the poor ones.” Hurvitz argues³⁰ that in those texts the substantive צדקה itself occurs together with lexemes referring to possession and riches. These lexical relations should be considered to be the basis of the “talmudic” meaning of צדקה.

The new use of צדקה is also likely to have a theological explanation, since it may correspond to a development of the biblical notion of “human righteousness” as an imitation of “divine righteousness” (*imitatio Dei*).³¹

²⁸ Hurvitz, “Biblical Roots of a Talmudic Term.”

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 159.

³¹ Cf. e.g., Prockter, “Alms and the Man,” 70–71; F.L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalmen 101–150* (HTKAT, Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 218–45, esp. 238–45.

In the Hebrew Bible, the close relationship between divine and human צדקה is referred to by the twin Psalms 111 and 112. In the former text צדקה represents a divine dimension resulting in God's beneficial and life-saving attention towards humankind.³² The latter text shows that divine righteousness should act as a paradigm for human behavior:³³ Following the paradigm of "divine צדקה," "human צדקה" should then consist in being merciful and compassionate towards one's neighbors, in acknowledgment of the neediness and helplessness of other human beings.³⁴

Psalms 111 and 112 demonstrate that, already in the biblical texts, the act of taking care of the poor and the needy may be logically subsumed under the generic concept of righteousness expressed by צדקה. As far as the present paper is concerned, one may understand the notion of *imitatio Dei* as a theological prerequisite for the later, postbiblical use of צדקה with reference to "almsgiving."

2. צדקה as between "Duty" and "Feeling"

In the last section of this paper I will consider another more general example that highlights a further difference between BH and QH in the semantics of צדקה. This example confirms the whole set of data provided in previous sections of this paper.

Quoting a work of K.H. Fahlgren about צדקה and its related terms,³⁵ B. Johnson³⁶ writes that the concept of righteousness can be lexicalized by lexemes which "designate various degrees along a scale, at either end of which משפט refers more to duty and רחמים more to feeling." Myself convinced by Fahlgren's representation of righteousness, I use it here as the general framework against which to describe a possible shift in the meaning of צדקה between BH and QH. I noted above that the semantic background typical of צדקה as "merciful and compassionate relationship"³⁷

³² Cf. Hossfeld and Zenger (*Psalmen*, 243): "Ps 111,4–5 charakterisiert die Gerechtigkeit JHWHs als lebensrettende und lebensförderliche Zuwendung zu seinem Volk."

³³ Cf. Hossfeld and Zenger (*Psalmen*, 243): "Diese in Ps 111 verkündete göttliche Gerechtigkeitsperspektive wird in Ps 112 als menschliches Lebensprogramm der Gerechtigkeit nachgezeichnet."

³⁴ Cf. Hossfeld and Zenger (*Psalmen*, 240): "Gerechtigkeit als gemeinschaftsgemäßes Verhalten würde sich dann gerade darin erweisen, dass der Gerechte die Bedürftigkeit und die Hilflosigkeit von anderen wahrnimmt und ihnen tatkräftig hilft."

³⁵ K.H. Fahlgren, "Sedaka: nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT" (Ph.D. Diss; Uppsala University, 1932).

³⁶ Johnson ("צדק", 908).

³⁷ Cf. above, 280–283.

actually coincides with the “feeling-oriented” (*gefühlbetont*) pole of the concept of righteousness. The same can be said for the typically Qumranic use of the substantive in general. What about BH? Does צדקה also express a “feeling-oriented” concept of righteousness in the biblical texts? The considerable lack of biblical occurrences attesting to a syntagmatic relation between צדקה and רחמים does not make a positive answer to this question self-evident.

To address this issue, I have subjected both corpora to an analysis of the frequency of the lexical relations between צדקה and lexemes semantically close to both poles of the concept of righteousness. I selected the lexemes רחמים (“compassion”), חסד (“mercy, grace”), אהבה (“love”), צנע (*Hiph.* “to be humble”) as examples of the “feeling-oriented” pole; as expressions of the “duty-oriented” pole I chose the substantives משפט (“precept”) and מצוה (“commandment”). I based this investigation on a range of the twelve adjacent words before and after צדקה, so that the final results could potentially include one or two clauses, thereby plausibly reflecting the closest contextual usage of the substantive.

Against the background of Fahlgren’s bipolar representation of righteousness, there are striking differences between BH and QH in the use of the substantive צדקה. About 60% of the Qumranic occurrences of צדקה attest to syntagmatic relations with lexical items semantically close to the so-called “feeling-oriented” pole of righteousness, whereas such lexical relations involve merely 10% of the biblical occurrences. From a paradigmatic point of view, this result might imply a shift in the meaning of צדקה in QH towards the “feeling-oriented” pole of righteousness. This semantic shift may correspond to the aforementioned use of צדקה to denote a “compassionate and merciful relationship.” Furthermore, in QH this shift also entails a *decrease* in the frequency of lexical relations between צדקה and words semantically close to the so-called “duty-oriented” pole of righteousness; that is, the shift *towards* the “feeling-oriented” pole of righteousness may correspond to a semantic move *away from* the “duty-oriented” pole.

IV. CONCLUSION

In the first section of this paper I referred to four Qumranic occurrences of the substantive צדקה that clearly attest to its use with reference to “alms.” In the second section of the paper I pointed out that the usual biblical substantives that lexicalize “charitable donations” are not attested in the

DSS with this reference. The new use of צדקה suggests that the language is in the process of filling this lexical vacuum, by selecting new lexemes (like צדקה). In the third part of the paper I undertook an exhaustive investigation of the semantics of צדקה in the Scrolls. I aimed at finding data which on the one hand may be at variance with BH, and which on the other hand could explain the use of the substantive with reference to “alms.” The main results of this semantic investigation are as follows:

- a) In many Qumranic occurrences, צדקה denotes a “compassionate and merciful relationship.” This reference corresponds to specific patterns of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations that do not apply to BH. I have tried to show that this reference represents the conceptual and semantic prerequisite for the reference to “almsgiving,” which, at this stage of the development of the language, may be considered as a synecdoche. In this regard, I have proposed the notion of *imitatio Dei* as a possible theological prerequisite for the semantic shift of צדקה.
- b) The reference to a “compassionate and merciful relationship” may be explained in terms of a shift in the meaning of צדקה from the “duty-oriented” (*plichtbetont*) pole of the concept of righteousness to the “feeling-oriented” (*gefühlbetont*) one.
- c) This semantic shift undoubtedly applies to QH.

These results suggest that a decisive phase of the semantic development of צדקה actually took place in that chronological layer of the Hebrew language which is reflected by the DSS corpus.

CONTENT CLAUSES IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Tamar Zewi

1. INTRODUCTION

Content clauses are replacements for nouns. Thus, in theory they can perform all the syntactic functions of nouns; that is, they may serve as subjects, predicates, attributes, objects, and adverbials. Careful examination of content clauses on all levels of Hebrew, however, reveals that they do not always fill all these functions.

This paper will compare the various types of content clauses revealed in the nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls with the inventory and syntactic functions of content clauses in Biblical Hebrew on the one hand and Mishnaic Hebrew on the other. First, I survey our knowledge of content clauses in Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew and in Mishnaic Hebrew. Secondly, I introduce my findings concerning the inventory and syntactic functions of content clauses in the nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls. Finally, I compare all inventories and syntactic functions, and try to draw conclusions about possible connections between the language traits of content clauses revealed in the language of the nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls and those of either Biblical Hebrew or Mishnaic Hebrew.

2. BIBLICAL AND MISHNAIC HEBREW¹

Content clauses in Biblical Hebrew may be asyndetic or syndetic. An example of the first type is e.g.,

- (1) Zech 8:23: כִּי שָׁמַעְנוּ אֱלֹהִים עִמָּכֶם—“For we have heard that God is with you.”²

¹ The information conveyed in this section is based on T. Zewi, “Content Expressions in Biblical Hebrew,” in *Egyptian, Semitic, and General Grammar: Workshop in Memory of H. J. Polotsky (8–12 July 2001)* (ed. G. Goldenberg and A. Shisha-Halevy; Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2009), 302–16; and T. Zewi, “Content Clauses in Hebrew,” *Leš* 70 (2008): 627–57 (in Hebrew); and see more references there.

² Bible translations are according to *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha, Revised Standard Version* (ed. H.G. May and B.M. Metzger; New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

Syndetic clauses contain content particles, such as **כִּי**, in Classical Biblical Hebrew; **שֶׁ** in Late Biblical Hebrew; and to some extent **אֲשֶׁר**, which appears both in Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew. These particles may differ not only in their manifestation in distinct language stages, but also in their various functions within content clauses at each stage.

Classical Biblical Hebrew employs **כִּי** primarily in the most common content clause, the object content clause; e.g.,

(2) Gen 6:5: **וַיֵּרָא ה' כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם בְּאָרֶץ**—"The Lord saw how great was man's wickedness on earth."

אֲשֶׁר, in contrast, mostly introduces the less common attributive and adverbial content clauses; e.g.,

(3) 2 Sam 13:22: **כִּי-שָׂנֵא אַבְשָׁלוֹם אֶת-אַמְנוֹן עַל-דְּבַר אֲשֶׁר עָנָה אֶת תָּמָר אָחֹתוֹ**—"But Absalom hated Amnon because he had violated his sister Tamar";

(4) Gen 11:7: **הֲבֵנָה נִרְדָּה וְנִבְלָה שֵׁם שׁוֹפְתָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אִישׁ שׁוֹפֵת רֵעֵהוּ**—"Let us, then, go down and confound their speech there, so that they shall not understand one another's speech."

Note, however, that this particle infrequently also introduces an object content clause; e.g.,

(5) 1 Sam 18:15: **וַיֵּרָא שָׁאוּל אֲשֶׁר-הוּא מְשֻׁבֵּיל מְאֹד וַיִּגַּר מִפְּנֵיו**—"And when Saul saw that he was successful, he dreaded him."

The particle **אֲשֶׁר** is also used in Late Biblical Hebrew, e.g.,

(6) Eccl 5:4: **טוֹב אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִדְוֹר מִשְׁתְּדוֹר וְלֹא תִשְׁלֹם**—"It is better not to vow at all than to vow and not fulfill,"

where it introduces a subject content clause. It may introduce an attributive content clause:

(7) Eccl 9:1: **כִּי אֶת-כָּל-זֶה נִתְּתִי אֶל-לְבִי וְלִבּוֹר אֶת-כָּל-זֶה אֲשֶׁר הִצְדִּיקִים וְהַחֲכָמִים**—"For all this I noted, and I ascertained all this: that the actions of even the righteous and the wise are determined by God."

This particle also occasionally introduces object content clauses, e.g.,

(8) Esth 2:10: **כִּי מְרַדְּכִי צָוָה עָלֶיהָ אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִגַּיד**—"For Mordecai had told her not to reveal it."

In Late Biblical Hebrew, however, **שֶׁ** is the particle that generally introduces object content clauses; e.g.,

(9) Eccl 2:13: **וַיֵּרְאוּ אֲנִי שֶׁיֵּשׁ יִתְרוֹן לַחֲכָמָה מִן-הַסְּכָלוֹת**—"I found that wisdom is superior to folly."

At this stage, ψ usually introduces adverbial clauses as well, e.g.,

- (10) Song 1:6— ψ שֶׁזָפַתְנִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ—“Because the sun has gazed upon me.”

An important Biblical Hebrew adverbial pattern for our discussion is the one in which אֲשֶׁר and כִּי follow similar prepositions, or may alternate with a construct infinitive. Such variation may be seen, for instance, in the uses of עַד אֲשֶׁר , עַד כִּי , and עַד plus a construct infinitive:

- (11) Gen 29:8— $\text{עַד אֲשֶׁר יֵאָסְפוּ כָּל-הָעֵדְרִים}$ —“Until all the flocks are rounded up”;
 (12) Gen 41:49— $\text{עַד כִּי-יִחְדַּל לִסְפֹּר}$ —“Until he ceased to measure it”;
 (13) Gen 3:19— $\text{עַד שׁוּבְךָ אֶל-הָאֲדָמָה}$ —“Until you return to the ground.”

A similar interchange may be seen with יַעַן , עַל , עַקֵּב and תַּחַת . However, the particles לְמַעַן , אֲחֵרִי , מִפְּנֵי , and the Late Biblical Hebrew בְּשֵׁל are followed only by אֲשֶׁר or an occasional construct infinitives, never by כִּי .

In addition to the pattern just mentioned, construct infinitives may alternate with content clauses in other syntactic roles; e.g., that of object (Classical Hebrew):

- (14) Num 20:21— $\text{וַיִּמְאַן אֱדוֹם נָתַן אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבַר בְּנִגְלוֹ}$ —“So Edom would not let Israel cross their territory”;

or that of subject (Late Biblical Hebrew),

- (15) Eccl 3:5— $\text{עַת לְהַשְׁלִיךְ אֲבָנִים וְעַת כְּנוֹס אֲבָנִים עַת לְחַבּוֹק וְעַת לְרַחֵק מִחַבֵּק}$ —“A time for throwing stones and a time for gathering stones; a time for embracing and a time for shunning embraces.”

In the latter example, the construct infinitive appears both with לְ- — לְהַשְׁלִיךְ , לְרַחֵק , and without it— כְּנוֹס . I omit a discussion of this usage here since in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the construct infinitive following the preposition לְ constantly alternates with finite verbs, creating a complex situation that deserves separate treatment.³

³ See E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 70–72; O. Cohen, “Predicative Usages of the Infinitive Construct *liqtol* in the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period—in the Language of Esther and in the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Language Studies* 10 (2006): 75–99 (in Hebrew). See also M.S. Smith, “The Infinitive Absolute as Predicative Verb in Ben Sira and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Preliminary Survey,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 256–67, regarding the predicative use of the absolute infinitive.

It is not by chance that so far I have not portrayed an example of a content clause in a predicate role. Predicate content clauses are entirely absent from both stages of Biblical Hebrew, and are attested only in later stages of the language. Such clauses are attested in Mishnaic Hebrew, albeit infrequently; e.g.,

(16) שתי צפרים, מצותן שיהו שוות במראה ובקומה ובדמים—“Two birds: their requirement is that they should be equal [to one another], in appearance, in size, and in price” (*m. Neg.* 14:5).⁴

All content clauses in Mishnaic Hebrew in all syntactic roles are introduced by the particle ψ . The biblical particles כִּי and אֲשֶׁר are not to be found in Mishnaic Hebrew except in biblical citations.

Now, which particles introduce content clauses in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and what syntactic functions do these content clauses fulfill?

3. THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

My investigations reveal two distinct inventories of content clauses among the Scrolls:

Group 1: Content clauses attested in the majority of the nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls. I have examined the following Dead Sea Scrolls: *Rule of the Community* (*Serekh Ha-Yahad*),⁵ *Damascus Document*,⁶ *War Scroll*,⁷ *Temple*

⁴ The English translation is according to J. Neusner, *The Mishnah, a New Translation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

⁵ For *Serekh Ha-Yahad*, see E. Qimron and J.H. Charlesworth, “Rule of the Community,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994); *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (ed. P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes; DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

⁶ For the *Damascus Document*, see *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, S. Pfann and A. Yardeni; DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996); J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 4–57; J.M. Baumgarten et al., “Damascus Document 4Q266–273 (4QD^{a-h}),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 3: Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006), 1–185.

⁷ For the *War Scroll*, see J. Duhaime, “War Scroll (1QM; 1Q33; 4Q491–496 = 4QM1–6; 4Q497),” in Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls, Vol 2*, 80–203; *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (ed. M. Baillet; DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

Scroll,⁸ sapiential texts,⁹ *Pesher Habakkuk*¹⁰ and other commentaries,¹¹ and hymns (*Hodayot*).¹² The clauses found in these documents generally show a resemblance to Biblical Hebrew content clauses, though they exhibit some divergent tendencies as well.

Group 2: Content clauses collected from the scroll entitled *Some Works of the Torah (Miqṣat Ma'asê ha-Torah)*.¹³ These clauses resemble Late Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic content clauses.

3.1. Group One

The first group manifests almost exclusively the object content-clause type. In this corpus, these clauses are generally introduced by כִּי, though occasionally by אֲשֶׁר, and thus resemble the object content-clause types used in Classical Biblical Hebrew (and as regards אֲשֶׁר, also in Late Biblical Hebrew). Some examples with כִּי and אֲשֶׁר follow.

A) Object clauses with כִּי:

- (17) a. וְאִדְעָה כִּי בְיָדוֹ מִשְׁפֵּט כּוֹל הַיּוֹ—“For I know that in his hand is the judgment of every living being” (1QS 10:16–17/4Q258 10 5);
 b. וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי אֲשֵׁמִים הֵמָּה—“and knew that they were guilty” (4Q266 2 i 12–13/4Q268 1 15–16);

⁸ For the *Temple Scroll*, see E. Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Judean Desert Studies; Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1996). English translations of the *Temple Scroll* are according to *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader Part 3: Parabiblical Texts* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Tov, with the assistance of C. Anderson; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 122–238.

⁹ For sapiential texts, see *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (ed. T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); and *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2* (ed. J. Strugnell, D.J. Harrington and T. Elgvin in consultation with J.A. Fitzmyer; DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

¹⁰ For *Pesher Habakkuk*, see *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (ed. B. Nitzan; Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1986). English translations of 1QpHab are according to *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader Part 2: Exegetical Texts* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Tov, with the assistance of N. Gordon and C. Anderson; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 78–92.

¹¹ For other commentaries, see *Qumran Cave 4 I (4Q158–4Q186)* (ed. J.M. Allegro with the collaboration of A.A. Anderson; DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

¹² For the *Hodayot*, see *1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 1QHodayot^{a-f}* (ed. H. Stegemann and E. Schuller; translations by C. Newsom; DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

¹³ For *Miqṣat Ma'asê ha-Torah*, see *Qumran Cave 4 V: Miqṣat Ma'asê ha-Torah* (ed. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell; DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994); E. Qimron et al., “Some Works of the Torah,” in Charlesworth, *Damascus Document II*, 187–251.

- c. ואשר הגיד לנו כי אתה בקרבנו—“Thus, he has told us that you (stand) in our midst” (1QM 10:1);
- d. [שא ע]ינ[י]כה וראה כי רבה קנאת אנוש—“[Lift up] your[e]ye[s] and see How great is the enviousness [of man . . .]” (4Q416 2 ii 11–12);
- e. וזכור כי ראש אתה—“And remember that you are poor” (4Q416 2 iii 2);
- f. כיא ראה כיא בא יומו—“For he sees that his day has come” (4Q171 [4QPpS^a] 1–10 ii 13–14);
- g. ואדעה כיא לכה עשיתה אלה אלי—“And I know that for yourself you have done these things, O my God” (1QH^a 21 7);
- h. ואדעה כיא אמת פיכה—“I know that Your command is true” (1QH^a 22 13–14).

B) Object clauses with אֲשֶׁר:

- (18) a. והוא יודע אשר הוא מועל בו—“... and he knows that he is wronging him” (4Q271 3 7);
- b. בכל אשר הוא יודע אשר ימצא—“... everything that he knows that is found in it” (4Q271 3 6);

C) Attributive content clause with כִּי:

Content clauses in the role of subjects, which are rare in Biblical Hebrew, are not at all attested in this group of scrolls. A content clause in the role of an attribute may be seen in one example, introduced by כִּי:

- (19) וזה לכם האות כי יהיה—“And this shall be the sign to you that it is taking place” (1Q27 1 i 5/4Q300 3 4).

This example recalls two biblical examples, one with כִּי: 2 Kgs 20:9—וַיֹּאמֶר—“This is the sign to you from the LORD, that the LORD will do the thing that he has promised”; and one with אֲשֶׁר: Isa 38:7—וְזֶה-לְךָ הָאוֹת מֵאֵת ה' אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה—“This is the sign to you from the LORD, that the LORD will do this thing that he has promised.”

D) Predicative content clauses with אֲשֶׁר:

However, most striking is the appearance of content clauses in the role of predicates, since, as stated, these do not exist at all in Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew. The particle that introduces these predicative content clauses is אֲשֶׁר. Predicative content clauses appear only in the texts of the *pesharim*. Such clauses do appear in Mishnaic Hebrew, but they are introduced by וְ and not by אֲשֶׁר, and they are not limited to passages of commentary; therefore they should not be considered a direct continuation of the type attested in the Dead Sea *pesharim* scrolls. The following examples are only a selection.

- (20) a. פִּשְׂרוּ אֲשֶׁר יִלְעִיגוּ עַל רִבּוֹם וּבְזוּ עַל נִכְבְּדִים—“This means that they sneer at leaders and deride the nobility” (1QpHab 4:1–2);
- b. פִּשְׂרֵהְךָ הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִכְלֶה אֶל אֶת עַמּוֹ בְּיַד הַגּוֹיִם—“This passage means that God will not exterminate his people through the Gentiles” (1QpHab 5:3);
- c. [חֲטָאתֵיהֶם] אֲשֶׁר יִכְפְּלוּ עֲלֵיהֶם—“This means that their sins will be doubled against them” (1QpHab 7:15–16);
- d. פִּשְׂרֵהְךָ הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר עֲזַבְתָּם—“The interpretation of the phrase is that he forsook them” (4Q162 [4QpIsa^b] 1:2);
- e. פִּשְׂרוּ אֲשֶׁר הִכֵּם בְּרֵעַב—“Its interpretation is that he smote them with hunger” (4Q166 [4QpHos^a] 2:12).

Note also clauses like

- (21) a. פִּשְׂרוּ עַל מוֹשְׁלֵי הַכְּתִיּוֹת אֲשֶׁר יִבְזוּ עַל מִבְצְרֵי הָעַמִּים—“This refers to the rulers of the Kittim who deride the fortresses of the peoples” (1QpHab 4:5–6);
- b. פִּשְׂרוּ עַל אֲנָשֵׁי הָאֲמֻת עוֹשֵׂי הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִרְפוּ יְדֵיהֶם מֵעֲבֹדַת הָאֲמֻת—“This refers to those loyal ones, obedient to the Law, whose hands will not cease from loyal service” (1QpHab 7:10–12).

In these clauses, אֲשֶׁר follows an antecedent and introduces a relative attributive clause, and they should probably be regarded as holding the clue to the origin of content clauses in the role of predicates. When such an antecedent instead follows אֲשֶׁר, rather than preceding it, the clause introduced by אֲשֶׁר becomes a content clause. The connection between these patterns can be compared to the (later) connection between the constructions ... ש... ב... מעשה, which contains an antecedent following the preposition ב- plus a relative clause; and ... ש... מעשה, which contains a predicative content clause. This phenomenon is discussed by Kogut in his treatment of content clauses in *Sefer Ḥasidim*.¹⁴

E) Adverbial clauses:

Important to our discussion also are adverbial patterns introduced by the prepositional phrases עַד אֲשֶׁר, עַל אֲשֶׁר, and בְּעֵבֹר אֲשֶׁר. As stated earlier, עַד and עַל appear in Biblical Hebrew with both כִּי and אֲשֶׁר. בְּעֵבֹר is followed in Biblical Hebrew only by nouns, pronouns, construct infinitives and finite verbs. The examples attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit אֲשֶׁר following these three prepositions. Examples follow.

¹⁴ See S. Kogut, *Content Clauses: Their Nature and Constructions* (Sidrat Mehqarim 1; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1984), 31–38 (in Hebrew).

- (22) With **אָפֶּר**: a. **עַד אָפֶּר** ידרושהו לרוחו ומעשו—“until he has been examined concerning his spirit and his work” (1QS 6:17/4Q256 11 12);
 b. ... **בַּסּ. אָפֶּר** [אשר חרה] אפה...—“until [his wrath [was kindled against them]]” (4Q266 2 ii 20–21);
 c. **עַד אָפֶּר** לֹא [ישלי]מו א[ת ימ]יהם—“before they [compl]ete their [da]ys” (4Q270 6 iv 19);
 d. **עַד**—“until [the flesh] grows” (4Q272 1 i 6);
 e. **עַד אָפֶּר** יטהרו...—“...until he cleanses himself” (11QT^a 45:17–18 (x2));
 f. **עַד אָפֶּר** יזו את הש[נית]...—“...until they sprinkle the seco[nd time]” (11QT^a 50:3).
- (23) With **עַל אָפֶּר**: **עַל אָפֶּר** אל בעשק ומעל: אל [אשר הביט]—“[The meaning is that] God [beheld] tyranny and treason” (1QpHab 1:6).
- (24) With **בְּעֵבֹר אָפֶּר**: a. **בְּעֵבֹר אָפֶּר** על בחירו—“Because he had done wrong to his chosen” (1QpHab 9:11–12);
 b. **בְּעֵבֹר אָפֶּר** לוא יגדפו...—“...[so that] [they will not blaspheme...]” (4Q267 9 iii 2–3/CD A 12:7–8);
 c. **בְּעֵבֹר אָפֶּר** דרשו בחלקות—“For they sought smooth things and chose delusions” (CD A 1:18).

Adverbial content clauses are occasionally introduced also in other instances by **אָפֶּר**, e.g.,

- (25) **אָפֶּר** לא במשפט—“If he murmurs against his fellow, other than in a legal proceeding” (4Q270 7 i 7).

3.2. Group Two

The content clauses attested in *Some Works of the Torah* (*Miqṣat Ma‘aśê ha-Torah* [4QMMT]) resemble those found in Late Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew. First, all content clauses in this scroll are introduced by the particle **שֶׁ**. Their syntactic roles are basically limited to those of object and subject, and, like Late Biblical Hebrew but unlike Mishnaic Hebrew, predicate content clauses are not attested. Furthermore, the subject content clauses in this document are restricted to a certain pattern: a passive participle predicate—**כְּתוּב** in the examples given—standing in first position, preceding the subject content clause. This pattern is regular and more diverse in Mishnaic Hebrew, but might have already originated in Late Biblical Hebrew since it resembles the following examples, albeit with **אָפֶּר**:¹⁵

¹⁵ I would like to thank Dr. Ruth Clements for mentioning to me examples 26b and 26c. Dr. Clements also suggests that these examples may represent a developing form for legal derivation from written texts.

- (26) a. Esth 8:2: וַיִּמְצָא כְּתוּב אֲשֶׁר הִגִּיד מְרֹדֶכִי עַל-בְּגִתָּנָא וְתֶרֶשׁ שְׁנֵי סְרִיסֵי—הַמְלִיךְ—“And it was found written how Mordecai had told about Bigthana and Teresh, two of the king’s eunuchs.”
- b. Neh 8:14: וַיִּמְצְאוּ כְּתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה בְּיַד-מֹשֶׁה אֲשֶׁר יֵשְׁבוּ בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּסֻכּוֹת בַּחֹג בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי—“And they found it written in the law that the LORD had commanded by Moses that the people of Israel should dwell in booths during the feast of the seventh month.”
- c. Neh 13:1: וְנִמְצָא כְּתוּב בּוֹ אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יָבוֹא עַמְּנִי וּמֵאֲבֵי בְּקֹהֶל הָאֱלֹהִים עַד-—עוֹלָם—“And in it was found written that no Ammonite or Moabite should ever enter the assembly of God.”

A connection to Late Biblical Hebrew is also established by the employment of בְּשֵׁל preceding a content clause. This construction appears in Late Biblical Hebrew with אֲשֶׁר:

- (27) Eccl 8:17: בְּשֵׁל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמַל הָאָדָם לְבַקֵּשׁ וְלֹא יִמְצָא—“However much one may toil in seeking, he will not find it out”

It occurs twice in 4QMMT, albeit with שׁ:

- (28) a. [בשׁל שלוא יהיו מסיאים את העם עוון]—“[so as not to cause the people to bear punishment]” (4Q395 1 7);
- b. ... בשׁל שא יהיה הטהר...—“so tha[t the pure man may...]” (4Q395 1 10).

A) Object clauses

- (29) a. אנחנו חושבים שאין לזבוח א[ת האם ואת הולד ביום אחד]—“We are of the opinion that] the mother and its fetus [may not be sacrificed] on the same day” (4Q396 1-2 i 2);
- b. [אנחנו]—“We] are of the opinion that they are not [pure...]” (4Q394 8 iv 5-6/4Q396 1-2 ii 7/4Q397 6-13 1);
- c. [וא]תם יודעים שמקצת הכהנים והעם מתערבים]—“But you know that some of the priests and [the laity mingle with each other]” (4Q396 1-2 iv 9/4Q397 6-13 14-15);
- d. —ואנחנו מכירים שבאו מקצת הברכות והקללות שכתוב בס[פר מו]שה—“And we know that some of the blessings and the curses have (already) been fulfilled” (4Q398 11-13 3-4);
- e. —ובקש מלפנו שיתקן את ענתך—“And ask Him that He strengthen your will” (4Q398 14-17 ii 4-5/4Q399 ii 1-2).

B) Subject clauses:

- (30) a. ... ככלת נא[כנת]—“But it is written that the ce[real offering is e]aten...” (4Q395 1 5-6);
- b. ועל בה[מתו הטהורה] כתוב שלוא לרבעה כלאים ועל לבושון כתוב שלוא—“And concerning his [i.e. Israel’s] [clean ani]mal,

it is written that one must not let it mate with another species; and concerning his clothes [it is written that they should not] be of mixed stuff" (4Q396 1–2 iv 5–7/4Q397 6–13 13–14).

4. CONCLUSIONS

Content clauses in the majority of the nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls (Group 1 discussed above) mostly play the part of objects, predicates and adverbials. Content clauses in the role of subjects are not attested among this group, while the attributive function is manifested only in one example. Object clauses in this group of scrolls generally resemble those attested in Classical Biblical Hebrew, following **כִּי**, and like Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew they occasionally follow **אֲשֶׁר**. By contrast, the *pesharim* feature content clauses introduced by the particle **אֲשֶׁר** in the role of predicates. This is certainly an independent trait of the language of the Dead Sea Scrolls, since predicate content clauses do not appear at all in Biblical Hebrew; they do appear in Mishnaic Hebrew but there they are introduced by **שֶׁ** and not **אֲשֶׁר**, and are not limited to contexts of scriptural commentary.

If we take into account 1) the occasional use of **אֲשֶׁר**, instead of **כִּי**, to introduce object content clauses in the Dead Sea Scrolls; 2) the use of **אֲשֶׁר** alone to introduce predicate content clauses in the *pesharim*; and 3) the sole employment of **אֲשֶׁר** in adverbial patterns following certain prepositions and in other adverbial roles—we can suggest that the language of most nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls shows a tendency to favor **אֲשֶׁר** as the introductory particle for content clauses. What appears to be a marginal feature of usage in Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew, and does not exist at all in Mishnaic Hebrew, is clearly attested in the language of the Dead Sea Scrolls—and more prominently than in Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew.

Content clauses in 4QMMT (Group 2), conversely, reveal connections to Late Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew in the use of **שֶׁ**, **כִּי**, and the routine use of subject content clauses following a passive participle predicate. These findings by and large conform to Qimron's conclusions that the language of 4QMMT is distinct from that of the majority of the other Dead Sea Scrolls and reflects certain Mishnaic features.¹⁶

¹⁶ Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10.65–108.

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