

From 4QMMT to Resurrection

*Mélanges qumraniens en hommage
à Émile Puech*

Edited by

FLORENTINO GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ,

ANNETTE STEUDEL AND

EIBERT TIGCHELAAR

From 4QMMT to Resurrection

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

Edited by

Florentino García Martínez

Associate Editors

Peter W. Flint

Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar

VOLUME LXI



Émile Puech

From 4QMMT to Resurrection

Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à
Émile Puech

Edited by

Florentino García Martínez

Annette Steudel

Eibert Tigchelaar



BRILL
LEIDEN • BOSTON
2006

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Detailed Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
are available on the Internet at <http://catalog.loc.gov>

ISSN 0169-9962
ISBN 90 04 15252 0

© **Copyright 2006 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.**
**Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill Academic
Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.**

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without
prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is
granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to
The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive,
Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
4QMMT et la question du canon de la Bible hébraïque KATELL BERTHELOT	1
The Structure of 1QH ^a XII 5–XIII 4 and the Meaning of Resurrection	15
GEORGE J. BROOKE	
The Essenes and the Afterlife	35
JOHN J. COLLINS	
The Literary Form and Didactic Content of the <i>Admonitions</i> (<i>Testament</i>) of <i>Qahat</i>	55
HENRYK DRAWNEL	
4QMysteries ^c : A New Edition	75
TORLEIF ELGVIN	
Isaak in den Handschriften von Qumran	87
HEINZ-JOSEF FABRY	
Recent Study of 4QInstruction	105
DANIEL J. HARRINGTON, S.J.	
11Q5 (11QPs ^a) XIX—A Plea of Deliverance?	125
INGO KOTTSEPER	
Mose und die Propheten: Zur Interpretation von 4QMMT C	151
REINHARD G. KRATZ	
The Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls—Library or Manuscript Corpus?	177
ARMIN LANGE	

Le Psaume 154: sagesse et site de Qoumrân	195
ANDRÉ LEMAIRE	
<i>Recentiores non Deteriores</i> : A Neglected Philological Rule in the Light of the Qumran Evidence	205
CORRADO MARTONE	
Linguistic Profile of the Nonbiblical Qumran Texts: A Multidimensional Approach	217
DONALD W. PARRY	
Sur les expressions “Maison fidèle en Israël,” “Maison de vérité en Israël,” “Maison de perfection et de vérité en Israël”	243
MARC PHILONENKO	
4Q448—The Lost Beginning of MMT?	247
ANNETTE STEUDEL	
Publication of PAM 43.398 (IAA #202) Including New Fragments of 4Q269	265
EIBERT TIGCHELAAR	
Hebrew Scripture Editions: Philosophy and Praxis	281
EMANUEL TOV	
The Textcritical Value of the Old Latin in Postqumranic Textual Criticism (1 Kgs 18:26–29.36–37)	313
JULIO TREBOLLE	
1 Enoch 80 Within the Book of the Luminaries	333
JAMES C. VANDERKAM	
A Bibliography of Émile Puech	357

PREFACE

The present volume has been compiled by colleagues and friends as a respectful tribute to Professor Émile Puech, to be presented to him in Jerusalem on the occasion of his 65th birthday.

Born in Cazelles de Sébrazac (Aveyron) on 9 May 1941, Émile Puech completed studies in Philosophy and Theology at Rodez before moving to Paris where he obtained a Diplôme Supérieur d'Études Bibliques at the Institut Catholique de Paris. At the same time he studied Oriental Languages, both at the École des Langues Orientales Anciennes of the Institut Catholique and at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section IV (Philologie Sémitique, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Ugaritic, Akkadian and Ge'ez), History of Religions at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section V, and Epigraphie Sémitique and Sigillographie mésopotamienne at the École du Louvre.

In 1971, with a grant from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Émile Puech went to the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, and has remained there ever since, building an impressive academic career as a researcher of the CNRS (successively “attaché de recherche” 1980, “chargé de recherche” 1983, and “directeur de recherche” 1996) and as professor of Semitic Epigraphy and more particularly of Dead Sea Scrolls at the École Biblique.

In 1992 he defended a double thesis in Paris (which was awarded the Prix Jean et Maurice De Pange) becoming Doctor “ès Lettres” of the Sorbonne (History of Religions and Religious Anthropology, University of Paris IV) and Doctor of Theology (Institut Catholique), and in 2001 he obtained the “Habilitation” at the Université Marc Bloch de Strasbourg.

As the bibliography at the end of this volume clearly shows, Professor Puech has been a prolific writer in many different fields, among them Semitic Epigraphy, the History of the Alphabet, Aramaic Inscriptions, Phoenician Language, Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicography, Archaeology, Ossuaries, etc. But there is no doubt that the work that has made him most famous is his constant dedication to deciphering, editing, translating and researching the Hebrew and Aramaic fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The recognition of his leading

role in the research on the Scrolls was well assured even before the publication of his volumes of the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* with the manuscripts from Cave 4 originally entrusted to J. Starcky (*Hebrew texts*, DJD XXV, 1998; *Aramaic Texts I*, DJD XXXI, 2001; *Aramaic Texts II*, DJD XXXVII, forthcoming). This recognition was based on three elements: the fundamental revisions of work by other scholars that he published in prestigious periodicals such as *Revue de Qumrân*, *Revue Biblique* and *Journal of Jewish Studies*, which helped to advance the understanding of those texts (for example his article on the *Hodayot* from Cave 1); the preliminary editions of several key texts from the Starcky lot that introduced new topics to the discussion, for example his edition of the Hebrew *4QBéatitudes* and *4QApocalypse messianique* and the Aramaic *4QTestament de Qahat* and *4QTestament of Lévi*; and the help he always gave generously to other editors of Qumran texts based on his unparalleled palaeographical skills, as testified to in many DJD volumes. This is why this volume of studies in his honour concentrates exclusively on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The editors have imposed no other constraint than that the contributions should deal with one or other aspect of Scrolls research. As a result, this collection of 19 studies by the foremost practitioners in the field offers a rich and variegated crop. As the title of the volume indicates (*From 4QMMT to Resurrection*), the contributions deal not only with single manuscripts, but also cover different aspects of Scrolls research, including theological issues. There are new editions of some manuscripts (“4QMysteries^c: A New Edition,” by Torleif Elgvin and “Publication of PAM 43.398 (IAA #202) Including New Fragments of 4Q269,” by Eibert Tigchelaar) and studies of individual manuscripts or texts (“The Literary Form and Didactic Content of the *Admonitions (Testament) of Qahat*,” by Henryk Drawnel; “Recent Study of 4QInstruction,” by Daniel J. Harrington, S.J.; “11Q5 (11QPs^a) XIX—A Plea of Deliverance?” by Ingo Kottsieper; “Le Psaume 154: sagesse et site de Qoumrân,” by André Lemaire, and “1 Enoch 80 Within the Book of the Luminaries,” by James C. VanderKam), among which 4QMMT has a place of pride (“4QMMT et la question du canon de la Bible hébraïque,” by Katell Berthelot; “Mose und die Propheten: Zur Interpretation von 4QMMT C,” by Reinhard G. Kratz; 4Q448—The Lost Beginning of MMT?,” by Annette Steudel). But there are also more general studies. Some contributions focus on basic issues like the nature of the collection (“The Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls—Library or Manuscript Corpus?,” by Armin Lange)

or its linguistic profile (“Linguistic Profile of the Nonbiblical Qumran Texts: A Multidimensional Approach,” by Donald W. Parry); other analyze the influence of the Scrolls on textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible (“*Recentiores non Deteriores*: A Neglected Philological Rule in the Light of the Qumran Evidence,” by Corrado Martone; “Hebrew Scripture Editions: Philosophy and Praxis,” by Emanuel Tov and “The Textcritical Value of the Old Latin in Postqumranic Textual Criticism (1 Kgs 18:26–29.36–37),” by Julio Trebolle). Yet other contributions try to throw light on figures or expressions appearing in the Scrolls (“Isaak in den Handschriften von Qumran,” by Heinz-Josef Fabry; “Sur les expressions ‘Maison fidèle en Israël,’ ‘Maison de vérité en Israël,’ ‘Maison de perfection et de vérité en Israël,’” by Marc Philonenko), or discuss theological ideas in the light of Émile Puech’s fundamental work, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle?* (“The Structure of 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4 and the Meaning of Resurrection,” by George J. Brooke and “The Essenes and the Afterlife,” John J. Collins). The book closes with “A Bibliography of Émile Puech.”

Since each contribution can be read on its own, we have decided to present them arranged simply in alphabetical order of the names of the authors.

The editors and all the contributors to this volume feel that this publication is merely a token of gratitude, their own and that of the academic community throughout the world, to the honouree for a life-long dedication to scholarship and particularly for his contribution to the study of the Scrolls. We thank Farah Mébarki for the photograph of the honouree. *Ad multos annos*, Émile!

The Editors

4QMMT ET LA QUESTION DU CANON DE LA BIBLE HÉBRAÏQUE

Katell Berthelot
CNRS, Aix en Provence

Quiconque a eu le privilège de suivre les cours d'Émile Puech à l'École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem et d'assister à son patient travail de reconstitution et de déchiffrement des manuscrits de la mer Morte, sait que toute étude des textes de Qumrân commence par l'analyse du support matériel du texte. De savantes études peuvent se révéler fausses à cause d'un mauvais agencement des fragments, de la non-prise en compte d'une marge, d'un déchiffrement erroné de quelques lettres, etc. Bien que chacun soit conscient de ces difficultés et de la nécessité d'examiner attentivement les fragments, une fois les textes édités et traduits, la tentation est grande de se fier au travail déjà accompli et de faire l'économie d'un examen plus approfondi (lequel, il est vrai, n'est pas aisé pour ceux qui ne disposent que des photos publiées dans DJD).

4QMMT illustre de manière exemplaire ce problème. Comme l'ont souligné les éditeurs eux-mêmes, le texte qu'ils ont recomposé à partir des six manuscrits identifiés (4Q394–399) n'est qu'une proposition. En ce qui concerne la section C, la recomposition du texte a été critiquée à plusieurs reprises, le placement des fragments 11–13 de 4Q398 (lignes 18 à 24 de la section C) faisant même l'objet d'un désaccord entre les deux éditeurs, Elisha Qimron et John Strugnell.¹ Du point de vue de la question du canon de la Bible hébraïque, c'est la ligne 10 de la section C qui cristallise les débats (et, dans une moindre mesure, la ligne 11). À la suite des éditeurs, la plupart

¹ Cf. DJD X, "Appendix 2," 201–202, et "Appendix 3," 205–206. Strugnell, soutenu par H. Stegemann, aurait préféré placer les l.18–24 après la l.9. C'est le choix de Qimron qui l'a emporté dans le texte composite publié dans DJD X. Il s'appuie sur une suggestion de Menahem Kister, fondée sur une analyse du contexte similaire à celle proposée dans cet article. Pour une étude détaillée de 4QMMT par M. Kister, cf. "Studies in 4QMiqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah and Related Texts: Law, Theology, Language and Calendar," *Tarbiz* 68/3 (1999): 317–71 (en hébreu).

des chercheurs ont vu dans les mots “livre de Moïse,” “livres des prophètes” et “David” une attestation d’un canon tripartite, “David” désignant à leurs yeux l’ensemble de la troisième section du canon massorétique.² Mais Eugene Ulrich a donné de ce passage une analyse critique mettant en lumière les difficultés matérielles de la reconstitution proposée.³ Les éditeurs suggèrent en effet de lire, à partir du ms d (4Q397 14–21), recoupé par le ms e (4Q398 14–17):

10 [כתב] נָוֹ אֵלִיכָה שְׁתַּבִּין בַּסֵּפֶר מֹשֶׁה [ו] בַּסֵּפֶר [ו] הַנְּבִיאִים וּבְדוֹרֵי [ד. . .]
11 [בַּמַּעֲשִׂי] דוֹר וְדוֹר וּבַסֵּפֶר כְּתוּב [ל. . .] לְ[. . .] יָם לֵ. לֵא

Le principal problème posé par la reconstitution de la ligne 10 réside dans le fait que le mot *בספר* avant *הנבאים* provient d’un fragment isolé de 4Q397, le frag. 17, qui ne contient que ce mot et dont le placement à cet endroit est pour le moins hypothétique. C’est pourquoi Ulrich propose une reconstitution minimale du type:

10 [כת] בָּנוֹ אֵלִיכָה שְׁתַּבִּין בַּסֵּפֶר מ. [] שְׁ [. . .] בַּיָּאִים וּבְדוֹרֵי [. . .]
11 [. . .] דוֹר וְדוֹר וּבַסֵּפֶר כְּתוּב [. . .]

Cette reconstruction minimale invalide-t-elle pour autant la lecture des mots “livre de Moïse,” “prophètes” et “David”? Et dans le cas contraire, peut-on déterminer plus précisément à quoi renvoient ces titres?

I. *Le “livre de Moïse,” les “prophètes” et “David”*

Sauf à remettre en question dans son ensemble le rapprochement entre les fragments 15–16 d’une part, et le fragment 18 de l’autre, on peut prendre pour point de départ la reconstitution minimale proposée par Ulrich. Celui-ci questionne l’identification de plusieurs lettres proposée par les éditeurs. En ce qui concerne le mot “Moïse,”

² DJD X, 59 et 111–12. Voir aussi, entre autres, A. van der Kooij, “The Canonization of Ancient Books Kept in the Temple of Jerusalem,” dans *Canonization and Decanonization* (éd. A. van der Kooij et K. van der Toorn; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 17–40 (en particulier 27); J.C. VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 382–402 (en particulier 387–88).

³ Cf. E. Ulrich, “The Non-Attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT,” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14. Voir aussi l’article de H. von Weissenberg, “4QMMT – Towards an Understanding of the Epilogue,” *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 29–45, qui analyse les différences textuelles entre les mss relatifs à la section C.

⁴ [כתב] נָוֹם dans le ms e.

l'identification du ך après le ם lui semble douteuse. De plus, l'écart entre le ם et le ש est à ses yeux plutôt de deux lettres que d'une, ce qui le conduit à suggérer la lecture du mot מדרש plutôt que celle du mot מושה. Selon lui, "something such as בספר מדרש is as likely as בספר מושה (cf. מדרש ספר מושה in 4Q249)."⁵ Le problème est que l'expression ספר מדרש (suivie ou non d'un complément), elle, n'est attestée ni dans la Bible hébraïque⁶ ni dans les manuscrits de Qumrân.⁷ Cela pourrait être un *hapax*, mais cela fragilise malgré tout la proposition d'Ulrich. En l'absence d'un éclaircissement qui résulterait d'un réexamen direct du fragment, il est préférable de supposer que ם בספר est ce qui reste de l'expression בספר מושה. Un autre argument en ce sens sera développé *infra*.

En ce qui concerne le mot נביאים, sa lecture est extrêmement vraisemblable, qu'il ait ou non été précédé de ספר ou de ספרי. Quant à בדויד, Ulrich rejette le déchiffrement du ך, et n'accepte qu'avec prudence la lecture du ך. Il estime qu'une lecture בדויר serait également possible, et rappelle que le mot דויר apparaît à deux reprises dans la ligne suivante. Mais il ne propose pas de reconstitution ni de traduction d'ensemble de cette ligne qui, en incluant les mots מדרש et/ou דויר, fasse sens.

Les objections d'Ulrich sont inspirées par une prudence justifiée, et doivent être prises en compte. Cependant, même en partant de la reconstitution minimale qu'il propose, la proposition des éditeurs reste encore la plus plausible. Que le fragment 17 doive être placé là ou non, il est probable que le mot נביאים était précédé du mot ספרי, ou כתבי. Et le fait que les lettres ך soient précédées de la préposition ב, qui figure également devant ם בספר, incitent à y voir un troisième complément du verbe כתב, même si une autre possibilité

⁵ Ulrich, "The Non-Attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT," 209, n. 27.

⁶ Le mot מדרש n'y figure que deux fois. En 2 Ch 13:22, il est question du "commentaire du prophète 'Iddo" (מדרש הנביא עדו), un ouvrage inconnu par ailleurs, et en 2 Ch 24:27, on évoque "le commentaire du livre des Rois" (מדרש ספר המלכים). Mais la séquence ספר מדרש est introuvable.

⁷ Avec ספר, on rencontre les expressions suivantes: ספר התורה (CD V 2, 4Q177 1-4 14 (+ שנית), 6Q9 21 3, 11Q19 LVI 4, . . .); ספרי התורה (CD VII 15); ספרי הנביאים (CD VII 17, 4Q266 3 iii 18); ספר ההגיון/ו (CD X 6, XIII 2, XIV 7-8, 1QSa I 7, 4Q266 8 iii 5, 4Q270 6 iv 17); ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבוועותיהם (CD XVI 3-4); ספר זכרון (CD XX 19); ספר התהלים (4Q491 17 4); ספר הוקין (4Q434 2 13); ספרים הומשים (1Q30 1 4); etc. Avec מדרש, on trouve les combinaisons: מדרש התורה (CD XX 6, 1QS VIII 15, 4Q266 11 20 (+ האחרון ?), 4Q270 7 ii 15 (+ האחרון ?); מדרש ספר מושה (4Q249 1 verso).

n'est pas complètement exclue. Il est donc vraisemblable que les auteurs de 4QMMT exhortent leur interlocuteur à comprendre et méditer ce qui est écrit dans le livre de Moïse, dans un ou des livre(s) rattachés aux prophètes, ainsi que dans "David." Mais faut-il y voir pour autant une référence à un canon tripartite?

Indépendamment des problèmes de reconstitution de la ligne 10, Timothy Lim a contesté l'interprétation qu'en donnent les éditeurs, cette fois au nom de la syntaxe. À ses yeux, il ne peut s'agir d'une référence à un canon tripartite, car il est fait référence non pas au *livre* de David, mais aux *actes* de David.⁸ La construction בְּדוֹרָיִד pour désigner "(le livre de) David" lui semble étrange. Pourtant, il cite lui-même deux exemples de références au livre de Jérémie, l'une qui utilise le mot סֵפֶר (יה) בסֵפֶר יְרֵמְיָהוּ (4Q182 1 4), tandis que l'autre ne l'utilise pas, et dit simplement: כְּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב עֲלָיו בִּירְמְיָהוּ (4QpIsa^c [4Q163] 1 4). Dans l'expression בְּדוֹרָיִד, le mot סֵפֶר pourrait donc aussi être sous-entendu. L'interprétation de Lim requière d'ailleurs elle aussi que l'on sous-entende un mot, par exemple מַעֲשֵׂי (comme dans CD V 5). Enfin, les actes de David eux-mêmes ne peuvent être connus du destinataire de 4QMMT que par l'intermédiaire d'une tradition, orale ou écrite. Lim rappelle d'ailleurs à juste titre la mystérieuse référence à un "écrit de David" (כְּתָב דְּדָוִד) en 2 Ch 35:4. Compte tenu de l'emploi du verbe הִבִּיֵן à la l.10 de 4QMMT C, il est probable que les auteurs de 4QMMT faisaient référence à un écrit relatif à David et à ses actions, que le destinataire était invité à analyser et à méditer. C'est aussi l'avis de Daniel Schwartz, qui s'est exprimé à ce sujet lors du colloque annuel organisé par le Centre Orion de l'Université Hébraïque de Jérusalem en janvier 2004.⁹ Il estime toutefois qu'il ne peut s'agir des Psaumes – et encore moins de l'ensemble des *Ketuvim* –, dans la mesure où les événements et les actions auxquels les auteurs de 4QMMT font allusion correspondent plutôt aux récits sur David et ses successeurs contenus dans 1 et 2 Samuel et 1 et 2 Rois. Il conclut par conséquent qu'il s'agit d'un livre indéterminé de ou sur David.

Il me semble toutefois que Daniel Schwartz a sous-estimé la pertinence du livre des Psaumes. Le message que veulent faire passer

⁸ Cf. T. Lim, "The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible," *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 23–37.

⁹ Communication encore non publiée. Cf. <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/symposiums/9th/papers/SchwartzAbstract.html>

les auteurs de 4QMMT est de type deutéronomiste. Appliqué aux rois d'Israël et Juda, cela donne l'historiographie deutéronomiste, à savoir l'idée que les rois qui gardent la Loi de Dieu et observent ses commandements sont bénis et sont source de bénédiction pour Israël, tandis que ceux qui se détournent de la Torah et de Dieu sont châtiés et sont source de malédiction pour leur peuple. Les auteurs de 4QMMT exhortent leur interlocuteur à comprendre ce message et à revenir à la Torah, c'est-à-dire à adopter et mettre en pratique l'interprétation de la Torah qu'eux-mêmes défendent et ont exposée dans la partie B. Ils l'invitent par conséquent à une sorte de repentance, de *teshuvah*, et c'est à ce niveau qu'intervient le pénitent par excellence qu'est le roi David. Aux yeux des auteurs de 4QMMT, David est doublement un modèle à suivre, parce qu'il fut un roi d'Israël globalement fidèle à Dieu et à sa Loi, et parce qu'il se repentit de manière exemplaire après avoir péché en organisant le meurtre d'Urie, au point d'obtenir le pardon de Dieu.¹⁰ Or ces deux aspects fondamentaux de la vie et de la royauté de David sont illustrés non seulement par 1–2 Samuel et 1 Rois, mais aussi par les Psaumes. D'un côté, 2 Samuel 22 contient une version du Psaume 18 (avec de légères variantes), de l'autre les Psaumes font partiellement référence à des événements de la vie de David, en particulier d'un point de vue spirituel. Les Psaumes présentent l'intérêt de renseigner le lecteur sur la psychologie et la spiritualité de David, d'exposer le cheminement de sa repentance, en un mot de nous livrer son âme à nu. Ils sont riches d'un enseignement spirituel (sur la repentance, le pardon divin, les bénédictions et les délivrances accordées par Dieu à celui qui marche dans ses voies, etc.) qui correspond parfaitement au message des auteurs de 4QMMT.¹¹ C'est pourquoi il est très vraisemblable que le mot "David" à la ligne 10 de la section C renvoie au livre des Psaumes, témoignage de premier plan sur les bienfaits de

¹⁰ Cette perception de David est attestée dans CD (V 5–6), dont les auteurs ne sont pas nécessairement à identifier avec ceux de 4QMMT, mais font preuve d'une certaine convergence de vues avec eux. Cf. J. de Roo, "David's Deeds in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 6 (1999): 44–65.

¹¹ Voir par exemple Ps 17:3–4 (sur la droiture de David); 18 (sur la droiture de David, la fidélité de Dieu envers celui qui est fidèle, et les victoires accordées par Dieu à David); 41:5 (David confesse son péché et demande grâce); 51 (confession de péché après la visite de Nathan, supplication, engagement à faire revenir les pécheurs dans la voie de Dieu); 40:1–4 (sur la délivrance accordée à David par Dieu, qui sera source d'enseignement pour les "nombreux"); 144:10 (sur le salut accordé à David par Dieu); etc.

la repentance et de l'obéissance à la Torah. Mais cette référence aux Psaumes n'est pas dictée par une quelconque considération de canon, et les Psaumes ne représentent pas ici l'ensemble des Ketuvim. Qohélet, Proverbes et Esther – pour n'en citer que quelques-uns – n'ont aucune raison d'être mentionnés dans le contexte de 4QMMT C. La référence aux Psaumes découle du propos des auteurs, qui, pour convaincre leur interlocuteur, cherchent à illustrer leur message par des exemples pertinents, en s'appuyant sur des témoignages écrits faisant autorité. Cette interprétation est corroborée par l'analyse littéraire du texte qui suit la ligne 10, de la ligne 11 jusqu'à la fin.

Dans un premier temps, on peut donc affirmer que la ligne 10 de 4QMMT C contient très vraisemblablement une référence à trois livres ou groupes de livres, intitulés "livre de Moïse," "(livres ou écrits des) prophètes" et "David," ce dernier renvoyant au livre des Psaumes. Comme on va le voir en étudiant la structure et le contenu de 4QMMT C 11–32, on peut même être plus précis et avancer l'hypothèse qu'il s'agit d'une référence au Deutéronome, aux livres historiques de 1–2 Samuel et 1–2 Rois (auxquels il faut peut-être ajouter Jérémie) et aux Psaumes. Pourtant, il ne s'agit nullement d'une allusion à un canon tripartite.

II. *Le propos des auteurs de 4QMMT*

L'hypothèse avancée ici est que les références introduites par les auteurs de 4QMMT ne sont pas liées à une quelconque répartition canonique, mais au souci des auteurs d'étayer leur propos par des références à des textes faisant autorité, et dont le contenu illustre ce que les auteurs de 4QMMT veulent dire à leur interlocuteur. Le statut canonique des textes ou leur place dans un soi-disant canon n'est absolument pas en jeu ici. Un texte peut jouir d'une autorité, être considéré comme inspiré, etc., sans pour autant faire partie de quelque canon que ce soit, et sans que cela présuppose l'existence d'un canon. Pour éviter l'anachronisme, il nous faut nous contenter dans un premier temps de parler de textes faisant autorité.¹²

Repartons de la ligne 10. L'interlocuteur y est exhorté à étudier, à comprendre et à méditer le "livre de Moïse," un ou des livres rat-

¹² Sur la distinction entre texte faisant autorité, Écriture et canon, voir *infra* la bibliographie des n. 24 et 25.

taché(s) à des “prophètes,” et les Psaumes. Dans le contexte de la section C, 1.10–32, on peut affirmer que le “livre de Moïse” désigne plus spécifiquement le Deutéronome. En effet, les lignes suivantes (1.11–16) fourmillent de références au Deutéronome. À la ligne 11, l’expression דָּוֹר וְדָוֹר, clairement lisible, fait penser à Dt 32:7, זָכַר דָּוֹר וְדָוֹר יָמוֹת עוֹלָם בֵּינוֹ שְׁנוֹת דָּוֹר וְדָוֹר (“Souviens-toi des jours d’autrefois, considérez le cours des années, de génération en génération”). À la suite de Moshe Bernstein, il me semble préférable de combler la lacune du début de la 1.11 par le mot שְׁנוֹת plutôt que par le mot מַעֲשֵׂי.¹³ Dans le verset biblique, c’est la racine verbale בִּין qui précède le complément שְׁנוֹת, tout comme dans 4QMMT 10 devant le complément מוֹ[שֶׁה] סִפֵּר (précédé de la préposition ב). Enfin, le sens qu’a cette expression en Dt 32:7 correspond parfaitement au propos des auteurs de 4QMMT, qui invitent par la suite leur interlocuteur à se souvenir des événements du temps de la royauté, depuis David et Salomon jusqu’à Sédécias. À la 1.12, une autre réminiscence du Deutéronome semble perceptible avec l’expression “se détourner du chemin” (reconstituée avec vraisemblance à partir de 4Q397 frag. 19 et 20), précédée des mots “Et il est aussi écrit que [.]” (וְאִף כְּחֹב שֵׁן). Il s’agit de Dt 31:29, וְסִרְתֶּם מִן הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֲחֵכֶם (“vous vous détournerez du chemin que je vous ai prescrit”), des paroles tirées des derniers discours que Moïse adresse aux fils d’Israël avant sa mort. Il leur annonce entre autres qu’ils feront ce qui déplaît à Dieu et que, dans la suite des temps, le malheur les atteindra. La formulation utilisée dans Dt 31:29 (TM) est: וּקְרָאתָ אֲחֵכֶם הִרְעָה וּקְרָאתָ [כֹּהֵן] בְּאֶחָדֵי הַיָּמִים. À la 1.12 de 4QMMT C, on lit aussi les lettres וּקְרָאתָ (4Q397 frag. 19), qui pourraient correspondre à une forme défectueuse et ramassée, avec un suffixe au singulier, des mots וּקְרָאתָ אֲחֵכֶם. Comme l’examen des lignes 13 à 16 le confirme, les auteurs de 4QMMT paraphrasent plus qu’ils ne citent le texte du Deutéronome. Voici ce qu’ils écrivent 1.13–16: “Et il adviendra que 14 s’ac[compliront] pour toi [toutes] ces [paroles], à la fi[n] des temps, la bénédiction 15 [et la] malédiction, [et tu feras revenir (ces choses)] dans ton c[œur],¹⁴ et tu reviendras à Lui de tout ton cœur 16 [et de

¹³ Cf. M.J. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations,” dans *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (éd. J. Kampen et M.J. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 49, n. 47.

¹⁴ I.e., “tu réfléchiras à ces choses.”

tou]te [ton] âme.” Dans ces lignes figure l’expression אָהַרִית הַיָּמִים (traduite ici par “fin des temps”) rencontrée en Dt 31:29. Pour Moshe Bernstein, les lignes 13 à 16 combinent par conséquent des éléments tirés de Dt 31:29 (qui inspire déjà la l.12) et de Dt 30:1–2.¹⁵ De surcroît, ces mêmes passages du Dt figurent à l’arrière-plan des l.20–21 de 4QMMT C. À la l.21, les mots בְּסֵפֶר מִן־שֵׁה ont été reconstitués à partir des fragments 11 et 12 de 4Q398. Si on accepte la juxtaposition de ces deux fragments et cette reconstitution, l’expression “livre de Moïse” renvoie à nouveau, dans ce contexte, au Deutéronome. En effet, il est question à la ligne précédente (l.20) des bénédictions et des malédictions contenues dans le livre. Or c’est avant tout le Deutéronome qui expose ce que sont les bénédictions et les malédictions à venir pour les fils d’Israël (tout particulièrement le chap. 28). En bref, les mots סֵפֶר מִן־שֵׁה (“livre de M[oïse”) de la l.10, repris dans כְּחֹב וּבְסֵפֶר (“Et dans le livre il est écrit”) l.11, ainsi qu’à la l.21 et peut-être à la l.17,¹⁶ renvoient au livre du Deutéronome. C’est en effet dans ce livre que sont rapportées les paroles que les auteurs de 4QMMT souhaitent faire méditer à leur interlocuteur.

L’utilisation de l’expression “livre de Moïse” pour introduire une citation ou une paraphrase du Deutéronome est attestée dans la Bible hébraïque. Sur quatre occurrences de l’expression “livre de Moïse” (toutes tardives), deux renvoient au Dt. Ne 13:1–2 déclare: “En ce temps-là, on lut le livre de Moïse au peuple et on y trouva écrit que l’Ammonite et le Moabite n’entreraient jamais dans l’assemblée de Dieu, parce qu’ils n’étaient pas venus au-devant des Israélites avec du pain et de l’eau, et parce qu’ils avaient soudoyé contre eux Balaam pour qu’il les maudisse; mais notre Dieu a changé la malé-

¹⁵ Cf. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT,” 47–49. Pour Steven D. Fraade, il s’agit plutôt d’une combinaison de Dt 30:1–3 et Dt 4:30 (qui contient également l’expression אָהַרִית הַיָּמִים (cf. “Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in Miqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah (4QMMT): The Case of the Blessings and Curses,” *DSD* 10 [2003]: 150–61). Mais compte tenu de la l.12, la proposition de Bernstein est plus convaincante. À moins qu’il ne faille considérer que les rédacteurs de 4QMMT avaient ces *trois* passages du Deutéronome simultanément à l’esprit. M. Kister penche pour cette troisième possibilité; il lui semble que l’expression אָהַרִית הַיָּמִים s’explique plutôt par l’influence de Dt 4:30 (cf. “Studies in 4QMiqsat Ma’ase ha-Torah,” 349).

¹⁶ La reconstitution de la l.17 est problématique, car elle est fondée sur plusieurs tout petits fragments de 4Q397, dont le placement n’est pas tout à fait sûr. C’est le cas en particulier pour le frag. 21, qui contient les lettres וּבְסֵפֶר מִן־שֵׁה à partir desquelles les éditeurs ont proposé la reconstitution כְּחֹב וּבְסֵפֶר מִן־שֵׁה וּבְסֵפֶר־יְהוָה.

diction en bénédiction.” Il s’agit d’une paraphrase condensée de Dt 23:4–6. De même, d’après 2 Ch 25:4, le roi Amatsia fit mettre à mort les meurtriers de son père, “mais il ne mit pas à mort leurs fils, car, selon ce qui est écrit dans la Loi, dans le livre de Moïse, le Seigneur avait donné cet ordre: “Les pères ne mourront pas pour les fils, les fils ne mourront pas pour les pères; chacun mourra pour son propre péché”.” Il s’agit cette fois d’une citation de Dt 24:16. Dans les deux autres cas (Esd 6:18 et 2 Ch 35:12), l’expression “livre de Moïse” ne semble pas associée à un texte précis, et peut renvoyer à différents passages de la Torah. On rencontre aussi l’expression “dans le livre de la Loi de Moïse.” Ainsi, 2 R 14:6, le passage parallèle à 2 Ch 25:4, contient l’expression “dans le livre de la Loi de Moïse” (בספר תורה מושה), là où le rédacteur de 2 Ch utilise l’expression “dans la Loi, dans le livre de Moïse” (בתורה בספר מושה). On peut se demander si en choisissant cette formulation plutôt que celle de 2 R, le rédacteur de 2 Ch a voulu introduire une précision. Quoi qu’il en soit, dans 2 R 14:6, l’expression “livre de la Loi de Moïse” renvoie au Dt, puisqu’elle introduit la citation de Dt 24:16. Tel est également le cas dans deux autres textes qui utilisent l’expression “livre de la Loi de Moïse,” Jos 8:31 et 23:6, qui renvoient respectivement à Dt 27:5–6 et à une association de Dt 5:32 (pour la formulation) et de Dt 7:1–6 (pour le contenu).¹⁷ Dans le cas de Ne 8:1, dernière occurrence de l’expression “livre de la Loi de Moïse,” le contexte ne permet pas de déterminer avec certitude s’il s’agit d’une référence au Dt, à un autre livre de la Torah, ou à l’ensemble des cinq livres. Mais le temps consacré à sa lecture publique (une demi-journée) laisse penser qu’il ne s’agit que d’un seul livre, et donc probablement du Dt. Quant à l’expression “livre de Moïse” dans les textes de Qumrân, son emploi est rare, et parfois dénué de contexte permettant de savoir de quel(s) livre(s) il s’agissait.¹⁸ Dans le cas de 4Q249 verso 1, on peut supposer que l’expression désignait

¹⁷ A. van der Kooij relève pour sa part que “(…) the reference to “the law of Moses” in Josh 1,7 does not refer to the *torah* in the sense of the Pentateuch, but rather in the sense of the law of Deuteronomy” (“Canonization of Ancient Hebrew Books and Hasmonean Politics,” dans *The Biblical Canons* [éd. J.-M. Auwers, H.J. de Jonge; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003], 27–38, citation 28).

¹⁸ Cf. 2Q25 1 3 (pas de contexte); 4Q174 1–2 i 2 (suivi d’une citation de l’Exode; mais le mot “Moïse” est reconstitué dans la lacune); 4Q197 4 ii 6 (= Tobit 6:13; le mot “livre” est reconstitué dans la lacune; mais on ne connaît pas de texte biblique prévoyant la mort dans un tel cas); 4Q249 1 verso 1.

plusieurs livres (et peut-être même l'ensemble du Pentateuque), puisque le texte au recto semble contenir des références à Lv 14:40–45 et à Ex 7:18. Par-delà la variété des usages, il faut insister sur le fait que, dans la Bible hébraïque, les expressions “livre de Moïse” et “livre de la Loi de Moïse” sont fréquemment utilisées pour introduire des références à des passages du Deutéronome. Il me semble que tel est aussi le cas dans 4QMMT C.

Pour illustrer leur propos, les auteurs font de surcroît référence à des livres ou écrits associés aux prophètes. Or, qu'observe-t-on dans le passage correspondant aux lignes 18 à 24? Le thème deutéronomique des bénédictions et des malédictions¹⁹ y est repris, mais en lien avec l'histoire d'Israël/Juda, pour montrer que certaines des prédictions de Moïse se sont accomplies. On y évoque donc aussi bien Salomon (l.18), du temps duquel se réalisa la grande bénédiction de la construction du temple, que Jéroboam et Sédécias (l.19), auxquels se rattachent la malédiction de la division d'Israël en deux royaumes et celle de la chute du royaume de Juda lors de la conquête babylonienne. Après avoir rappelé tout cela, les auteurs de 4QMMT affirment alors que la “fin des temps” évoquée dans les textes du Dt mentionnés *supra* correspond à leur époque (l.21: וזה הוא אחרית הדינים). Cette fin des temps implique que certains fils d'Israël se convertiront (*i.e.*, reviendront à la Torah), tandis que d'autres persévéreront dans leur erreur et leur impiété (l.21–22). Vient alors l'appel adressé directement à leur interlocuteur, probablement un chef politique et/ou religieux (cf. l.27), de se souvenir de l'exemple des rois d'Israël qui ont observé scrupuleusement les commandements de la Torah, et à qui cela valut d'être sauvés de nombreuses épreuves (l.23–24). Les lignes 25–26 reprennent en outre cet argument à propos de David, modèle royal par excellence, ce qui est une preuve de continuité entre les lignes 18 à 24 (4Q398 11–13) d'une part et les lignes 25 à 32 (4Q398 14–17 ii) de l'autre.²⁰ Le message du Deutéronome

¹⁹ Sur ce thème dans la partie finale de 4QMMT, voir l'analyse de S.D. Fraade dans “Rhetoric and Hermeneutics” (même s'il s'intéresse davantage à la façon dont 4QMMT était lu et reçu dans la communauté liée à Qumrân qu'au contexte original de sa rédaction; cf. “To Whom It May Concern. 4QMMT and its Addressee(s),” *RevQ* 19/76 [2000]: 507–526). Cf. également l'article de von Weissenberg, “4QMMT – Towards an Understanding of the Epilogue,” dans lequel elle note l'importance de ce thème, et celle du Dt comme source d'inspiration pour l'ensemble de 4QMMT (du moins en ce qui concerne les parties B et C).

²⁰ Comparer מצול מצרות רבות à la l.24 et מצל מצרות רבות [מצל] à la l.26. Sur le placement de 4Q398 11–13, cf. *supra*, n. 1.

est donc illustré à partir d'exemples historiques tirés des livres de Samuel et des Rois. En ce qui concerne Sédécias, on peut considérer que le livre de Jérémie est également une source possible.²¹ Dans le contexte de 4QMMT C, la référence aux (écrits ou livres des) prophètes à la 1.10 renvoie par conséquent à ces livres, et non à Malachie ou Zacharie par exemple. Il ne s'agit pas d'une référence à une hypothétique seconde partie du canon, mais aux livres qui correspondent au propos des auteurs. S'ils ont utilisé une expression générale du type ספרי הנביאים, c'est parce qu'ils faisaient référence à plusieurs livres en même temps (au moins 1–2 Samuel et 1–2 Rois), et peut-être aussi parce qu'ils ne disposaient pas d'un titre précis pour ces livres, à la différence d'autres livres prophétiques attribués à des auteurs individuels, que l'on pouvait désigner par le nom du prophète auquel ils se rattachaient (comme "le livre d'Isaïe" ou "le livre de Zacharie").²²

En dernier lieu, aux lignes 25–26, l'exemple de David vient couronner la démonstration effectuée à l'aide de la référence générale aux "rois d'Israël" (1.23–24). Ceux qui ont cherché à observer les commandements de la Torah ont vu leurs fautes pardonnées, et il en va de même pour David, qualifié d'"homme pieux" (איש חסדים) 1.25.²³ Lui aussi, il fut sauvé de nombreuses épreuves et il lui fut pardonné (sous-entendu: pour le meurtre d'Urie). Le destinataire sait bien que c'est la repentance de David et sa fidélité à Dieu qui lui ont valu ces bénédictions. La fin du texte, qui exhorte le destinataire à étudier l'interprétation de la Torah que défendent les auteurs de 4QMMT, et à demander à Dieu la grâce de ne pas être induit en erreur par Bélial, ne laisse aucun doute quant à l'interprétation qu'il faut donner de l'exemple de David et des autres rois. Le destinataire est poliment invité à s'examiner, à se repentir et à changer d'avis sur plusieurs points d'exégèse et de *halakha*, afin d'être compté au nombre des rois "chercheurs de la Loi" (1.24).

²¹ Cf. Jr 34:37–39 et 52.

²² Voir par exemple 4Q174 1–2 i 15 (pour Isaïe); 4Q163 8–10 8 (pour Zacharie). D'autres références sont données par Lim, "The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible," 32–33.

²³ Sur la piété de David, cf. Is 55:3 et 2 Ch 6:42. Par-delà l'emploi de l'expression חסדי דוד, la piété de David est illustrée par plusieurs psaumes; voir par exemple Ps 69:10: "Car la passion jalouse de ta maison me dévore, et les outrages de ceux qui t'outragent tombent sur moi (etc.)."

En résumé, l'analyse du contenu de la section C, l.10–32, révèle la parfaite cohérence du discours adressé par les auteurs à leur interlocuteur. Les références aux textes et aux personnages bibliques correspondent successivement au Deutéronome, à 1–2 Samuel et 1–2 Rois (peut-être accompagnés de Jérémie) et aux Psaumes, que l'on peut donc identifier comme étant les livres désignés respectivement par “le livre de M[oise],” “[les écrits ou livres des pro]phètes” et “Dav[id].”

Conclusion

En conseillant l'étude de ces trois livres ou ensembles de livres à leur interlocuteur, les rédacteurs de 4QMMT ne se réfèrent pas à un canon, mais à des livres dont le contenu illustre leur propos et qui faisaient autorité. Pour reprendre la terminologie d'Ulrich, on peut parler à ce propos d’“authoritative texts,” voire de “scriptures”.²⁴ De même, Armin Lange estime qu'au 2^e siècle av. n. è. on passe de la notion de textes faisant autorité (“authoritative literature”) à celle d'Écriture (“scripture”).²⁵ La manière dont les auteurs de 4QMMT se réfèrent aux textes qui font pour eux autorité l'amène à conclure que dans 4QMMT, le concept d'Écriture est déjà présent. Mais cela n'implique pas pour autant l'existence d'un canon, ni d'un texte unifié ou standardisé. Comme l'écrit Armin Lange, “(. . .) what enabled communication between the Essenes, the Jerusalem high priest, and

²⁴ Le terme “scripture” (ou “book of scripture”) désigne “a sacred authoritative text which, in the Jewish or Christian context, the community acknowledges as having authority over the faith and practice of its members.” Mais cela n'implique pas qu'une liste de ces textes ait été établie de manière définitive et exclusive; en d'autres termes, cela n'implique pas l'existence d'un “canon of Scripture.” Cf. E. Ulrich, “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible,” dans *‘Sha’arei Talmon’: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (éd. M. Fishbane et al.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267–91 (voir 269–76); idem, “Canon,” dans *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (éd. L.H. Schiffman et J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:117–20 (citation 117); idem, “Qumran and the Canon of the Old Testament,” dans *The Biblical Canons*, 57–80 (voir 77). Voir également J.J. Collins, *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (JSJS 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 3–21 (Chapter One: Before the Canon. Scriptures in Second Temple Judaism), en particulier 8: “In fact, all the available evidence suggests that the category of Scriptures, or authoritative writings, was open-ended throughout the Second Temple period.”

the Pharisees depended neither on a closed collection like the later canon of the Hebrew Bible, nor on a standardized text form. (. . .) It was the principle of reference to scripture as such that provided unity amid the plurality of quoted text-types, texts, and interpretations.”²⁶ 4QMMT témoigne par conséquent de l’autorité dont jouissaient certains livres au 2^e siècle av. n. è. De l’existence de livres faisant autorité, on peut déduire celle d’un processus de canonisation, mais pas celle d’un canon (au sens d’une liste exclusive, qu’elle soit constituée de deux, de trois ou de quatre parties).

Ainsi, rien ne permet d’exclure que les auteurs de 4QMMT aient considéré les Psaumes comme un texte prophétique, ainsi que le faisaient les auteurs de certains textes de Qumrân.²⁷ Cela n’impliquerait pas pour autant de voir en C 10 une attestation d’un canon bipartite, puisque tel n’est pas le propos des auteurs. Voir dans toute liste de plusieurs livres une attestation d’une forme de canon est un travers moderne, lié à l’occultation de la question: “Que vise-t-on quand on fait référence à des livres?” et à l’oubli d’un fait très simple: on ne se réfère pas à un livre uniquement pour son statut, mais aussi – et peut-être avant tout – pour son contenu. Le fait que les auteurs de 4QMMT aient distingué “(le livre de) David” des “(livres ou écrits des) prophètes” peut s’expliquer par le fait qu’ils disposaient d’un

²⁵ Cf. A. Lange, “From Literature to Scripture. The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library,” dans *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological and Philosophical Perspectives* (éd. Chr. Helmer et Chr. Landmesser; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 51–107. Pour J.G. Campbell, la notion d’Écriture (“scripture”) n’implique pas non plus celle de canon: “(. . .) canon is reserved for a closed corpus of writings defined by what is rejected as much as by what is included, whereas ‘scripture’ more loosely denotes any authoritative work or works, irrespective of canonical status” (“4QMMT^d and the Tripartite Canon,” *JJS* 51 [2000]: 181–90). Il en va de même pour G. Xeravits (“Considerations on Canon and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The Qumran Chronicle* 9/2 [2000]: 165–78), qui estime toutefois que les Écritures étaient composées de trois groupes (à propos de 4QMMT, cf. 174–75).

²⁶ Lange, “From Literature to Scripture. The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library,” 106.

²⁷ Cf. le *peshet* sur les Psaumes (1Q16, 4Q171 et 4Q173) et la remarque dans 11QPs^a XXVII 11 selon laquelle David composa des psaumes בנבואה. J.G. Campbell considère que les Psaumes font probablement partie des “Prophètes,” et que 4QMMT témoigne par conséquent de l’existence d’un canon bipartite plutôt que tripartite (cf. “4QMMT^d and the Tripartite Canon,” 189–90). De même pour C.A. Evans, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Canon of Scripture in the Time of Jesus,” dans *The Bible at Qumran. Text, Shape and Interpretation* (éd. P.W. Flint; Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 2001), 67–79 (voir 77).

titre précis pour les Psaumes et qu'ils voulaient insister sur ce livre en particulier à cause de ses spécificités. Dans le cas des livres aujourd'hui qualifiés de "premiers prophètes," ou "livres historiques," qui ne sont attribués ni à Nathan, ni à Élie, ni à aucune autre personnalité prophétique précise, seule l'appellation "livres des prophètes" était alors disponible.²⁸ Il semble que, de même que l'expression "livre de Moïse" pouvait renvoyer à l'ensemble du Pentateuque ou, dans certains cas, au seul livre du Deutéronome, de même l'expression "livres des prophètes" pouvait désigner les livres prophétiques en général, mais aussi un groupe plus réduit, qu'il s'agisse des livres historiques ou de plusieurs livres prophétiques auxquels on se référerait conjointement, et que l'on ne pouvait plus désigner de manière individuelle. La ligne 10 de 4QMMT C pose en définitive la question des titres attribués dans l'Antiquité à ces livres qui par la suite constitueront la "Bible." Mais cette question déborde le cadre de l'étude de 4QMMT, et même celle des seuls manuscrits de la mer Morte.

²⁸ À la différence des livres prophétiques qui pouvaient être désignés par le nom de leur auteur présumé, comme Isaïe, Jérémie, etc., et aussi Daniel, considéré comme un livre prophétique à Qumrân, et classé dans les *Ketuvim* par la suite; cf. en particulier 4Q174 1-3 ii 3; Lim, "The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible," 33-34.

THE STRUCTURE OF 1QH^A XII 5–XIII 4 AND THE MEANING OF RESURRECTION

George J. Brooke
Manchester

1. *Introduction*

This essay suggests that much of the debate about whether or not belief in resurrection pervades the sectarian Dead Sea scrolls might have been based on false definitions and misconceived dichotomies.¹ For some, if there is no explicit reference to the eschatological bodily rising of the dead from the underworld to receive the reward or punishment of their deeds, then texts do not speak of resurrection. Since very few sectarian compositions from the Qumran caves talk in these well-defined terms, it is thought that those who compiled and collected them must have had a minimalist approach to the topic and might not have held tenaciously to doctrines of bodily resurrection at all. Part of the argument in this case rests on the idea that many of the sectarian compositions do indeed discuss the circumstances of the community in eschatological terms, but explicit resurrection language seems to be rare.² For others, the issue is not to be conceived in matters of the presence or absence of certain items of vocabulary; rather, the debate surrounds whether the small amount of resurrection terminology that there is refers explicitly to a future bodily hope or to a present experiential possibility.³

¹ A handsome description of the principal views and the main features of the debate is offered by G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Resurrection," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 764–67.

² Among those who have played down less explicit references to resurrection and so concluded that there was virtually no doctrine of resurrection in the Qumran community are G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 144–69, and J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 111–28.

³ Among those who have preferred to read the sectarian evidence as concerning the present experiences of the community, that the language is about a this-worldly

Émile Puech has been at the forefront of this debate for many years and has argued in fine detail that a future eschatological bodily resurrection is to be found explicitly or in allusion in many of the sectarian compositions.⁴ Furthermore for Puech, as for some others, the north-south orientation of the graves at Khirbet Qumran is a strong indication of an expectation that it was necessary for bodies to be buried in such a way as would facilitate their participation in the day of resurrection when it arrived from the north.⁵

To insist on the presence of certain words and phrases or to require that future eschatological expectation alone determines belief in bodily resurrection is to polarize the discussion in ways that might not be helpful for the better appreciation of what the authors of the sectarian compositions were trying to say. There can be no doubt that those who collected the scrolls together in the eleven caves at or near Qumran knew about bodily resurrection.⁶ To begin with, the standard scriptural passages relating to the revival of Israel and which in early Jewish literature are understood as referring to bodily resurrection are found in the Qumran collection: Hos 6:1–3, Ezek 37, and Isa 26:13–21 were all known, quoted or copied by the Qumran scribes.⁷ Dan 12:1–3, the only explicit non-metaphorical

move from death to life are H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 44–88 and Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 152–56.

⁴ See especially É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?* (EB 21–22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993); “Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament,” *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 235–56; “Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *RevQ* 18/70 (1997): 255–98, esp. 287–97; “La conception de la vie future dans le livre de Sagesse et les manuscrits de la mer Morte: un aperçu,” *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 209–32; “La croyance à la résurrection des justes dans un texte qumranien de sagesse,” *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume; Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (ed. C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S.M. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 427–44.

⁵ See É. Puech, “The Necropolises of Khirbet Qumrân and ‘Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in Afterlife,” *BASOR* 312 (1998): 21–31.

⁶ See the similar quick summary of the Qumran data on resurrection by N.T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Christian Origins and the Question of God 3; London: SPCK, 2003); Wright argues, perhaps a little too forcefully, that physical resurrection was an exclusively Jewish belief in the Graeco-Roman world.

⁷ Hos 6:1–3 is especially important for this study because it is alluded to in the opening of the poem in 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4.

reference to bodily resurrection in the Hebrew Bible,⁸ was also known; it does not refer only to the exaltation of the teachers of Israel. In addition Qumran cave 4 also contained significant parts of *1 Enoch*, including fragments of *1 En.* 22 in which Enoch visits the abode of the dead and parts of chs. 26–27 which Nickelsburg, for one, considers to be using imagery based on the understanding of a bodily resurrection.⁹

In addition to these traditions two apparently non-sectarian compositions also seem to refer to a bodily resurrection. In 4Q385 2 5–10 a reworking of Ezek 37:4–10 reads as follows:

(5) [And He said :] “Son of man, prophesy over the bones and speak and let them be j[oi]ned bone to its bone and joint (6) [to its joint.” And it wa]s so. And He said a second time: “Prophesy and let arteries come upon them and let skin cover them (7) [from above.” And it was so.] And He said: “Prophesy once again over the four winds of heaven and let them blow breath (8) [into the slain.” And it was so,] and a large crowd of people came [to li]fe and blessed the Lord Sebaoth wh[o] (9) [had given them life. *vacat* And] I said: “O Lord! When shall these things come to be?” And the Lord said to m[e]: “Until] (10) [after da]ys a tree shall bend and shall stand erect[]¹⁰

D. Dimant has recognized that this interpretation of Ezek 37 presents “the future reward for the righteous in the form of resurrection. Thus Pseudo-Ezekiel constitutes the most ancient witness to such an exegesis of Ezek 37:1–14, later popular with Jewish and Christian authors.”¹¹ This understanding has been very widely accepted. In addition to noting this explicit understanding of physical resurrection, the passage is also tantalizing in what it has to say through the image of the tree. Dimant considers several scriptural background possibilities (Ezek 37:16–20, 24; Deut 20:19; Isa 65:22) and she concludes that “the tree that will bend and stand erect may then stand as a symbol for death and resurrection.”¹² With regard to the verb

⁸ So, amongst many others, J.J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 391–92.

⁹ G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).

¹⁰ Edited and translated by D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 24.

¹¹ Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, 9.

¹² Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, 29; she thus agrees with É. Puech, “L’image de l’arbre en 4QDeutéro-Ézéchiél (4Q385 2, 9–10),” *RevQ* 16/63 (1994): 429–40 that the tree has nothing to do with the

“stand erect,” intriguingly the root קָרַח is linked with recompense to the righteous and resurrection in 4Q521 2 ii + 4 8–12, where the expression $\text{וַיִּקָּרְחַם כְּפֹרִים}$ is taken from Ps 146:8, as Dimant has noted.¹³

4Q521 contains the other non-sectarian composition in which there is an explicit reference to the resurrection of the dead. 4Q521 2 ii + 4 12–14 has been edited and translated by É. Puech as follows:

(12) car Il guérira les (mortellement) blessés et les morts Il fera reviver, les humbles Il évangélisera (13) et les [pauvre]s Il comblera, les expulsés Il conduira et les affamés Il enrichira/invitera au banquet (?) (14) et les *inst[r]uits* (?)—,] et tous, comme des *sai[nts]* (?) ils—]¹⁴

Puech has noted that the phrase “les morts Il fera reviver” ($\text{מְחַיֶּה הַמֵּתִים}$) has many scriptural and non-scriptural counterparts¹⁵ and he has commented that it is important to see that this activity is just one amongst several marvellous divine deeds in the messianic age. Puech rightly points to the passage later in the same manuscript (4Q521 7 1–8 + 5 ii 7–16) where there is a similarly explicit reference to resurrection of the dead: $\text{וַיְחַיֶּה אֱלֹהֵי מִתֵּי עָמוֹ}$. Puech translates this line (line 6) as “le Vivificateur [ressus]citera les morts de Son peuple.”¹⁶ The tangible way in which in both passages in 4Q521 the Hebrew concerns the revivification of the dead or their resuscitation is enough to make the phraseology resonate with a corporeal physicality that is quite other than mention of an immortality of the soul alone.

Altogether there can be no doubt that there is ample explicit attestation in the non-sectarian compositions found in the Qumran caves of a belief in bodily resurrection. The Qumran sectarians must have known about the belief, even if it was not a major part of their creed. Furthermore it must be noted that nowhere in the scrolls, sectarian or otherwise, is there any explicit attempt to deny such a belief.

Tree of Life as proposed by M. Philonenko, “Un arbre se courbera et se redressera (4Q385 2 9–10),” *RHPR* 73 (1994): 401–404; similar arguments can be made against the view of A. Jack, “An Arboreal Sign of the End-Time (4Q385 2),” *JJS* 47 (1996): 337–44.

¹³ Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, 29.

¹⁴ É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 11.

¹⁵ Puech notes the following: Deut 32: 39b; 1 Sam 2:6; Hos 6:2; Isa 26:14, 19; Matt 11:5c; Luke 7:22c; John 5:21, 25; *Sib. Or.* 4:178–90; *y. Ber.* 4:7; *Tg. Neof.* Gen 19:26.

¹⁶ Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: textes hébreux*, 24.

2. 1QH^a

I have argued in the previous section that eschatological bodily resurrection was certainly known about by the sectarians who collected the scrolls together in their library. The purpose of this section of the essay is to agree with those who propose that the author or authors of several of the individual thanksgiving hymns also knew about it, but to go beyond most of what has previously been discussed in relation to such an observation. I want to suggest that what is interesting about the use of the language of bodily resurrection is not whether the author or authors of the Hodayot believed in an eschatological physical resuscitation but to consider what meaningful purpose the appropriation of such language by the implied speakers actually signified.

a. 1QH^a XI 19–23 and XIX 10–14

In several places the poetry of the Hodayot reflects on experience in terms of life and death and life again (afterlife). In particular 1QH^a XI 19–23 and XIX 10–14 are the passages most often cited to indicate that those who composed them shared with some of their contemporaries, sectarian and otherwise, a belief in an eschatological physical resurrection, though often the purpose of the scholarly citation of these passages has been to indicate that such an expectation was rendered superfluous as its significance was brought into the present.¹⁷ Both passages are worth citing:

(XI 19) I thank you, Lord, because you have saved my life from the pit, and from the Sheol of Abaddon (20) have lifted me up to an everlasting height, so that I can walk on a boundless plain. And I know that there is hope for someone (21) you fashioned out of dust for an everlasting community. The depraved spirit you have purified from great offence so that he can take a place with (22) the host of the holy ones, and can enter communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven. You cast eternal destiny for man with the spirits of (23) knowledge, so that he praises your name in the community of jubilation, and tells of your wonders before all your creatures.¹⁸

¹⁷ As argued for 1QH^a XI 19–23 by H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 44–66.

¹⁸ Trans. F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1QJ–4Q273)* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000),

The second passage is:

(XIX 10) For the sake of your glory, you have purified man from offence, so that he can make himself holy (11) for you from every impure abominations and guilt of unfaithfulness, to become united wi[th] the sons of your truth and in the lot with (12) your holy ones, to raise the worms of the dead from the dust, to an ever[lasting] community and from a depraved spirit, to [your] knowledge, (13) so that he can take his place in your presence with the perpetual host and the spirits [. . .], to renew him with everything (14) that will exist, and with those who know in a community of jubilation.¹⁹

In both these passages certain themes recur: there are references, albeit metaphorical in one case, to physical death; there is a sense of participation with the angels, particularly in celebratory worship of the divine; and there is the sense of the need to share this knowledge with others. We will return to all these themes in the analysis of XII 5–XIII 4.

b. *1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4: Recent Interpretations*

Alongside these much discussed short excerpts, I wish to consider the whole extant poem of 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4. Not quite all the text is preserved, as there is damage at the bottom of one column and at the top of the next, but more than enough remains to enable a detailed analysis of the whole poem. In recent studies this poem has been the subject of some close comment by at least four scholars.

First, there is not surprisingly a set of detailed comments by Puech himself.²⁰ Puech is not concerned with the poem as a whole but with some elements or motifs in what he identifies as strophe 6. He argues that certain elements of the phraseology can only be suitably understood if they are considered to be referring to the last judgment. So,

165–66. With many others, but on the basis of a more detailed analysis, M. Douglas considers this an integral part of the collection of so-called “Teacher Hymns;” see his “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998), 243–45.

¹⁹ Trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1QJ–4Q273)*, 189. On the basis of comparison with the extent of the Cave 4 copies of the Hodayot M. Douglas considers that this section belongs to an appendix to the “Teacher Hymn” collection: “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14,” 240–44.

²⁰ Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle?*, 363–66.

for him, “At the judgment you will annihilate all the men of deception (והזכרה במ[שפ]ט כול אנשי מרמה)” (XII 20)²¹ recalls the phrasing of XIV 32 in which the context is most obviously that of the last judgment. Or again, similar conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the wording of the end of strophe 6, “ils se tiendront devant Toi à jamais, ils seront afermis pour toujours (יעמודו לפניכה לעד . . . יכונן)” (XII 21–22).²² Puech admits that the end-time resurrection is not explicit in this passage, but he justifiably understands the language of the poetry to be referring to future expectations, not to some form of realised eschatology experienced in the life of the community. I agree with Puech here and the point of this study is to suggest that other matters in the same poem confirm his view by permitting the reader to understand how the poet appropriates the language to be associated with an expectation of final bodily resurrection for describing his speaker’s (possibly his own) experiences. Thereby he shows not only what he believed about that final resurrection, but also what he thought about his speaker’s present status before God. It is necessary to go beyond Puech’s observations on a couple of phrases to see how this whole poem illuminates the meaning of resurrection for its author.

Second, in addition to the thematic analysis of some details by Puech, the poem has also been investigated by M.C. Douglas.²³ Douglas is preoccupied with the literary unity of the poem. He is clear that the first part (XII 5–29) is a “Teacher Hymn,” but, along with several scholars of an earlier generation, he suspects that the second part (XII 29–XIII 4) is a secondary interpolation. As a result of his literary study he reads the poem from two interrelated perspectives. To begin with, the first part can be viewed as a source for reconstructing aspects of the Teacher’s biography (not least because of the mention of his exile in 1QH^a XII 10–11); in a corresponding way the same section can be read for evidence of the Teacher’s own self-understanding (because of his “signature phrase” in XII 10 and 25: “when you exercise your power through me”). Second, the

²¹ The line numbers and English translation are those of García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1Q1–4Q273)*, 168–69.

²² Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle?*, 365.

²³ M.C. Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14,” 100–12.

whole poem provides firm evidence that the so-called “Teacher Hymns” cannot be distinguished clearly from the so-called “Community Hymns,” because the secondary interpolation stands halfway between the two types of hymn. His concerns are thus based on the relationship between the overall redaction of the Hodayot and what might be known about the Teacher, both as author and as leader. He is not explicitly concerned with whether the Teacher knew about eschatological bodily resurrection and whether he believed in it for himself, but he does make the astute observation that the phrase that introduces what may be classed as the secondary interpolation uses the term “flesh” (בשר), a feature of the compositions that frame the “Teacher Hymns,” rather than of the “Teacher Hymns” themselves. He identifies this as a feature of the motif of incongruity, the stress between the revelation of God and the recipient of the revelation, which thus distinguishes the interpolation from the main body of the poem. Although Douglas’s study may be correct on the compositional history of the poem at hand, it does not diminish the effect of the combination of afterlife motifs in the final form of the poem as it is now presented in 1QH^a. To those motifs I shall return below.

Third, the study by C. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*,²⁴ provides amongst many other things, a fascinating reading of this very same piece of poetry. It is intriguing that in attempting to describe and define the meaning and significance of the poem Newsom presents it through an analysis that is both literary and psychological—in a striking way theological terms are almost entirely absent. It is unclear whether this is a deliberate attempt at secularising the poetry to enable its broader universally illuminating human insights to emerge from the dark caves of Qumran or an unintended avoidance of theology to preserve the text from falling into abuse in the resurrection debate. Nevertheless Newsom’s descriptions disclose much of the meaning of the hymn in terms of its social function in the formation of self-identity.

Newsom recognizes that 1QH^a contains a complex sequence of poems, each of which has distinctive traits, although there are many shared items as well. For 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4 she notes that it is particularly closely related, in terms of its “projection of antithetical

²⁴ C.A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

rival discourses” and its striking similarities of diction, to 1QH^a X 3–19 which puts the leader at the centre of things in not initiating conflict with outsiders but in concentrating “on the cultivation of a closed community of truth.”²⁵ Newsom wonders whether 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4 was conceived as a programmatic development of the closing ideas of 1QH^a X 3–19, but because of its ambition she defines it as “the map of truth,” an attempt to sketch out “a map of an ideology of truth and the kind of identities implied by such an ideology.”²⁶

Newsom’s interests with identities and ideologies, their constructions, complexities, self-contradictions, and fresh confirmations, inhibits her use of theological categories for describing what is taking place in this poem, despite her insistence that the poem projects a claim to a particular knowledge of God’s will as the key to reality. She proposes that the poem is to be divided into two literary parts, but unlike Douglas she does not see those as belonging to different literary layers. In the first part most of the subunits are introduced either by the third person plural personal pronoun (הֵמָּה/הֵם) or by the second person singular pronoun (אַתָּה), directly addressed to God; in the second part the first person singular pronoun (אֲנִי) introduces most of the subunits. Beyond such telling syntactical markers Newsom thinks that the *hodayah* does not seem to be highly structured at the poetic level.²⁷ Furthermore, it is noteworthy that in her analysis of the poem she makes little reference to any particular scriptural allusions that may be discerned in the composition; for her, identity is not to be constructed out of implicit appeals to tradition but through current claims and symbolic counter-claims.

In the first part of the poem Newsom proposes that the overriding concern is a poetic attempt to account for the sectarian community’s rejection by the larger society. The rejection is portrayed in part as nonsensical or irrational (XII 8), but mostly as the result of seductive villainy perpetrated by those false teachers who are the

²⁵ Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 311.

²⁶ Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 311.

²⁷ Newsom provides an English translation laid out in strophes of various lengths reflecting her view of a lack of detailed poetic structure and she provides the Hebrew text in half-lines: Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 312–18. To save space, rather than reproduce the whole here, readers are referred to her translation and transcription of the text.

mirror image of the implied speaker himself. Newsom understands this as primarily symbolic, though she does not deny the possibility that the poet envisaged actual social rivals. In the first part of the poem the actors are the speaker and his false opponents and the people of God they have led astray. In the second part of the poem the speaker's own community come into the frame as a counter-balance to the stray people of God of the first part.²⁸ The strategy of the poem is thus to expose the impossibility of resolving the contradictions between the speaker and the false teachers, between the speaker and the seduced people of God, and between the speaker's followers and the false teachers; the only viable relationship is between the speaker and his followers ("through me you have caused light to shine upon the faces of the many" XII 27). Newsom describes the consequence of this viability as "eschatological salvation"²⁹ which has its counterpart in the eschatological destruction of the false teachers and the people they have led astray. There is thus a present contradiction projected in the poem that is resolved by means of an eschatological perspective; intriguingly Newsom demonstrates how the poem makes sense of contemporary issues by reference to the eschaton.

Newsom's reading of the poem is intensified through her keen observation that the poem is mostly about a polarisation between the material attached to the use of the two pronouns, predominantly "they/them" in the first half of the poem and "I" in the second half. The opposition is not one of ignorance and knowledge, because "they" are characterized not as the ignorant but as liars, those who understand but who deliberately pervert knowledge, those who know the truth of God but assert their own autonomy over against it (XII 17–18).³⁰ Over against such double dealing the speaker asserts a kind of self-denial, the recognition of the worthlessness of every being unless fashioned anew through the recognition of God's power and compassion; such self-abnegation is an act of empowerment as long as strength and comfort is derived from the assertion of divine sovereignty rather than from any sense of self-righteousness.

²⁸ Newsom comments appealingly that "the little drama described in this hodayah is one that in romance novels one would recognize as seduction and betrayal versus redemption through true love": *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 320.

²⁹ Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 321, referring to 1QH^a XII 24–25.

³⁰ Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 324.

Newsom has caught the force of the final form of the poem in a convincing manner but, apart from the motif of “eschatological salvation,” her theological reticence requires some supplementation. In part that is provided by the fourth recent analysis, a study by J.A. Hughes whose overall assessment of this poem is based largely on appreciating its allusions to scriptural passages.³¹ Hughes divides the poem into two sections:³² first, an introduction and complaint against enemies (XII 5–29a), which has four subunits (and introductory stanza, XII 5–6; two sections on the speaker and his enemies, XII 6–13, and 14–22, which have together have four “and they” units; and a climactic conclusion, XII 22–29); second, a prayer of confession and commitment (XII 29b–XIII 5), whose chief characteristic is the four “and I” subsections.³³ She uses two features to discern how the poem is organized and to describe its significance: the poetics of the poem, which includes a range of markers, such as the frequent use of pronouns,³⁴ and the use of scriptural allusions. For the first section she notes that the conjunction with the third person plural pronoun is used four times (XII 6, 9, 13, 16); for her second section she notes the balancing use of the first person pronoun four times (XII 30, 33, 35 and probably 39), though she resists seeing anything chiasmic in the balancing construction. The mixture of explicit pronouns produces less structural clarity in what she labels a “climactic conclusion” to the first part (XII 22b–29a).

For scriptural background Hughes notes a wide range of texts, distinguishing between those that are very likely to have been in the mind of the poet and those that might possibly also be present. The

³¹ J.A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 95–134. Hughes completed her work as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Manchester before Newsom’s study was published. The revised form of her dissertation now takes account of Newsom’s work. I am grateful to Dr Hughes for many long conversations on the structure of this poem and for sharing the page-proofs of her work with me as I was completing this study.

³² In her Ph.D. dissertation Hughes presented a structural analysis closer to the three parts indicated by J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea, Text, Introduction, Commentary and Glossary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957 [Hebrew]), 91–98: XII 5–22; 22–29; 29–XIII 4.

³³ I have adjusted Hughes’ numbering of lines to agree with that which is popularly available in Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1Q1–4Q273)*, 166–71.

³⁴ In fact, in anticipating the insights of Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 322–25, she nicely labels the poem “I” and “They” (Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, 95).

most likely allusions include the probable appeals to Hos 6:3 in XII 6 and Hos 4:14, with its context of God holding the priests and prophets culpable for the people's lack of knowledge, in XII 7. Also highly probably are allusions to Exod 34:29 (XII 5); Deut 33:2 (XII 6); Jer 2:11 (XII 10; with the theme of plotting); Ps 69:21 (XII 11); Hab 2:15 (XII 11); Jer 23:9 (XII 12); Prov 19:21 (XII 13); Ps 33:11 (XII 13); Deut 29:17–20 (XII 14; a key Deuteronomic passage for providing both terms and themes for this poem); Ezek 14:3–7 (XII 15); Ezek 13:6 (XII 16); Isa 28:11 (XII 16); Jer 23:20 (XII 21); and Ezek 13:10 (XII 24). In addition to Deuteronomy, Hughes sees the allusions to covenantal passages in Hos 4:1–6:3, Jer 23:9–40 and Ezek 13:1–14:11 as structurally significant.

Given the overall unity of the poem it is worth noting the way in which not only certain scriptural books are alluded to more than once, but also certain verses recur in the poem. Like others before her Hughes notes the hint of Isa 53:3 in XII 8 and 23. Other passages alluded to more than once are Isa 30:10 in XII 7 and 10; Isa 57:17 in XII 17, 18, 21, and 24;³⁵ Ps 20:8 in XII 22 and 36; and Isa 42:6 in XII 5 and 42:3 in XII 25. These may be more important structurally than Hughes allows, since she is guided primarily by the recurrence of pronouns and what she assesses to be dominant passages of scripture that shape the covenantal concerns of the poem.

All four scholars have contributed to the better understanding of the poem, but there is more to say to supplement Puech's attention to a couple of motifs, to adjust Douglas's concern with the Teacher's biography, to convert Newsom's theological reticence, and to explain more fully how the scriptural allusions sorted out by Hughes might function.

c. *1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4: Structure and Theology*

In this section of the essay I will put forward my own understanding of the structure of the poem in *1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4* in order to use an analysis of the whole poem to contribute to the discussion about the poem's views on resurrection.

³⁵ M. Kister has indicated that Isa 57:14–21 provides several items of sectarian terminology: "Biblical Phrases and Hidden Biblical Interpretations and *Pesharim*," *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), 32–34.

I consider that the structure of the passage can be laid out as follows:

- I. Introductory Formula (XII 5–6)
 - A. Thanksgiving for beatific illumination
 - B. Description of successful search
- II. Body of the Poem (XII 6–39)
 - A. Aggressive lament (XII 6–22)
 1. Description of being despised by false teachers (Isa 53:3) (XII 6–9)
 2. Attacks on false teachers and prophets (XII 9–22)
 - a. Attack on teachers who withhold knowledge (XII 9–13)
 - 1) Attack proper (“they”) (XII 9–12)
 - 2) Statement of God’s purpose (“you”) (XII 12–13)
 - b. Attack on prophets (XII 13–22)
 - 1) Attack proper (“they”) (XII 13–18)
 - 2) Statement of God’s judgment (“you”) (XII 18–22)
 - B. Hope stated and justified (XII 22–37)
 1. Hope stated (XII 22–29)
 - a. Psalmist will stand and rise up (Isa 53:3) (XII 22–23)
 - b. God’s action as judge (XII 23–27)
 - c. Psalmist as agent of enlightening knowledge (XII 27–29)
 2. Hope vindicated (XII 29–33)
 - a. Questions concerning human unworthiness (XII 29–30)
 - b. Answers concerning righteousness (XII 30–33)
 3. Hope applied (XII 33–39)
 - a. Shaking and trembling (XII 33–35)
 - b. Forsaking the covenant (XII 35–39) including standing and rising (Isa 53:4, 8) (XII 36–39)
 - c. Holding fast to the covenant (XII 39–)
- III. Concluding resolution of position (XIII ?1–4)
 - A. Affirmation of the grace of God
 - B. Affirmation of the creative unity of God

To my mind, this quasi-autobiographical poem appears to have three parts: an introduction that contains the formulaic thanksgiving, the main body of the poem, and a concluding resolution that is rather fragmentary. The introduction seems to allude to Isa 42:6, a feature that suggests that the poet may have considered his speaker’s role in the light of the Isaianic servant; in addition two important motifs are mentioned, the covenant and light. In what remains of the concluding

resolution of the poem, the themes of covenant, righteousness, mercy and judgment recur several times. There is sufficient extant phraseology to suggest that the speaker is able to identify himself, after his death-like experiences as fully taking part in all the benefits of divine mercy that are the corollary of sincere attempts at remaining faithful to the covenant; his enemies also undergo eschatological judgment.

The body of the poem has two principal parts, a lament that is aggressively expressed, and a reflection on hope. The lament opens with an introductory description of the speaker's predicament at the hands of the false teachers. The language of Isa 53:3 implies that the speaker is still thinking of himself in terms of the Isaianic servant. The opposition is then verbally assaulted twice, first as false teachers and second as false prophets; each assault is both justified and somewhat mollified by reference first to the purposes of God and then to the security of divine judgment. The whole lament is expressed in a thoroughly eschatological fashion.

The reflection on hope is possibly best understood as having three parts. In the first the speaker begins by asserting a physical position that is resonant with the language of bodily resurrection. His hope is that he will "stand." Again there is also the possibility that there is an echo of the language of Isa 53:3. This would be constructive, indicating that both principal parts of the central body of the poem are structurally controlled to some extent by reference to the Isaianic servant poem. The standing position of the poet naturally evokes the second motif of judgment; God's action as judge is an anticipation of the eschatological judgment after resurrection. The passing under judgment leads to the speaker being able to act as an agent of divine knowledge. This is a pleasant reversal of the mirror image role of the false teachers whose leading characteristic is the withholding of knowledge.

The second part of the reflection on hope is a set of questions and answers. The questions are posed in terms of human unworthiness. The answers are given in terms of divine righteousness.

The third part of the reflection on hope is a reliving of the experience of anticipated resurrection. The speaker imagines with great intensity the terror of dying; he shakes and trembles and melts away. Sensing that in the force of his experience he must have abandoned the covenant, he is surprised to find that he arises and can stand, the very same physical position that has introduced this reflection on hope. However in the recapitulation of the motif there is a sense

of vindication and victory. This kind of physical standing is similar to but different from that which will be experienced by all for the resurrection for judgment. This kind of standing is for taking part in the ultimate purposes of God as can be associated with the worship of the angels who stand before God.

Whereas in the short extracts from 1QH^a XI and XIX it is possible to understand a few features of the significance of resurrection in the Hodayot, the more detailed consideration of the final form of a whole poem in which it is possible to identify similar resurrection motifs enables an elaborate definition of how resurrection was understood. It has become clear in this descriptive analysis that the experience of divine vindication has provided a set of ways in which life after judgment can be viewed. These features of life after resurrection judgment can be experienced to some extent now, but that does not diminish their ultimate eschatological status. For the poet and his speaking voice in the poem bodily resurrection seems to involve at least five matters. Taken together these might be understood to represent the meaning of resurrection for him.

First, it involves illumination, enlightenment. This motif recurs in several guises throughout this poem. It seems to have at least two aspects to it. On the one hand the overarching illumination is the making real of divine activity in blessing, particularly as this is expressed in the so-called Aaronic benediction in Num 6:24–26.³⁶ On the other hand such enlightenment from encounter with the divine also involves instruction. This is most obvious in the way in which the opening phrases of the poem echo Exod 34:29.³⁷ Newsom sees the concern with illumination as the key indicator that the poem is concerned with truth;³⁸ but although the term does indeed occur at three places in the poem (XII 14, 25, 40), the substitution of enlightenment with truth detracts from the notions of ultimate, complete, eschatological blessing and divine self-disclosure that this motif projects.

Second there is a concern with knowledge. The poet's enemies are characterised, at least in part, by their refusal to share any kind

³⁶ As pointed out by C.H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 237–43; and as acknowledged by Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, 106 and n. 158.

³⁷ As pointed out by Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, 105.

³⁸ Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 318: “the issue of truth is identified at the beginning of the hodayah as the central problem to be addressed.”

of knowledge. The importance of this accusation against them is highlighted in the structure of the poem by the way it is the major part of the opening verbal attack on the false teachers. It is positioned in a key place. In the second part of the body of the poem, that which concerns the poet's hope, knowledge features in a similarly structurally significant place at the end of the opening section in which that hope is outlined. All the more striking is the way in which the opposition between the false teachers and the poet is expounded. The poet describes how he has become the agent of making known divine knowledge; he is the conduit of divine revelation, because he knows even as also he is fully known (cf. 1 Cor 13:12).

So, third, the resurrection motifs involve a form of commissioning. In stating his position of hope in the opening section of the second part of the body of the poem, it is only after the description of God's action as judge that the poet describes his role as the agent in spreading divine knowledge. This corresponds well with what is known from angelophanies and other resurrection narratives. To live a resurrection life is not a static affair, but commonly involves a range of activities in which the divine is experienced as a command: here it is a matter of having been commissioned to be an agent of knowledge. Angels similarly both stand in God's presence to worship, but also act as divine emissaries.

Fourth, there is the ongoing ability to stand. This motif can be noticed at the very outset of the second part of the body of the poem and at that same section's close; it is a motif that encloses the whole statement of hope. Standing serves two purposes. In the first place, as for all people, this standing up is resurrection for judgment so that immediately after its first mention God's action as judge is described. In the second place standing is the posture for the one who has been vindicated in judgment. The physical activity of continuing to stand after judgment is an indication of the function of the vindicated in the afterlife: they will stand with the angels in worship of the divine.

Fifth, it is clear that more than once the poet returns to the motif of human unworthiness before the divine. In particular this seems to involve a number of images that allude to human experience as described in the Psalms, but which associate such images directly with death or near-death experiences. The function of the shaking and trembling and the perception of melting away when encountering the divine, stresses the physical nature of what is taking place.

The poet lives to tell the tale, but it is as if he has physically changed. There is a bodily transformation that is almost impossible to describe.

3. *Further Reflections on the Analysis of 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4*

The four recent scholarly readings of this poem highlight the inadequacy of focussing on one reading strategy at the expense of all others. É. Puech's approach is one that is most concerned with motif analysis. Together with a concern for the correct reconstruction and reading of texts,³⁹ his overall reading is a wide-ranging terminological search to expose the breadth of the language that might be associated with a belief in physical resurrection in the afterlife and not just immortality of the soul. This is motif analysis motivated by the search for a particular doctrine and since early Jewish texts rarely express any doctrine in clear credal forms, it is not surprising that a doctrinal reading of the poetry may seem to project one particular interpretation on words that resonate in more than one way. Though Puech achieves much more in his work, the emphasis on the study of words and phrases reduces the importance of taking whole contexts seriously as the conveyers of meaning.

The overall concern with the compositional and redactional history of 1QH^a and with the history of the Teacher as autobiographical author expressed by Douglas raises important questions about the origin and transmission of the poem. However, ultimately the Hodayat are not history,⁴⁰ but poetry, for all that the poetry may have had at the outset a particular social context and polemical purpose or recall particular events. If the modern reader is tempted to identify the speaker and his experiences; perhaps the ancient reader was too.⁴¹ Yet, the poetic form and content, as is the case more often

³⁹ Puech's giant study, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?*, contains what amount to new editions of many compositions.

⁴⁰ Douglas's teacher, M.O. Wise, has taken a historical reading of the Hodayat to problematic limits; for his proposal regarding this poem see M.O. Wise, *The First Messiah: Investigating the Savior Before Christ* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 80–103.

⁴¹ As has been pointed out for this poem by P.R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 87–105, who has argued persuasively that the interpretation of Hab 2:15 in 1QpHab XI 2–8 is a historicized particularisation of what is only expressed in general terms in 1QH^a.

than not, are attempts by the author to universalise particular experience so that its significance can be appropriated by the reader. Those tempted by a historical reading of the poetry should also remember that it is difficult to assume without question that the poet and the speaker's voice that he creates are necessarily one and the same.

It is with such challenges in mind that C. Newsom's focus on ideology and the construction of identity offers fresh insight into the poem too, especially its purpose. The speaker strategically offers the reader relationships that are irreconcilable and guidance as to a suitable way forward. However, her translation of its content into terms of the grammar of motives and the politics of the unconscious, though not reductionist, nevertheless somehow refuses to let the poet and his implied speaker address their audience in their own terms. There is a vindication presented in the poem that can only be talked about in theological terms, and those that are most suitable concern death and resurrection.

The greater attention to the poetics of the piece and to its scriptural language provided by Hughes is a move away from both historical concerns and from the social dynamics of the language towards an appreciation of the spiritual dimension of the poem. For Hughes that spiritual dimension is suitably grounded in paying attention to the scriptural allusions in the poem and the original scriptural contexts of the most explicit among them. Perhaps this results in a description of the meaning of the poem that is somewhat dominated by focussing on the poet's glance backwards. The eschatological motifs present in the poem require a look forwards as well.

To be built on the insights of all these scholars who have grappled with this poem are the supplementary comments offered here in light of a slightly different presentation of the poem's structure. If the poem's speaker is presented as the Isaianic servant, then not only the sense of mission of Isa 42, but also the death and life motifs of Isa 53 play a part. The structural location of allusions to the Isaianic servant passages permits the poet to enter into the ambivalence of the servant's experience: there is apparently vindication beyond death that motivates and enhances a transformed life now. Theological claims about eschatological bodily resurrection.

4. *Conclusion*

There can be no doubt that those who collected the scrolls together in the eleven caves at or near Qumran knew about scriptural and contemporary views of eschatological bodily resurrection. The question remains concerning what they might have done with their knowledge of these beliefs. This essay has argued that it was on the basis of a belief in a future bodily resurrection that the poet of 1QH^a XII 5–XIII 4 was able to construct a literary entity that proclaimed precisely how he understood his present position as totally dependent on God. God had given him illumination, knowledge of the sort that seemed as if it had virtually transformed his physical body. His experience of divine protection and vindication was felt as an urge to tell others.

Beatific illumination, divine knowledge transfer, a standing beyond judgment, divine commissioning, and a spiritual experience of physical transformation—all these belong to the field of meaning associated with the afterlife, and with the afterlife in terms of physical bodily resurrection.

THE ESSENES AND THE AFTERLIFE

John J. Collins
Yale

In his magisterial *magnum opus* on the belief of the Essenes in the afterlife, Emile Puech devotes a chapter to the testimonies of Josephus and Hippolytus.¹ The placement of that chapter at the end of his work reflects his belief that the primary Essene texts are actually the Hebrew and Aramaic texts found at Qumran. Yet it is only in the Greek and Latin authors that we find the name Essene. The focus of this essay is on the Greek accounts of Essene eschatology, their relation to each other and the ultimate source of their information. I will also address the question of their possible relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Josephus and Hippolytus

Josephus addresses the subject twice. In his earliest work, on the *Jewish War*, he attributes to the Essenes

a firm belief . . . that although bodies are corruptible and their matter unstable, souls are immortal and endure forever; that, come from subtlest ether, they are entwined with the bodies which serve them as prisons, drawn down as they are by some physical spell; but that when they are freed from the bonds of the flesh, liberated, so to speak, from long slavery, then they rejoice and rise up to the heavenly world (*J.W.* 2.154–55).

He goes on to discuss their beliefs about reward and punishment after death. “An abode is reserved beyond the Ocean for the souls of the just,” analogous to the Isles of the Blessed in Greek mythology, while “they relegate evil souls to a dark pit shaken by storms, full of unending chastisement.” The latter state is compared to the

¹ Émile Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la Vie Future: Immortalité, Resurrection, Vie Éternelle?* (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 703–87.

punishment of Sisyphus and other condemned figures in Hades. In his later work, the *Antiquities*, he contents himself with a brief statement that “they also declare that souls are immortal” (*Ant.* 18.18).²

The account of Hippolytus³ is so close to that of Josephus in the order of topics, and sometimes even in literal wording, that some relationship between them must be assumed.⁴ On the topic of eschatology, however, Hippolytus differs from the Jewish historian:

The doctrine of the resurrection has also derived support among them, for they acknowledge both that the flesh will rise again, and that it will be immortal, in the same manner as the soul is already imperishable. They maintain that when the soul has been separated from the body, it is now borne into one place, which is well ventilated and full of light, and there it rests until judgement. This locality the Greeks were acquainted with by hearsay, calling it Isles of the Blessed . . . Among these, Pythagoras especially and the Stoics among the Egyptians derived their principles after becoming disciples of these men, for they affirm that there will be both a judgement and a conflagration of the universe, and that the wicked will be eternally punished (*Ref.* 9.27).

While this account parallels that of Josephus in correlating Essene beliefs with those of the Greeks, and specifically mentioning the Isles of the Blessed, it differs in claiming that they affirmed the resurrection of the flesh and expected a cosmic judgement and conflagration. While Josephus attributed to them a purely individual eschatology, Hippolytus describes an eschatology that is both individual and cosmic.

There is no doubt that Hippolytus used a source in composing his account. The Essenes had vanished from history by his time. It is disputed, however, whether he drew directly on Josephus or whether they drew on a common source. It is very likely that Josephus used a source for his account of the Essenes in *J.W.* 2.⁵ It is dispropor-

² For the texts see Geza Vermes and Martin D. Goodman, *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 46–47 (*J.W.* 2) and 54–55 (*Ant.* 18).

³ *Ibid.*, 72–73. The work in question (*Refutatio omnium haeresium*, books 4–10) was found in a manuscript on Mt. Athos in the 19th c. and ascribed to Origen under the title *Philosophumena*, and is still sometimes referred to by that name. There is now a consensus, however, that it is the work of Hippolytus.

⁴ The correspondences and differences are highlighted in a synopsis by Christoph Burchard, “Die Essener bei Hippolyt. Hippolyt, *Ref.* IX 18,2–28 und Josephus, *Bell.* 2,119–161,” *JStJ* 8 (1977): 1–42. The synopsis is found on pp. 7–20.

⁵ Roland Bergmeier, *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus. Quellenstudien zu den Essenerntexten im Werk des jüdischen Historiographen* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993), 62–63. Josephus’s reliance on sources for his account of the Essenes has been challenged

tionately long in comparison to the treatment of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Even though the passage begins by stating that “there exist among the Jews three schools of philosophy,” the next sentence informs us that the Essenes “are Jews by race.” This statement would make more sense if the discussion of the Essenes were taken from a different source. The account of “marrying Essenes” in *J.W.* 2.160 seems extraneous to the main account, and to be appended as a correction. At the same time it is clear that Josephus put his own stamp on the material, so that it highlights themes that are prominent throughout *J.W.*⁶ Consequently, it is often difficult to know when Josephus is following his source closely and when he is embellishing it.

Most scholars who have concerned themselves with the question, beginning with the first editor in 1851, have assumed that the author of the later passage drew directly on Josephus,⁷ but the theory of a common source also has a long pedigree.⁸ In recent years, two contributions have been especially influential.

First, in 1958 Morton Smith made the case for a common source.⁹ Smith argued that the *Refutatio* usually quotes almost without alteration, but that its wording often differs from that of Josephus.

by Steve Mason, “What Josephus says about the Essenes in his Judean War,” <<http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il/orion/programs/Mason00-1.shtml>>.

I have discussed this issue in my essay “Josephus on the Essenes. The Sources of his Information,” to appear in the Festschrift for Sean Freyne, ed. Zuleika Rodgers et al.

⁶ This has been shown in detail by Mason. See also his essays, “What Josephus Says about the Essenes in his *Judean War*,” in Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins, eds., *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 434–67 (= roughly the latter half of his internet essay) and “Essenes and Lurking Spartans in Josephus’ *Judean War*: From Story to History,” to appear in *Making History. Joseph and Historical Method* (ed. Zuleika Rodgers; JSJS 110; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006).

⁷ E. Miller, *Origenis Philosophumena* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1851), 297, n. 49.

⁸ Beginning with Lud. Duncker and F.G. Schneidewin, *S. Hippolyti Episcopi et Martyris Refutationis Omnium Haeresium Librorum Decem Quae Supersunt* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1859), 472.

⁹ Morton Smith, “The Description of the Essenes in Josephus and the Philosophumena,” *HUCA* 29 (1958): 273–313. Two years earlier, Matthew Black, “The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus,” in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 172–82, also argued for a common source, but in less detail. See also Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (New York: Scribners, 1961), 187–91.

Moreover, Hippolytus shows no certain knowledge of Josephus, and he contradicts Josephus in his *Chronicle*. Most importantly, each text contains extensive sections lacking in the other. There are three such sections in the accounts of the Essenes.

(i) In *J.W.* 2.150–51, Josephus says that they are divided into four lots according to the duration of their discipline, and that the juniors are considered inferior to the elders. The corresponding passage in *Ref.* 26 says instead that they have been split up into four parties, one of which is called Zealots or Sicarii. Smith describes this passage in Hippolytus as “a mishmash of misinformation evidently concocted, from misunderstood reports, to explain the reference to four kinds, which was found in the text.”¹⁰ He argues, however, that this misunderstanding would be improbable if the author had the present text of Josephus before him.

(ii) In *J.W.* 2.151–53, Josephus offers a supposed personal reminiscence of the heroic endurance of the Essenes in the war against Rome, in the past tense. The corresponding passage, in *Ref.* 26, in the present tense, is a more general statement that they despise death, so long as they can die with a good conscience, and refuse to violate the law even under torture. Both passages are reminiscent of 2 Macc 7. Smith argues that Hippolytus would not have passed over the more specific language of Josephus, but would have copied it as an example for Christians of his own time.

(iii) The third major discrepancy occurs in the accounts of the afterlife in *J.W.* 2.154–58. Here Smith supposed that Hippolytus was probably accurate, against Josephus, since his account of the resurrection and final judgment was more in accordance with Palestinian Jewish beliefs. The common reference to the Isles of the Blessed showed that there was some common basis, which Hippolytus perhaps summarized and Josephus certainly developed.¹¹

Smith’s analysis was accepted by such scholars as George Nickelsburg¹² and Larry Schiffman.¹³ He himself, however, subsequently changed his mind, and concluded that he was “probably mistaken in sup-

¹⁰ Smith, “The Description of the Essenes,” 282–83.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 284.

¹² George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26: Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1972), 168.

¹³ L.H. Schiffman, “Essenes,” *Encyclopedia of Religion* (1986), 5.163–66.

posing Hippolytus independent of Josephus.”¹⁴ He was persuaded by Shaye Cohen’s discussion of the way Josephus used his sources that if there was a common source there would not be so much verbal agreement between Josephus, who tended to paraphrase, and Hippolytus, who cited more faithfully.¹⁵ Moreover, his analysis has been superseded in the minds of many by the second influential discussion of the issue, that of Christoph Burchard.¹⁶

Burchard rejected the broad arguments offered by some scholars that the account of Hippolytus is more authentically semitic than that of the “hellenisierende Schönschreiber” Josephus. He disputed Smith’s claim that Hippolytus always cited verbatim, and that he did not know Josephus, which seems *a priori* unlikely. Rather he looked to the style of the passage in the *Refutatio*, which he found to be consistent with that of Hippolytus. There are numerous parallels with early Christian literature. Moreover, Burchard claimed that Hippolytus sometimes agrees with Josephus where the latter appears to be editorializing, as in the reference to the Isles of the Blessed in the discussion of eschatology.

Burchard also considered the major discrepancies between the two accounts noted by Smith. The passage on four kinds of Essenes, which confuses the Essenes with the Zealots, appears to contain traditional material, but it is misplaced. It cannot have come from Josephus’s source on the Essenes. In contrast to Smith, Burchard argues that the passage on Essene heroism in face of death can be plausibly understood as an adaptation of Josephus. Since the Jewish war was now ancient history, a more general statement was more appropriate. In the passage on eschatology, the distinctive elements in Hippolytus’s account correspond almost exactly to what he says elsewhere about other groups. So he says about the Pharisees (*Ref.* 9.28.5): “they likewise acknowledge that there is a resurrection of flesh, and that soul is immortal, and that there will be a judgment and conflagration . . .” His general summary of the Jewish religion concludes with a description of its eschatology (*Ref.* 9.30.8): after an

¹⁴ M. Smith, “Helios in Palestine,” *Eretz Israel* 16 (1982): 199*–214* (211*–12, n. 24).

¹⁵ S.J.D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome. His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 24–47. Cohen does not discuss Hippolytus.

¹⁶ Burchard, “Die Essener bei Hippolyt,” 1–41.

eschatological battle in which the messiah would be killed, there would follow “the termination and conflagration of the universe, and in this way their opinions concerning the resurrection would receive completion, and a recompense be rendered to each man according to his works.” Finally, in his concluding exhortation to his Christian readers in *Ref.* 10.34, he tells them that “by means of this knowledge you shall escape the approaching threat of the fire of judgment,” and have “an immortal body and incorruptible, together with the soul.” It seems most likely, then, that Hippolytus is correcting the eschatology described by Josephus to bring it into line with what he understood to be common Jewish, and also Christian, belief.

This latter point is especially telling. One could argue that the fact that this passage shows Hippolytus’s style only means that he rewrote his source,¹⁷ and that the alleged editorializing comments of Josephus were really part of the source. We could then suppose that both Josephus and Hippolytus embellished a common core in different ways, as Josephus surely embellished his source. But the major *Sondergut* of Hippolytus appears to be either drawn from a tradition not related to the Essenes in the case of the “Zealot” passage or from Hippolytus’s own theology, in the case of the eschatology. If Hippolytus, then, does not preserve any significant information from the supposed common source that is not also found in Josephus, and if the whole passage is written in his own style, there is no reason to posit a common source. It seems easier to assume that he adapted Josephus directly.¹⁸

Burchard’s analysis of this issue has been accepted as definitive by such different scholars as Mason¹⁹ and Bergmeier.²⁰ Puech expresses appreciation for the detailed study, but claims that the conclusion goes beyond the evidence.²¹ Why, he asks would Hippolytus have

¹⁷ Cf. the comment of Puech, *La Croyance*, 722: “cela ne prouverait pas encore que le fond n’a rien d’historique et, dans ce cas, d’essénien.”

¹⁸ Compare the comment of Jan N. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife. The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 46, that Hippolytus “did not hesitate to doctor his documents whenever this suited his aims and did not shrink from ascribing to his sources views utterly alien to their argument.”

¹⁹ Mason, “What Josephus Says about the Essenes,” internet version.

²⁰ Roland Bergmeier, “Die drei jüdischen Schulrichtungen nach Josephus und Hippolyt von Rom,” *JStJ* 34 (2003): 443–70, especially 451–68. So also H.C. Cavallin, “Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum und im frühjudentum und im frühen Christentum, I—Spätjudentum,” *ANRW* II, 19/1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979), 272–74.

²¹ Albert Baumgarten, “Josephus and Hippolytus on the Pharisees,” *HUCA* 55 (1984): 1–25, especially 6–7, is critical of Burchard on the grounds that Hippolytus

adapted the elegant prose of Josephus when his own style is so laborious? His main objection, however, is methodological. For Puech, the way to determine whether the *Sondergut* of Hippolytus represents Essene tradition is to see whether it corresponds to what we find in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which he takes to be “internal” evidence for Essene eschatology.

Puech is by no means alone in his methodological assumption. Even Burchard occasionally appeals to the Scrolls as the criterion for what is genuinely Essene.²² In my own judgment, the balance of evidence still favors the view that the “Essaeans” and “Essenes” of Philo, Josephus and Pliny referred to an actual Jewish sect, which is now known to us more accurately from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the relationship between Hippolytus and Josephus is a literary question that should be settled by comparison of the two passages, with due attention to the different agendas of the two authors. Again, the provenance of material in Hippolytus that is not attested, or even contradicted, in Josephus, should be considered first of all in terms of the nature of that material and its use in Hippolytus. Comparison of any of this material with the Dead Sea Scrolls is a secondary question. For while the identification of the *yahad* as Essene is probable, it is not certain, and it can only be maintained on the assumption that the Greek and Latin accounts are partial and distorted. If some elements in Hippolytus’s description of Essene eschatology coincide with some passages in the Scrolls, we must still ask whether they were distinctive beliefs of the *yahad* or whether the resemblance is coincidental. Again, if the account in Hippolytus is judged to be his own invention, this does not necessarily authenticate that of Josephus. In each case we must begin by identifying the features of these accounts that seem to reflect the views and *Tendenz* of their authors, and keep these in mind when we compare them with what we find in the Scrolls.

usually quoted his sources accurately, and that the goals Burchard attributes to him are too subtle. Baumgarten argues that Hippolytus used a revision of Josephus that was sympathetic to the Pharisees.

²² Burchard, “Die Essener bei Hippolyt,” 32, 34; cf. Bergmeier, *Die Essener-Berichte*, 72–79; 94–107; Jörg Frey, “Zur historischen Auswertung der antiken Essenerberichte. Ein Beitrag zum Gespräch mit Roland Bergmeier,” in *Qumran kontrovers. Beiträge zu den Textfinden vom Toten Meer* (ed. Jörg Frey and Hartmut Stegemann; Paderborn: Bonifatius, 2003), 23–55, among many others.

Essene Eschatology According to Josephus

In the case of Josephus, there is no doubt that the Essenes are portrayed in such a way as to maximize their affinities with Greek philosophy and mythology. Puech is quite right when he characterizes this account as “fundamentally Greek” and emphasizes its neo-Pythagorean character.²³ Moreover, the motif of death as the liberation of the soul from the body is one that occurs quite frequently in Josephus.²⁴ For example, in his deathbed speech, Aristobulus I says “how long, shameless body, wilt thou detain the soul that is sentenced to a brother’s and a mother’s vengeance?” (*J.W.* 1.84; cf. *Ant.* 13.317). Again, in the climactic speech before the mass suicide on Masada, Eleazar tells his followers that

life, not death, is man’s misfortune. For it is death which gives liberty to the soul and permits it to depart to its own pure abode, there to be free from all calamity; but so long as it is imprisoned in a mortal body and tainted with all its miseries, it is, in sober truth, dead . . . it is not until, freed from the weight that drags it down to earth and clings about it, the soul is restored to its proper sphere, that it enjoys a blessed energy and a power untrammelled on every side, remaining, like God Himself, invisible to human eyes (*J.W.* 7.343–46).

In light of these parallels we might suspect that Josephus simply attributed to the Essenes his own beliefs about the afterlife.

Such an assumption would be too simple, however. In *J.W.* 3, Josephus attributes to himself a speech attempting to dissuade the defenders of Jotapata from committing suicide. In the course of this speech he reiterates some familiar themes: “All of us, it is true, have mortal bodies, composed of perishable matter, but the soul lives forever, immortal: it is a portion of the Deity housed in our bodies” (*J.W.* 3.372). Josephus does not argue that people should therefore liberate their souls from their bodies. Rather, those who depart this life in accordance with nature, when God recalls his loan, have a blessed afterlife: “their souls, remaining spotless and obedient, are allotted the most holy place in heaven, whence, in the revolution of the ages, they return to find in chaste bodies a new habitation.” In

²³ Puech, *La Croyance*, 732.

²⁴ Joseph Sievers, “Josephus and the Afterlife,” in *Understanding Josephus. Seven Perspectives* (ed. Steve Mason; JSPSup 32; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 20–31.

contrast, those who commit suicide suffer a grim fate: “the darker regions of the netherworld receive their souls, and God, their father, visits upon their offspring the outrageous acts of the parents” (*J.W.* 3.374–75). The immortality of the soul, and the punishment of sinners in dark regions, parallel the account of the Essenes. But, remarkably, Josephus also expresses a belief in bodily resurrection: “in the revolution of the ages, they return to find in chaste bodies a new habitation.” To be sure, his formulation of this belief is different from what we typically find in Jewish apocalypses, but it is unmistakable nonetheless. We might compare his slightly different formulation of Pharisaic belief in terms of metempsychosis: “every soul, they maintain, is imperishable, but the soul of the good alone passes into another body, while the souls of the wicked suffer eternal punishment” (*J.W.* 2.163). In neither case does he imagine resurrection simply as a return to earth in one’s old body. Such an idea would have seemed absurd to any sophisticated Greek or Roman. But as Dale Martin has argued, “popular conceptions of the state of the dead were quite capable of portraying them as existing in some kind of embodied state.”²⁵ Even astral immortality could be imagined as having a bodily form, although not a body of flesh and blood.²⁶ Josephus seems to envision resurrection as a return to earth in a new bodily form. He also seems to affirm a distinctively Jewish form of resurrection in his description of Jewish beliefs in *Ag. Ap.* 2.218: those who observe the laws and die for them if necessary are assured that “God has granted [them] a renewed existence and in the revolution of the ages the gift of a better life.” Here, as in the Jotapata speech, he distinguishes between immortality of the soul, which follows immediately after death, and eventual resurrection on earth in bodily form. While the typical Jewish apocalyptic hope was for resurrection at the end of the ages, Josephus gives this a Stoic overtone by speaking of the revolution of the ages, or the periodic renewal of all things.²⁷

It is unlikely then that Josephus would have rejected a statement in his source about Essene belief in bodily resurrection. He would have presumably Hellenized it in some way, but as we see from

²⁵ Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale, 1995), 110.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 118, on heavenly bodies, which were usually thought to be fiery.

²⁷ On the Stoic belief in cosmic renewal see A.A. Long and D.N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1. 274–79.

Jotapata speech he was quite capable of doing that, without embarrassment. As Nickelsburg observed: “although Josephus describes the eschatology of both Essenes and Pharisees in Hellenistic vocabulary, he does not attribute to the Essenes what he does attribute to the Pharisees, viz., a belief in a new bodily existence.”²⁸ If he depicts the Essene belief as one in the immortality of the soul, this is presumably what he found in his source, even if he then embellishes it. This conclusion is supported by the fact that he also affirms their belief in the immortality of the soul, without reference to resurrection, and without further embellishment, in *Ant.* 18.18, where he draws on a source, different from the one in *J.W.* 2, that is closely related to Philo’s accounts of the Essaeans.²⁹

Does Josephus Reflect a Semitic Belief?

Even the immortality of the soul, without further embellishment, is a distinctively Greek formulation of belief in the afterlife. But it is now widely recognized that the old assumption that Greeks believed in immortality of the soul, while Jews expected resurrection of the body, is far too simple.³⁰ As George Nickelsburg demonstrated some 35 years ago, there is plenty of evidence for Jewish belief in forms of immortality that did not involve bodily resurrection, even in texts that were composed in Semitic languages in the land of Israel.³¹ An obvious example is the formulation of Jubilees: “their bodies will rest

²⁸ Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life*, 168. Lester Grabbe, “Eschatology in Philo and Josephus,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part Four. Death, Life-After-Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Late Antiquity* (ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner; Handbuch der Orientalistik 1/49; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 176, seems to miss this crucial difference when he comments that the descriptions of Josephus’s own views in the Jotapata speech and *Ag. Ap.* “look remarkably similar to the views ascribed by Josephus himself to both the Pharisees and the Essenes.”

²⁹ For Philo’s account, see *Prob.* 75–91, *Hypothetica* 11.1–8 (= *Apologia pro Judaeis*). Vermes and Goodman, *The Essenes*, 19–31.

³⁰ The classic expression of that assumption is that of Oscar Cullmann, “Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Body,” in *Immortality and Resurrection* (ed. Krister Stendhal; New York: MacMillan, 1965), 9–53.

³¹ Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life*, passim. See also his essay, “Judgment, Life-After-Death, and Resurrection in the Apocrypha and the Non-Apocalyptic Pseudepigrapha,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part Four*, 141–62 and my own essay, “The Afterlife in Apocalyptic Literature,” *ibid.*, 119–39.

in the earth, but their spirits will have much joy" (*Jub.* 23:30–31). Even in the one clear biblical affirmation of resurrection in the Book of Daniel, the resurrected righteous are not said to return to earth, but to ascend to the stars. Their form is not discussed. It may be bodily, but it is scarcely a resurrection of the flesh. In fact, pre-Christian Jewish accounts of resurrection do not usually emphasize its bodily character. The account of the Maccabean martyrs in 2 Macc 7 is exceptional in this regard, and its emphasis on bodily resurrection is evidently evoked by the bodily sufferings of the martyrs. In light of the common assumption that the Essenes and the *yahad* of the Dead Sea Scrolls are one and the same, it is not only legitimate but necessary to ask how the depictions of Essene eschatology fit in the spectrum of Palestinian Jewish eschatology in this period, and specifically how they compare to the evidence of the Hebrew scrolls.³²

This comparison is complicated by two considerations. First, not every text found at Qumran is a document of the *yahad*, and second, many of the texts found there are poetic in character, and are not necessarily to be read as doctrinal statements.

The Evidence of the Rule Books

The obvious place to look for the doctrinal beliefs of the sect is the major sectarian rule books. These leave no doubt about the importance of reward and punishment after death in the ideology of the sect. In the Instruction on the Two Spirits in the Community Rule, the visitation of those who walk in the spirit of light "will be for healing, plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal enjoyment with endless life, and a crown of glory with majestic raiment in eternal light" (1QS IV 6–8). Some scholars have expressed doubts as to whether this passage refers to the afterlife, rather than to the blessings of this life.³³ The first three items (healing, peace in a long life, offspring) seem to envision an idealized earthly life, but the references to eternal life have a

³² See already John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 110–29.

³³ Jean Duhaime, "La Doctrine des Esséniens de Qumrân sur l'après-mort," in *Essais sur la Mort* (ed. Guy Couturier et al.; Montreal: Fides, 1985), 99–121.

transcendent character. Moreover, the punishments of the damned are otherworldly. The visitation of those who walk in the spirit of darkness

will be for a glut of punishments at the hands of all the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation for the scorching wrath of the God of revenge, for permanent error and shame without end with the humiliation of destruction by the fire of the dark regions. And all the ages of their generations they shall spend in bitter weeping and harsh evils in the abysses of darkness until their destruction, without there being a remnant or a survivor among them.³⁴

The punishments of the wicked in a place of darkness are quite reminiscent of Josephus's account of the eschatology of the Essenes, although as we have seen Josephus uses similar language elsewhere when the Essenes are not in view.

While some of the rewards of the righteous may be realized in this world, they also clearly include eternal life in glory.

The language of resurrection, however, is conspicuously absent. Puech argues that the term "visitation" refers to the final judgment, on the Day of the Lord.³⁵ The term is certainly used with reference to a final, global, judgment, even within the Instruction on the Two Spirits (1QS III 18; IV 18–19). But the Instruction also speaks about the "visitation" of all who walk in each spirit, not of the visitation of God on these individuals or of what will happen to them on the day of visitation. Since the visitation of each spirit seems to follow automatically from their conduct, the passage lends itself more readily to the view that this "visitation" awaits each individual after death, in the sense of that which is appointed for them. There is still a final judgment by which God puts an end to wickedness, but neither the Instruction nor any of the clearly sectarian texts says that the dead are raised or brought back for that judgment. Rather, people seem to go directly to their rewards or punishments. Some of the rewards of the righteous would seem to require a corporeal state, but the body in question may be a spiritual rather than an earthly body, to use the distinction drawn by St. Paul. This conception is rather different from the Greek notion of immortality of the soul, and it is entirely in keeping with traditional Hebrew anthropology,

³⁴ 1QS IV 11–14; trans. Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*.

³⁵ Puech, *La Croyance*, 434.

whereby the *nefesh* survives the body in the Netherworld. Insofar as there is no mention of resurrection of the body, however, it is not difficult to see how this conception could be identified with immortality of the soul by a Hellenized observer.

The Damascus Document, CD II 3–13 has several verbal parallels to the Instruction on the Two Spirits, although it lacks the underlying dualism of light and darkness.³⁶ The destiny of the wicked is described in terms that are very similar to 1QS IV 12: “great flaming wrath by the hand of all the Angels of Destruction . . . without remnant or survivor.” Like the Community Rule, CD teaches that those who hold fast to the covenant “are destined to live forever and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs” (CD III 20; cf. 1QS IV 23). Both these rule books envisage a public, communal judgement when God will put an end to wickedness (1QS IV 18), and when the wicked “will have a visitation for destruction at the hand of Belial. This is the day when God will make a visitation” (CD VIII 3–4). But they also specify the destiny entailed by the behavior of individuals, without any indication that all reward and punishment is deferred to the day of judgment, and rather implying that it is implemented immediately after the death of the individual.

The fact that the sectarian rule-books present the beliefs of the group in this way is highly significant for our purpose. At least it shows that resurrection language was not essential to the eschatology of the sect. This does not mean that the members were not familiar with ideas of resurrection, or that some of them may not have held them. They were at least familiar with the Book of Daniel, and some texts expressing a belief in resurrection have been found at Qumran. But if resurrection language could be avoided in the rule books, which explicitly address the question of afterlife, then it was not *de rigueur*. Neither Josephus nor his source is likely to have had an extensive knowledge of the sectarian literature. The closest parallels of Josephus’s account of the Essenes in *J.W.* 2 are found precisely in the Community Rule. If his source was based on some form of that Rule, we can easily enough imagine how the hope for eternal life without resurrection would have been formulated for Greek readers as immortality of the soul. To be sure, the correspondence between Josephus and the Community Rule on the matter of eschatology is

³⁶ See Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 242.

by no means complete. Josephus says nothing about spirits of light and darkness, or of a final judgment, or of messiahs. Not all copies of the Community Rule had the reference to the messiahs, but we would have to assume that some aspects of the Instruction on the Two Spirits were ignored or suppressed, if it were part of Josephus's source. But the belief in immortality of the soul seems to me to be a reasonable approximation of the Scroll's affirmation of eternal life, translated into Greek idiom.

Hippolytus and the Scrolls

The account of Hippolytus differs from that of Josephus in attributing to the Essenes belief in resurrection of the flesh and in a final conflagration.

The belief in resurrection is formulated as follows:

they acknowledge both that the flesh will rise again and that it will be immortal, in the same manner as the soul is already imperishable. They maintain that when the soul has been separated from the body, it is now borne into one place, which is well ventilated and full of light, and there it rests until judgment.

The waiting place of the soul calls to mind one of the earliest Jewish passages about the afterlife, *1 En.* 22, which describes various chambers containing souls waiting for judgment, and says that the chamber of the righteous has a "bright fountain of water."³⁷ That passage, however, is exceptional in Jewish literature, and seems to have had little influence on the developing tradition. It is not reflected even indirectly in any of the other extant Dead Sea Scrolls. Neither do the Scrolls ever speak of resurrection of the flesh.

The idea of resurrection was certainly known to the members of the *yahad*. In addition to the Book of Daniel and the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch (*1 En.* 90:10), clear instances of resurrection are found in 4Q521 (the "Messianic Apocalypse")³⁸ and 4Q385 (Pseudo-Ezekiel).³⁹

³⁷ See George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 300–309. The parallel is noted by Puech, *La Croyance*, 743–44. Also by Smith, "The Description of the Essenes," 284.

³⁸ Puech, *La Croyance*, 627–92; cf. J.J. Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1 (1994): 98–112.

³⁹ Puech, *La Croyance*, 605–16; Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 126–27.

It is not clear whether either of these texts was sectarian, in the sense of being composed within the *yahad*.⁴⁰

The strongest case for a belief in resurrection in the sectarian literature rests on a few passages in the Hodayot.

In 1QH^a XIX 10–14 (a hymn of the community) the hymnist thanks God

because you have done wonders with dust,
and have acted very mightily with a creature of clay.

The hymn goes on to say that

for your glory, you have purified man from sin
so that he can make himself holy for you
from every impure abomination and blameworthy iniquity,
to become united with the sons of your truth
and in a lot with your holy ones,
to raise from the dust the worm of the dead to an [everlasting]
community,
and from a depraved spirit, to your knowledge,
so that he can take his place in your presence
with the perpetual host and the [everlasting] spirits,
to renew him with everything that will exist,
and with those who know in a community of jubilation.

The argument that this hymn implies bodily resurrection rests on the phrase “to raise the worm of the dead from the dust.” The same phrase (תולעת מתים) occurs in 1QH^a XIV 34 (a Teacher hymn): “Hoist a banner, you who lie in the dust; raise a standard, worm of dead ones.” There is an allusion here to Isa 26:19, which refers to those who *dwell* in the dust. There is also an allusion to Isa 41:14: “do not fear, worm of Jacob, men of Israel.” (The Hebrew for “men” here is מְרִי, a rare word that occurs only in the construct plural in the Hebrew Bible, and which has the same consonants as the more familiar word for “dead ones”). In Isa 41, the addressees are in a lowly state, but they are not dead. Analogously, the phrase “worm of the dead” in the Hodayot may indicate metaphorically the abject state of unaided human nature. Just as the hymnist claims to be

⁴⁰ Puech also adduced 4Q245 (Pseudo-Daniel) and the *Words of the Heavenly Luminaries* (4Q504) as evidence for a belief in resurrection, but it is not apparent that these texts refer to resurrection at all. The Testaments of Qahat and Amram clearly envisage reward and punishment after death, but do not clearly use language of resurrection. See Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 124–26.

lifted up from Sheol or the Netherworld, he claims that the dead are raised from the dust to become members of the community and so enter into fellowship with the holy ones. It is not necessary to suppose that the author has actual corpses in mind. This is poetry, and its imagery should not be pressed for doctrinal teachings.

The interpretation of these passages is not only a matter of deciding whether the language is literal or metaphorical. It also involves the contexts in which the passages occur. The passage in 1QH^a XIV is preceded by a passage describing the eschatological battle and judgment:

And then at the time of judgment the sword of God shall hasten, and all the sons of His truth shall awake to [overthrow] wickedness; all the sons of iniquity shall be no more. The Hero shall bend his bow; the fortress shall open on to endless space and the everlasting gates shall send out weapons of war. They shall be mighty from end to end [of the earth and there shall be no escape] for the guilty of heart [in their battle]; they shall be utterly trampled down without any [remnant, There shall be no] hope in the greatness [of their might], no refuge for the mighty warriors for [the battle shall be] to the Most High God . . . Hoist a banner, you who lie in the dust; raise a standard, worm of dead ones" (1QH^a XIV 29–33).

The call to those who lie in the dust, then, comes at the end of the eschatological battle, precisely where we should expect a reference to resurrection, by analogy with the apocalypses.⁴¹

The point is not conclusive, however. Those who lie in the dust could be those who are downcast during the dominion of Belial, or who have been defeated in one of the phases of the eschatological battle. A reference to resurrection is possible here, but it is not certain. The possibility is more remote in 1QH^a XIX, where "the worm of the dead" is lifted up to commune with the children of truth. (The verb is *רָחַץ*). Even though this communion participates in the lot of the Holy Ones, it is most probably located in the *yahad* or community of the sect. Compare 1QS XI 8: "He has joined their assembly to the Sons of Heaven to be a Council of the Community."

The Hodayot frequently refer to the final cosmic war (see especially 1QH^a XI). It is not unreasonable to expect that this war would culminate in the resurrection of the dead, as it often does in apocalyptic texts of the time. Nonetheless there are no unambiguous ref-

⁴¹ Puech, *La Croyance*, 361–63.

erences to resurrection in the Hodayot, and even possible references are rare.⁴² The main eschatological focus of these hymns is on life with the angels, which is experienced as a present reality. This does not necessarily mean that there was no place for resurrection in the eschatology of the Dead Sea sect. But it does mean that resurrection language was not the primary vehicle of eschatological hope in the sect, nor even a necessary one. Rather, the focus was on sharing the angelic life within the community and thereby transcending death and continuing that life in heaven. The primary sectarian texts, such as the rule books and the Hodayot, then, provide no clear evidence, in support of the claim of Hippolytus that the Essenes believed in bodily resurrection. In view of the fact that Hippolytus attributes the same belief to Essenes and Pharisees, Jews and even Christians, his attribution of resurrection to the Essenes is unlikely to come from a reliable source.

The case for reliable Essene tradition on the belief in a coming conflagration is also weak. Only one passage in the Scrolls suggests such a belief, and this is again a poetic passage in the Hodayot (1QH^a XI 19–36). The language about a conflagration is introduced in the context of an extended metaphor, to illustrate how “the life of a poor person lives amongst great turmoil.” The turmoil is illustrated by what appear to be eschatological upheavals:

then the torrents of Belial will overflow their high banks,
 like a devouring fire in all their watering channels,
 destroying every tree green or dry, from their canals.
 It roams with flames of fire until none of those who drink are left.
 It consumes the foundations of clay and the tract of dry land.
 It burns the bases of the mountains
 and converts the roots of flint rock into streams of lava.
 It consumes right to the great deep.
 The torrents of Belial break into Abaddon.

The imagery of the poem draws on traditions about a final conflagration. The idea that God would judge the world by fire had ample biblical precedent,⁴³ and the expectation of a conflagration leading to the renewal of the world was propagated by Stoicism.⁴⁴ Such traditions

⁴² Puech *La Croyance*, 413 finds another reference in 1QH V 29 which seems to indicate a new creation, but not a resurrection of the dead.

⁴³ E.g. the coming Day of the Lord in Mal 3.

⁴⁴ See Long and Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*, 1.274–79.

were widespread in the Hellenistic-Roman world,⁴⁵ including Hellenistic Jewish texts such as the Sibylline Oracles.⁴⁶ The motif of a river or flood of fire in the hymn from Qumran brings to mind the Persian *Bundahishn*, 30.19ff, which speaks of fire that melts the mountains and remains on the earth like a river. The same motif is found in a passage in Lactantius that is probably derived from the *Oracle of Hystaspes*.⁴⁷ Hippolytus attributes a belief in conflagration not only to Essenes, but also to Pharisees, Jews in general and even Christians. The fact that such imagery is used in one poem found at Qumran does not require that a belief in conflagration was a central tenet of the *yahad*, or make it likely that Hippolytus derived it from a source about the Essenes. Josephus claims, with apparent approval, that Adam had predicted “a destruction of the universe, at one time by fire, at another by a might deluge of water.”⁴⁸ He would hardly have felt a need to censor a supposed Essene belief in conflagration if he had found it in his source.

Conclusion

The identification of the Essenes with the *yahad* of the Scrolls can neither be established nor disproved on the basis of the eschatological passages alone. We have argued, however, that Josephus’s account of the Essene belief in immortality of the soul could be derived from something like the Instruction on the Two Spirits in the Community Rule, although it is translated into the imagery of Greek philosophy and mythology. In contrast, there is little basis for the view that the distinctive elements in Hippolytus’s accounts derive from traditions about the *yahad*. Neither bodily resurrection nor conflagration is well attested in the Scrolls. There are of course many features of the

⁴⁵ E.g. Cicero, *Consol. ad Marciam* 26.6; Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 3.29.1.

⁴⁶ *Sib. Or.* 4:171–78. See further John J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBLDS 13; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974), 101–10.

⁴⁷ Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 7.21. Belief in the destruction of the world by fire is also attributed to the Oracle of Hystaspes by Justin, *Apol.* 20.1. See Hans Windisch, *Die Orakel des Hystaspes* (Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XXVIII no. 3; Amsterdam, 1929), 29. On Persian ideas of conflagration see further Rudolf Mayer, *Die biblische Vorstellung vom Weltbrand* (Bonner Orientalische Studien, N.S. 4; Bonn: Selbstverlag des orientalischen Seminars, 1956).

⁴⁸ *Ant.* 1.70.

Scrolls that are not attested in either Josephus or Hippolytus—messianic expectation, a final war, the dualism of light and darkness. Hippolytus knows no more of these than does Josephus. If indeed the *yahad* was Essene, we should have to conclude that the Greek accounts were not very well informed. Insofar as there is any reliable information in these accounts about an actual Jewish sect, however, it is more likely to be found in Josephus, despite his Hellenistic embellishments, than in the derivative and tendentious account of Hippolytus.

THE LITERARY FORM AND DIDACTIC CONTENT OF THE *ADMONITIONS (TESTAMENT) OF QAHAT*

Henryk Drawnel
Catholic University of Lublin

I. *General Presentation*

In his article on the *Visions of Amram* J.T. Milik published four lines of a short Aramaic fragment from Qumran that speaks about the transmission of patriarchal books to Amram, Qahat's son and Levi's grandson.¹ The content of the fragment (4Q542 1 ii 9–12) indicates that the main speaker is Qahat, hence Milik named this composition "Testament of Qahat." He thus was able to prove that in Second Temple Judaism there existed a priestly trilogy (*Aramaic Levi Document, Testament of Qahat, Visions of Amram*) that centered on the forefathers of the Levitical tribe. Most probably, the Greek version of this literary cycle circulated in early Christianity as a note in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (VI 16 3: τῶν τριῶν πατριαρχῶν) would suggest. The Qumran manuscripts of the *Testament of Qahat* originally belonged to the lot assigned for publication to Jean Starcky, but after his death Émile Puech² took care of all the remaining unpublished texts. He prepared a preliminary edition of the *Testament of Qahat* in a volume dedicated to the memory of prof. Starcky,³ and then published the Aramaic document in the official DJD series.⁴

The fragmentary Qumran manuscript (4Q542 1) written on leather contains one full column of the text and the right side of the following column. Jean Starcky joined to this well-preserved part of the

¹ Józef Tadeusz Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97, at 97.

² I dedicate this article to prof. É. Puech on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday anniversary in reconnaissance of his unfailing friendship, astounding paleographic skills, and in-depth knowledge of Qumran manuscripts and problematics.

³ Émile Puech, "Le Testament de Qahat en araméen de la grotte 4 (*4QTQah*)," *RevQ* 15/57–58 (1991): 23–54.

⁴ Émile Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4. XXII. Textes araméens: Première partie 4Q529–549* (Discoveries in the Judean Desert XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 257–82, Pl. XV.

text one small fragment that he placed at the last line of the first column. Additionally, he also joined another small fragment with the central part of the second, partially preserved column. On the ground of paleographic identity, Starcky also grouped two different fragments (4Q542 2 and 3), one of which was composed of two pieces. These two fragments contain only few Aramaic words, and it is impossible to judge whether they precede or follow frg. 1 in the order of the whole composition. Thus the Qumran scrollerly yielded only one manuscript of the *Admonitions*, while the number of the *Aramaic Levi Document* amounts to seven fragmentary copies.⁵

The radiocarbon analysis of the manuscript indicated the temporal span of 2240 (\pm 39) years, and, according to the calibrated age range, the manuscript leather would date to 388–353 B.C.E.⁶ The authors of the article on the radiocarbon dating do not rule out possible contamination of *Admonitions*' manuscript samples.⁷ The paleographic description of the manuscript by É. Puech characterizes the writing as archaic Hasmonean, later than 4QDeut^c and probably contemporary to 4QDan^c and to the ostrakon from Wadi Murabba'at (Mur 72) dated to the last quarter, or the end of the second c. B.C.E. at the latest.⁸ The difference between the radiocarbon dating and paleographic judgment covers more than two centuries, but, given the approximate nature of radiocarbon procedure, the paleographic judgment is probably a safe criterion, at least for the preserved manuscript of the document. From many corrections in the text it appears evident that one deals here not with an autograph, but with a copy of an earlier version. As to the language of the composition, Aramaic, although with sensible Hebrew influence, appears as the language in which this work was created. The two related compositions, the *Aramaic Levi Document*⁹ and *Visions of Amram*, are also written in Aramaic,

⁵ Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. George Brooke et al.; Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1–72, Pls. I–IV.

⁶ G. Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Atiqot* 20 (1991): 27–32, at 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 262–64.

⁹ I cite the *Aramaic Levi Document* in accordance with my reconstructed text of that fragmentary composition published in Drawnel 2004. The verse numbers in that publication follow with a few exceptions versifications found in other publications of that Aramaic text. A completely new verse division introduced by Greenfield (2004) unnecessarily adds to the confusion while its chapter division does not respect literary forms of the *Levi Document*.

and their literary style and language do not suggest a Hebrew original. The following discussion concentrates on 4Q542 frg. 1 as frgs. 2 and 3 contain only few words and do not contribute substantially to the overall understanding of the preserved text.

All the Qumran manuscripts of this priestly trilogy have been published and made accessible to the scholarly audience, but these Aramaic compositions have not yet been sufficiently analyzed and discussed. Some scholars continue to explain the *Aramaic Levi Document* mainly in the light of the Greek *Testament of Levi*,¹⁰ although this approach yields rather meager results.¹¹ Milik's first intuitions concerning thematic and literary relationship between the three priestly writings deserve more attention and additional scrutiny. This study attempts to present the literary structure of the fragmentary *Admonitions of Qahat* and to set it in comparison with the *Aramaic Levi Document*. The analysis of the didactic content of the *Admonitions* should also help to explicate the intrinsic relationship with the same *Levi Document*. Finally the author of this research is convinced that the literary form of Qahat's composition does not contain enough literary characteristics to be called a testament. Hence there comes a new proposal to give it the label "admonitions," which, from the literary point of view, corresponds closely to the preserved part of the work and to its didactic content. Calling Qahat's work a "testament" assumes that the missing part of the text exhibited literary characteristics of that genre, an assumption that is impossible to prove now.

II. *Literary Structure*

The preceding and following context of 4Q542 1 is lost to us today, but the twenty-six lines disposed in two columns are readily available for the literary analysis. Column one is fully preserved, while in column two its left side is torn off. The literary division, therefore, presented below remains hypothetical, especially in the case of the second column. The verbal forms (2 m.p.) and pronominal suffixes (2 m.p.) indicate that Qahat is addressing his sons/pupils in general,

¹⁰ Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004).

¹¹ Henryk Drawnel, "Review of Jonas C. Greenfield et al., *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*," *RB* 113 (2006) [To Be Published].

but once he talks to his son Amram in particular (col. ii 9). The address of Amram with the expression “my son” is a sure indication that Qahat is the main speaker, who, although transmitting his message to all of his descendants, singles out Amram, thus underlining his importance. One should recall here the privileged position of Levi in the instructions of Isaac (*A.L.D.* 14–61) on the one hand, and the importance assigned by Levi to Amram in *A.L.D.* 76 on the other. First I present here the literary division of the two columns, and then there follows its justification. The division is based on the change of the literary form and discussed topics.

1. Knowing God (4Q542 1 i 1–4a)
2. Exhortations and Future Benedictions (4Q542 1 i 4b–1 ii 8)
 - 2.1. Exhortations (4Q542 1 i 4b–1 ii 1)
 - 2.1.1. Do not transmit patriarchal tradition to strangers (4Q542 1 i 4b–7a)
 - 2.1.2. Be holy and pure (4Q542 1 i 7b–10a)
 - 2.1.3. Good name to Qahat and joy to the patriarchs (4Q542 1 i 10b–1 ii 1)
 - 2.2. Truth, Benedictions, Confrontation with Evil (4Q542 1 ii 2–8)
 - 2.2.1. Truth and Benedictions (4Q542 1 ii 2–5a)
 - 2.2.2. Confrontation with Evil (4Q542 1 ii 5b–8)
3. Amram and the Books (4Q542 1 ii 9–13)

1. *Knowing God* (4Q542 1 i 1–4a)

The preceding context of this literary section is lost. The seams on the right edge of the leather indicate that another leaf was attached here. Qahat addresses his sons and describes their future graces bestowed upon them by the God of gods. The knowledge of his great name serves to recognize his omnipotence in relation to all creation and his benevolence towards successive priestly generations. The section ends in line 4a (לעלמיִן) with the assurance of joy and gladness prepared for the truthful generations of priestly descendants.

2. *Exhortations and Future Benedictions* (4Q542 1 i 4b–1 ii 8)

The section opens with a stylistic device that marks it off from the preceding context. Qahat turns to his sons in an apostrophe: “And

now, my sons” (וּכְעַן בְּנֵי) followed by an imperative “take care” (אֲזַדְדְּרוּ). It continues until the end of the first full column, and goes on in the major part of the second, partially preserved column. The end of the pericope signals the scribal mark on the margin of the second column between lines 8 and 9. Although the left-hand side of the column is missing, 1 ii 9 opens with an apostrophe, similarly to 1 i 4b, directed this time to Amram (וּכְעַן לְכֹהֵ עַמְרָם בְּרִי). Within this clearly demarcated pericope the text can be easily divided into two sections. In the exhortations (1 i 4b–1 ii 1) Qahat encourages his sons to take care of the inheritance of the forefathers, and afterwards returns to the description of future righteous and blessed life in which they will have to confront evil (1 ii 2–8).

2.1. *Exhortations (4Q542 1 i 4b–1 ii 1)*

The section opens with an apostrophe directed to Qahat’s sons; the exhortatory character is evident in the use of imperatives (4b אֲזַדְדְּרוּ; 7 אֲזַדְדְּרוּ; 8 אֲתַקְפוּ; 8 הוּא) and a jussive (5 תִּתְּנוּ). The pericope can be additionally subdivided into three subsections. The first one (ll. 4b–7a) concentrates on Qahat’s admonitions to take care of the inheritance (ll. 4b, 5 יִרְוּחֶהָ) transmitted to them and not to hand it over to half-breeds and strangers; the adversative conjunction לֶהֱיִן (7b) introduces the second section (ll. 7b–10a) that in an exhortatory tone explains the content of that jealously kept inheritance by adducing the examples of the patriarchs. The accent is laid on the justice and uprightness of the patriarchs followed by the exhortation to be holy and pure. The third subsection (1 i 10b–1 ii 1) describes the positive results of keeping that patriarchal inheritance. Qahat’s sons are source of joy to the patriarchs for they keep and carry on that inheritance in their life. The subsection begins with the verb in imperfect (line 10b וְתִתְּנוּן, “and you will give”) while the last words in a fragmentary line at the end of the section (1 ii 1 מִן כְּעַן וְעַד כּוֹלֵן] probably close Qahat’s reference to the transmission process of that priestly inheritance.

2.2. *Truth, Benedictions, Confrontation with Evil (4Q542 1 ii 2–8)*

The second part of that second section resumes in its opening line 2 the term קוֹשֵׁט, “truth,” present in an adverbial expression in line 1 (בְּקוֹשֵׁט, “truly”). The narrator comes back to a description of future exalted position of the Levitical priests. Column one (§ 1 4Q542 1 i 1–4a) similarly begins with the descriptions of God’s

favors bestowed upon Qahat's sons, but God's role is there more explicit. Here God's role is implied in the promise of eternal blessings (3 ברכה עלמא) that should dwell on Qahat's sons. Future judicial role assigned to Qahat's sons (5) leads to a confrontation with human sinfulness and to the annunciation of the coming destructions of the sons of evil (8). This section has most probably eschatological overtones, but, since the left part of the column is torn off, an exact interpretation is not possible.

3. *Amram and the Books* (4Q542 1 ii 9–13)

A scribal mark on the margin between line eight and nine indicates the beginning of a new paragraph. The apostrophic expression ובען לכה עמרם ברי אמא מפקך (‘‘and now to you, my son, Amram, I comma[nd]’’) corroborates and justifies this scribal intervention. The topicalization of the syntagm לכה focuses the discourse on Amram, but then next Levitical generations are also mentioned (10). Qahat presents himself as a tutor who instructs his students, as the use of the verb פקך (Pael, ll. 9 and 10) indicates. These instructions deal with the order to hand his writings down to the successive generations of Levitical priests, and this transmission is seen as meritorious. A *vacat* at the end of line thirteen signals the end of the section. Unfortunately, the following text is lost.

III. *Comparison with the Aramaic Levi Document*

J.T. Milik noticed the relationship between the *Admonitions of Qahat* and the *Aramaic Levi Document*, but a detailed comparison between these two compositions has not yet been drawn. From the analysis of the literary structure appears that the *Admonitions of Qahat* in their present state of preservation correspond partially to some sections of the *Aramaic Levi Document*. Qahat's discourse describes the glorious future of the Levitical priesthood in section 1 (4Q542 1 i 1–4a) and 2.2 (1 ii 2–8). The exhortatory tone is dominant in section 2.1 (1 i 4b–1 ii 1), while the last preserved part (section 3, 4Q542 1 ii 9–13) is dedicated to instructions concerning transmission of the writings that contain priestly inheritance. The comparison with *A.L.D.* yields the following results:

	<i>Title</i>	<i>Admonitions of Qahat</i>	<i>A.L.D.</i>
1	Vision of the Future	§ 1 and 2.2.	vv. 58–61; 99–104
2	Exhortation	§ 2.1.	vv. 49; 83a–98
3	Instruction	§ 3	vv. 14–18; 48–50; 84

Even a cursory reading of the table shows that the *Admonitions* do not follow the order of events of the *Levi Document*, and they contain a limited number of discussed topics and literary forms, probably because of the fragmentary state of the manuscript. The *Document* discusses the future of Levitical priests in the final part of the whole composition far after the instructional part (vv. 14–18; 48–50). The positive vision of the Levitical priesthood in the *Document* is restricted to a few lines (vv. 58–61; 99–101), but one should notice that vv. 99–101 are found in the last preserved section of the composition, and it is probable that this topic was discussed more extensively in the missing part of the manuscript. One possible point of thematic contact is a mention of moon and stars in *A.L.D.* 101 and the announcement of God's light that is to shine on the priests in 4Q542 1 i 1. There exists a stronger thematic link between section 2.2 of the *Admonitions* and *A.L.D.* 58–61. 4Q542 1 ii 3 promises eternal blessings that will dwell on Qahat's descendants, while the *Document* similarly speaks of the blessing by (v. 59) and for Levi's sons (61). The *Document* adds the image of Levi's descendants being written in the book of memorial of life forever and never to be blotted out from it (vv. 59–60). That same section of the *Admonitions* (§ 2.2.) discusses Levitical judicial role (line 5 לְמֹדֵן דִּין) in dealing with sinful humanity (4Q542 1 ii 5–9). Similarly to Qahat's composition, the *Document* foresees a future role of judges שֹׁפְטֵין [דָּאֲרָא] for Levi's descendants (*A.L.D.* 99), while Levi's judicial responsibility (דִּין) is greater than all flesh (*A.L.D.* 14). Levi foresees the possibility of future apostasy, when his sons abandon the ways of truth and walk in the darkness of satan (*A.L.D.* 102). The *Admonitions* do not preserve a section similar to *A.L.D.* 102, but note that 4Q542 2 11–12 uses the contrast between darkness and light. The context is helplessly broken and any reference to Qahat's sons is missing.

The exhortatory section of the *Admonitions* (§ 2.1. = 1 i 4b–1 ii 1) stresses the necessity of transmission of patriarchal inheritance, while in *A.L.D.* this function plays the wisdom poem (vv. 83a–98) whose literary form contains exhortatory remarks (*A.L.D.* 83a; 85; 88; 90).

Although the wisdom poem differs from the exhortatory prose of the *Admonitions*, the praise of the wisdom teacher in the poem (stanza IV, vv. 91–93) corresponds closely to the *Admonitions*' preoccupation with the transmission process of the priestly inheritance and with Qahat's didactic role (see 4Q542 1 ii 1 אלהינו). Also the danger of abandoning the priestly lore to strangers and half-breeds is strongly accented both in the *Admonitions*' exhortatory section (§ 2.1 frg. 1 i 5–7) and in the praise of the wisdom teacher (*A.L.D.* 91). Finally, the root ירה, “to inherit,” so important in that exhortatory section (איריהו 1 i 4, 5 and 12), does also appear in the last verse of the wisdom poem (*A.L.D.* 98). The exhortatory remark in *A.L.D.* 49 directed by Isaac to Levi introduces the theme of transmission of the priestly lore that Levi successively develops in his wisdom poem. Although the term הורכה, so prominent in the poem (*A.L.D.* 88, 88, 89, 89, 90, 90, 91, 91, 91, 93, 94, 95, 97, 97, 98; cf. 1a v. 8), does not appear in the *Admonitions* at all, the exhortatory section (§ 2.1.) shares with the wisdom poem the fundamental didactic thrust that concentrates on the ways of transmission of the priestly lore and formation of priestly moral attitude.

The instructional character of the *Admonitions* comes to the fore in the presentation of Qahat as the one who instructs (4Q542 1 i 13, Pael פקד) and teaches (4Q542 1 ii 1, Pael אלהינו) all the traditions of the forefathers, priesthood included, to his sons. He additionally appears as the one who instructs Amram (§ 3; 4Q542 1 ii 9, Pael פקד) and his descendants (§ 3; 4Q542 1 ii 10, Pael פקד) to hand all that tradition contained in the books down to the next generations. In the *Levi Document* Isaac plays the role of an instructor of priestly duties while Levi appears as a student. To express Isaac's teaching activity the narrator uses the same two verbs אלהינו and פקד (*A.L.D.* 13) that refer to Qahat's didactic function in the *Admonitions*. Then in the Greek section of the *Document* Isaac acknowledges that his priestly and metrological knowledge comes from his father Abraham who instructed him (*A.L.D.* 50 ἐντέλλομαι; cf. v. 57) and ordered to instruct his sons. Isaac in turn advises Levi to instruct his own descendants in the priestly law (*A.L.D.* 49 ἐντέλλομαι), and Levi fulfills this Isaac's order when he addresses his sons in the wisdom poem (*A.L.D.* 82; 84, Pael פקד; cf. 83b פקוד). The Greek term ἐντέλλομαι most probably translates the Aramaic פקד in the *Document*.¹²

¹² Cf. Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJS 86: Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 294–95.

The preserved fragments of the *Admonitions* do not contain priestly instructions and metrological exercises set in the context of the meal offering so characteristic to the *Levi Document* (*A.L.D.* 19–47). Also the fragmentary *Visions of Amram* do not refer to this kind of priestly knowledge, although the introduction to that work stresses the instructional character of the composition (4Q543 1 a, b, c line 2, Pael 77E). This fact may be explained by the fragmentary state of the manuscripts that could have contained explicit priestly instructions, now lost in the lacking parts of these two works. An alternative theory, however, based on the temporal anteriority of the *Levi Document*, could explain that the composers of the *Admonitions* and *Visions* followed the *Document* to a certain extent only, and used selectively its problematics and literary genres. The *Admonitions* developed the exhortatory elements of the *Document*, so necessary in the educational experience of priestly students, while the *Visions* concentrated on the biographical account and visionary experience, both genres present in the *Document*. The repetition of the liturgical and metrological instructions of the *Document* would certainly lead to an unnecessary repetition, assuming that eventually all these three compositions were read together. In fact, Qahat's instructions in § 3 concentrate on the transmission process of the patriarchal writings (4Q542 1 ii 12–13) and in this context Levi's name is expressly spelled out (4Q542 1 ii 11). Qahat's instructions then deal with the priestly knowledge in its written form and commend these priestly writings to his descendants. Note that this transmission process of patriarchal books is already assumed in the *Levi Document*, where Isaac affirms that his father Abraham read the instructions concerning blood in the writing of the Book of Noah (*A.L.D.* 57). The *Admonitions* are simply more explicit about this transmission process. Although the left side of the column in 4Q542 1 ii 9–13 is missing, the remaining text suggests that Levi received the books containing priestly tradition from his forefathers (cf. *Jub.* 45:16), handed them down to Qahat who now transmits them to his sons. This process of transmission brings Qahat's sons great merit (4Q542 1 ii 13).

IV. *Didactic Character of the Admonitions*

In the section dedicated to wood and meal offering (*A.L.D.* 31–47) the *Aramaic Levi Document* contains lists of quantities of sacrificial material presented in short sentences. These lists imitate lexical lists in

cuneiform Sumerian and Akkadian literature used in the education of the scribes in ancient Mesopotamia beginning in third millennium B.C.E.¹³ It thus becomes evident that the composer of the *Levi Document* was acquainted with Babylonian educational tradition and, by putting the instructional speech into the mouth of Isaac, sanctioned it in Levitical priestly education. The general ideological thrust of that Aramaic work suggests that its composition grew out of educational practices current in Second Temple Jewish priesthood and that the author aimed at priestly apprentices and teachers in transmitting his vision of educational ideals incorporated in Levi, a priest with scribal wisdom, judicial competence and royal characteristics. The most probable setting in life of the *Levi Document* is Levitical family in which priestly lore was handed down to next priestly generations.

Although the *Admonitions* do not contain a liturgical section similar to *A.L.D.* 18–47, there are some stylistic and thematic elements that indicate their educational character. Already in the first section (§ 1 4Q542 1 i 1–4a) the didactic character is suggested when Qahat announces that God will make known to Qahat's sons God's great name (line 1, Haphel עֲדָה) and they will know it (line 2, Peal עֲדָה). The following context indicates that this knowledge is possible because of God's eternal nature and his lordship over the whole world. God's involvement in making his name known to the Levitical priests makes part of the general positive attitude towards them, lightening God's light over them included (line 1). This statement brings to the fore the conviction that human knowledge of God comes from divine initiative (cf. Exod 6:3), and any relationship with God assumes that knowledge (cf. Josh 7:9; 1 Sam 12:22; Jer 44:26; Ezek 36:23; Mal 1:11; Ps 9:11; 76:2; 99:3; 2 Chr 6:32–33). Note that Levi in his prayer asks God to show him the holy spirit, counsel, wisdom, knowledge and strength (*A.L.D.* 1a v. 8), and this knowledge assumes not only the skills of priestly liturgical service taught by Isaac (*A.L.D.* 14–61), but also Levi's visionary experience when he enters the gates of heaven (*A.L.D.* 1b line 18; cf. vv. 3a–7). In the light of the *Levi Document* the process of making known to the priests God's great name should refer to experiencing God both in the liturgical service and in visionary revelations. There also existed an opposite opinion in a later pseudepigraphic composition about the possibility of know-

¹³ Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*.

ing God's name. In *4 Bar.* 6:13 the main hero prays, "We implore and beg of our goodness, o great name which no one can know."

The insistence on taking care of the priestly inheritance and on its transmission to the next generations of priestly descendants accentuates the didactic character of section one (4Q542 1 i 4b–1 ii 8) and three (4Q542 1 ii 9–13) of the *Admonitions*. That inheritance has been transmitted to Qahat's sons by the fathers (4Q542 1 i lines 4b–5a, 12) and by Qahat himself who has instructed and taught personally his sons (4Q542 1 i 13–ii 1). Qahat's personal involvement in the transmission of the priestly and patriarchal lore suggests that, similarly to the *Levi Document*, the composer of this Aramaic work conceived priestly education as a family business entrusted to the father. In that educational context Qahat's apostrophe "my sons" (4Q542 1 i 4b) can be interpreted as an address of a teacher who speaks to his students, a literary move frequent in wisdom literature. Qahat lays the responsibility to transmit the written tradition contained in the patriarchal writings (4Q542 1 ii 11–12) on the shoulders of his son Amram (4Q542 1 ii 9), Amram's sons and grandsons (4Q542 1 ii 10). Qahat's command means for them nothing less than taking up the role of teachers of their own children in the same context of the priestly family. While reading Qahat's exhortations one can better understand the insistence of Levi in his wisdom poem on the role of the wisdom teacher in the transmission of knowledge (*A.L.D.* 91–93).

Comparing *A.L.D.* 91 with the *Admonitions* § 2.1 one can find there a similar negative attitude towards strangers (*A.L.D.* 91 l. 9 נכרי) and half-breeds (*A.L.D.* 91 l. 10 כילאי). Because of his didactic profession the wisdom teacher is considered to be a brother and companion in any province and land, and not a stranger or a half-breed. The *Admonitions* use the same two terms when they advise the priestly students not to give their inheritance (ירושתכון) to strangers and their property (אחסנותכון) to half-breeds (4Q542 1 i 5–6). Thus the transmission of the priestly lore must remain restricted to the priestly circles, for if Qahat's sons do otherwise, they would become exposed to humiliation (שפלי), abasement (נבלו), and disdain (verb בסר) of strangers and half-breeds who, instead of remaining residents (תורתבין) only, will become rulers over them (4Q542 1 i 5–7). Note that in Levi's wisdom poem disdain (MS A 89 l. 21 בשרון = 4Q213 1 i 11 [ב]סרון) is reserved for those who do not study wisdom.

The remaining text of the *Admonitions* makes clear what the synonymous terms ירוחה and אהכנו refer to, that is, the exemplary life of the patriarchs found in the words of Jacob, judgments of Abraham, justice of Levi and Qahat (4Q542 1 i 7–8). In the following verses (8–10) Qahat’s sons are also exhorted to be holy (קדישין) and pure (דכין) from any mingling, to keep the truth (קושטא), walk in uprightness (ישירוהא) with an innocent heart (לבב דכא), and in truthful and good spirit (רוח קשיטא ומבדח). A longer list of similar virtues and qualities is adduced in 4Q542 1 12–13 where they all qualify the noun ירוחה, “inheritance”: truth (קושטא), justice (צדקתא), uprightness (ישירוהא), perfection (תמימותא), innocence (דכוהא), holiness (קודשא), and priesthood (כהונה). Qahat declares to have instructed (פקד) and taught (אלף) all these to his sons (4Q542 1 i 13), but he additionally stresses that they in their turn have kept (נטר) and carried on (הילך) this inheritance (4Q542 1 i 11–12). This statement of Qahat clearly depicts a very positive and optimistic vision of his descendants, and assumes their willing acceptance of that inheritance. The verb הילכהון is a Haphel form of the root הלך, “to walk, go,” construed according to the conjugation of the Aramaic *Pe-Yod* or *Pe-Alef* verbs. The line then runs: “you have kept and carried on (הילכהון) the inher[itance] that your fathers left you.” The action of carrying on the inheritance assumes nothing else but the transmission of this patriarchal lore according to everything (line 13, 2x, ככול) that their father Qahat taught them. Thus the process of keeping and forwarding patriarchal inheritance consists in living an exemplary moral life where priesthood is one of the elements stressed by Qahat.

On the other hand, section three (5Q542 1 ii 9–13) speaks of transmitting priestly writings to next priestly generations. The insistence on transmitting the books of the patriarchs assumes that all that inheritance about which Qahat speaks in section 2.1 (4Q542 1 i 4b–1 ii 1) is contained in a written form. That most probably refers to the simple assumption made by the author that Qahat’s sons should learn all these moral virtues and priestly knowledge from these patriarchal books that probably contain an idealized image of the patriarchs, their example of life and their didactic experience. Although the author of the *Admonitions* unequivocally refers to all Qahat’s writings (line 12 כתבי), he would certainly include into that list the *Levi Document*, and the *Book of Noah* about which he probably read in *A.L.D.* 57. Note that in *A.L.D.* 99 Levi reads in the books (ספריא) the future royal and priestly destiny of his descendants,

and his example is without any doubt an excellent case of studying the books in order to get some insight concerning not only the present situation of the priesthood, but also its future. Priestly knowledge thus includes prophetic visions, and Qahat previsions in § 1 and § 2.2 follow the same tendency of the *Levi Document*. The last fragmentary line of section three (4Q542 1 ii 13) most probably refers to these didactic writings affirming that great worth is linked to the process of their being carried on with Qahat's sons. It uses the same root הלך from 4Q542 1 i 12 ("you have carried on") but this time in infinitive *Itpaal* with a 3 m.p. pronominal suffix as subject, most probably referring to the priestly writings from the preceding line "there is a great merit in them, in their being carried on (באתהילכוהוין) with you."

The reference to the transmission of the priestly lore with its high moral standards thus inscribes itself into the stream of the educational tradition that the *Levi Document* begins with the pre-diluvian patriarch by ascribing to Abraham the ritual knowledge concerning blood studied by him in the *Book of Noah* (*A.L.D.* 57). This insistence on the transmission of the priestly knowledge can also be read in the context of Levi's exhortations in the wisdom poem, in which he invites his children to study and to teach scribal craft, instruction and wisdom (*A.L.D.* 88, 90; 98). The image of the writings that accompany Qahat's children (4Q542 1 ii 12–13) inscribes itself very well into the context of Levi's exhortations for it assumes a constant didactic use of these books. Similarly to the *Admonitions*, Levi's exhortations in the poem do not refer to the intellectual process only, but stress the necessity of acting according to the principles of truth (קושטא) and justice (צדקה; *A.L.D.* 85), two terms used together in Qahat's exhortations as well (4Q542 1 i 12; see also line 8 לוי צדקה לוי). In *A.L.D.* 90 Levi adduces the example of Joseph, whose didactic activity is to be imitated by Levi's sons. In the exhortatory section (§ 2.1) the *Admonitions* develop this pedagogic thrust and refer to Jacob, Abraham, Levi and to Qahat (4Q542 1 i 7–8) as examples to imitate. Jacob's teaching (מורה), Abraham's legal proceedings (דיני) together with Levi and Qahat's justice (צדקה) are to be kept by Qahat's priestly descendants. One should note that the *Levi Document* names all these patriarchs, and links them with the priestly tradition. Isaac mentions Abraham from whom he learned the proper way of scrutinizing wood for the burnt offering (*A.L.D.* 22), all his priestly and metrological knowledge (*A.L.D.* 50), and rules concerning

blood (*A.L.D.* 57). Note, that Isaac calls that knowledge transmitted to Levi in *A.L.D.* 14–61 a “judgment of truth” (*A.L.D.* 15 l. 12–13 דין קושטא) or a “judgment of priesthood” (*A.L.D.* 13 l. 7–8; 15 l. 13–14 דין כהונה), so the *Admonitions*’ reference to Abraham’s “judgments” (דיני) most probably allude to that set of priestly knowledge transmitted from one generation to the other. Jacob pays his tithe to Levi and ordains him to priesthood in Bethel (*A.L.D.* 9), the *Levi Document*, however, does not contain his words. Levi is the main hero in the *Document*, and stresses the importance of justice for his sons (*A.L.D.* 85).

As a part of the inheritance that must not be transmitted to the strangers and half-breeds Qahat presents a list of seven moral virtues inherited from the fathers (4Q542 1 i 12–13): truth (קושטא), justice (צדקתא), uprightness (ישירוהא), perfection (תמימותא), purity (דכ[ו]הא), holiness (ק[ו]דשא), priesthood (כה[ו]נהא). In that list of seven items only the last one, priesthood, cannot be unequivocally classified as a moral virtue. Perhaps, assuming the importance of the seventh item, the six precedent moral qualities serve as necessary prerequisites for the priestly office. Note that six items from that list qualify Levi or his teaching in the *Levi Document*: truth (1a vv. 6, 16, 18; vv. 2, 15, 84, 85, 86, 97, 102), justice (v. 85), upright (Greek adj. εὐθύς 1a v. 2), pure (adj., דכי v. 18), holy (adj., קדיש vv. 3a, 17, 17, 17), priesthood (vv. 3b, 3c, 9, 9, 13, 15, 19, 67). Thus Levi becomes a moral paradigm for the next generations of priestly apprentices and, by listing these qualities, the *Admonitions* unequivocally refer to this paradigm. A new addition in the *Admonitions* is the concept of perfection (תמימותא) that expresses Qahat’s desire for his descendants to be blameless. The Aramaic תמימותא is related to the Hebrew root תמם that conveys the idea of being entire, unscathed, and develops in the OT into a series of specialized meanings. The adjectival form תמים frequently refers to an animal without blemish, free of fault, destined for sacrifice (e.g., Exod 12:5; 29:1; Lev 1:3, 10; 4:3, 23, 28, etc.); while referring to persons, it denotes their being complete, blameless, perfect (e.g. Gen 9:6; 17:1; Deut 18:3; Josh 24:14), and the noun (תום) expresses human perfection, innocence, purity (e.g. 1 Kgs 9:4; 22:34; Ps 7:9; 26:1, 11; 41:13; Prov 19:1, etc.).

Although the concept of perfection, blamelessness is absent in the fragmentary *Levi Document*, the overall reading of the text would certainly lead to the conclusion that Levi is an ideal, perfect priest. The *Document*’s reinterpretation of the *Genesis* tradition concerning Levi

also points to that direction. While his killing of the Shechemites deserves Jacob's condemnation in Gen 34:30 and 49:5–7, the *Document* presents this action as a necessary elimination of the doers of violence or lawlessness (*A.L.D.* 78). Gen 37 assumes that Levi was present during, hence also culpable of, the selling of Joseph, but the *Document* claims that he, Simeon, and Reuben were absent when the selling took place (*A.L.D.* 3). Levi's prayer (*A.L.D.* 1a) contains a list of requests from God that shows a total rejection of fornication (1a v. 7), pride (1a v. 7), unrighteous spirit (1a v. 7), satan (1a v. 10), lawlessness (1a v. 13, 13), impurity (1a v. 14), all of which could compromise his moral and professional attitude. Ordained to priesthood by Jacob (*A.L.D.* 9), instructed by Isaac, (*A.L.D.* 14–61) this ideal priest exhorts his sons/disciples to study scribal craft (*A.L.D.* 88; cf. 90; 98) and not to neglect the study of wisdom (*A.L.D.* 90).

Qahat's education also aims at convincing the priestly descendants to avoid certain situations. The biggest danger consists in giving up patriarchal priestly inheritance to the strangers and half-breeds. In the context of the didactic character of the composition it is not difficult to interpret these two terms. In *A.L.D.* 91 the stranger (נכרי) denotes any person who is not welcome in a foreign country, contrary to the warm acceptance prepared for the wisdom teacher. The latter is always welcome as a brother and companion for all desire to learn from his wisdom. Being a stranger therefore acquires negative connotation in the *Levi Document* and assumes a lack of sapiential knowledge characteristic of the wisdom teacher. The second term כילאי, "half-breed," stands in parallel to the stranger (נכרי) and also in poetic contrast with the positive acceptance of the wisdom teacher by the inhabitants of foreign lands and provinces (*A.L.D.* 91). The Aramaic term "half-breed" is best explained by the reference to the Hebrew dual form כלאים, "two kinds," indicating types of animals, seed or textile that cannot be mixed (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:9).¹⁴ The term may refer at Qumran and in the Mishnah to the animal offspring resulting from this kind of illicit unions. At Qumran the law of Lev 19:19 is cited to stigmatize illicit priestly marriage (4QMMT B 79–82 = 4Q396 1–2 iv 8–11). The derogatory use of כילאי in the

¹⁴ André Caquot, "Grandeur et pureté du sacerdoce: Remarques sur le *Testament de Qahat* (4Q542)," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin, and Michael Sokoloff; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 39–44, at 41.

Document stems from the principle of priestly endogamy that Isaac exhorts Levi to observe (*A.L.D.* 16) and that Levi obediently follows in his marriage with Melcha (*A.L.D.* 62).

The *Admonitions* pursue this interpretive line of the *Document* and explicate dangers that are connected with the presence of strangers and half-breeds among them. While in the *Document* they are not welcome abroad, their presence as residents (הוֹרְבֵי) among the priestly descendants may lead to their social advancement to the status of rulers (lit. “heads” רִאשֵׁין), provided they take hold of priestly inheritance reserved to Qahat’s sons (4Q542 1 ii 5–7). In that case the position of the latter group would be severely threatened, for they would be exposed to humiliation, abasement, and disdain. Qahat’s exhortations not only prohibit his sons to give the priestly inheritance over to strangers and half-breeds, but also insist on being pure from any mingling (4Q542 1 i 9 [עַרְבְּרוּב]). In the context of the *Admonitions*’ reference to the dangers stemming from half-breeds the term “mingling” (עַרְבְּרוּב) rather unequivocally refers to exogamous marriages that, if practiced, would reduce priestly descendants of that illicit unions to the position of half-breeds. This exhortation of Qahat addresses a danger of exogamy for priests that was present already in the time of Ezra (ch. 9), and that certainly did not wane completely from Israel and from among priests when Qahat’s *Admonitions* were composed. Note that Ezra 9:2 uses the root עַרְב when speaking about exogamous marriages: “the holy race has mixed itself (הוֹרְבָה) with the peoples of the lands.”

V. “Testament” or “Admonitions”?

Since the discovery of the *Aramaic Levi Document* among the manuscripts of the Cairo Geniza subsequent scholarly publications stressed many similarities of that composition with the Greek *Testament of Levi* that makes part of the Greek *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Hence the *Document* has been dubbed the *Aramaic Testament of Levi*. Burchard for the first time questioned this label noting that the testamentary literary characteristics are not evident in the *Levi Document*.¹⁵ My

¹⁵ Christoph Burchard, “Review of Marinus de Jonge, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*,” *RevQ* 5/18 (1965): 281–84, at 283 n. 2.

analysis of its text proved that not only the death-bed scenario characteristic to the testamentary genre is lacking but also one deals here with a composition that comprises several independent literary units such as petitionary prayer without a lament, vision, rewritten Bible, wisdom instruction, genealogy, onomastic midrashim, autobiographical section, didactic poem, prophetic speech with apocalyptic overtones, and the unifying narrative framework in first person singular.¹⁶ This simple enumeration of the literary units shows how the *Document* is rich in literary forms, much richer than the testamentary form of the Greek *Testaments*. The latter are usually divided into following parts: farewell scenario of the dying patriarch, biographical narrative, exhortation, prediction of the future, death and burial.¹⁷ Although the beginning and end of the *Levi Document* are missing and it is not possible to exclude a similar farewell scenario, the text of the *Document* strongly militates against such a supposition. In *A.L.D.* 81 Levi tells his age at his death, and this statement assumes that the perspective of the main narrator is otherworldly, and that he speaks from beyond the grave. This literary device is absent in the Greek testaments that make the patriarchs speak before they die. Additionally, the comparison with Greek *Testament of Levi* 19:4 indicates how the redactors moved the indication of Levi's death and years of his life to the closing verses of the composition and set it in the third person singular. That move indicates that they struggled with the inherited form of the Levi composition to make it fit their testamentary pattern. They also eliminated Isaac's liturgical instructions (*A.L.D.* 14–61), and reworked the wisdom poem (*A.L.D.* 83b–98) so that its literary form completely vanished in the Greek redaction (*T. Levi* 13). The Greek *Testament of Levi* does not fit into the general pattern of the literary form of the *Testaments* also because of its lack of an exhortatory section that usually intertwines with the biographical details. There are only some exhortatory remarks in *T. Levi* 13 that were inherited from the Aramaic wisdom poem. In fact, the *Levi Document* has only few exhortatory remarks, not a separate section, that stem from the professional and didactic character of the whole composition. There has been proven above that the *Admonitions* rework

¹⁶ Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran*, 85–96.

¹⁷ Harm W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 29–41.

some elements of the wisdom poem into a separate exhortatory section. Additionally, there is no testament that would expressly deal with professional priestly education and that would restrict the transmission of the priestly knowledge exclusively to the Levitical priests.

The Greek *Testaments* are a collection of different Jewish and Jewish Hellenistic literary forms and traditions for whose final form are responsible Christian redactors of the second c. C.E.¹⁸ There have been many modern attempts to critically stratify redactional activity of the final composers¹⁹ but the results are not uniform and open to further discussion. The *Testaments* give to the Jewish or Christian audience a set of moral examples to follow in view of their salvation and positive relation with God. The biographical sections exemplify not only the patriarchs' virtues to imitate but especially their vices to avoid. According to Hollander and de Jonge "the Testaments did not originate in a closed, sectarian community. Their exhortation attributed to the sons of Jacob addressing their descendants, aims, in fact, at all people who want to know how to obey God of Israel and the Gentiles."²⁰

The setting in life of these Greek compositions is thus different from the one proposed for the priestly didactic literature. The *Levi Document*, *Admonitions of Qahat* and *Visions of Amram* are three compositions that belong to priestly didactic lore of the Second Temple period and stem from the didactic priestly milieu. The patriarchs are presented as blameless examples to imitate, and the transmission of the priestly lore to the next generations of priests is an important preoccupation, with an unequivocal exclusion of those who do not belong to the patriarchal family. These compositions are certainly not compilations stemming from different sources and epochs and are not addressed to a general public. It becomes rather evident that the literary pattern created in the *Levi Document* influenced the *Admonitions*

¹⁸ Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin* (Van Gorcum's Theologische Bibliotheek 25; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953).

¹⁹ Jürgen Becker, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen* (AGJU 8; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970); Jarl H. Ulrichsen, *Die Grundschrift der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Historia Religionum 10; Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1991); Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996).

²⁰ Hollander and de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 47.

of *Qahat* and *Visions of Amram*, but the latter two compositions do not repeat in a compilatory mode the material of the *Levi Document*. Perhaps one should speak of a development of single literary forms and complementarity of discussed problematics within that didactic literature that were inherited, partially elaborated and used by the redactors of the Greek *Testaments*, for different purposes, though. Although the introduction to the *Visions of Amram* (4Q543 1 a, b, c) corresponds to the testamentary opening formulas of several *Testaments*,²¹ yet this introductory formula does not call the composition a testament but “the writing of the words of the visions of Amram.”

Dubbing *Qahat*’s composition as “admonitions” corresponds to the main exhortatory form used in this fragmentary work. The two sections depicting the future of the Levitical priests are subordinated to the main didactic thrust of the work. Milik labeled the composition as a “testament” for he saw thematic connections with the *Levi Document*, and claimed a testamentary form for the *Levi Document*, probably on the basis of the comparison with the Greek *Testament of Levi*.²² Since we do not have the remaining part of the *Admonitions*, and are unlikely to have it soon, perhaps it is better to call this priestly composition with the name that corresponds to its preserved literary form and educational character. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are not very helpful in the process of the interpretation of both the *Levi Document* and *Admonitions of Qahat*. One can even say that they are irrelevant for the understanding of the priestly literature composed centuries earlier and directed to the priestly audience only. From the preceding analyses there also comes a conviction that the *Admonitions* are literary and thematically connected with the *Levi Document*, and belong to the same didactic type of literature that was written by generations of priestly tutors who had to deal with the education of successive generations of priestly apprentices. This educational literature, rooted in patriarchal tradition and open to bright perspectives for the future, presented the readers with a moral responsibility for their own education, and stressed the importance of moral values in the process of transmission of the priestly lore.

²¹ Eckhard von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten: II. Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit* (ALGHJ 13; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), 115–18.

²² Józef Tadeusz Milik, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen: Fragment de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân (Pl. IV),” *RB* 62 (1955): 398–406.

4QMysteries^c: A NEW EDITION

Torleif Elgvin

This paper presents the result of a new reading of all fragments of 4Q301 (4QMysteries^c?). The DJD edition contains valuable discussion on terminology and contents, but does not pay enough attention to the physical side of the fragments. A study of the original fragments under microscope suggests that the DJD edition can be substantially improved.¹ In the following I present transcription, textual notes, translation, and some short comments to the fragments.² New readings that substantially alter the meaning of the text are found in 1 3, 4; 2 2; 8 2, 3; 10 3. Further, the translation often represents an alternative interpretation of the Hebrew text.³

It is suggested that fig. 1 represents the first column of the scroll, fig. 2a the second, and fig. 2b perhaps the third one. The text of these fragments is sapiential and didactic in nature, while fragments 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 that are more hymnic and hekhalot-like in style, probably should be located to the second part of the scroll.

¹ L. Schiffman, in DJD XX, 113–23. The fragments were studied in the IAA scroller in January and September 2005.

² Italic font in the translation indicates tentative restoration of the sense of thought.

³ A number of studies have discussed the contents and social location of *Mysteries*: A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in der Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 93–121; E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones. Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2001); idem, “Notes on the Readings of the DJD Editions of 1Q and 4QMysteries,” *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 99–107; idem, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1–4QMysteries,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 69–88; A. Klostergaard Petersen, “Wisdom as Cognition: Creating the Others in the Book of Mysteries and 1 Cor 1–2,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 405–32; T. Elgvin “Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.J. Collins, G.E. Sterling, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 67–87; M. Kister, “Wisdom Literature and its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to Mysteries,” in *ibid.*, 13–47. A study of mine on “The Use of Scripture in 1Q/4QMysteries” is forthcoming in the proceedings of the tenth Orion symposium.

According to Tigchelaar, 4Q301 is either a copy of *Mysteries*, or it represents another recension of *Mysteries* (1Q27, 4Q299, and 4Q300).⁴ *Mysteries* is a collection of material of various kinds. I prefer to see 4Q301 as a separate work, collected from the same pool of texts, probably to be located around the pre-Maccabean Temple.

Frg. 1

<i>top margin</i>	
[שמעו בנים וא] בִּיעָה רוחי ולמיניכם אֲחַלְקָה דברי אֵלֵיכֶם [אשר]	1
[מבינים מ] של וחידה וחוקרי שורשי בינה עם תומכי ה[כמה]	2
[ומבינים ב] הֶ'לְכִי פוּתִי וְאֲנֹשִׁי מִחֲשַׁבַת שְׁלֹכֹל עֲבוּדַת מַעֲשֵׂי [הם]	3
[ידי קו] קוֹדֵק [וד כ] ל [ה] מִ'לֶּת עֲמִים עִם נִמְכָּ.	4
] ל [] .	5

Notes on Readings

Frg. 1 consists of two sub-fragments that almost make up a physical join. When the fragments are placed together, ll. 1–3 create a running and logical text. The parchment structure is identical in both (the follicles slant slightly down to the right), so the join may be considered certain. Both sub-fragments preserve the top margin. The nature of ll. 1–3 would fit the opening of a didactic composition. While it is not impossible that this text could represent a new section in the middle of a scroll, the location of a didactic call to attention at the top of a column suggests that this fragment preserves the beginning of the scroll. The tentative restoration of ll. 1–2 suggests a column width of *c.* 10 cm, with *c.* 51 ls per line.

L. 2 ה[כמה]. Only a trace is preserved of the first letter of this word. Restoration will depend on the understanding of the context. DJD suggests ר[זי פלא] and Tigchelaar (“Notes,” 106) ר[זים].

L. 3 שלכול. The *shin* is not noted in DJD. A trace of the right stroke of *shin* can be seen at frg. 1a, the slightly curved top of the right stroke and the top of the left stroke on 1b.

L. 4 ידי.[DJD’s reading עֲוֹרָה[is not possible. The first letter cannot be *ayin*. A slightly curved vertical stroke can be seen. *Tet*, *shin*, and *zayin* are the easiest options. The second letter is *yod* or *vav*.

L. 4 מִ'לֶּת [ה]. Or: חֶלֶת [נ] (thus Tigchelaar, “Notes”).

⁴ Tigchelaar, “Your Wisdom and Your Folly,” 73.

L. 4]נַמְּ. The last word of the line opens with *nun*. The second letter is probably *kaf* or *mem*, the third *kaf*, *bet*, *dalet* or *mem*. Less is preserved of the fourth letter, *samek* and *bet* are among the options. The word may be read as נַמְּבֵרֵיהֶם “their honoured ones.”

L. 4 A hair, probably from an eyelid, can be identified under the *tav*. This is more probably from the modern stage of conservation than from antiquity.

Translation

1. [Listen, sons, and I will sh]are out my spirit, and portion out my words to you according to your kinds,]
2. [you who understand par]able and riddle, who search the roots of understanding together with those who support w[isdom.]
3. [You understand]both those who walk in simplicity and men of thought, who [conduct their lives] according to all [their] deeds[
4. [. . . cross]ing the line, the cre[st of al]l [the] tumult of the peoples, with [their] honour[ed ones

Comments

Ll. 1–2 For similar openings of compositions, see 4Q413 (4QExhortation) 1;⁵ 4Q298 (4QWords of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn) 1–2 i 1–3; CD I 1; 4Q303 (4QMeditation on Creation A) 1 1.⁶

L. 2. שְׁלִכְוִל. My reading of the relative particle שְׁ creates a new understanding of this line compared to DJD. The use of שְׁ as a relative particle is in Qumran almost exclusively used in legal and calendrical texts. In Cave 4 material we encounter it in the MMT manuscripts (62 times); the calendrical documents 4Q322–4Q324 (5 times); 4Q266 (4QD^a) 10 i 1, 10 ii 2; 4Q448 (4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer) III 5; 4Q521 (4QMessianic Apocalypse) 2 ii 11; and here in 4Q301 1 3.

L. 4. קָ seems to be the only possible reading of these traces of a two-letter word. In the context one could restore either “crossing the line” or “drawing a line.”

⁵ See T. Elgvin, “4Q413—A Hymn and a Wisdom Instruction,” in *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuaginta, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul, R.A. Kraft, L.H. Schiffman, and W.W. Fields; VTS 94; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 205–14.

⁶ כֹּל הַיֹּדְעִים שְׁמְעוּ וְיִן, “All you who]understand, listen and [” (interpreted differently from DJD XX, 153).

Frg. 2a

	<i>top margin</i>	
1	[משפטי כסיל ונחלת חכמ]ים	
2	[מה נכבד לבב והוא ממק]ום	
3	[מִוְשֵׁל] [מִ] [ל] [מש]פט	

Notes on Readings

The structure of the parchment is the same as that of frg. 1, in both fragment the follicles slant slightly down to the right. I therefore suggest that this fragment represents the column following frg. 1. Milik suggested that ll. 1–3 preserve the right margin. This is possible, but not certain.

L. 2 ממִּמְקָוּם. The last letter is not *shin* (thus DJD). One can read *samek* or more likely *qof*.

L. 3 מִוְשֵׁל. Only the upper traces of four letters are preserved. DJD's reading מִוְשֵׁל is a good guess.

Translation

1.]judgements of a fool and the inheritance of sage[s
2.]How honoured is the heart, it is from the plac[e of
3.]it rules[*and conveys*] jud[gment

Comments

The text of this column continues the sapiential reflection on the ways of sages and simpletons of 1 2–3.

L. 2 מה נכבד לבב. Cf. the sapiential verse Jer 17:9 “The heart is too serpentine to comprehend, sick is it, who can understand it?”⁷ This rhetoric verse is quoted in 4QInstruction, 4Q416 2 ii 12/4Q418 8 12.

Frg. 2b

	<i>top margin</i>	
1	[ים ומה הִחִידָה לַכֹּמֵה רִוּדִפִּי שׁוֹרֶשׁ] שִׁי בִינָה	
2	[ל]מִשְׁלַּח מֶה אֲדִיר לִכֶּם וְהוּא לִמְלָאָךְ [וּכְ]הֵ [כִּי]א [מֶה] שֶׁר [לִכֶּם]	
3	[וְהוּא לְמִשְׁרָה וּבֹאשֶׁר אִישׁ] בְּלוֹא הוֹנֵק וִירֵד בּוֹ בְּשׁוֹשׁ בְּלוֹא מַחִיר מִיָּא יֵאמְרָךְ]	
4	[ל].. [ל] [מִיָּא בְּכֶם דּוֹרֵשׁ פְּנֵי אֲוִר וּמֵא]וֹרֹת]	
5	[וְהַבְּנִית זִכְרָ לְלוֹא הִיא]	
6	[בְּמִלְאֲכֵי]	
7	[מִן] הַלְּלִים	
8	[ל].. [ל]	

⁷ On this understanding of the verse, see T. Novick, “עקב הלב מכל ואנש הוא מי,” *JBL* 123 (2004): 531–35.

Notes on Readings

The structure of the parchment is different from frgs. 1 and 2a. The follicle lines in the upper part are horizontal, and the colour of the parchment is lighter than in frgs. 1 and 2a. This fragment should therefore not be considered a distant join with frg. 2a (representing the end of the same column as 2a), as suggested by Milik (see DJD XX, 115). As the surface looks slightly different from frgs. 1 and 2a, it is suggested that this fragment may represent the second sheet of this scroll, perhaps preserving the beginning of col. III or IV. The fragment may belong to the same sheet as frg. 2a, but one would then have to postulate a certain distance between them. Milik's proposal that the fragment may preserve the left margin, is a probable option. The suggested restoration of l. 3 gives a line length of 62 ls.

L. 1 רודפִי. With Tigchelaar, "Notes."

L. 2 למל[י]הָ כִּי־א. The third letter of this word is not *shin* (so DJD), but *lamed*. The parchment has not eroded where the the bottom left corner of *shin* would have been. Ink from the head of the *lamed* can be seen. The suggested restoration מַה [כִּי־א] לְמַלְ[י]הָ fits the preserved traces of letters.

Translation

1.] . . What is a riddle for you, you who search the roots of understanding
2. to]rule. What is a mighty one for you—he is (destined) for kingship. And what is a high official [for you,]
3. [he is destined for domination. *And as for* a person]without strength—he will rule over him with a whip at no cost. Who will sa[y,]
4. [] Who among you seeks the presence of light, so that the lum[inaries]
5. [*may enlighten* . . .]and the image of a male that did not exist
6.]with angels of
7. p]raising

Comments

Frg. 2b is didactic of nature, and characterized by rhetorical questions. Ll. 2–3 reflect on the experience of oppressing rulers and officials. L. 4 may represent the beginning of a new section, i.e. the transition to the hymnic part of the scroll, cf. the mention of praise and communion with the angels in ll. 6–7.

L. 2 מַה אֲדִיר לְכֶם. For the interpretation "What is a mighty one for you?" see Tigchelaar, "Your Wisdom and Your Folly," 74.

Frg. 3ab

]. .[	1
]צ[	2
] vac [	3
] רומ[ה ונכבד אל בן]רך אפיו [ונדר]ל הואה ברוב המת[ן ו]ג[הדר]	4
] הואה בהמון רחמיו ונורא הואה במזמת אפו נכבד הו[אה]	5
] ב[ל]בו ובאשר בארץ המשילו [ונ]כבר אל בעם קודשו ונהדר ה[והא]	6
] בתהלות [בחוריו ונהדר]ר [הואה ברום קן]דשו גדול הואה בברכות	7
] עמו [הדרם ות]שבחותם [בכלות]ה [קץ רשעה ועשות	8

bottom margin

Notes on Readings

Milik suggested 3a to be a close join with 3b, with the words **נורא** and **הואה** almost touching each other in l. 5. Schiffman is more cautious on the certainty of the join. The structure is the same in both fragments, the follicles slant 15° down to the right. When 3a and 3b are joined, the text of ll. 4–7 conveys a smooth and running text, so the join should be considered certain. It is suggested that the fragment preserves the left margin, and that the line length is c. 52–58 ls.

Three scribal signs, identified by Tov as Cryptic A *samek*, *ayin*, and *shin*, are located in ll. 2 and 3.⁸ The space between ll. 3 and 4 is larger (11 mm) than the usual 7 mm, which may suggest a new section starting in l. 4.

L. 4 **אל**. With Tigchelaar, “Notes.”

L. 4 **בן]רך אפיו**. Tigchelaar suggests a possible overlap with 4Q299 9 5 **בן]ארך אפיו** (“Notes,” 102). L. 5 is the last line of 4Q299 9. If this overlap holds true, we would have preserved remnants of three more hymnic lines above 4Q301 3 4. But the occurrence of two words that frequently are used in a hymnic context, is no solid basis to postulate a textual overlap.

L. 6 **בארץ**. Lange’s assertion that one should read **בקץ** in stead of **בארץ**,⁹ can be discarded.

⁸ E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 206, 363. According to Tov, this text resembles 4Q186 (4QHorsoscope): both are physiognomic in nature and contain encoded messages in Cryptic A. He thus interprets the Cryptic A letters as part of an encoded message, not as scribal signs. I have difficulty finding any physiognomic features in 4Q301.

⁹ A. Lange, “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel. Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen

Translation

2.].. x[
3.] x[
4. Exalte]d and honoured is God in His l[o]ng suffering [and grea]t
is He in [His] great anger. E[xalted]
5. [is He in His . . . , and . . . is]He in his great mercy. Awesome
is[]He in the plan of his wrath. Honoured is H[e]
6. [in the . . . of]His[hear]t, His reign is on the earth[. Ho]noured
is God by his holy people, glorious is H[e]
7. [in the praises of]His chosen ones. Glorious[is] H[e in His exalted
holi]ness. Great is He in the blessings
8. [of his people,]their glory [will be exalted] and[their praises be heard
]at the consummati[on] of the period of evil and the works of
9. [iniquity

Comments

As Schiffman has noted, this hymnic passage displays parallels with later hekhalot literature. Parallels can be observed with the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, cf., e.g., 4Q400 1 i 18, ii 13; 4Q403 1 i 26–29, and 11QPs^a Creat.

L. 6 רומ]ה . . . אל] בא[]ן]רך אפיו For the restoration רומ]ה ונכבר אל] , cf. Ps 21:14 רומה יהוה בעזך; and further Ps 57:6, 12; 108:6.

L. 6 במשילו] המשילו] should be interpreted as a construct infinitive of משל hiph'il with pronominal suffix.

L. 8 קץ רשעה. According to Schiffman, this term places the document among the sectarian texts (DJD XX, 119). This conclusion is premature. The apocalyptic hope for the end of the period of evil has biblical roots (e.g. Ps 104:35), and is widely attested also in pre-sectarian and extrasectarian writings such as *1 Enoch*.

Fig. 4

].. בנל] [	1
]חב כל רוח בניתו לוא ידע]	2
]עת בכל כבודו ומה אפר] [ועפר	3
]והר נהדר הואה ב]	4
]ל] []...]	5

Kohelet und Weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel," in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (ed. A. Schoors; BETL 136; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 113–59, at 136.

Notes on Readings

L. 4 זָהָר [ז. DJD reads זָהָר [ז. The first preserved letter is not *zayin*, but *vav*. Under the microscope the head of *vav* is clear.

Translation

2.] every (angelic) spirit of His understanding does not know[
3.].. in all His glory. And what is dust [and ashes compared to His
4. and sp]lendour. Exalted is He in[

Comments

This fragment combines didactic and hymnic material.

L. 1 הַב [ז. The last letter of this word is *bet* or *kaf*.

L. 2 Schiffman translates “every spirit of His discernment [they] did not understand,” making the “they-group” confronted in the other copies of *Mysteries* the subject of this line. As ll. 3–4 deal with the heavenly glory, it seems easier to interpret the “spirits of discernment” as angelic beings, cf. the frequent use of רוּחַ on heavenly beings in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

Frg. 5

בְּנֵי [	1
הַיְכָל מְלִכּוּתוֹ]	2
מִהָבֶשֶׁר כִּי־אֵם]	3
בְּאֵזְרֵי נְדוּלָה וְנִכְבָּד הוּאֵה	4
]. אֵזֶר וְאֵזֶרֶוֹ]	5

Translation

2.]the temple of His kingdom[
3. wh]at is flesh bu[t
4. in]great [l]ight. Honour[ed is He
5.] light, and His light [is

Comments

L. 3 The lowness of man is compared to God’s glory.

L. 4 אֵזֶר נְדוּלָה (Isa 9:1) from the royal/messianic passage in Isa 9:1–6 is here reused in a description of God’s heavenly temple. Light is frequently associated with the heavenly temple in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.

Frg. 6

כין אין לו מן כשור	1
ן.]תו וצעד כבו]דו	2
ל]לו הואח למו הואח]	3
].]הלו א'מ'ה]	4

Notes on Readings

The fragment should perhaps be located close to frg. 2b, as the parchment structure with horizontal follicles is similar to that fragment.

L. 2 הוּ]ן. DJD reads הַ [הַ]נְּיָ, “his pr[op]erty,” which hardly makes sense in this hymnic context. In stead of *nun* one may read *tav*. One could possibly read זוּרְוָ “its corner,” a word that may fit in a temple context. The first preserved letter of this line is *yod/vav*, not *dalet* (thus DJD).

L. 3 לוּ ל]לו. After *lamed* the right foot of an *alef* or *gimel* is clear. For the last letter of this word DJD reads *resh*. A vertical fold goes through this letter. But the fold is not large enough to hide most of the top of a *resh*. *Vav* is the only option (*yod/vav* at the end of a word may be prolonged in this pen, cf. 1 1 רודי). One may restore לַאֲפוּ, but *pe* is no easy option for the third letter—the physical remains points more to *bet* or *dalet*. Tigchelaar suggests לַאֲוֹר, “a light” (“Notes,” 106).

L. 4]ן.מ'ה'. Possibly restore]ן.מ'ה', “th[eir] days.”

Translation

1. fo]r there is no st[umbling block] before Him[
2.]its [] and *corner*, and the step of [His g]lory[
3.]according to His *wrath*(?) is He. But to them He is[
4.]Are not [th]eir days[

Comments

L. 1 For the restoration כין אין לו מן כשור, “fo]r there is no st[umbling block] with/before Him,” cf. Ps 119:165 וּאֵין לְמוֹ מִכְשׁוֹל.

Frg. 7

].רש וג.	1
ת]עד מלא	2
]רשעת לבו לו	3
].לו א	4

Notes on Readings

L. 3] לו. The last letter is *yod/vav*.

Translation

2.]until the complet[ion of
3. the ini]quity of his heart [
4.]not [

Comments

The theme of ll. 2–3 indicate that this fragment belongs with the didactic frgs. 1, 2a, and 2b.

Frg. 8

]. ה[ ]].[	1
]שניה בנ[	2
]בני הי[	3

Notes on Readings

L. 2 One may read שניה, “second,” or שנות, “years.” The last letter of this line is more probably *nun* than *bet/kaf*.

L. 3] הי. The first preserved letter could be *bet*, but *nun* is the easiest reading. One may restore אבני הי or more probably בני הי.

Translation

2.]the second in [
3. s]ons of life(?)[/]living ston[es(?)]

Frg. 9

].[	1
]ורוח סו[ערת	2
]נכבד הוואה [ב	3

Translation

2. a]stor[ming] wind[
3. Honour]ed is He [in

Comments

L. 2 A strong wind can be associated with a theophany, cf. Ps 18:11.

Frg. 10

] [	1
] [בִּין א	2
] [בְּהִשָּׁב	3

Notes on Readings

L. 3] בְּהִשָּׁב. DJD reads בְּהִשָּׁב]ה, “plan,” while Tigchelaar reads בְּהִשָּׁב]. *Pace* DJD, the second letter is no *khet*, the curved top of *he* and a trace of the right stroke are preserved. *Pace* Tigchelaar, there is not space for both *mem* and *vav* before *shin*, and a trace of the following word can also be seen. The first letter can be *bet*, *kaf*, *resh* or *dalet*.

Translation

2.] between [
 3.] when bringing back [

Comments

L. 3 בְּהִשָּׁב. Inf. abs. of שׁוּב Hiphil.

ISAAK IN DEN HANDSCHRIFTEN VON QUMRAN

Heinz-Josef Fabry
Universität Bonn

Dieser kurze Beitrag – der einen höchst verdienstvollen Gelehrten ehren möchte – geht von der Erkenntnis aus, dass bis in die jüngste jüdische Literatur hinein die Vorstellung von der “Bindung Isaaks” (עֶקְדַת יִצְחָק)¹ eine für die Identität des Judentums bemerkenswert hohe Wertschätzung des zweiten Patriarchen bezeugt.² Hält man die Texte des Alten Testaments und der frühen zwischentestamentlichen Literatur dagegen, in der Isaak durch die großen Patriarchengestalten des Abraham und des Jakob, erst recht auch durch seine übermächtige Ehefrau Rebekka regelrecht marginalisiert wird,³ dann ist diese Wertschätzung verwunderlich. Es muß also in der Rezeptionsgeschichte von Gen 22 einen Umschwung in der Isaak-Ästimation gegeben haben. Zu fragen ist, wo dieser Umschwung liegt und wie er gestaltet wird. Die Forschung ist sich durchaus darüber im Klaren, dass es noch Isaak-Traditionen gegeben haben muss, die uns heute nicht mehr unmittelbar zugänglich sind. Solche könnten hinter den immer noch ungeklärten Bezeichnungen “Höhen Isaaks” (Am 7:9) und “Haus Isaak” (Am 7:16) stehen, die auf uns unbekannte Isaak-Traditionen im Nordreich Israel hinweisen.

Dem Arbeitsgebiet des Geehrten entsprechend soll den Isaak-Traditionen nachgegangen werden, die sich in den Handschriften von Qumran vorfinden lassen. Sie sollen analysiert und in ihrem rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Kontext betrachtet werden.

¹ Die Literatur zu diesem Thema ist nicht mehr zu überblicken, deshalb erhebt dieser Beitrag auch keinerlei Anspruch, die Sekundärliteratur auch nur einigermaßen ausreichend erfasst zu haben. Ich verweise hier auf die im Folgenden aufgenommene Literatur, durch die hindurch Leserin und Leser problemlos zu einem umfassenden Literaturverzeichnis durchfinden können.

² Vgl. zu einigen Beispielen der jüdischen Dichtung W.A. van Bekkum, “The Aqedah and its Interpretations in Midrash and Piyyut,” in *The Sacrifice of Isaac. The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations* (Hg. E. Noort und E. Tigchelaar; Themes in Biblical Narrative 4; Leiden, Boston und Köln: Brill, 2002), 86–95.

³ Vgl. dazu R. Albertz und M. Brocke, “Isaak,” TRE XVI, 292–301, bes. 292–94.

1. *Der Textbefund*

Ein erster Blick in die *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*⁴ zeigt, dass dem Patriarchen “Abraham” 3,5 Spalten und dem “Jakob” 2 Spalten gewidmet werden, “Isaak” dagegen nicht eigens erwähnt wird. Hier setzt die oben genannte Ausgangsfrage an: Der Patriarch Isaak wird in den Handschriften von Qumran nur selten genannt, so dass man hier einen Progress in seiner Marginalisierung vermuten könnte. Nach der Namenskonkordanz in DJD XXXIX⁵ begegnet der Name 28mal, nach der neuen *Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*⁶ 26mal⁷ – in nichtbiblischen Handschriften. Verwunderlich ist, dass der Name weitaus seltener (7mal) in der für das AT üblichen Schreibweise קִיִּסָא begegnet,⁸ als vielmehr mehrheitlich (20mal)⁹ in der nur selten¹⁰ alttestamentlich belegten Schreibweise קִיִּשָׁא und schließlich einmal gar in der Form קִיִּסָׁא in 4Q225 2 i 9, obwohl im selben Text anschließend der Name nur noch als קִיִּשָׁא geschrieben wird. Die Belege sind unterschiedlich informativ.¹¹

Durchsucht man zuerst die biblischen Handschriften, wird schnell deutlich, dass die Isaak-Perikopen in den durchwegs fragmentarischen Genesis-Handschriften so gut wie nicht erhalten sind; lediglich sind einige Halbzeilen aus Gen 22:13–15 in 1Q1 3 und aus Gen 22:14 in 4Q1 1 erhalten. Der Pescher zu Genesis 4Q252 (olim: 4QPatrBless) muss in Fragm. 1 iii die Opferung des Isaak kommentiert haben, denn in den Zeilen 6–7 ist als Rest noch zu lesen: “. . . Abraham streckte seine Hand aus . . . , . . . vom Himmel und er sagte zu ihm: Nun . . . deinen geliebten, vor mir . . .” In meist zer-

⁴ L.H. Schiffman und J.C. VanderKam, Hg., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁵ DJD XXXIX, 260.

⁶ M.G. Abegg, J.A. Bowley und E.M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, Volume One: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden und Boston: Brill, 2003), 323.

⁷ Abra[ha]m begegnet 48mal, Jakob sogar 82mal.

⁸ 1Q21 5 1; 2Q223–224 2 i 47; 4Q273 4 i 9; 4Q379 17 4; 4Q388a 7 ii 2; 4Q389 8 ii 8 und 4Q508 3 3.

⁹ CD III 3; 4Q180 1 5; 2 1; 4Q185 1–2 ii 4; 4Q225 2 (6mal); 4Q226 7 5; 4Q234; 4Q364 (3mal); 4Q393 4 5; 4Q505 124 6; 4Q509 24 2; 4Q542 1 i 11; 6Q18 2 7.

¹⁰ Jer 33:26; Am 7:9, 16; Ps 105:9.

¹¹ Als kontextlos lassen sich folgende Belege aus jeder weiteren Betrachtung ausklammern: 1Q21 5; 4Q234; 4Q273 4 i 9; 4Q502 24 2 und 6Q18 2 7. Eine Sichtung aller Belege hat F. García Martínez, “The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225,” in *The Sacrifice of Isaac. The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations*, 44–57 vorgenommen.

störten Kontexten begegnet der Isaak-Name noch in den Pentateuch-Paraphrasen, jetzt als "Reworked Pentateuch" bezeichnet: Die Toledah Gen 25:18–21 "... Isaak, Sohn des Abraham . . ." ist in 4Q364 1a-h 2 und ähnlich in 4Q180 1 5¹² belegt. In einem Addendum zum Bibeltext hat dieselbe Handschrift (4Q364 3 ii 1ff.) den Bibeltext Gen 28:2 leicht erweitert und ein Gespräch Isaaks mit Rebekka eingefügt, dessen Inhalt aber nicht mehr erhalten ist. Schließlich erwähnt sie in Fragm. 12 3 im Josefsegen den Gott Israels, "vor dem meine Väter Abraham und Isaak gewandelt sind" (Gen 48:14f.).

Ein verbreitetes Thema ist der Bund Gottes mit Abraham. Er wird sehr häufig memoriert und in seiner Überzeitlichkeit gekennzeichnet durch seine Bezeichnung als "Bund mit Abraham, Isaak und Jakob" (4Q388a 7 ii 2 = 4Q389 1 ii 8; vgl. ähnlich 4Q393 4 5); in diesem Bund gründet die Erwählung Isaaks und Jakobs und ihrer Nachkommen (4Q505 [4QpapDibHam^b] 124 6). In einem Festtagsgebet besingt die Gemeinde den Bund, den Gott mit Noach geschlossen hat, und die Treue Gottes gegenüber Isaak und Jakob (4Q508 [4QFestivalPrayers^b] 3 3).

Eine ähnliche Stereotypen-Linie wird bereits in vorqumranischer Zeit im Bezug auf die Tora ausgesagt: Gott hat seine Worte an Jakob gegeben, seinen Pfad hat er dem Isaak vorgeschrieben (4Q185 1–2 ii 4). Die Tora-Treue zeichnet die Patriarchen Abraham, Isaak und Jakob aus und nach ihnen die großen Priestergestalten aus dem Geschlecht Aarons: Eleazar und Ithamar (4Q379 [4QApocrJosua^b] 17 4). Auch CD III 3 verweist auf Abraham, der die Tora Gottes befolgte, sie weiter gab an Isaak und Jakob, damit sie aufgeschrieben werde für die Teilnehmer des Bundes. Sieht man diesen Text aus der Anfangsphase der Qumrangemeinde jetzt noch zusammen mit dem aus vorqumranischer Zeit stammenden Testament des Qahat,¹³ in dem dieser die priesterlichen Grundtugenden Wahrheit, Gerechtigkeit, Rechtschaffenheit, Vollkommenheit, Reinheit, Heiligkeit und das Priestertum preist, die als Erbe resultieren aus der "Fröhlichkeit für Levi, Freude für Jakob, Frohsinn für Isaak und Lobpreis für Abraham," dann wird deutlich, dass die sich konstituierende Gemeinde

¹² Identisch mit 4Q181 2 1.

¹³ Dazu vgl. H.-J. Fabry, "Zadokiden und Aaroniden in Qumran," in *Das Manna fällt auch heute noch. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten, Ersten Testaments. Festschrift für Erich Zenger* (Hg. F.-L. Hossfeld und L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger; HBS 44; Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 2004), 201–17, bes. 213f.

ihre Identität wesentlich aus der Zeit der Patriarchen und der vorararonidischen Priesterschaft begründete. In dieser Sukzessionslinie war Isaak lediglich ein (unvermeidbares) Zwischenglied, das zwar genannt werden musste, aber durchwegs keine weitere Beachtung verdiente. Die Flankierung durch die dominanten Gestalten des Abraham, der Rebekka und des Jakob machten ihn selbst relativ unbedeutend.

2. Die Gestalt des Isaak in der Jubiläen-Literatur

Es hat den Anschein, dass das Jubiläenbuch und die sogenannten Pseudo-Jubiläen der Gestalt des Isaak eine größere Aufmerksamkeit widmen. Diese Texte stehen dem biblischen Text nahe, zeigen aber doch eine eigene Herkunft und Traditionsaufnahme. Zu diesen Texten sind neben dem Jubiläenbuch selbst in Qumran folgende Handschriften zu rechnen: 1Q17 (1QJub^a); 1Q18 (1QJub^b); 2Q19 (2QJub^a); 2Q20 (2QJub^b); 3Q5 (3QJub); 4Q216–224 (4QJub^{a-h}); 11Q12 (11QJub).

Das Jubiläenbuch legt sein Hauptaugenmerk auf die Patriarchen, die es mit beachtlicher Ausdauer darstellt, allen voran Abraham. Der Text *Jub.* 11–23 zeigt einen in allem dominierenden Abraham: er bekehrt seinen Vater Terach vom Götzendienst; mit ihm schließt Gott einen Bund (*Jub.* 14; Gen 15). Die aus der Zeugung des Ismael mit der Hagar entstehenden familiären Probleme mit Sara arbeitet der Text in umfangreichen Dialogen auf. Schließlich und endlich wird auch Sara schwanger und gebiert am Fest der Ernte-Erstlinge den Isaak. Abraham opfert aus Dankbarkeit Unmengen an Opfer – bereits in voller Übereinstimmung mit der (späteren) Opfergesetzgebung am Sinai.

Die Opferung des Isaak (*Jub.* 18) wird ganz auf Abraham konzentriert. Unter Aufnahme des Prologs im Himmel (Hiob 1f.) wird die Szenerie ausgestaltet und der böse Geist Mastemah in die Erzählung eingeführt. Der Erzähler stimmt Leserin und Leser zuversichtlich dadurch, dass er in einem Durchgang durch die Vita des Abraham aufweist, dass dieser alle bisherigen Versuchungen bestanden habe. Die Versuchungsgeschichte selbst wird anschließend nahezu wortwörtlich der biblischen Vorlage nachgestaltet, allerdings geschieht die Schilderung aus der himmlischen Perspektive des göttlichen Zuschauers. Der böse Geist Mastemah steht bei diesem Geschehen neben Abraham. Durch das Einhalt-Gebot des Engels wird er depotenziert und be-

schämt. Das Jubiläenbuch wertet diese Erzählung als Ätiologie für den Zion und für das “Fest Gottes.”

Die folgende IsaaK-Erzählungen wird ganz von der Gestalt des Abraham dominiert: Abraham holt die Rebekka als Frau für seinen Sohn IsaaK (*Jub.* 19:10–14). Die schöne Liebesgeschichte zwischen Rebekka und IsaaK (Gen 24:1–67) wird völlig ausgeblendet, statt dessen wird nur das Ergebnis genannt: Rebekka schenkt dem IsaaK zwei Söhne, Jakob und Esau. Auch im Folgenden übernimmt der alte Abraham das Szepter des Handelnden – gegen den alttestamentlichen Text, der hier bereits IsaaK am Werk sieht: Abraham überzeugt seine Schwiegertochter Rebekka davon, dass Esau der Falsche ist. Die Verheißung, die früher einmal an Abraham ergangen ist, wiederholt er selbst jetzt über Jakob. Dann aber kommt es zu einer seltsamen Wendung: *IsaaK liebte den Esau mehr als den Jakob* (*Jub.* 19:26–31). Dieser Satz ist einzigartig in der jüdischen Tradition und dürfte wohl mitverantwortlich sein für die überraschend zurückhaltende Rezeption der IsaaK-Gestalt, denn eine Esau-Edom-Liebe des Erzvaters IsaaK konnte nur als ein historisches Sakrileg verstanden werden. Abraham spricht seine letzten Worte, ein umfangreiches ethisches Testament, an seine Kinder und Enkel, als er seinen Tod kommen spürt. Dem IsaaK widmet Abraham dann ein eigenes Testament (*Jub.* 21; vgl. auch 4Q219 [4QJub^d] und 4Q220 [4QJub^e]), in dem er ihn aber nur belehrt, wie man ein richtiges und gottwohlgefälliges Opfer darbringt (*Jub.* 21).

Interessanterweise stirbt Abraham jetzt immer noch nicht, denn nach der internen Chronologie des Jubiläenbuches kommen ca. 3 Jahre später IsaaK und Ismael nach Beersheba, um mit ihrem Vater das Wochenfest zu feiern. Es wird ein wahres Versöhnungsfest zwischen IsaaK und Ismael, in dessen Verlauf IsaaK ein Opfer auf dem Altar seines Vaters darbringt. Rebekka und IsaaK bereiten edle Speisen, die sie – zuerst die Rebekka – durch Jakob in einem zweimaligen Vorgang dem “Großvater” Abraham überreichen lassen. Dieser handelt wie gewünscht und spricht einen ausführlichen Segen über Jakob (22:10–24). Danach erst stirbt Abraham.

Damit dann geht die Erzählabfolge auf IsaaK über, der dem hungrigen Esau sein Linsengericht anbietet und dafür das Erstgeburtsrecht “zurück erhält.” Hier scheint das Jubiläenbuch offensichtlich eine Traditionsvariante zu kennen, denn nach allem war Esau der Erstgeborene. Anschließend zwingt eine Hungersnot im Süden Judas

den Patriarchen zum Weidewechsel. Obwohl Isaak einen Marsch nach Ägypten bevorzugt, zieht die Sippe nach Norden ins Land Gerar. Rebekka ergreift die Initiative und schickt ihren Sohn Jakob, sich ein Weib aus der Sippe Labans, Rebekkas Bruder, zu holen. Dazu verpflichtet sich Jakob und Rebekka versieht ihren Sohn mit einem großen Segen so, als wäre sie der Patriarch (*Jub.* 25). Den schon alt und blind gewordenen Isaak betrügt Jakob – von Rebekka angeleitet – um den Erstgeburtssegens (vgl. 4Q222 [4QJub^g]). Diese Perikope wird exakt der alttestamentlichen Vorlage in Gen 27 nacherzählt, endet aber über den Bibeltext hinaus in einem Fluch des Esau, der seinen Bruder Jakob zu töten gedenkt, wenn die Trauerzeit um Isaak vorbei sein wird (*Jub.* 26:35). Isaak aber lebt noch! Rebekka übernimmt erneut die Regie und veranlasst den Isaak, seinen Sohn Jakob nach Mesopotamien zu schicken, damit er sich dort ein Weib holt. Isaak ruft den Jakob kurz zu sich und schickt ihn – versehen mit einem Segen – auf den Weg.

Das Jubiläenbuch berichtet im Folgenden ausschließlich über Jakob, wie er bei Laban um seine vier Frauen dient, wie er mit seinem ganzen Tross zurückkehrt und sich mit Esau aussöhnt. Jakob kehrt bei Rebekka und Isaak ein und stellt seinem Vater seine Söhne Levi und Juda vor. Dieser wird für diesen Augenblick wieder sehend und segnet die Beiden. Jakob hält nun sein Gelübde ein und errichtet in Bet-El einen Altar. Rebekka begleitet ihn, während der alte Isaak in seinem Stübchen bleibt. Die Erzählung geht jetzt kapitelweise durch die Vita des Jakob. Erst in *Jub.* 35 folgen die Abschiedsreden Rebekkas an Jakob und an Esau (vgl. 1Q18) und dann erst eine Abschiedsrede Isaaks mit einem Appell zur Bruderliebe und einer massiven Warnung vor dem Götzendienste. Die beiden Brüder versprechen einen friedliches Verhalten und Isaak segnet das Zeitliche. Unmittelbar nach Ablauf der Trauerzeit zieht Esau gegen Jakob in den Krieg.

Die Berichterstattung des Jubiläenbuches über Isaak zeigt einen weitgehend inaktiven Patriarchen, dem bis auf den Schlusssegens, der aber eher das Gegenteil bewirkt hat, weitgehende Inaktivität befallt. Sein Tun ist meistens Folge der Intrigen Rebekkas, die zwar die Heilsgeschichte folgerichtig weiterführen, Isaak aber im zwischenmenschlichen Kontext zu höchst zweifelhaften Taten verleiten. Von hier aus ergibt sich in der frühen jüdischen Isaak-Tradition ganz sicher eine Minder-Ästimation, die Isaak grundsätzlich nach vorne der übermächtigen Vatergestalt Abraham, nach hinten dem Stammvater Jakob unterordnete.

3. Die Gestalt des Isaak in den Pseudo-Jubiläen

Von besonderem Interesse sind nun die sogenannten Pseudo-Jubiläen, Texte, die – wie die Parabiblicals den biblischen Texten – als Pseudo-Texte den Jubiläen-Texten nahe stehen und interessante Materialien bewahrt haben. Zu diesen Texten zählen: 4Q225–227 (4QpsJub^{a-c}) und Masada 1j (simJub).¹⁴ Einige dieser Handschriften sind noch in einem beträchtlichen Umfang erhalten, so dass wir uns ein gutes Bild machen können von der Rezeption solcher parabiblischer Traditionsmaterialien in der Gemeinde von Qumran.

Hatte einst R. Le Déaut¹⁵ vermutet: “Il est très remarquable qu’étant donnée la popularité du sacrifice d’Isaac dans le Judaïsme ancien, il soit passé sous silence dans ce que nous connaissons de la littérature qumranienne,” so wird in diesen Texten der Erzvater Isaak lebendig und in das Zentrum der Interessen gerückt. Der erste Text 4Q225 (4QpsJub^a)¹⁶ besteht aus drei Fragmenten und stammt aus herodianischer Zeit, gehört also ins ausgehende letzte Jh. v. Chr. Sein Fragment 2 i enthält eine Nacherzählung von Gen 15, wo der Bundesschluss mit Abraham berichtet wird. Der Text entfernt sich ein wenig von *der* biblischen Vorlage, in dem er mehrere biblische Texte aufgreift und neu komponiert. Abraham beklagt, dass sein Diener Eliezer ihn beerben wird, da er keinen Sohn habe. Daraufhin erhält Abraham eine Mehrungsverheißung. Der Text überspringt jetzt die biblische Erzählabfolge vom Bundesschluss in Gen 15 bis unmittelbar auf den Beginn von Gen 21 mit dem Hinweis auf die Zeugung des Isaak. Diese Stauchung der Erzählung ist als Auswahl zugleich Hinweis auf das ganz besondere Erzählinteresse des Autors

¹⁴ Vgl. S. Talmon, “Hebrew Written Fragments from Masada,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 168–77, bes. 169–72. Die frühherodianische Schönschrift gibt den Datierungsrahmen für das Manuskript her. Der gut lesbare Ausdruck *שד הַמַּשְׁמָחָה* begegnet so nur noch in den qumranischen Pseudo-Jubiläen. Mit Talmon wird man annehmen können, dass dieses Fragment zu einer Handschrift gehört, die aus Qumran stammt (vgl. ähnlich das Masada-Fragment der Sabbatopfer-Lieder).

¹⁵ R. Le Déaut, *La nuit pascale. Essai sur la signification de la Pâque juive à partir du Targum d’Exode XII 42* (AnBibl 22; Rome: Institut biblique pontifical, 1963), 184, Anm. 134.

¹⁶ J.C. VanderKam und J.T. Milik, “225. 4QPseudo-Jubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4. VIII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 141–55; vgl. auch J.C. VanderKam, “The Aqedah, Jubilees, and Pseudo-Jubilees,” in *The Quest for Context and Meaning. Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (Hg. C.A. Evans und S. Talmon; Biblical Interpretation Series 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 241–61.

der Pseudo-Jubiläen. Es geht ihm offensichtlich um eine neue Markierung der zweiten großen Patriarchengestalt, um Isaak.

Unmittelbar nach dem Hinweis auf Isaaks Geburt (Gen 21:1–3) erzählt der Text die Opferung in Gen 22. Kol. ii berichtet weiter über das Geschehen auf dem Opferberg in einer recht eigenwilligen Form, um dann unmittelbar auf den betrügerischen Jakob umzuschwenken. Der Rest der Kolumne beschäftigt sich mit der genealogischen Abfolge von Isaak bis Levi.

Die Textfassung von 4Q225 2 i 3–14 und ii muß hier nicht noch einmal geboten werden, es möge das Zitat der engl. Übersetzung der Herausgeber genügen:

[And A]braham [said] to God: "My Lord, I go on being childless and Eli[ezer]
 is [the son of my household,] and he will be my heir." <vacat>
 [The Lo]rd [said] to A[b]raham: "Lift up (your eyes) and observe the stars, and see
 [and count] the sand which is on the seashore and the dust of the earth, for if
 these [can be num]bered, and al[so] if not, your seed will be like this."
 And [Abraham] be[lieved]
 [in] G[o]d, and righteousness was accounted to him. A son was born af[ter] this
 [to Abraha]m, and he named him Isaac. Then the Prince of the Ma[s]temah came
 [to G]od, and he accused Abraham regarding Isaac. And [G]od said [to Abra]ham:
 "Take your son, Isaac, [your] onl[y] one whom you [love] and offer him to me as a whole burnt-offering on one of the [high] mountains
 [which I will designate] for you." And he got [up and w]en[t] from the wells up to M[t. Moriah]
 []/[] And Ab[raham] lifted
 [his ey]es [and there was a] fire, and he se[t the wood on his son Isaac, and they went together.]
 Isaac said to Abraham [his father, "Here are the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb]
 for the whole burnt-offering?" Abraham said to [his son, Isaac, "God will provide the lamb]
 for himself." Isaac said to his father "T[ie me well ."]
 The angels of holiness were standing weeping above [the altar] his sons from the earth. The angels of the Ma[s]temah [] being happy and saying, "Now he will perish." And [in all this the Prince of the Mastemah was testing whether]
 he would be found weak, and whether A[braham] should not be found faithful [to God." He called,]

“Abraham, Abraham!” He said, “Here I am.” He said “N[ow I know that he will] not be loving.” God the Lord blessed Is[aac all the days of his life. He became the father of] Jacob, and Jacob became the father of Levi, [a third] genera[tion. <vacat> All] the days of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Lev[i were years.] The Prince of the Mastemah was bound (or: bind) on [account of them. The angels of holiness were] the Prince of the Ma[s]temah. Belial listened to [the Prince of the Mastemah (?)].

Diese Nacherzählung von Gen 22 zeigt ein hohes Maß an Verdichtung, wodurch die Erzählung zum einen ganz auf die Erprobung der Glaubenstreue des Abraham konzentriert wird, zum anderen aber erhält – im Unterschied zu allen bisherigen Fassungen – nun auch Isaak eine aktive Rolle. Vor einer genaueren Betrachtung dieses Textes sollen noch kurz die sonstigen Handschriften mit Pseudo-Jubiläen-Texten zumindest kurz vorgestellt werden.

Die Handschrift 4Q226 (4QpsJub^b) besteht aus 14 Fragmenten, die sich z.T. mit 4Q225 überlappen. Diese Handschrift könnte ein wenig älter als 4Q225 sein, denn die Herausgeber datieren sie auf 50–25 v.Chr. Fragment 7 bezieht sich auf die Abraham-Erzählungen zurück. In Z.5 begegnet auch der Name “Isaak,” allerdings auch hier in der ungewohnten Schreibweise. Der Text dieses Fragments überlappt sich mit 4Q225 2 ii, der Nacherzählung von Gen 22, wählt aber z.T. variierende Ausdrucksweisen.

Die Handschrift 4Q227 (4QpsJub^c) entstammt ebenfalls den letzten Jahrzehnten des 1. Jh. v. Chr. Der Text besteht aus 2 Fragmenten und einem dritten Lederrest. Fragment 1 hat einen Text, der an den Bund mit Abraham erinnert. Fragment 2 dagegen scheint sich auf *Hen.* 4:17–24 zu beziehen, gehört also offensichtlich nicht in den Kontext der Pseudo-Jubiläen.

4. Die Opferung des Isaak in *Jub* und *P^sJub*

In der jüngsten Forschung wird die innerjüdische Rezeption von Gen 22 intensiv diskutiert. Eine gewisse auslösende Wirkung hatte wohl das Jerusalemer “Symposium on the Interpretation of the Scriptures” (16.–17. März 1995), dessen Beiträge von F. Manns in einem

Sammelband publiziert worden sind.¹⁷ In seinem eigenen Beitrag "The Binding of Isaac in Jewish Liturgy"¹⁸ geht er der Frage nach, welche Rolle die Rezeption von Gen 22 in der jüdischen Liturgie spielt. Schon im Jubiläenbuch (*Jub.* 18:18f.) wird eine Verbindung zum Passahfest¹⁹ am 15. Nisan hergestellt, um die Legitimität des Festes durch eine Ursprung schon in der Patriarchenzeit zu unterstreichen. Die Opferung des Passah-Lammes sollte Gott an Isaaks Selbstopferung und an seine Verdienste erinnern.²⁰ In der weiteren Traditionsliteratur wanderte die Isaak-Memoria auf das Neujahrsfest und wurde Bestandteil der Rosh ha-Shanah-Liturgie,²¹ in der das Blasen des Schophar-Hornes an die Substitution Isaaks durch einen Widder erinnern soll.²² Schließlich wurde auch das Tamid-Opfer im Tempel mit der Isaak-Opferung verbunden, das als vollgültige Erinnerung an Isaaks Selbstbindung seine ewigwährenden Verdienste vor Gott tragen soll.²³

Das in diesem Symposium eher randständig geäußerte Interesse an 4Q225 wurde aufmerksam registriert und unmittelbar darauf legte G. Vermes 1996 seine Untersuchung vor.²⁴ Er sieht in den Pseudo-Jubiläen eine schon ältere Textrezeption, die in die Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr. zurückreiche, die in der hier gebotenen Darstellung von Isaaks Opferung die Basis für die spätere jüdische Ausgestaltung der Aqedah Isaaks biete.²⁵ Schon bald habe sich im Judentum die Vorstellung von dieser Aqedah dahingehend gewandelt, dass darin eine haggadische

¹⁷ F. Manns, *The Sacrifice of Isaac in the Three Monotheistic Religions. Proceedings of a Symposium on the Interpretation of the Scriptures Held in Jerusalem, March 16–17, 1995* (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Analecta 41; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1995).

¹⁸ F. Manns, "The Binding of Isaac in Jewish Liturgy," in *The Sacrifice of Isaac in the Three Monotheistic Religions*, 59–67.

¹⁹ Die talmudische Literatur hat das aufgenommen; vgl. *t. Rosh ha Shanah* 10b; *Exod. Rab.* 15,11.

²⁰ Nach der *Mekhilta de R. Jischmael* ist Isaak das erste und ursprüngliche Passah-Lamm.

²¹ Manns, "The Binding of Isaac in Jewish Liturgy," 61; vgl. *t. Meg.* 31a; *Mussaf* zum Neujahrsfest.

²² *Gen. Rab.* 56,9; *t. Rosh Ha-Shanah* 16a.

²³ Vgl. *Tg. Jon.* Num. 28:4; *Lev. Rab.* zu Lev 1:5 und 1:11; *Frg. Tg.* zu Lev 22:27.

²⁴ G. Vermes, "New Light on the Sacrifice of Isaac from 4Q225," *JJS* 47 (1996): 140–46.

²⁵ Dazu vgl. V. Lenzen, *Jüdisches Leben und Sterben im Namen Gottes: Studien über die Heiligung des göttlichen Namens (Kiddusch HaSchem)* (Habilitationsschrift; München: Piper, 1995; 2. überarbeitete Auflage: München-Zürich 2002).

Darstellung eines sühnenden Leidens vorliege,²⁶ die bereits von den frühen Rabbinen zu einem Passionsdrama ausgestaltet worden sei, um die Einzigartigkeit der Opferung Jesu zu bestreiten. Daneben sollte das durch die Tempelzerstörung eingestellte Tamid-Opfer nun durch das symbolische Opfer Isaaks substituiert werden. Die dabei zu beobachtende Gewichtsverschiebung von Abraham zu Isaak sei typisch für die Targume der früh-nachchristlichen Zeit. Vermes geht es darum nachzuweisen, dass diese anti-christliche Interpretation nicht auf die Rabbinen selbst zurückgehe, sondern bereits auf wesentlich ältere Traditionen, eben auf vorchristliche Pseudo-Jubiläen zurückgreifen konnte.

Im Jahr 2000 legte M.J. Bernstein seine Untersuchung "Angels at the Aqedah" vor.²⁷ Bernstein ist weniger an der Rolle des Isaak, als vielmehr an der der Engel im Zusammenhang der Isaak-Opferung interessiert. Er geht den Weg vom Engel, der dem opfernden Abraham Einhalt gebietet hin zum satanisch-verklagenden Engel in der *Jubiläen*-Fassung. Hier handelt es sich um Mastemah, der eindeutig die Züge des Satans aus dem Hiob-Prolog erhält und wie dieser eine Gott exkulpierende Funktion hat.²⁸ Diese Anklageengel wollen Abrahams Frömmigkeit testen (*Jubiläen*; 4Q225; Sanh.). In *Genesis Rabba* sind es die Engel, die Abraham wegen seiner Undankbarkeit verklagen, in *Bereschit Rabbati* im Anschluß an Pseudo-Philo sind sie aus schöpfungstheologischer Argumentation über Abraham ungehalten.

Neben den Anklageengeln findet sich in der Rezeptionsgeschichte auch die Erwähnung des Wächterengels. In *Jubiläen* agiert er als Offenbarungselengel einerseits und als Schutzengel des Isaak andererseits. Auch in den Targumen und im *Jalqut Shim'oni* fungieren die Engel als solche, die dem ganzen Vorgang zuschauen, z.T. aber nicht in das Geschehen explizit eingreifen.

Die weinenden Engel im Himmel begegnen zum ersten Mal in 4Q225, wo durch die Aufteilung in zwei Engelgruppen eine Art irdischer Wettkampf inszeniert wird. In anderen Versionen weinen die

²⁶ P.R. Davies und B. Chilton, "The Aqedah: A Revised Tradition History," *CBQ* 40 (1978): 514–46.

²⁷ M.J. Bernstein, "Angels at the Aqedah: A Study in the Development of a Midrashic Motif," *DSD* 7 (2000): 263–90.

²⁸ Dazu vgl. J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, "Abraham, Job and the Book of the Jubilees: The Intertextual Relationship of Genesis 22:1–19, Job 1:1–2:13 and Jubilees 17:15–18:19," in *The Sacrifice of Isaac. The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations*, 58–85.

Engel und machen auf diese Weise Gott einen Vorwurf, der nun durch Michael den Opfervorgang abbrechen lässt (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40). Oder sie appellieren an Gottes Gnade (*Pirqe R. El.* 31). Oder durch ihr Weinen bringen sie das Messer zum Rosten und machen damit das Opfer unmöglich (*Genesis Rabba*).

Gerade nach diesem letzten Beitrag zum Thema der Aqedah erschien eine kritische Durchsicht aller Quellen notwendig. Sie geschah offenkundig unabhängig voneinander und gleichzeitig in Washington und in Groningen. War es dort J.A. Fitzmyer im Alleingang, so formierte sich in Groningen gar eine ganze Arbeitsgruppe.

J.A. Fitzmyer sah sich von G. Vermes herausgefordert und wertete seine Hypothese als eine gezielte Fehlinterpretation.²⁹ Um dies zu stützen legte er eine neue Untersuchung der Perikope vor unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Qumrantextes 4Q225. Nach einer Vorstellung der Textfassungen des MT und der LXX notierte er die Eigenarten der Jubiläen-Fassung mit ihren bedeutenden Abweichungen: Die Rolle des Fürsten Mastemah – die bestandenen Prüfungen in der Vita Abrahams – der Auftrag Gottes an Mastemah, Abraham vom Opfervollzug abzuhalten – Verbindung der Opferung mit dem Passahfest – Identifikation des Opferortes mit dem Zion. Kennzeichnend für diese Fassung ist die strikte Gegenüberstellung der weinenden Engel Gottes mit den jublierenden Engeln des Fürsten Mastemah. Daneben wird ein "Feuer" (2 ii 1)³⁰ auf dem Berg genannt, was sich nur als Relikt einer vulkanischen Theophanie deuten lasse.

Entscheidend dürfte das Addendum in 2 ii 4 sein, wo Isaak selbst seinen Vater darum bittet, von ihm gebunden zu werden. Durch die jüdische Traditionsliteratur bedingt hat nahezu die gesamte Sekundärliteratur darin die uneingeschränkte Zustimmung Isaaks zum Opfer und seine Freiwilligkeit gesehen, als Opfermaterie zu dienen. Diese Zustimmung hat die Deutung als stellvertretendes Opfer gefördert und auch für die verbreitete jüdische Deutung gesorgt, Isaak sei tatsächlich – gegen den biblischen Text – geopfert worden, oder: seine Opferbereitschaft sei wie ein vollzogenes Opfer von Gott akzeptiert worden. Im Text ist ein *kaph* vor der Abbruchkante zu lesen, das von den Herausgebern zu כ[פֹּה אִרְחֵי יִפְרָה] ergänzt wird, eine Ergänzung,

²⁹ J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Qumran Literature," *Bibl* 83 (2002): 211–29.

³⁰ Eine im Judentum verbreitete Vorstellung; dazu vgl. TgPseudo-Jonathan z.St.

die den errechneten Platz der Lakune exakt füllen würde. VanderKam und Milik stützen diese Textrekonstruktion mit dem Hinweis auf *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Gen. Rab.* 56,6f. und *Targum Neofiti I* z.St., die alle darin übereinstimmen, dass sie ein Gespräch zwischen Isaak und seinem Vater überliefern, in dem er seinen Vater auffordert, ihn sorgfältig anzubinden, damit er durch sein Gezappel nicht die recte et rite-Opferung verunmögliche.

Fitzmyer hält diese Rekonstruktion für möglich, wenn auch nicht für gesichert.³¹ Eine Schwierigkeit ist darin zu sehen, dass das hier vermutete Lexem 𐤏𐤓𐤔 weder im AT, noch in den Qumranschriften außerhalb dieser Stelle, sondern nur in talmudischen Texten belegt ist. Dem kann aber widersprochen werden, da die Perikope von den drei Jünglingen im Feuerofen das Lexem gleich 4mal verwendet (Dan 3:20–24), es also zur Zeit der Abfassung der Pseudo-Jubiläen zumindest im aram. Sprachbereich bekannt war.³² Demnach ist die Rekonstruktion nicht ernsthaft zu beanstanden. Liefert damit unser Text aber “the pre-Christian Skeleton of the Targumic-midrashic representation of the sacrifice of Isaac”³³ und den Beweis dafür, dass die “Aqedat Jishaq” letztlich schon einen vor-rabbinischen Ursprung habe?

Fitzmyer macht gegenüber Vermes geltend, dass dieser zweifelhafte Hinweis auf die Bindung allein nicht reiche. Das von Vermes in den Qumrantext hineingelesene Element einer Zustimmung Isaaks zum Opfer ist weder vorhanden noch rekonstruierbar und lässt sich auch nicht aus der Bitte um Bindung stringent ableiten. Damit aber bricht ein entscheidender Brückenpfeiler weg und es ist nicht mehr möglich, in 4Q225 eine Basis für eine Deutung der Aqedah in Richtung stellvertretendes Sühneopfer des Isaak zu sehen. Dieser Aspekt ist der Aqedah-Tradition also nach gegenwärtiger Quellenlage effektiv erst in nachchristlicher Zeit zugewachsen. Aber man wird nicht übersehen können, dass mit Isaaks Bindungswunsch – vorausgesetzt, die Rekonstruktion von 4Q225, 2,II.4 ist zutreffend – eine solche Deutungsrichtung vorbereitet wurde.

Das Ergebnis der Research Group “Early Jewish and Christian Traditions” in Groningen ist in einem Sammelband “The Sacrifice

³¹ Fitzmyer, “The Sacrifice of Isaac in Qumran Literature,” 218, Anm. 16.

³² Vgl. dazu HALAT V, 1995, 1726; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 609.

³³ Vermes, “New Light on the Sacrifice of Isaac from 4Q225,” 145.

of Isaac” dokumentiert.³⁴ Nach der Exegese von Gen 22 durch Ed Noort³⁵ mit Hauptstoßrichtung zur Frage nach dem Kinderopfer im AT und im AO widmet Jan N. Bremmer sich der religionsgeschichtlichen Parallele der Iphigenie,³⁶ ohne allerdings auf Jiphtachs Tochter (Ri 11) einzugehen. Das Hauptaugenmerk gebührt Florentino García Martínez mit seiner Untersuchung von 4Q225³⁷ und ein schon zitierte Beitrag von Jacques van Ruiten. García Martínez geht es einmal um die Interpretation der “some small differences in wording”³⁸ zwischen Gen 22 und 4Q225, aber erst recht um die Ausgestaltung des Erprobungsgeschehens durch die Einführung des Fürsten Mastemah, “the Prince of Animosity,” um die Frage nach dem “Feuer” in 4Q225 2 ii 1 und um die Frage nach den unterschiedlichen Engel- und Dämonengruppen.

Eher am Rande macht García Martínez eine wichtige Beobachtung: “In our text, Mastemah’s accusation of Abraham is also different from the accusations in the other narratives . . . Mastemah’s accusation is done ‘with regard to’ or ‘because of’ Isaac.”³⁹ Damit ist die neue Stoßrichtung der Erzählung in der Pseudo-Jubiläen-Fassung angedeutet: zum ersten Mal in der Rezeptionsgeschichte von Gen 22 geht es nicht mehr primär um Abraham, sondern um Isaak und um den Wunsch Mastemahs, die über Isaak laufende Progenitur der Heilsgeschichte abubrechen: “er soll sterben!” (2 ii 7–8). Die Betonung der Isaak-Gestalt als neues Zentrum der Erzählung geht auch aus dem Bindungswunsch Isaaks hervor, dessen Existenz im Text nicht mehr ernsthaft bezweifelt werden kann. Im Gegenzug ist sich aber auch vor einer Überinterpretation zu hüten. Wahrscheinlich bittet Isaak nicht mehr und nicht weniger um eine feste Bindung, um eine rite-et-recte-Opferung⁴⁰ zu ermöglichen. Dies entspricht voll und ganz dem Bestreben der Jubiläen-Literatur, den Opferkult in seiner vol-

³⁴ E. Noort und E. Tigchelaar (Hg.), *The Sacrifice of Isaac. The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 4; Leiden, Boston und Köln: Brill, 2002).

³⁵ E. Noort, “Genesis 22: Human Sacrifice and Theology in den Hebrew Bible,” in *The Sacrifice of Isaac. The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations*, 1–20.

³⁶ J.N. Bremmer, “Sacrificing a Child in Ancient Greece: The Case of Iphigenia,” in *The Sacrifice of Isaac. The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations*, 21–43.

³⁷ F. García Martínez, “The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225,” in *The Sacrifice of Isaac. The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations*, 44–57.

³⁸ García Martínez, “The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225,” 49.

³⁹ García Martínez, “The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225,” 51.

⁴⁰ Vgl. dazu oben.

len Ausprägung schon bei den Patriarchen weit vor der Sinai-Gesetzgebung vorzufinden. Nicht nur Noach und Abraham opfern bereits im Einklang mit der Tora, sondern auch Isaak. Dadurch ist zugleich eine vollständige Sukzession der Opfertora durch die Patriarchenzeit hindurch nachgewiesen.

Die neue Isaak-Zentrierung des Pseudo-Jubiläentextes lässt sich wahrscheinlich noch durch ein weiteres Textdetail in Z. 8 aufweisen. Die Lesung des Textes ist nicht sicher: “Und in allem versuchte Mastemah zu testen, ob er als schwach erfunden werde und ob A[braham] als nicht gläubig befunden werde.” Durch Rückgriff auf Gen 22 setzten die Herausgeber ohne Zögern an entscheidender Stelle den Namen “Abraham” ein, obwohl nur eine Spur vom ersten Buchstaben des Namens in der Handschrift zu erahnen ist. Danach ginge es also um Abrahams Glaubenstreue. So müsste man auch deuten, wenn man die Parallelhandschrift 4Q226 7 1 zu Rate zieht, wo es heißt: “Abraham wurde als gläubig gegenüber Gott gefunden.” Dort aber ist der Satzbau unterschiedlich und als Feststellung formuliert, während er in 4Q225 als negativer Konditionalsatz formuliert ist. Damit ist aber keine unmittelbare Vergleichbarkeit mehr gegeben, so dass sich die genannte Rekonstruktion nicht mehr stützen läßt. Nun sind in Z.8 die winzigen Buchstabenreste unmittelbar am Rand des Fragments kaum als *aleph* zu deuten (so schon García Martínez); Die her nach einem senkrechten Strich aussehenden Buchstabenreste auf der Photographie passen eher zu einem *waw* oder *yod*, was sich als erster Buchstabe des Namens “Isaak” deuten ließe. Das aber würde den Sinn erheblich betreffen! Diese Rekonstruktion lässt sich mit García Martínez durch die Beobachtung stützen, dass es auch in der vorherigen Z. 7 um Isaak geht, während Abraham erst in Z. 9 eigens angesprochen wird (vgl. Gen 22:11). Der Textbestand schließt also nicht aus, dass es hier in Abhebung von den älteren Vorlagen um die Glaubenstreue des Isaak geht.

5. Isaak in den Spätschriften des AT

Diese hier vorgelegten Beobachtungen einer Neubewertung der Gestalt des zweiten Patriarchen spätestens in den literarischen Traditionen der Jubiläen-Literatur setzt sich in den Spätschriften des Alten Testaments fort. Im “Lob der Väter” berichtet Jesus Sirach von einem Bundesschluss mit Isaak (Sir 44:22; vgl. Gen 17:19; 26:24).

Isaak Vermeidung einer Mischehe hat in der späten Zeit Eindruck gemacht und Tob 4:12 stellt ihn in dieser Hinsicht als Beispiel heraus. Im Gebet Asarjas dient die Memoria an den Gottesfreund Abraham und an den "Knecht Isaak" als Erhörungsmotivation (Dan 3:35^{LXX}). Offensichtlich hat die Rezeptionsgeschichte inzwischen Elemente der Gottesknecht-Theologie (Jes 53) adaptiert. Diese Komposit-Vorstellung verbunden mit der in Pseudo-Jubiläen zu beobachtenden Verlagerung der Prüfung von Abraham auf Isaak machte dann eine Aussage wie Judit 8:26 möglich, wo die Ältesten von Betulia von Judit ermahnt werden: "Denkt daran, was er mit Abraham machte und wie er den Isaak prüfte und was Jakob im syrischen Mesopotamien erlebte . . ."

Damit ist unmittelbar vor der Schwelle zum Neuen Testament zwar eine Basis für die Aqedah-Vorstellung gelegt, aber es scheinen noch entscheidende Elemente zu fehlen, so dass man weniger von einem Einfluß der jüdischen Aqedah-Vorstellung auf die neutestamentliche Christus-Soteriologie ausgehen,⁴¹ als vielmehr umgekehrt eine Rückwirkung frühchristlicher Theologie auf die Aqedah-Tradition annehmen sollte.⁴²

6. *Ausblick*

Damit liegt nun ein mit Hilfe der Qumran-Literatur erreichter, mehr oder weniger sukzessiver Lückenschluss der Isaak-Rezeption vor, für deren weitere Fortführung in den Targumim und der späteren jüdischen Traditionsliteratur bereits ausgezeichnete Untersuchungen vorliegen. Als Ergebnis zeigt sich eine biblische Tradition, die ihr Hauptaugenmerk auf Abraham, den Vater des Glaubens, und auf Jakob, den Stammvater Israels, legt. Ausgerechnet die Perikope von der Nicht-Opferung des Isaak hat zuerst in der außerbiblischen Literatur der Jubiläen-Tradition große Aufmerksamkeit gefunden und zu einer Konzentration der Aufmerksamkeit auf Isaak geführt. Sie führt zu einer Ausgestaltung des Isaak-Opfers zur "Aqedat Jizhaq," die bis heute in der jüdischen Literatur den Rang eines Theologumenons einnimmt. Die Aufwertung des Isaak mit der Zurechnung einer höheren Eigenaktivität hat diese Aqedah schon sehr bald in der rabbi-

⁴¹ Vgl. etwa J. Swetnam, *Jesus and Isaac. A Study of the Epistle to the Hebrews in the Light of the Aqedah* (AnBibl 94; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981).

⁴² Vgl. dazu Albertz und Brocke, "Isaak," 292–301, bes. 298ff.

nischen Literatur – nach meiner Meinung: retrospektiv – zu einem Prototyp des freiwilligen Sühneopfers werden lassen. Auch der Islam hat dies ähnlich verstanden, wenn in Sure 37 die Initiative zum Opfer von einem Traum Abrahams ausgeht, auf den sein Sohn mit großer Bereitschaft unter Aufnahme der Worte von Jiphtachs Tochter eingeht (Vers 102). Diese deutliche Opferzustimmung wird von Gott in Vers 112⁴³ mit einem großen Segenswunsch beantwortet: “Und wir verkündeten ihm (sc. dem Abraham) Isaak, (und) dass er ein Prophet sein werde, einer von den Rechtschaffenen. Und wir erteilten ihm und Isaak (unseren) Segen.”

⁴³ Koran, Sure 37,99–113; zitiert aus R. Paret, *Der Koran. Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1962), 371f. Es ist erstaunlich, dass der Koran an dieser Stelle durchwegs nur vom “Sohn” spricht und erst in Vers 112 den Isaak an-/verkündigen lässt. Demnach ist der “geopferte” Sohn Ismael; zur ausführlichen Kommentierung vgl. R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1971), 417.

RECENT STUDY OF 4QINSTRUCTION

Daniel J. Harrington, S.J.

The most extensive sapiential text in the Qumran library (1Q26, 4Q415–4Q418, 4Q423) is a wisdom instruction once known as Sapiential Work A and now called 4QInstruction. I had the privilege of working with John Strugnell in preparing the edition (with Torleif Elgvin) for the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series. Our volume appeared in late 1999 as DJD XXXIV.¹

Since then I have tried to keep up with scholarship on 4QInstruction. One of the contributors has been Émile Puech, a scholar distinguished for both his careful studies of Qumran texts and his long-standing interest in afterlife expectations in the Dead Sea scrolls. In several articles he has brought both skills to bear on 4QInstruction. When invited to contribute an essay to this volume honoring Professor Puech, I knew immediately that I wanted to do a survey of scholarship on 4QInstruction since the publication of DJD XXXIV. What follows is intended as an objective report and a roadmap, not a critique or defense. It is arranged under four headings: text and language, composition, themes, and comparative studies. My hope is that it will enable scholars to see what has been accomplished in recent years, what the problems are, and what remains to be done on this large and difficult text.

Text and Language

The texts and translations of the various fragments of 4QInstruction as they appear in DJD XXXIV are now conveniently presented on facing pages (without notes or commentary) in Part 4 of *The Dead*

¹ J. Strugnell, D.J. Harrington, and T. Elgvin, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV Sapiential Texts*, Part 2: *4QInstruction (Mûsar le Mevin): 4Q415ff.* (DJD XXXIV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

Sea Scrolls Reader.² Texts and translations of the work also appear on facing pages in Volume Two of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*.³

An extensive and helpful contribution to the study of the text of 4QInstruction appears in Eibert Tigchelaar's 2001 monograph entitled *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*.⁴ As John Strugnell and I were producing in the late 1990s the penultimate versions of various parts of the DJD XXXIV volume, I sent copies to Dr. Tigchelaar. He then did his own independent analyses of the texts, and in many cases he was able to consult the manuscripts themselves as well as the photographs. Tigchelaar is one of the best experts on the Qumran manuscripts, and the first part (3–171) of his volume presents valuable corrections and precisions to our edition. He is especially sharp at spotting overlaps in the manuscripts and suggesting new joins among the fragments. His restudy of the manuscripts has advanced research on the text of 4QInstruction, and his monograph should be regarded as a supplement to DJD XXXIV and used by all who work on the text. Especially useful are his lists of potential manuscript overlaps (148–53) and his suggestions about the original order of the fragments among the manuscripts (155–71).

The second part (175–248) of Tigchelaar's monograph consists of textual, thematic, and lexical studies that contribute to his characterization of 4QInstruction as intended "to increase learning for the understanding ones." He first shows how 4Q416 1 (and its overlaps) serves as the introduction to major motifs in the body of the work: the predetermination of every being's tasks, the punishment of the wicked, the distinction between the good and the bad, and the duties of the understanding ones. Next he establishes textual links between 4QInstruction and both the "Treatise on the Two Spirits" (1QS III 13–IV 26) and Hodayot (1QH^a V). Then he argues for manifold correspondences (in style, content, terminology, and literary form) between 4Q418 55 and 4Q418 69 ii, and suggests that they may represent a pre-existing source. Finally his study of the expression

² D.W. Parry and E. Tov (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Part 4: Calendrical and Sapiential Texts* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 82–198.

³ F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Vol. 2, *4Q274–11Q31* (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1998), 844–79, 886–89.

⁴ E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2001).

“holy seed” in 4Q415 1 ii-2 i and 4Q418 81 indicates a “priestly” dimension to those addressed in the text.

Tigchelaar concludes that in 4QInstruction an instructor (*Maskil*) is giving the advice, that the work may incorporate existing materials, that it was composed no later than somewhere in the 2nd c. B.C.E., and that it was written for a general audience (rather than a special class of students) as “a book of learning and instruction, of rules of conduct, of reproof, and of consolation” (248).

In a separate article Tigchelaar argued that 4Q418 1 and 2 do not belong to 4Q418 or 4Q418a but rather are the remains of a separate manuscript that he calls 4Q418*.⁵ He has also identified nine 4Q418 fragments that overlap with 4Q416 1 (the beginning of the work). His fuller text allows a more precise understanding of the work’s introduction. According to his reconstruction, the passage seeks to show that just as the luminaries comply with God’s decrees, so those addressed in the body of 4QInstruction are admonished to comply with their determined tasks. Then the following section on judgment possibly refers to the consequences of obedience or disobedience to God’s decrees. In still another article Tigchelaar shows that the text of 4Q418 64+199+66 partially overlaps and complements the text of 4Q417 2 i (formerly 1 i) 17–19.⁶ In this context בְּיַד means “together,” not “in the community.” The join suggests that the column of 4Q418 consisted of twenty-eight lines. Puech and Annette Steudel have suggested that the non-identified Qumran fragment designated XQ7 belongs to a manuscript of 4QInstruction as represented in 4Q417 and 4Q418.⁷

In his study of the language of the Qumran sapiential works, Antoon Schoors included 4QInstruction in his database.⁸ After dealing with orthography and phonetics, morphology, morphosyntax, syntax, and vocabulary, he concludes that 4QInstruction could not have

⁵ E.J.C. Tigchelaar, “Towards a Reconstruction of the Beginning of 4QInstruction (4Q416 Fragment 1 and Parallels),” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 99–126.

⁶ E.J.C. Tigchelaar, “ בְּיַד בְּיַד in 4QInstruction (4Q418 64+199+66 par 4Q417 1 i 17–19) and the Height of the Columns of 4Q418,” *RevQ* 18/72 (1998): 589–93.

⁷ É. Puech and A. Steudel, “Un nouveau fragment du manuscrit 4QInstruction (XQ7 = 4Q417 ou 418),” *RevQ* 19/76 (2000): 623–27.

⁸ A. Schoors, “The Language of the Qumran Sapiential Works,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 61–95.

been written much earlier than the end of the 3rd c. B.C.E., though how much later it was written is not all certain. Drawing on materials prepared for DJD XXXIV, John Strugnell investigated the vocabulary of 4QInstruction in the context of the vocabulary of the Qumran scrolls from Caves 1–10.⁹ He contends that the vocabulary and thought of 4QInstruction differ decisively from those of other Qumran texts. He notes also that in all the areas where scholarship has proposed finding decisive marks that a work is sectarian (purity and impurity, the Torah, the community, doxological language, dualism), 4QInstruction is clearly distinct from the norm of sectarian vocabulary and thought. He suggests that 4QInstruction reflects a general nonsectarian and postexilic Jewish background, and that it may be a “missing link” in the Jewish wisdom tradition between Proverbs and the Wisdom of Ben Sira.

Various features in the vocabulary of 4QInstruction have been the topics of several articles. John J. Collins sought to clarify the baffling passage in 4Q417 1 i 15–18 by focusing on its key terms.¹⁰ He argues that Adam (= Enosh) was fashioned in the likeness of angelic beings (= the Holy Ones), was granted an inclination (= צַר) like the Holy Ones, and was given a Book of Meditation (= the Vision of Hagu) along with a “spiritual people” who stand in contrast to “the spirit of flesh” that fails to distinguish between good and evil. Cana Werman interprets the “Vision of Hagu” as “the meditated vision” and places it in the context of the various “meditation” texts in 4QInstruction.¹¹ She contends that the kind of wisdom envisioned in these texts is cognitive insight, that is, looking at history with the mind’s eye. It is neither the physical act of looking nor the product of revelation. Rather, 4QInstruction calls on individuals to meditate on their own lives and on the course of history to learn what laws were assigned specifically to them and what laws were assigned to humanity as a whole. She suggests that the “Book of Hagu” men-

⁹ J. Strugnell, “The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff. and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations,” 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, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1999), 595–608.

¹⁰ J.J. Collins, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran,” in *The Provo International Conference*, 609–18.

¹¹ C. Werman, “What Is the *Book of Hagu*?” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.J. Collins, G.E. Sterling, and R.A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 125–40.

tioned in Qumran sectarian texts refers to a written form of what has been learned from meditations on creation and history.

In an article,¹² John Strugnell found in 4Q416 2 ii 21 a reference to the sage's wife as either כלי היקבה ("the vessel [= wife] of thy bosom") or כלי הוקבה ("thy lawful vessel [= wife]"), and observed that this text greatly illumines Paul's use of *σακευος* to refer to a "wife" in 1 Thess 4:4. While accepting the reading כלי היקבה, Torleif Elgvin took כלי as a euphemism for the male sexual organ (as in 1 Sam 21:6), and translated 1 Thess 4:4 as "that each of you learn to master his own (sexual) organ in holiness and honor."¹³ J.E. Smith agreed that the reference in both 4QInstruction and in 1 Thess 4:4 is to sexual organs and thus to sexual restraint.¹⁴ However, Menahem Kister has suggested that the Hebrew phrase is better read as כלי הוקבה (or בלו הוקבה) ("not [according to] your prescribed portion").¹⁵ He claims that this reading fits better with the immediate context and the theological concepts of 4QInstruction, and concludes that thus there is no parallel with 1 Thess 4:4 at all.

According to Matthew Morgenstern,¹⁶ the correct interpretation of מולד in the Qumran wisdom texts is the "astrological sign under which one was born." He says that מולד may have referred originally to "birth-time" and ביה מולדים to "the arrangement of the heavenly bodies at a birth time." But that distinction was already lost at Qumran, and so מולד probably meant "horoscope at birth-time." In notes on the language of 4QInstruction,¹⁷ Joseph M. Baumgarten offered suggestions about the astrological connotations of מולד, as well as the use of שר as a title of honor for communal colleagues, and the various characterizations of the מבין as "poor." According

¹² J. Strugnell, "More on Wives and Marriage in the Dead Sea Scrolls: (4Q416 2 ii 21 [Cf. 1 Thess 4:4] and 4QMMT § B)," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 537–47.

¹³ T. Elgvin, "To Master His Own Vessel: 1 Thess 4.4 in Light of New Qumran Evidence," *NTS* 43 (1997): 604–19.

¹⁴ J.E. Smith, "Another Look at 4Q416 2 ii.21, a Critical Parallel to First Thessalonians 4:4," *CBQ* 63 (2001): 499–504.

¹⁵ M. Kister, "A Qumranic Parallel to 1 Thess 4:4? Reading and Interpretation of 4Q416 2 ii 21," *DSD* 10 (2003): 365–70. B.G. Wold in "Reconstructing and Reading 4Q416 2 ii 21: Comments on Menahem Kister's Proposal," *DSD* 12 (2005): 205–11, contends that Kister's proposal cannot be proved on the basis of either palaeography or context.

¹⁶ M. Morgenstern, "The Meaning of *byt mwldym* in the Qumran Wisdom Texts," *JJS* 51 (2001): 141–44.

¹⁷ J.M. Baumgarten, "Some Astrological and Qumranic Terms in 4QInstruction," [Hebrew] *Tarbiz* 72 (2003): 321–28.

to Benjamin G. Wold,¹⁸ the evidence from 4Q416 2 iii 15–18 (see also 4Q417 1 i 15–18) strengthens an old suggestion by Martin Werner that the Hebrew term אֲדֹנָיִם (“lords”) was used in early Jewish texts (and in 1 Cor 8:5) as an epithet for angelic beings.

Composition

How 4QInstruction was composed has been another topic of scholarly interest. According to Torleif Elgvin,¹⁹ the work represents the conflation of two literary layers: (1) an older layer of admonitions advocating traditional sapiential viewpoints on family life, farming, work ethics, financial matters, humble lifestyle, and table manners; and (2) a later, more apocalyptic layer consisting of longer discourses on eschatology and the revelation of God’s mysteries, and employing various rhetorical genres. Whereas the wisdom admonitions promote knowledge on the basis of reason, the discourses appeal to the divine mysteries revealed to the elect circle. Elgvin suggests further that by the mid-2nd c. B.C.E. an author close to the early Essene community adopted the admonitions and interspersed them with material of his own pertaining to the mysteries of creation, history, the final judgment, and the end-time community of the elect.

For whom was 4QInstruction composed? Tigchelaar rejects the idea that it was addressed to an individual (whether a prospective sage, poor man, or farmer), and suggests that the intended audience could be anyone.²⁰ He contends that the work intends to admonish people from all layers of society to behave according to their God-

¹⁸ B.G. Wold, “Reconsidering an Aspect of the Title *Kyrios* in Light of Sapiential Fragment 4Q416 2 iii,” *ZNW* 95 (2004): 149–60.

¹⁹ T. Elgvin, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century B.C.E.—The Evidence of 4QInstruction,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 226–47. This article presents the main lines of Elgvin’s research in his doctoral dissertation “An Analysis of 4QInstruction,” which he submitted in 1997 to the Hebrew University. A revised version entitled *Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 4QInstruction* is to appear as volume 38 in the STDJ series.

²⁰ E.J.C. Tigchelaar, “The Addressees of 4QInstruction,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (ed. D.K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 62–75.

given ordained position, and promises them everlasting glory. Those who understand know that in spite of their need they will be rewarded by God whereas the foolish and ungodly will be punished.

James M. Scott argues that the reference to “Korah” in 4Q423 5 1–4 evokes the judgment of Korah during ancient Israel’s wilderness period, a period that was otherwise crucial for the Qumran community’s self-understanding.²¹ Scott regards 4QInstruction as a “sectarian” text, and links “the judgment of Korah” to the events in early history of the community when some leading members denounced the Teacher of Righteousness and left the fellowship. Seen in this light, the passage describes the divine judgment expected on the schismatics within the congregation, and urges the enlightened members to understand the divinely ordained plan for the future.

A much more extensive treatment of the composition of 4QInstruction and its character as a “sectarian” text is contained in Daryl F. Jefferies’s dissertation *Wisdom at Qumran: A Form-Critical Analysis of the Admonitions in 4QInstruction*.²² He applies the categories and functions of the literary forms of wisdom literature found in the Hebrew Bible and Sirach to the admonitions in 4QInstruction, in order to clarify its genre, setting, and intention.

Jefferies contends that the text reflects a sectarian viewpoint both in its discourses and in its admonitions. He places its composition in the mid-second c. B.C.E., just prior to and/or concurrent with the key “sectarian” documents. He notes its links with sectarian documents found at Qumran (CD, 1QS, 1QSa, 1QH^a, etc.) in vocabulary and concepts, eschatology, the *לְיָהוָה יָרֵךְ*, and the theme of “inheritance.” He concludes that 4QInstruction was produced by a sectarian author who wrote the material, or collected and edited it, because it resonated so clearly with sectarian concerns, to instruct and encourage students on the behavior befitting a sect member.

The major scholarly contribution of Jefferies’s dissertation is his full-scale form-critical analysis of key “admonition” sections in 4QInstruction: dealing with others (4Q417 2 i 1–6); requiring a proper lifestyle (4Q417 2 i 7–17a); money matters (4Q417 2 i 17b–28;

²¹ J.M. Scott, “Korah and Qumran,” in *The Bible at Qumran. Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. P.W. Flint; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 182–202.

²² D.F. Jefferies, *Wisdom at Qumran: A Form-Critical Analysis of the Admonitions in 4QInstruction* (Gorgias Dissertations, Near Eastern Studies 3; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002).

4Q416 2 i 21–ii 18); proper conduct for the poor (4Q416 2 ii 18b–iii 20a); domestic relationships (4Q416 2 iii 20b–iv 13; 4Q415 2 ii 1–9); and achieving and maintaining your inheritance (4Q417 1 i 1–ii 16; 4Q418 81 1–20). For each passage he provides the Hebrew text, notes on the Hebrew text, a translation, a textual discussion, and a detailed structural outline, as well as sections on genre and forms, setting, and intention.

While establishing that 4QInstruction uses the literary forms found in the biblical wisdom books, Jefferies situates it between Sirach and later and more Hellenized forms of Jewish wisdom such as Pseudo-Phocylides. He observes that the author did not hold to the couplet format found in Proverbs and Sirach, but instead employed the Hellenistic monostich and built his instructions around it. Although many of the instructions represent standard wisdom concerns, in their present context they serve to bolster the argument by a sectarian teacher that proper conduct will result in eschatological reward. In short, 4QInstruction reflects and reinforces key sectarian concepts. While other explanations for the parallels between 4QInstruction and Qumran sectarian texts are possible, Jefferies makes a good case for the work's close association with the sect in its formative period.

Themes

The most extensive thematic study (really a series of thematic studies) is Matthew Goff's *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*.²³ After surveying previous research on 4QInstruction, Goff describes the work as “a pedagogical composition devoted to the ethical development of its intended audience” (28). His major concern is the relationship between wisdom and apocalyptic in 4QInstruction. He contends that its apocalyptic worldview provides the broader theological context in which its concern for the addressee's ordinary life is to be understood. By disclosing the divine mysteries concerning creation and the judgment, the instructor gives advice on such practical topics as debts and family life.

Goff first considers the theme of revelation with reference to the terms “mystery” and especially “the mystery that is to be” (רִיזְוֵי הַמִּסְתֵּרִים).

²³ M. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003).

He argues that by connecting the concerns of traditional wisdom to “the mystery that is to be,” the work has transformed the Jewish wisdom tradition. That mystery is the unfolding of the divine plan in the past, present, and future. Acquiring wisdom entails learning the divine plan that orchestrates reality. 4QInstruction encourages the addressee to live his ordinary life in a way that befits the knowledge that has been revealed to him.

In his chapter on “the Vision of Hagu” in 4Q417 1 i 13–18, Goff argues that the expression refers to a type of revelation that teaches the addressee that there are two contrasting types of humankind. The “fleshly spirit” represents a way of living to be avoided, while the “spiritual people” signifies an ideal to which the addressee is to aspire. The addressee should devote himself to righteous conduct and the acquisition of wisdom through “the mystery that is to be.” Being in the lot of the angels, he is thus inclined toward righteousness. Indeed his elect status represents a restoration of the blissful relationship that God enjoyed with Adam in the Garden of Eden. Nevertheless, he must decide to live this way, recognize aspects of the “spiritual people” in himself, and strive to be like them. The “spiritual people” comprise an ideal way of being human.

Large portions of 4QInstruction emphasize the poverty of the addressee and offer financial advice about loans and standing surety. According to Goff, the intended audience of 4QInstruction included a substantial number of common people (including farmers), living in an agricultural society in which indebtedness was a wide-scale problem. The addressees were susceptible to poverty, and their poverty was clearly material. Comparison with the book of Sirach shows that the audience had a lower socioeconomic status than that of Ben Sira’s students. Nevertheless, their tenuous economic status is often used as the basis for instruction about their elect spiritual status and ethical comportment.

Finally Goff describes eschatology as a crucial feature of the work and observes that it promises rewards after death. Focusing on 4Q416 1 and 4Q418 69 ii, he shows how the work construes the divine judgment as “theophanic,” that is, a moment filled with divine power that overwhelms the natural order. When the judgment comes, the wicked will be eliminated from this world. While the righteous may die, after their death they will enjoy eternal life with the angels. As “spiritual people” they rise to be with the angels after the demise of their physical body. They will be spared the punishments of the

wicked and will receive eschatological salvation. However, their salvation is not guaranteed. They must uphold the standards of ethical conduct and piety that 4QInstruction imparts to them.

Goff concludes that 4QInstruction represents a Second Temple trajectory of a sapiential tradition that combined traditional wisdom with an apocalyptic worldview. It was addressed to an “elect” group (a “spiritual people”) whose status was tied not to wealth or occupation but to wise and righteous conduct. The work is earlier than the Qumran Rule of the Community and Hodayot, and not the product of the Qumran sect. It was most likely composed in (or by) the early 2nd c. B.C.E., about the same time as the Wisdom of Ben Sira.

The four themes treated by Goff—the nature of wisdom, God and humankind, poverty, and eschatology—have been the focus of much scholarship on the thought content of 4QInstruction. According to K.B. Larsen,²⁴ the work’s claim that wisdom is a hidden mystery only attainable by the in-group through revelation expresses a radical rejection of experiential knowledge. Only access to the רַב־נִדְיָה imparts the ability to distinguish between good and evil, wisdom and folly, truth and iniquity—even between bitter and sweet. As such the work must be understood as reflecting an apocalyptic worldview within the literary genre of sapiential instruction.

Florentino García Martínez contends that since 4QInstruction presents “worldly” wisdom in the context of “heavenly” mysteries, it makes everything into heavenly wisdom.²⁵ In developing this thesis García Martínez appeals to the work’s opening exhortation (4Q416 1), the instruction to the “understanding one” in 4Q417 1 i 6–19, and the frequent use of the expression רַב־נִדְיָה . He concludes that 4QInstruction represents a new and different kind of wisdom, a wisdom whose authority is based not on human wisdom but on divine revelation (as in 4 Ezra); and that its wisdom is revealed wisdom and thus is thoroughly heavenly.

From an examination of texts in 4QInstruction that portray God as creator and judge, Claude Coulot first observes that they portray

²⁴ K.B. Larsen, “Wisdom og apokalyptik i Musar l^e Mevin (1Q/4QInstruction),” *Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 65 (2002): 1–14.

²⁵ F. García Martínez, “Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 1–15.

the creator God as the “God of knowledge” and God the judge as the “God of truth.”²⁶ He then considers how the work describes God in relationship to the understanding one(s): God set him apart from all perversity; God ought to be honored and hallowed by him; God is like a father to him; God opens up his understanding, especially to “the mystery that is to be”; and God gives him authority. According to Goff,²⁷ 4QInstruction understands the created order as following a divine framework that is revealed to the addressee, but also appeals to creation to explain the natural order. It describes the act of creation as a מֵטֵר (“mystery”) because of its apocalyptic worldview. Goff notes that the word is best understood against the backdrop of political and economic developments in the early 2nd c. B.C.E.

4QInstruction contains a great deal of material about poverty. Benjamin G. Wright examines the terminology pertaining to wealth and poverty in this and other Qumran wisdom texts as possible clues toward discerning the social location of the various texts.²⁸ The one being addressed in 4QInstruction seems to be not well off and in fact teetering on the edge of falling into destitution. Whereas Ben Sira’s students appear to be financially comfortable and destined for even “better things,” those addressed in 4QInstruction seem to be economically poor and so are advised to focus their attention on the “mystery that is to come” and its content.

In her chapter on wealth in 4QInstruction,²⁹ Catherine M. Murphy divides the passages concerning wealth and economic practices into three categories. The first category involves references to wealth in the peculiar cosmological or eschatological framework of 4QInstruction, a group of texts that includes the metaphorical employment of economic terminology to characterize divine grace, the human condition, and divine judgment. The second category provides practical advice to the poor “maven” about economics and finance, proper behavior within the socioeconomic hierarchy, living within one’s means, and familial responsibilities. The third category is instruction about the source and proper disposition of agricultural produce, a

²⁶ C. Coulot, “L’image de Dieu dans les écrits de sagesse: 1Q26, 4Q415–418, 4Q423,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 171–81.

²⁷ M. Goff, “The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 163–86.

²⁸ B.G. Wright, “The Categories of Rich and Poor in the Qumran Sapiential Literature,” in *Sapiential Perspectives*, 101–23.

²⁹ C.M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 163–209.

category that blends the first two. While the farmers participate in the agricultural economy, the references to priest-farmers, the extension of priestly prerogatives to lay-people, and the exhortation to farm within the framework of special wisdom set these farmers apart from others and points to an identifiable, if not yet sectarian, community. Murphy concludes that 4QInstruction presumes an audience that regularly finds itself in difficult economic circumstances to which the pooling of resources, charity, and (in the last resort) loans appear to be the only avenues of recourse. The one resource that sets the sages apart from others is the special knowledge of the elect that allows them the consolation of insight into “to mystery to come.”

According to Joshua E. Burns,³⁰ the advice about financial transactions, and especially their interactive aspects, in 4QInstruction is reflective of the dangerous position of the indebted in Roman-era Judea contemporary with the settlement of the Dead Sea sect. After describing the addressee as the “mangled *mevin*,” Burns considers the work in the context of social legislation in the Qumran legal codes, debt-bondage as a legal means of restitution, sects and violence, corporal punishment in civil legal procedures, and the bearing of civil law on the eschaton.

Eschatology is very prominent in 4QInstruction. John J. Collins shows that 4QInstruction presupposes a good knowledge of eschatological concepts and uses them as one source of motives for righteous conduct.³¹ He describes the work as “an exercise in bricolage,” piecing together elements from wisdom, prophecy, and apocalyptic. He observes that just as Ben Sira incorporated the Torah into his wisdom curriculum, so 4QInstruction incorporated eschatology.

The honoree of this volume, Émile Puech, is well known for his monumental study of Essene beliefs about life after death.³² In 4QInstruction Puech finds evidence for a universal judgment at the

³⁰ J.E. Burns, “Practical Wisdom in 4QInstruction,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 12–42.

³¹ J.J. Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Sapiential Perspectives*, 49–65. M. Goff in “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and the Pedagogical Ethos of 4QInstruction,” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (ed. B.G. Wright and L.M. Wills; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 57–67, argues that 4QInstruction combines the eudaemonistic and educational mindset of traditional wisdom with an apocalyptic worldview.

³² É. Puech, *La croyance des esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle. Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* (EB 21–22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993).

end-time that embraces all creation.³³ One can best prepare for this judgment by studying “the mystery that is to be” and by acting wisely and justly according to it. After the judgment Sheol and the Pit will be transformed from being the dwelling place of all who have died into the place of eternal punishment for the wicked. But the wise and righteous will be raised up to enjoy eternal happiness and splendor with God in the heavenly court.

In another study devoted especially to 4Q418 69 ii, Puech first presents a new transcription of the Hebrew text, a new French translation, and notes on the readings.³⁴ Then he situates what 4Q418 69 ii says about life after death in the history of this belief in Jewish wisdom circles. The passage contrasts the fate of the foolish (ll. 4–9) and that of the faithful righteous ones (ll. 10–15). Whereas the former are (pre)destined for Sheol as a place of punishment and annihilation, the latter are promised resurrection into everlasting glory. Puech observes that this unique passage clearly attests belief in the resurrection of the just and their glorious eternal life in the company of the angels, and that a pre-Sirach and pre-Maccabean dating for 4QInstruction might suggest that Jewish belief in resurrection arose not as a response to persecution but rather from the theological reflections of postexilic prophets, psalmists, and sages.

Comparative Studies

Armin Lange contends that mention of the oracle of the “lot” in 4Q418 81 4–5 participates in a mythological motif already attested in Syro-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age, and used and developed over the centuries.³⁵ In the Hebrew Bible and early Judaism this motif developed into a metaphor for the predestined fate, which was often connected with other metaphorical expressions developing out

³³ É. Puech, “Apports des textes apocalyptiques et sapientiels de Qumrân à l’eschatalogie du judaïsme ancien,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 133–70.

³⁴ É. Puech, “La croyance à la résurrection des justes dans un texte qumranien de sagesse: 4Q418 69 ii,” in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume* (ed. C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S.M. Paul; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 427–44.

³⁵ A. Lange, “The Determination of Fate by the Oracle of the Lot in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Mesopotamian Literature,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, 39–48.

of the distribution of the land described in Josh 13–19. In these traditions, as in 4Q418 81 4–5, God uses the oracle of the lot to determine the fate of humans.

Herbert Niehr has compared 4QInstruction and Ahikar in four areas: formal structure and themes, addressees and life-setting, social setting, and understanding of God.³⁶ These two works, of course, represent very different places and times: Syria in the late 8th or early 7th c. B.C.E. (Ahikar), and Jerusalem in the late 3rd or early 2nd c. B.C.E. (4QInstruction). Niehr concludes that while they share common wisdom traditions, the two texts reflect very different ethical and theological conceptualities.

Loren T. Stuckenbruck is skeptical about Torleif Elgvin's hypothesis that Enochic traditions in the Book of the Watchers, Book of Dreams, and Apocalypse of Weeks have directly influenced 4QInstruction.³⁷ From his investigation of four cases of possible direct influence (inheriting the earth, the plant metaphor, walking in eternal light, and "sevenfold instruction" and the רזן נהיה), Stuckenbruck concludes that the specific claim about 4QInstruction's direct dependence on the Enochic tradition is difficult to substantiate, and that not enough consideration has been given to the idea that both traditions were shaped by a common tradition-historical milieu.

While not embracing direct dependence, Michael A. Knibb suggests that the theological perspectives of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction are close to those of *1 Enoch*.³⁸ In *1 Enoch* the protagonist is described as a "scribe" and his writing is regarded as the embodiment of wisdom, though he is also (and especially) the recipient of revelations about judgment and salvation as well as cosmological and astronomical matters. Whereas in 4QInstruction cosmology and eschatology provide theological underpinnings for the wisdom instruction, in *1 Enoch* cosmology and eschatology are of primary importance and built into the structure of the book. Despite their choice of different genres, however, the authors of *1 Enoch* and 4QInstruction were not such different persons.

³⁶ H. Niehr, "Die Weisheit des Achikar und der *musar lammebin* im Vergleich," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 173–86.

³⁷ L.T. Stuckenbruck, "4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: An Evaluation," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 245–61.

³⁸ M.A. Knibb, "The Book of Enoch in the Light of the Qumran Wisdom Literature," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 193–210.

According to D. Rudman,³⁹ 4QInstruction upholds a form of wisdom that mixes proverbial material and eschatological speculation, and promises to its disciple mastery over existence and knowledge of the future. Rudman argues that Qoheleth/Ecclesiastes attacks this kind of wisdom and makes sharp criticisms of eschatological speculations. Qoheleth set out to gain a similar mastery over existence but proclaims failure for himself and denies the possibility of success for others.

Along the same lines, Leo G. Perdue suggests that the most plausible theory for the interpretation of Qoheleth's opponents is that they were primarily apocalyptic sages who were active in the 3rd c. B.C.E., and combined apocalyptic language and thought with traditional wisdom and the Torah—a combination found in 4QInstruction among other works.⁴⁰ The positions that Qoheleth opposed—claims of knowledge of the divine character and activity, the eschatological judgment of the righteous and the wicked, and life after death—are among the most prominent themes in 4QInstruction. As a precursor to the Qumran community, 4QInstruction demonstrates that wisdom and apocalyptic had already begun to come together in earlier Jewish thought from the 3rd c. B.C.E. It was precisely this kind of thinking that Qoheleth sought to oppose.

James K. Aitken observes that both Ben Sira and the author of 4QInstruction are united in trying to consider the world and to derive a religious understanding from it, but differ in the extent to which they wished to develop their apocalyptic leanings.⁴¹ He notes that Ben Sira shared with Qumran the vocabulary of revelation, visions, and “what is to be,” as well as “hidden things.” However, Ben Sira's reserve in his thinking, and his counseling against (improper?) investigation into apocalyptic matters (see Sir 3:21–24), may place him in a time earlier than that of the authors of the Qumran sapiential texts.

My own comparison of Sirach and 4QInstruction focuses on their literary genre(s), traditions, world views (creation, dualism, the divine

³⁹ D. Rudman, “4QInstruction & Ecclesiastes: A Comparative Study,” *Qumran Chronicle* 9 (2000): 153–63.

⁴⁰ L.G. Perdue, “Wisdom and Apocalyptic: The Case of Qoheleth,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 231–58.

⁴¹ J.K. Aitken, “Apocalyptic, Revelation and Early Jewish Wisdom Literature,” in *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and the Millennium. Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston* (ed. P.J. Harland and C.T.R. Hayward; VTSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 181–93.

mysteries, eschatology), and life-setting and community.⁴² Both books are wisdom instructions that cover a variety of topics in various literary forms, and so constitute wisdom anthologies. They share sapiential traditions on various topics (loans, surety, parents, wives, etc.), and sometimes appeal to biblical texts in their instructions. But 4QInstruction presents a vivid eschatology (final judgment, rewards and punishments), while Ben Sira's views on life after death are at best vague. Moreover, the Qumran text envisions a God who is more active and involved in creation and human affairs than Sirach does. While Sirach reflects as its setting Ben Sira's own school, 4QInstruction is harder to pin down, though despite its "secular" concerns it became connected with the Jewish movement reflected by the Qumran library. Whereas Sirach represents the fusion of wisdom/Torah and priestly/temple traditions, 4QInstruction uses wisdom/Torah traditions alongside or in the framework of a dualistic and eschatologically oriented theology.

In comparing the approaches to creation and eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon, John J. Collins observes that the two works share a concept of "mystery" that comprises God's comprehensive plan for humanity and an immortal destiny for humans grounded in creation in the divine image.⁴³ But whereas in 4QInstruction the mystery has been revealed only to the elect, in Wisdom the mystery is available to all who reason rightly. In both cases, however, right understanding involves a grasp of spiritual truths, of things unseen, and the true destiny of humans concerns their fate after death, not their prosperity in this world.

In comparing 4QInstruction and 4 Ezra,⁴⁴ I explored how the two works join sapiential and apocalyptic elements but differ in a fundamental way. In 4QInstruction a human instructor presents wisdom in an apocalyptic context, while in 4 Ezra the angel of God (or God) reveals apocalyptic wisdom. Even though 4QInstruction gives ample space to apocalyptic elements, it remains a wisdom instruction with apocalyptic features. And even though 4Ezra uses

⁴² D.J. Harrington, "Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom: Sirach and Qumran Sapiential Work A," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 263–75.

⁴³ J.J. Collins, "The Mysteries of God. Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 287–305.

⁴⁴ D.J. Harrington, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 4QInstruction and 4 Ezra," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 343–55.

some of the rhetorical techniques of wisdom literature, it is clearly an apocalypse in both form and content, and tends to ignore the traditional concerns of wisdom literature in favor of revelation.

J. Dochhorn has called attention to the parallel between 4Q423 2 3 (“its strength it will not give to you”) and *Apoc.Mos. (L.A.E.)* 24:2.⁴⁵ He describes the two texts as similar but different representations of an early exegetical tradition associated with Gen 3:17–19.

Several articles have compared 4QInstruction and other Qumran texts. According to Torleif Elgvin,⁴⁶ 4QInstruction and 4QMysteries stem from slightly different circles in pre-Maccabean Judea. Whereas 4QInstruction (which may somewhat predate Mysteries) came from scribal (and perhaps levitical) circles operating outside the Jerusalem temple, Mysteries came out of Jerusalem circles (perhaps priestly or priestly influenced). Their similarities may be attributed to literary dependence or to a common pool of traditions available in the scribal and apocalyptic milieus of Judea. Lawrence H. Schiffman has examined three halakhic teachings in 4QInstruction (the vows of a married woman, the law of mixed species, the laws of the firstborn), and shown that these teachings do not conform to sectarian halakhic rulings but rather agree generally with what we later know as the Pharisaic—rabbinic tradition.⁴⁷ Charlotte Hempel has investigated whether there are any indications that the Qumran tradents have left their mark on the Qumran wisdom texts, and noted some wisdom elements (the רַב הַחַיִּים , the Book of Hagi[u], the figure of the Maskil) in the rule books (CD, 1QSa, 1QS).⁴⁸ According to Matthew Goff,⁴⁹ 4QInstruction and Hodayot have much in common with regard to authorial voice, theological content, and terminology. He contends that most likely 4QInstruction influenced Hodayot, and that the author(s) of Hodayot learned from 4QInstruction and elaborated some of its ideas in bold and distinctive ways.

⁴⁵ J. Dochhorn, “‘Sie wird dir nicht ihre Kraft geben’—Adam, Kain und der Ackerbau in 4Q423 2 3 and Apc Mos 24,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 351–64.

⁴⁶ T. Elgvin, “Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction,” in *Sapiential Perspectives*, 67–87.

⁴⁷ L.H. Schiffman, “Halakhic Elements in the Sapiential Texts from Qumran,” *Sapiential Perspectives*, 89–100.

⁴⁸ C. Hempel, “The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 277–95.

⁴⁹ M. Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 263–88.

In several articles,⁵⁰ Jörg Frey has argued that the pre-Essene Qumran wisdom texts and 4QInstruction in particular are the earliest documents from the Jewish tradition in which the Hebrew term כֶּסֶף (“flesh”) is used in a strongly negative sense, linked with sin and disobedience to God and his will. Such a negative use of “flesh” can also be seen in the Qumran “sectarian” texts and then in some uses of σάρξ in Paul’s letters. Frey finds this negative use of “flesh” especially in 4Q418 81 1–2; 4Q416 1 10–13; and 4Q417 1 i 15–18, and claims that these passages go far beyond biblical usage in using “flesh” to denote a sinful human being or sinful humanity. He notes that this usage then appears in Jewish texts apart from Qumran, and speculates that Paul may have picked it up while he was a Pharisaic student in Jerusalem. Frey’s basic point is that Paul’s negative use of σάρξ is deeply rooted in Palestinian Jewish tradition.

Conclusions and Future Research

In recent years 4QInstruction has attracted a good deal of scholarly interest. Besides three substantial monographs (by Tigchelaar, Jefferies, and Goff), there have been many articles in journals and collections of essays. What have we learned? What might be fruitful areas of further research?

1. Our edition of 4QInstruction in DJD XXXIV was (admittedly) only a start. More work on the text, overlaps among fragments, and the order of the material, as well as on the language of the work needs to be done before we can arrive at anything approaching a definitive edition.

2. Few scholars have been much impressed by our suggestion that 4QInstruction is the missing link between Proverbs and the Wisdom of Ben Sira. Most prefer a date in the early- or mid-second c. B.C.E., that is roughly contemporary with Ben Sira or somewhat later.

3. Most agree that money matters in general and economic poverty in particular were important issues for the work’s first readers. But

⁵⁰ J. Frey, “Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 367–404. See also “The Notion of ‘Flesh’ in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, 197–226; and “Die paulinische Antithese von ‘Fleisch’ und ‘Geist’ und die palästinisch-jüdische Weisheitstradition,” *ZNW* 90 (1999): 45–77.

whether the primary audience was the general public (Tigheelaar) or people like the Qumran sectarians (Jefferies) or something in between, is still unclear.

4. How practical wisdom and eschatology fit together in the work also remains a matter of dispute. Whereas Elgvin views 4QInstruction as the conflation of two layers (wisdom and apocalyptic), most interpreters regard it as an integrated composition in which the apocalyptic material serves as the context or framework for the practical wisdom teachings.

5. Goff's monograph and various essays confirm that the work's chief theological themes are wisdom and revelation, God and the human condition, economic poverty and spirituality, and eschatology and life after death. These themes need to be studied in greater depth, and there must also be further efforts at discerning other themes.

6. 4QInstruction has been compared with a wide range of ancient texts. The most fruitful comparisons are the obvious ones: *1 Enoch*, Sirach, and certain Qumran sectarian works (especially Rule of the Community, Damascus Document, and Hodayot). The most intriguing contrasts come with Qoheleth.

11Q5 (11QPS^a) XIX—A PLEA OF DELIVERANCE?

Ingo Kottsieper
Göttingen

1. *Einleitung*

Kolumne XIX der großen Psalmenrolle 11Q5 (11QPS^a) enthält die Reste eines bis zur Entdeckung der Rolle unbekanntes Psalms, von dem am Anfang wohl etwa 4,5 Zeilen und am Ende eine Zeile verloren gegangen sind.¹ Fragmente des Textes, darunter auch einen kleinen Rest des fehlenden Anfangs, bietet zudem 11Q6 4 + 5.

Nach der Analyse durch den Erstherausgeber, J.A. Sanders, würde der erhaltene Textteil neben 17 Bikola auch zwei Trikola aufweisen, deren jeweils beiden letzten Kola וְכָרֹב צְדָקָהּ יִכָּה / וְכָרֹב רַחֲמֵיכָה lauten (Z. 5 + 11). Z. 8b–13a weist Sanders der Gattung “Danklied des Einzelnen” zu, in der der Beter JHWH für die Errettung vom Tod dankt, während Z. 13bff. seiner Ansicht nach die Bitte des Beters um Sündenvergebung und Errettung vom Satan enthalten.²

Einen anderen Ansatz vertritt J. Maier. Seine Übersetzung³ gliedert den Text in elf Trikola, denen vier Bikola (Z. 7–8a; 11b–12a; 15b–16a; 16b–17a) und ein Tetrakolon (Z. 8–9a) gegenüberstehen. Zudem nimmt er Abschnittsgrenzen nach Z. 5a und 11a an, nicht aber nach 8a und 13a.

Die folgende Übersicht zeigt die unterschiedliche Aufteilung bei beiden Bearbeitern:⁴

¹ Vgl. U. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum* (STDJ 44; Leiden und Boston: Brill, 2003), 49. Die Angabe bei J.A. Sanders, J.H. Charlesworth, H.W.L. Rietz, “Non-Masoretic Psalms,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation 4A. Pseudepigraphic and non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 155–215, zu 155, dass die Kolumnen von 11Q5 “originally included 21 to 23 lines,” kann ich nicht nachvollziehen; es ist hingegen wohl von 25 Zeilen pro Kolumne auszugehen, vgl. Dahmen, 26.

² Vgl. J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPS^a)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 76–77.

³ Vgl. J. Maier, *Die Qumran Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I* (UTB 1862; München und Basel: Reinhardt, 1995), 335–36.

⁴ In jeder Spalte wird zunächst die Nummer der Zeile angegeben, deren Beginn

1*	S.	M.	6	S.	M.	10	S.	M.	14*	S.	M.	19.1	16.1
	1.1	1.1		6.1	5.1		10.1	8.1		14.1	12.1			19.2	16.2
2*	1.2	1.2	7	||	5.2	11	10.2	8.2	15	14.2	12.2	||	16.3
	2.1	1.3		6.2	5.3		||	8.3		14.3	12.3		
3	2.2	2.1	8*	7.1	6.1	12	11.1	9.1	16	15.1	13.1	17.1	14.1
	3.1	2.2		7.2	6.2		11.2	9.2		15.2	13.2			17.2	14.2
4	3.2	2.3	9	||	6.3	13	11.3	9.3	17	16.2	13.3	18.1	15.1
	4.1	3.1		8.1	7.1		12.1	10.1		16.1	14.1			18.2	15.2
5	4.2	3.2	9	8.2	7.2	13	12.2	10.2	17	17.2	14.2	18.2	15.2
	5.1	4.1		9.1	7.3		13.1	11.1		18.1	15.1		
	5.2	4.2		9.2	7.4		||	11.2		17.1	14.1		
	5.3	4.3				13.2	11.3						

Gemeinsam ist beiden Ansätzen, dass die Frage nach späteren Zusätzen nicht in den Blick genommen wird, die, wie es nicht selten auch bei den biblischen Psalmen der Fall ist, die poetische Struktur eines Textes stören können.

Für ein genaues Verständnis des Textes ist jedoch nicht nur eine exakte Bestimmung der poetischen Struktur von Bedeutung, die erkennen lässt, welche Aussagen der Dichter als in einem Parallelismus membrorum zusammengehörig verstanden, sondern auch die Unterscheidung zwischen ursprünglichem Text und möglichen späteren Bearbeitungsstufen.

Hier stellt sich jedoch die Frage nach den Kriterien, nach denen ein nicht stichisch geschriebener Text poetologisch analysiert und mögliche sekundäre Textänderungen erkannt werden können.

Ein ähnliches Problem hat sich aber schon bei der Analyse poetischer ugaritischer Texte gestellt, die häufig ebenfalls nicht stichisch geschrieben sind. Jedoch liegt diesen Texten eine Poetik zugrunde, die wie die biblisch-hebräischen Poesie im Wesentlichen zwei Regeln folgt:⁵ Die Kola einer poetischen Einheit sind durch einen Parallelismus

in dem entsprechenden Kolon liegt. Ein * zeigt an, dass der Kolonbeginn mit dem Zeilenanfang übereinstimmt. Es folgen die Zuordnungen des Kolons bei Sanders (S.) und Maier (M.), wobei die erste Zahl jeweils die poetische Einheit bezeichnet, die zweite das entsprechende Kolon in dieser. Ein || bedeutet, dass bei Sanders das entsprechende Kolon Teil des vorangehenden ist. Abschnittsgrenzen werden durch Querbalken notiert.

⁵ Vgl. zum Folgenden bes. O. Loretz und I. Kottsieper, *Colometry in Ugaritic and Biblical Poetry* (Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur 5; Altenberge: CIS-Verlag, 1987).

membrorum miteinander verbunden und entsprechen einander in der Länge. Dabei ist das zugrunde liegende metrische Prinzip aber umstritten. Da weder zeitgenössische Texte zur Poetik vorliegen, noch die exakte Lautung mit hinreichender Sicherheit rekonstruierbar ist, steht der moderne Bearbeiter vor dem Problem, ein nachvollziehbares Maß für die Kolalängen zu finden.⁶

Es hat sich jedoch gezeigt, dass die "Metrik" der ugaritischen und biblisch-hebräischen Poesie offenkundig den *Effekt* hat, dass die Texte in ihrer Schriftform Kola mit einer einander entsprechenden Konsonanzzahl aufweisen. Mithin bietet sich die Konsonanzzahl als Maßeinheit für die Kolalängen an.⁷

Auf diesen empirischen Beobachtungen basiert die so genannte Kolometrie. Sie geht davon aus, dass, wenn eine rekonstruierte poetische Einheit keinen Parallelismus membrorum zeigt und/oder deren Kolalängen voneinander signifikant abweichen, dies ein Hinweis darauf sein kann, dass entweder die Rekonstruktion falsch ist oder die poetische Struktur an dieser Stelle durch eine Überarbeitung gestört wurde. Die Beachtung dieser Kriterien, die natürlich durch weitere exegetische Beobachtungen untermauert sein sollten, ist somit ein gutes Hilfsmittel bei der Rekonstruktion poetischer Texte und ihrer Geschichte.

Offenkundig weicht die Poetik des hier zu behandelnden Textes aber nicht wesentlich von derjenigen ab, die die Grundlage für die Kolometrie darstellt. Dass der Text durch den Parallelismus membrorum

⁶ Dies gilt nicht nur für die unvokalisierten ugaritischen Texte, sondern auch für die hebräischen. So spiegelt die masoretische Vokalisation nur die mittelalterliche Lesetradition wider, die nicht unbeschadet als originale Aussprache übernommen werden kann—abgesehen davon, dass zuweilen statt eines von den Masoreten angesetzten Verbal-Stammes auch mal ein anderer Stamm sinnvoll und ursprünglich sein könnte, was metrisch von Bedeutung wäre. Auch die Beobachtung, dass wahrscheinlich gerade in poetischen Texten mit der Existenz einer *yaqattal*-Form zu rechnen ist (vgl. I. Kottsieper, "yaqattal—Phantom oder Problem? Erwägungen zu einem hebraistischen Problem und zur Geschichte der semitischen Sprachen," in *Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt. I. Vorträge des 3. Mainzer Hebraistischen Kolloquiums, 6. November 1999* [Hg. R.G. Lehmann; Waltrop: Spenser, 2000], 27–100), die die Masoreten nicht mehr kannten, macht jede Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Vokalisation fragwürdig. Und selbst wenn man dies vernachlässigen würde, so bliebe das Problem, dass nicht mehr rekonstruiert werden kann, ob die Sprecher nicht auch aus metrischen Gründen Silben sekundär längen, aufsprengen oder kürzen konnten.

⁷ Dies bedeutet natürlich nicht, dass die Dichter selbst Konsonanten gezählt hätten, sondern entspricht dem Vorgang, ein Objekt mit einem Maßband zu messen, auch wenn ein solches und die ihm zugrunde liegenden Maßeinheiten bei dessen Entstehung keine Rolle spielen.

geprägt ist, ist evident. Aber auch die meisten Kola weichen von den ihnen parallelen in ihrer Länge nicht erheblich ab. So bleibt die Abweichung bis auf einige Ausnahmen deutlich unter 15%.⁸

Es empfiehlt sich also, auch diesen Text unter Beachtung der Kolometrie und der Fragestellung zu untersuchen, ob er in seiner ursprünglichen Form vorliegt oder vielleicht doch spätere Überarbeitungen aufweist, die seine poetische Struktur stören. Auf Grund dieser Untersuchung kann dann die Frage nach der Gattung und der Aussageabsicht des Textes neu gestellt werden.

Diesen Beitrag meinem hoch geschätzten Kollegen Émile Puech widmen zu können, ist eine besondere Freude für mich.

2. 11Q6 Frag. 4+5

Bevor jedoch der Text von 11Q5 XIX näher untersucht wird, soll zunächst ein Blick auf die Parallelen in 11Q6 4+5 geworfen werden. Die erhaltenen Passagen entsprechen nahezu wörtlich dem Text von 11Q5, wobei die Korrekturen des Textes von 11Q5 XIX 2 und 4 in 11Q6 4 4 und 6 integriert sind.⁹ Abgesehen davon, dass das Sf. 3.m.pl. in 11Q6 םה- statt הנה- geschrieben wird (4 5, 8), begegnet nur in 4 3 eine sichere Textvariante. So bietet 11Q6 hier ידכה לכה statt ידה לכה, das 11Q5 XIX 2 aufweist. Und der Zeichenrest vor י entspricht nicht einem typischen י, so dass eine Ergänzung nach 11Q5 XIX 2 mit יי sehr fragwürdig bleibt.¹⁰ Die Zeichenreste sprechen eher für ein י oder ׀.¹¹

Auf Grund ihrer Rekonstruktion der Textverteilung auf die einzelnen Zeilen¹² kamen F. García Martínez und E.J.C. Tigchelaar jedoch

⁸ Diese Angabe bezieht sich auf den Mittelwert, der sich aus den Kotalängen einer poetischen Einheit ergibt.

⁹ Die Rekonstruktion des Textes von 11Q6 4+5 spricht auch dafür, dass das in 11Q5 XIX 8 nachgetragene םה ebenfalls in 11Q6 4 10 integriert war, vgl. die unten gebotene Rekonstruktion.

¹⁰ Vgl. F. García Martínez und E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "Psalms Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11: A Preliminary Edition," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 73–107, zu 78–79; F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, und A.S. Van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11 II, 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (Incorporating Earlier Editions by J.P.M. van der Ploeg, O.P. with a Contribution by Edward Herbert; DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 42–44.

¹¹ Vgl. unten.

¹² Dass Frag. 4+5 am rechten Rand der Kolumne einzuordnen sei, wie es die

zu dem Ergebnis, dass 4 6–7 einen kürzeren Text enthalten habe. “One must surmise that the scribe omitted a word (e.g. בַּטּוֹבָכָה?).”¹³ Zudem führt ihre Rekonstruktion dazu, dass sie für Z. 12–13 (= 5,0–1 = 11Q5 XIX 10b–12) eine größere Zeilenlänge als sonst annehmen müssen.

Der Versuch, ihre Rekonstruktion graphisch unter Heranziehung der Schriftform von 11Q6 zu realisieren, zeigt jedoch schnell, dass diese sicher falsch ist. Dies wird auch daran deutlich, dass sie z.B. zu Beginn von 4 6 vor נִשְׁמָה insgesamt 27 Zeichen bzw. Spatien—darunter zweimal das breite ש und einmal auch ׀—annehmen, während in Z. 5 nur 21 für denselben Raum zu ergänzen wären. Zudem ist ihre Zuordnung der Zeichenreste in 5,4 (= 11Q5 XIX 15) zu מַכּא epigraphisch wenig überzeugend. Sie passen besser zum folgenden נִי.

Die graphische Rekonstruktion von 11Q6 4+5 führt jedoch zu einem anderen Ergebnis, das die Schwierigkeiten bezüglich Z. 12f. und 5,4 beseitigt. Da diese die einzige Möglichkeit darstellt, einen ausgeglichenen rechten Rand zu erhalten—will man nicht von weiteren, erheblichen Textvarianten ausgehen—dürfte diese ein korrektes Bild abgeben.

Dabei ergibt sich zweierlei: (a) Vor הִי יוֹדֵכָה in 4,3 ist ein Wort mit drei bis vier Zeichen zu ergänzen, was der Beobachtung entspricht, dass dort wahrscheinlich nicht הִי stand.¹⁴ (b) Es ist korrekt, dass in 4,7 ein Wort fehlt—aber es dürfte sich kaum um בַּטּוֹבָכָה handeln, sondern um eines mit vier Zeichen, also entweder עֲמֵנוּ, יְהוּהּ oder כְּרוֹב.

3. Text

Die Textwiedergabe enthält folgende Angabe: Spalte 1 enthält die Zählung der poetischen Einheiten, darauf folgt der Text. Textpassagen, die durch die Analyse als Zusätze erwiesen werden, sind durch

Textrekonstruktion bei J.P.M. Van der Ploeg, “Fragments d’un manuscrit de Psaumes de Qumran (11QPs^b),” *RB* 74 (1967): 408–12 zu 409 suggeriert, ist sicher falsch, da die Schriftreste keinen ausgeglichenen Rand ergeben.

¹³ García Martínez und Tigchelaar, “Psalms Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11: A Preliminary Edition,” 80; vgl. *DJD* XXIII, 44.

¹⁴ Vgl. unten.

וְלֹא אֵינְךָ נֹרָא
 לֹא רִמָּה תִּדְרָה לְכָה לִי
 תִּסְפֵּר הַסּוּיִנָה תִּלְעֵת אֲרֵשׁ חֹר וּדְיִנָה לִנְיָ וּדְיָ לְכָה נֹרָא
 בְּרִטְמוֹר רָגַל בְּהַרְדֵּיעֵנִי הַסּוּיִנָה לְחַם יִצְרִיקוּנָה תִּשְׁכַּחֲלֵנָה
 נֹר בְּרִינָה נֶפֶשׁ נֹרָא חֹר גִּשְׁפֵת נֹרָא בִּשְׁרֵי אֵתָה נִתְתָה עֲשֵׂה
 וְהָהָה כְּטוֹבָנָה פְּרוֹב רַחֲלִינָה וְכִרֹב יִדְקוּתוֹנָה שְׂבִיעַ וְהָהָה
 בְּקוֹל אֲהַבְּךָ שִׁכְנוּ וְלִי עַב חֲסִיִּי נִזְמַן בְּיָנֶיךָ וְהָהָה עֲשֵׂה
 יִדְקוּת בְּרִעְטָר הַסּוּיִנָה חֲסִיִּי: דִּינִינִי שְׂאֵהָ נֶפֶשׁ
 לְהִלֵּל אֵת שְׂבִיעַ לְהַרְדֵּיעַ בְּרִינָה וְהַרְדֵּיעַ לְהַרְדֵּיעַ אֲבֹתָנָה
 לְהִלְתָּה אֵן אֵן לְכָה הַרְדֵּיעַ בְּהַסְטָו אֵתְוֹתָה לְעֵאֲרֵל
 בְּכִרְוֹ וְהַרְדֵּיעַ וְהָהָה פְּרוֹב רַחֲלִינָה וְכִרֹב יִדְקוּתוֹנָה גֵּם
 אֲנִי אֵת שְׂבִיעַ אֲהַבְּךָ וְכִרֹב הַסּוּיִנָה בְּוֹרְדֵי עֲחֹבָה תִּקַּפ
 לְכָה וְעַל הַסּוּיִנָה אֲנִי נֶפֶשׁתִּי סִלְוָה וְהָהָה לְקִטְוָתִי וְטֹהַרְדֵּיעַ
 בְּעִתְוֹד רַחֲוֹ אֲבֹתָה וְרִיעַת הַרְדֵּיעַ אֵל אֲנִיקְלָה בְּעִתְוֹד אֵל תִּשְׁלַם
 בְּרֵי שִׁטְן וְרַחֲוֹ טְכֵנָה לְכִנְתָּב וְדִינִי רִיעַ אֵל וְרִשׁוּ בְּעִצְבֵּךָ נֹר

Kursivdruck gekennzeichnet. Die auch in 11Q6 4+5 belegten Passagen werden unterstrichen. In der nächsten Spalte steht die Konsonanzanzahl des ursprünglichen Textes, gegebenenfalls gefolgt von der *kursiv* gesetzten Angabe der Konsonanzanzahl, die sich durch Zusätze ergibt.

4.2	<u>— ודל אניכי</u>	[— und ein Geringer bin ich]
5.1	[כי—]	~ [ja/denn —]
		27
5.2	[—]	
6.1	כי לוא רמה תודה לכה (1)	15 Denn keine Made preist dich,
6.2	ולוא הספר הסדכה תולעה	18 und nicht erzählt von deiner Huld ein Wurm.

7.1	<u>לכה</u> ¹⁵ <u>יודה</u> ¹⁶ <u>חי</u> ¹⁶ <u>הי</u> (2)	14	Ein wahrhaft Lebendiger, der preist dich,
7.2	<u>יודו</u> <u>לכה</u> <u>כול</u> <u>מוטשי</u> <u>רגל</u>	18	es preisen dich alle, deren Füße taumeln
8.1	<u>בהודיעכה</u> ¹⁷ (3) <u>חסדכה</u> <u>להמה</u>	17	wenn du ihnen deine Huld kundtust
8.2	<u>וצדקתכה</u> <u>תשכילם</u>	13	und ihnen deine "Gerechtigkeit" einsichtig machst,
9.1	<u>כי</u> <u>בידכה</u> <u>נפש</u> <u>כול</u> (4) <u>חי</u>	15	denn in deiner Hand ist der Atem eines eden Lebenden,
9.2	<u>נשמת</u> <u>כול</u> <u>חבשר</u> ¹⁸ <u>אתה</u> <u>נתתה</u>	18	den Hauch allen Fleisches hast du gegeben.
10.1	<u>עשה</u> <u>עמנו</u> <u>יהוה</u> (5) <u>כטובכה</u>	17	<i>Handle mit uns, YHWH, nach deiner Güte,</i>
10.2	<u>כרוב</u> <u>רחמיכה</u> <u>וכרוב</u> <u>צדקותיכה</u>	23	<i>nach der Fülle deines Erbarmens und nach der Fülle deiner "Gerechtigkeitsweise."</i>
11.1	<u>שמע</u> (6) <u>יהוה</u> <u>בקול</u> <u>אוהבי</u> <u>שמו</u>	19	Gehört hat YHWH auf die Stimme derer, die seinen Namen lieben,
11.2	<u>ולוא</u> <u>עזב</u> <u>חסרו</u> <u>מהם</u> ¹⁹	15	und nicht ließ er seine Huld von ihnen ab.
12.1	<u>ברוך</u> <u>יהוה</u> <u>עושה</u> <u>צדקות</u> (7)	17	Gelobt sei YHWH, der "Gerechtes" tut,
12.2	<u>מעטר</u> <u>חסידיו</u> (8) <u>חסד</u> <u>ורחמים</u>	19	der seine Frommen mit Huld und Erbarmen kränzt.
13.1	<u>שאנה</u> <u>נפשי</u> <u>להלל</u> ¹⁸ <u>שמכה</u>	16 18	Meine Seele brüllte, deinen Namen zu preisen,
13.2	<u>להודות</u> <u>ברנה</u> (9) <u>חסדיכה</u>	16	zu preisen mit Jubel deine Hulderweise,
14.1	<u>להגיד</u> <u>אמונתכה</u>	12	<i>um kundzutun deine Treue</i>
14.2	<u>לתהללכה</u> <u>אין</u> <u>חקך</u>	13	<i>zu deinem Lobpreis ohne Ende.</i>
15.1	<u>למות</u> (10) <u>הייתי</u> <u>בחטאי</u>	14	Dem Tod hatte ich in meiner Sünde gehört,
15.2	<u>ועוונותי</u> <u>לשאול</u> <u>מכרוני</u>	19	und meine Vergehen hatten mich an die Scheol verkauft,

¹⁵ 11Q6 4 4 bietet יודכה statt יודה הי.

¹⁶ 11Q6 4 4 hatte wahrscheinlich hierfür ש[א], vgl. den Kommentar.

¹⁷ 11Q6 4 5: למה.

¹⁸ 11Q6 4 6: בשר.

¹⁹ 11Q6 4 8: מהם.

- 16.1 והצילני (11) יהוה כרוב רחמיכה 17 als du, *YHWH*, mich gerettet hast
21 nach der Fülle deines Erbarmens
- 16.2 וכרוב צדקותיכה 13 und nach der Fülle deiner
"Gerechtigkeitserweise."
- 17.1 נם אני את (12) שמכה אחבתי 16 *Auch ich habe deinen Namen geliebt,*
17.2 ובצלכה חסיתי 11 *und in deinem Schatten mich geborgen.*
- 18.1 בְּזִכְרֵי עֹזֶכָּה יִתְקַף (13) לְבִי 18 *Wenn ich deiner Stärke gedenke, erstarkt*
mein Herz,
- 18.2 ועל חסדיכה אני נסמכתי 18 *und durch deine Gnadenerweise werde ich gestützt.*
- 19.1 סלחה יהוה לחטאתי 14 Verzeih' doch, *YHWH*, meine Sünde,
19.2 וטהרני מעוני (14) 12 und reinige mich von meiner Schuld.
- 20.1 רוח אמונה ודעת חונני 17 Mit einem Geist der Treue und des
Wissens begnade mich.
- 20.2 אל אתקלה (15) בעוזה 12 *Nicht möge ich zu Fall kommen durch ein*
Vergehen.
- 20.3 אל תשלט בי שטן ורוח טמאה 19 Lass nicht herrschen über mich Satan und
inen unreinen Geist,
- 20.4 מכאוב (מכאיב) ויצר 16 *Schmerz (od. ein Peiniger) und*
ein böser Sinn mögen nicht in meinem
16 רע אל ירשו בעצמי 22 *Gebein herrschen.*
- 21.1 כי אתה יהוה שבחי 13 Ja, du, *YHWH*, bist mein Lob,
21.2 ולכה קוית (17) כול היום 16 und auf dich habe ich gehofft alle Zeit.
- 22.1 ישמחו אחי עמי 11 Es mögen sich mit mir freuen meine
Brüder
- 22.2 ובית אבי השוממים 14 und die Familie meines Vaters, die verstört
sind,
- 23.1 בחונכה (18) ... [—] ~30 wenn du gnädig bist ...
- 23.2 לם. [—] ...
- 24.1 אשמחה בכה (20) [—] Ich will mich freuen an dir ...
- 24.2 [—] ...

4. *Kommentar**1.1–4.2 (XVIII 21–25)*

Da Kolumne XVIII pro Zeile durchschnittlich 35,3 Zeichen aufweist und ein Bikolon des Textes im Schnitt 31,15 Konsonanten enthält, sind wahrscheinlich fünf Bikola des Textes verloren gegangen.

Der Text von 4.2 und 5.1 ist aus 11Q6 4 2 ergänzt. Da zwischen ׀ und ל׀ (4 3) ein Raum von 22–29 Zeichen zu ergänzen ist, dürfte mit ׀ ein neues Bikolon begonnen haben,²⁰ was auch inhaltlich gut passt.²¹

6.1–9.2 (XIX 1–4a)

Gegen die Aufteilung des Abschnittes in zwei Trikola (6.1–7.1 + 7.2–8.2) und ein Bikolon²² sprechen zwei Beobachtungen. Zum einen ist der Text offensichtlich in Bikola abgefasst, zum anderen fehlt zwischen 7.2 und 8.1 ein Parallelismus. Andererseits bietet 7.1–2 eine antithetische Aussage zu 6.1–2, die jeweils durch einen synonymen Parallelismus zusammengehalten werden.

Kolometrisch auffällig ist 7.1. Folgt man der korrigierten Fassung, so wäre es mit elf Konsonanten deutlich zu kurz. Sanders hat aber zu Recht beobachtet, dass vor ׀׀׀ ein ל׀ ausgetilgt wurde.²³ Dafür spricht nicht nur die Parallele in Jes 38:19, sondern auch die Beobachtung, dass vom ersten Zeichen zwei kleine Punkte erhalten sind, die gut zu den unteren Spitzen eines ׀ passen.²⁴ Mit diesem Wort ist 7.1 aber kolometrisch akzeptabel. Mithin darf davon ausgegangen werden, dass der Schreiber das Wort in seiner Vorlage (oder der mündlichen Tradition) vorgefunden hat und erst nachträglich austilgte.

Es stellt sich damit die Frage, warum er so verfuhr. Hier ist ein Blick auf die beiden anderen Korrekturen hilfreich, die sich in diesem

²⁰ Nach ׀ bleibt Platz für 4–6 Zeichen und in der folgenden Zeile können 18–23 Zeichen gestanden haben, wobei die letzten beiden Zeichen (׀׀) schon zu 6.1 gehören. Damit ergibt sich für das Bikolon eine Gesamtlänge von 22–29 Zeichen. Die übrigen Bikola des ursprünglichen Textes weisen eine Länge von 25–36 Zeichen auf. Mithin wird man für dieses Bikolon eine Länge von ca. 27 Konsonanten annehmen dürfen.

²¹ Zur Auslegung von 4.2 vgl. unten die Zusammenfassung.

²² So Maier, *Die Qumran Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I*, 335.

²³ Vgl. Sanders, DJD IV, 79.

²⁴ Auch einige Verfärbungen weiter links, die möglicherweise von der Erstbeschriftung stammen, passen sich gut in ein ל׀ ein.

Text finden. So hat er offenkundig in Z. 4 (9.2) vor **בשר** den Artikel **ה** getilgt²⁵ und in Z. 8 (13.1) ein **א** über der Zeile nachgetragen. Beide Korrekturen sind eine sprachliche Erleichterung. So wird durch die Zufügung des **א** die syntaktisch doppeldeutige Phrase **להלל שמכה**, die sowohl als eine Konstruktusverbindung aber auch als Infinitiv mit Objekt gedeutet werden kann, eindeutig im Sinne eines verbal gebrauchten Infinitivs markiert. Und **כל הבשר** ist gegenüber **כל בשר** ungebrauchlicher. So bietet das AT nur 2 Belege (Gen 7:15; Jes 40:6) gegenüber 37 Belegen mit **כל בשר** im Status absolutus. In den Qumrantexten begegnet die determinierte Phrase überhaupt nicht.²⁶ Mithin handelt es sich hier um eine Angleichung an den üblichen Sprachgebrauch. Beide Fälle verweisen also darauf, dass die Korrekturen sich einer sprachlichen Glättung oder Angleichung verdanken.

Dies lässt sich aber auch für Z. 2 annehmen. So bietet der Text mit **איה** eine syntaktisch komplexere Pendenskonstruktion, die durch die Streichung vermieden wird.

Eine offenkundig spätere Textentwicklung wird in 11Q6 4 4 sichtbar. Wie oben angegeben, endet das Wort vor dem zweiten **ה** wohl auf **ה** oder **ש**, während das **איה** hier fehlt. Dabei gibt, soweit ich sehe, hier nur **ש** Sinn. So kann es zu **איש** ergänzt werden, das sich recht gut in den zur Verfügung stehenden Platz einpasst. Die Ersetzung des ersten **ה** durch **איש** ist leicht nachvollziehbar. Zuvor ist die Rede von der Made und dem Wurm, die JHWH nicht loben. Da es sich aber auch bei diesen um Lebewesen handelt, ist es verständlich, dass ein späterer Bearbeiter den Text durch die Ersetzung des ersten **ה** mit **איש** an das Gemeindeglied angegliedert hat. Ob der Fehler **ידרכה** sich einer unbewussten Assoziation an Jes 38:19 oder einer *aberratio oculi* verdankt, ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu entscheiden.²⁷ Ich halte aber das letztere für wahrscheinlich, da die Textänderung am Anfang des Kolons dafür spricht, dass der Schreiber hier nicht an Jes 38:19 dachte.

Es ist nun auffällig, dass alle Korrekturen, die der Schreiber von 11Q5 vornimmt, in 11Q6 im Text integriert begegnen.²⁸ Die Änderung

²⁵ Vgl. Sanders, DJD IV, 79; dafür spricht auch eine Verfärbung, die bei einer Kontrastpreizung sichtbar wird und gut zu einem **ה** passt.

²⁶ Dagegen ist **כל בשר** in CD I 2; II 20; 1QSb III 28; 1QM XV 13; XVII 8; 1Q34bis 3 i 3; 4Q266 2 i 7; 4Q267 1 8; 4Q511 7 3; 35 1; 4Q525 10 5 sicher belegt.

²⁷ Der Vorschlag von Dahmen, *Psalm- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum*, 241, das folgende **לכה** zum nächsten Kolon zu ziehen und dort eine Umstellung von **לכה יודו** zu **יודו לכה** anzunehmen, kann nicht überzeugen, da der Text dann für die Lücke in 11Q6 4 4–5 zu kurz wäre.

²⁸ Vgl. zu **בשר** 4 6. Auf Grund der Rekonstruktion der Kolumne ist es auch

des Beginns von 7.1 in 11Q6 sowie die Tatsache, dass 11Q6 die Suffixform םה statt םהה aufweist, spricht aber gegen die Annahme, dass 11Q5 nach 11Q6 korrigiert wurde.²⁹ Mithin beruht 11Q6 möglicherweise auf 11Q5 oder 11Q5 wurde an Hand eines Manuskripts korrigiert, das auch 11Q6 zugrunde gelegen hat.

8.2 gibt einen Hinweis auf die Abfassungszeit des Textes. של Hi. mit doppeltem Objekt in der Bedeutung „jmd.n etwas lehren“ begegnet im AT sicher nur in Dan 9:22. In Qumran findet sich diese Konstruktion nur in 1QS IX 20.³⁰ Wie ungewöhnlich diese Konstruktion ist, zeigt die Tatsache, dass die Parallelen zu 1QS IX 20 das, was gelehrt wird, mit dem gebräuchlicheren כ einleiten.³¹ Da beide Texte wohl in das 2. Jhd. v.Chr. zu datieren sind, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass hier ein Sprachgebrauch vorliegt, der zu dieser Zeit *en vogue* war. Mithin kann vermutet werden, dass auch unser Text in diesem Zeitraum entstanden ist.

Recht drastisch lenkt der Text zunächst den Blick auf die Maden und Würmer, die das einzig Lebendige sind, das der Beobachter an einer Leiche wahrnehmen kann. Von ihnen kann Gott keinen Lobpreis oder Verkündigung seines gütigen Handelns erwarten. Anders jedoch der, der sein Leben verwirklichen kann, welcher als חי חי bezeichnet wird. Die Formulierung ist wörtlich als „ein lebendiger Lebender“ zu verstehen. Damit dürfte der Mensch gemeint sein, der nicht vom Tod oder einer akuten Lebensminderung bedroht ist. Dem entspricht die Fortführung, dass diejenigen, deren Füße wanken,³² Gott preisen, wenn sie sein rettendes Tun erfahren, und die Aussage von 9.1–2, dass das Leben des Menschen allein in der Macht Gottes steht. Wenn

wahrscheinlich, das 11Q6 4 10 das םה enthielt. Auch an anderen Stellen entspricht der korrigierte Text von 11Q5 dem von 11Q6, vgl. 11Q5 XXIII 6 || 11Q6 7a–e 1 und 11Q5 XXIII 12 || 11Q6 7a–e 6.

²⁹ Es wäre dann nicht zu erklären, warum der Schreiber nicht auch die Suffixformen angleicht, wenn er sogar nach 11Q6 Matres lectionis nachgetragen hätte, vgl. 11Q5 XXIII 6. Auch dort ist der Grund möglicherweise, eine Doppeldeutigkeit zu vermeiden und אעבר eindeutig als ein Impf. G von עבר I zu bezeichnen.

³⁰ Möglicherweise liegt diese Konstruktion auch in 1QS IV 22 vor, wenn םהכמה םה zum folgenden להשכיל zu ziehen ist, wofür die poetisierende Sprache spricht.

³¹ Vgl. 4Q256 18 3; 4Q258 8 4; 4Q259 3 19.

³² םה entspricht biblisch-hebräisch מוט רגל, das mehrfach als Bild für eine Notlage begegnet, in der Gott (nicht) hilft, vgl. Dtn 32:35; Ps 38:17; 66:9; 94:18. Die Übersetzung „die laufen können“ (K. Berger, *Psalmen aus Qumran. Gebete und Hymnen vom Toten Meer* [Insel Taschenbuch 1897; Frankfurt a.M. und Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1997], 107) ist in keiner Weise philologisch zu rechtfertigen und verschleiert zudem, wie noch zu zeigen sein wird, den eigentlichen Aussagewillen des Textes.

der Mensch vom Tod errettet wird, so hat er dies eben allein Gott zu verdanken, der allein das Leben gibt. In der Tatsache der eigenen Bewahrung erkennt der Mensch den הסד und die צדקה Gottes und findet darin die Begründung zu seinem Lobpreis. Zugleich erweist sich der Dichter als ein Vertreter der Ansicht, dass nicht mit einem aktiven Nachleben des Menschen zu rechnen sei.

Von diesem Kontext her ist es deutlich, dass צדקה hier die Gemeinschaftstreue Gottes meint, die darin zum Ausdruck kommt, dass er, der Herr über das Leben, dieses dem Menschen gewährt. Die Parallelisierung mit הסד entspricht diesem Gedanken. So begegnet die Parallelisierung bzw. Zusammenstellung dieser beiden Termini auch mehrfach in den Psalmen im Kontext des rettenden oder erhaltenden Handelns Gottes.³³

10.1–2 (XIX 4b–5a)

Die Einheit ist in doppelter Hinsicht auffällig. Sowohl im folgenden Text als auch offenkundig im vorangehenden Teil spricht eine Einzelperson,³⁴ während hier eine Gruppe zu Wort kommt. Und kolometrisch lässt sich 10.1–2 nicht überzeugend in ein Bikolon (17:23!) oder Trikolon (17!:10:13) aufteilen. Zudem unterscheidet sich die Aussage deutlich durch ihre allgemeine Formulierung von der sehr bildreichen und konkreten Sprache der übrigen Teile des Psalms: Gott soll lediglich „handeln.“ Dieser Befund lässt sich damit erklären, dass hier ein sekundärer Einschub vorliegt. Man wird ihn wohl als eine Art Responsium der Gemeinde ansehen müssen, durch das sie sich das Gebet des Einzelnen zu eigen macht.

Möglicherweise spiegelt sich darin ein liturgischer Vorgang wider: Ein einzelner trägt dieses Gebet vor, das von seiner Errettung berichtet, und die Gemeinschaft fällt mit der Bitte ein, dass Gott an ihnen ebenso handeln soll. Entsprechend antizipiert der Abschnitt in 10.2 die Aussage von 16.1–2, dem er weitgehend parallel ist. So zitiert 10.2 de facto 16.1b–2 und ersetzt 16.1a durch eine passendere, allgemeinere Phrase. Durch die Zufügung כטובכה entsteht dabei ein zwar nicht strikt poetisches, aber dennoch poetisierendes Bikolon.

Wie oben angedeutet, hat 11Q6 4 7 hier einen kürzeren Text, wobei nur עמנו יהוה oder כרוב auf Grund ihrer Länge als Kandidaten

³³ Vgl. Ps 36:11; 103:17; ferner 88:12; 98:2–3; 119:40–41; 143:11–12; 145:7–8.

³⁴ Für den vorangehenden Abschnitt ergibt sich dies aus 11Q6 4 1 (= 4.2).

für ein Wort, das dort nicht erscheint, in Frage kommt. Da aber ohne **כְּרוּב** der Übergang zwischen **כְּמוֹבְכָה** und **רְחֵמִיכָה** recht hart wäre, ist kaum anzunehmen, dass dieses Wort dort fehlt, will man nicht von einem reinen Schreiberfehler ausgehen. Verständlich wäre jedoch eine Auslassung von **עַמְנוּ**, da dieses Wort den Sprecherwechsel signalisiert. Trifft dies zu, so beruht der Text auf einer weiteren Glättung, der die zu vermutende liturgische Situation nicht mehr deutlich war. Jedoch kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass stattdessen **יְהוָה** in 11Q6 fehlt.

In jedem Fall jedoch ist auch hier 11Q6 als spätere Textform anzusprechen. Abgesehen davon, dass ohne **יְהוָה** oder **עַמְנוּ** der Text kolometrisch noch schlechter ausgeglichen wäre, wäre es schwer verständlich, wenn ein späterer Bearbeiter durch die Zufügung des **עַמְנוּ** erst den Sprecherwechsel eingefügt oder aber den inhaltlich überflüssigen Gottesnamen hinzugefügt hätte.

11.1–12.2 (XIX 5b–8a)

Die Aufteilung von 11.1–12.2 in zwei Trikola³⁵ mit den Zeilenlängen 11:8:15 und 17:10:9 ist kolometrisch sicher abzulehnen. Vielmehr ergeben sich zwei klare Bikola mit guten Parallelismen membrorum.³⁶

In diesem Abschnitt wechselt jedoch die Sprechrichtung. Nicht mehr ist Gott der Adressat, sondern nun wird von ihm preisend berichtet. Jedoch ist es nicht nötig, diesen Abschnitt ebenfalls als sekundären Einschub zu werten. Geht man davon aus, dass das Stück im Gebet des Einzelnen ursprünglich direkt auf 9.2 folgte, so wird es als Zitat des Lobpreises deutlich, der angestimmt wird, wenn Gott den Taumelnden seine Treue erwiesen hat.³⁷ Ob dieses “Zitat” aus einem anderen Loblied entnommen wurde oder als Beispiel hier *ad hoc* formuliert wurde, ist letztlich nicht zu entscheiden. Die bilderreiche und konkrete Sprache, in der die Frommen als Liebende des Namens Gottes erscheinen, die mit seiner Treue und Erbarmen bekränzt werden, entspricht aber sehr gut dem Duktus des übrigen

³⁵ So Maier, *Die Qumran Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I*, 335.

³⁶ Vgl. Sanders, DJD IV, 77.

³⁷ Die präsentische Wiedergabe von **שָׁמַע** bei Berger, *Psalmen aus Qumran. Gebete und Hymnen vom Toten Meer*, 107 und M. Wise, M. Abegg, E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (Revised edition; San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 575 macht diesen Sachverhalt undeutlich.

Textes, so dass dieses ‐Zitat‐ eher vom Dichter selbst in Anlehnung an bekannte Lieder verfasst wurde (vgl. z.B. Ps 103:4).

13.1–16.2 (XIX 8b–11a)

13.1–16.2 entfalten die positive Aussage von 6.1–9.2 + 11.1–12.2 am Beispiel des eigenen Erlebens des Beters. Und wie der vorangegangene Text zeichnet sich auch dieser Abschnitt durch eine recht bilderreiche und konkrete Ausdrucksweise aus.

Dabei ist 15.1–2 ein Bericht darüber, wie der Beter durch seine eigene Sünde in den Machtbereich des Todes geraten ist, was auf 5.1–2 zurückverweist. 16.1–2 schildert dann die Rettung durch JHWH auf Grund seines Erbarmens. Auch hier wird deutlich, dass צדקה die Gemeinschaftstreue JHWHs bezeichnet, die sich in seinem Erbarmen manifestiert.

Jedoch ist 16.1 mit 21 Konsonanten deutlich zu lang. Aber auch seine Aufteilung in zwei Kola³⁸ ergibt mit 10:11(:13) keine Lösung, will man hier nicht auffällig kurze Kola und das Fehlen eines Parallelismus membrorum zwischen 16.1 und 2 annehmen. Eine Lösung ergibt sich aus der Beobachtung, dass 10.1–2 16.1–2 teilweise wörtlich aufnimmt. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass späteren Tradenten diese Parallelität auffiel. So wäre es nicht überraschend, wenn schließlich auch Elemente aus 10.1 nachträglich in 16.1 eingefügt worden wären. In Frage kommt hier nur יהיה, das auch in 10.1 begegnet, in 16.1 aber inhaltlich überflüssig ist. Ohne dieses ergibt sich zudem mit 17:13 ein überzeugendes Bikolon.

Die Beobachtung, dass dieser Abschnitt das zuvor Gesagte am eigenen Erleben des Beters exemplifiziert, gibt auch den Schlüssel für das rechte Verständnis von 13.1–2. Sanders übersetzte שאנה präsentisch, was jedoch der Pf.-Form nicht entspricht.³⁹ Insbesondere mit den folgenden Perfekta הייהי und מכרוני sowie dem Narrativ והצילני in 15.1–16.1 ist der Schluss unausweichlich, dass der Beter

³⁸ Vgl. Sanders, DJD IV, 77; Maier, *Die Qumran Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I*, 335.

³⁹ Vgl. Sanders, DJD IV, 78, ähnlich Berger, *Psalmen aus Qumran. Gebete und Hymnen vom Toten Meer*, 107 und Wise, Abegg, Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation*, 575. Ein Partizip ist hier eher unwahrscheinlich; dieses sollte als שאנה oder wahrscheinlicher sogar als שאנה erscheinen. Maier, *Die Qumran Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I* und F. García Martínez und E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 1175 geben hingegen das Pf. mit Vergangenheitsformen wieder.

davon spricht, dass seine נפש schon in seiner Todesverstrickung danach “brüllte,” JHWHs Namen zu loben. Man wird kaum fehl gehen, dies als einen Ausdruck der tiefen Sehnsucht anzusehen, der Todesverfallenheit zu entkommen und als Geretteter Gott loben zu können. Dem entspricht auch der Wunsch, “mit Jubel” die “Gnadenerweise” JHWHs zu preisen (13.2).⁴⁰

Unüberschbar sind dabei die Rückverweise auf den vorherigen Text. Inhaltlich wird der Gedanke aufgenommen, dass im Bereich des Todes kein Gotteslob vorhanden ist (6.1–2), aber der “wahrhaft Lebendige” und die Geretteten Gott preisen, da schließlich die נפש in der Hand Gottes ist (9.1). Wenn also die נפש des Beters danach “gebrüllt” hat, Gott zu loben, so ist es gerade der Teil seiner Existenz, die den rettenden הוה JHWHs begründet (8.1 + 13.2). Und der הוה JHWHs ist es, der diejenigen nicht verlässt, auf deren Stimme JHWH hört—weil sie seinen Namen lieben (11.1). Aber ein Mensch, der in seiner Todesverfangenheit sich danach sehnt, den Namen JHWHs wieder preisen zu können (13.1) ist sicher einer, der diesen liebt.

Mithin stellt sich der Beter als ein Beispiel dafür dar, dass der, der trotz seiner selbstverschuldeten Todesverfangenheit sich an JHWH hält, auf Rettung hoffen darf. Darin entspricht der Abschnitt auch dem Bußpsalm Ps 38, in dem der Beter sich auf Grund seiner eigenen Schuld am Rande des Todes befindet (V. 4–8) und “brüllend” (V. 9) sich an JHWH wendet, wobei er darauf vertraut, erhört zu werden (V. 16).

14.1–2 ist in mehrfacher Hinsicht auffällig. Um einen Parallelismus membrorum zu erhalten, müßte man לתהלתכה einerseits als ein mit ל eingeleitetes Objekt zum Infinitiv להניד ansehen, andererseits אין חקר entweder als Apposition zu תהלתכה oder adverbial auffassen: “zu verkünden . . . deinen unermesslichen Lobpreis” oder “zu verkünden . . . deinen Lobpreis ohne Ende.” Da aber die Einleitung eines Objektes zu einem Infinitiv mit ל sehr ungewöhnlich wäre und אין חקר mit ל offenkundig eine feststehende Phrase mit der Bedeutung “X ist unermesslich, unerforschbar” ist, kann diese Lösung nicht überzeugen.

⁴⁰ Auch hier verschleiert die “Übersetzung” des Textes bei Berger, *Psalmen aus Qumran. Gebete und Hymnen vom Toten Meer*, 107, die שאנה נפשי mit dem schwachen “Ich erhebe meine Stimme” wiedergibt und in 13.2 ברנה im Sinne eines ebenso abschwächenden “ein Lob zu singen” interpretiert, den eigentlichen Aussagewillen des Textes.

Auffällig ist auch, dass die 14.1–2 kein einziges der Leitwörter wie *צדקה*, *רחמים*, *חסד* oder *יְהוָה* Hi. aufweist, obwohl auch hier vom Handeln JHWHs und seinem Lobpreis die Rede ist. Schließlich wäre die Aussage, dass die *נפש* des Beters in seiner Not danach “brüllte,” Gottes Verlässlichkeit zu “verkünden,” nicht besonders passend in diesem Kontext. Zwar verkündet der Beter diese in seinem Psalm, aber dieser schaut auf die Errettung zurück.

Wenn somit 14.1–2 wohl als Zufügung anzusehen ist, gibt die letzte Beobachtung einen Hinweis, warum dieser Abschnitt hier eingefügt wurde. Ein späterer Leser hat wahrscheinlich die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von 13.1–2 nicht verstanden. Unter dem Eindruck der Verkündigung von JHWHs rettendem Handeln durch den Lobpreis des Beters interpretierte er dabei das Brüllen der Seele des Beters als dessen emphatischen Versuch, der Unermesslichkeit der zu rühmenden Taten JHWHs gerecht zu werden und sie zu verkünden. Mithin wird man 14.1–2 als eine zweiteilige Glosse zu 13.1–2 anzusprechen haben, die das ungewöhnliche Bild von 13.1 zu erläutern versucht.

17.1–18.2 (XIX 11b–13a)

Wie oben dargelegt wurde, impliziert 13.1–2, dass der Beter jemand ist, der JHWHs Namen liebt (vgl. 11.1–2) und als solcher wurde er von JHWH aus seiner selbstverschuldeten Todesnot errettet (15.1–16.2). Hierzu liest sich 17.1–2 wie ein Kommentar, der diesen Sachverhalt noch einmal mit einer wörtlichen Aufnahme von 11.1 verdeutlicht. Dabei ist auffällig, dass mit 16:11 das Bikolon unausgeglichen ist. Auch der Parallelismus zwischen beiden Kola ist im Vergleich zu den anderen Einheiten nur sehr schwach ausgeprägt. Zudem begegnet *נָס* sonst nur noch in 13.1 als nachträgliche Korrektur. Schließlich ist der Wechsel von *אֲנִי*, das ausweislich von 11Q6 4 2 (4.2) wohl im einleitenden Abschnitt benutzt wurde, zu *נָס* in 17.1 zu vermerken. All diese Beobachtungen sprechen dafür, dass in 17.1–2 eine weitere Glosse vorliegt.

Aber auch 18.1–2 ist wohl als eine spätere Zufügung anzusehen. Zwar sind die beiden Kola kolometrisch gut ausgeglichen, aber der Parallelismus zwischen ihnen ist ebenfalls sehr schwach ausgeprägt. 18.1 bringt vorausblickend zum Ausdruck, dass der Beter durch die Erinnerung an die Stärke JHWHs—die bisher keine Rolle gespielt hat—selbst gestärkt wird (Impf!), während 18.2 rückblickend konstatiert, dass er sich auf die erlebten Gnadenerweise gestützt hat (Pf!). Mit 18.1 wird dabei der Wunsch von 20.2 vorbereitet, dass der Beter

zukünftig nicht mehr durch ein Vergehen zu Fall kommen möge. Wie unten gezeigt werden wird, ist aber auch 20.2 Teil einer späteren Zufügung, die sich durch einen starken aramäischen Einfluss auszeichnet. Es dürfte aber kein Zufall sein, dass in 18.1 mit **תקף** ebenfalls ein aramäisches Wort vorliegt. Zwar begegnet **תקף** auch im Biblischen Hebräischen, bedeutet jedoch dort wie auch im rabbinischen Hebräischen “überwältigen.” Die hier vorliegende Bedeutung “stark werden, sein” ist sonst nur Aramäisch belegt. Schließlich bietet auch 18.2 wie 17.1 **אני** statt **אנוכי**.

19.1–20.4 (XIX 13b–16a)

Wenn der Beter erst jetzt um Sündenvergebung bittet, so zeigt sich hier ein sehr differenziertes Sündenverständnis. Zwar hat der Beter erkannt, dass es seine eigene Schuld war, die ihn dem Tod ausgeliefert hat (15.1–2), aber er wird “sola gratia” (16.1–2) von Gott gerettet. Vor der Folge der Sünde—dem Tod—ist er gerettet worden, aber er ist dadurch nicht sündlos geworden. So bedarf er nicht nur der Vergebung seiner Sünde (19.1–2), sondern auch eines neuen Geistes, damit er in Zukunft nicht wieder unter die Macht der Sünde gerät (20.1–4).

20.1–4 ist aber in mehrfacher Hinsicht auffällig. So fällt zunächst der mehrfache Subjektwechsel zwischen 2.m.sg. (20.1+3), 1.c.sg. (20.2) und 3.m.pl (20.4) auf. Die Übersetzung von 20.2 mit “and let me not be dishonoured in ruin”⁴¹ die für **אתקלה** von hebräisch **קללה** ausgeht und **עווה** statt **עויה** liest, ist zwar epigraphisch möglich, aber sachlich nicht überzeugend. Abgesehen davon, dass statt **עווה** (= *awwa*) eher **עוה** zu erwarten wäre, bezeichnet das Wort in Ezek 21:32 die Trümmer einer Zerstörung, was hier keinen Sinn gibt. Mithin ist die Lesung **עויה** “Sünde,” die schon Sanders erwogen hat,⁴² vorzuziehen. Jedoch ist **עויה** eindeutig ein aramäisches Wort. Aber auch die Verbindung von **אתקלה** mit **קללה** ist nicht überzeugend. Von der Grundbedeutung der Wurzel und ihrem Gebrauch in den Doppelungstämmen her wäre hier eine Bedeutung wie “verachtet, verflucht werden” anzunehmen.⁴³ Jedoch bietet wiederum das Aramäische hier

⁴¹ Sanders, DJD IV, 78, ähnlich Wise, Abegg, Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation*, 575.

⁴² Vgl. Sanders, DJD IV, 79.

⁴³ Vgl. den biblisch-hebräischen Gebrauch von **קלל** Piel/Pual und rabbinisch Nitpael in der Bedeutung “verflucht, geschmäht werden.”

eine Lösung, da לִקְל dort “straucheln” bedeutet.⁴⁴ Damit ergibt sich die Übersetzung “Nicht möge ich zu Fall kommen durch ein Vergehen,” die sich gut inhaltlich hier einpasst.⁴⁵ Jedoch bedeutet dies, dass hier ein erheblicher aramäischer Spracheinfluss zu konstatieren ist. Zudem bietet 20.2 keinen guten Parallelismus membrorum zu zu 20.1, sondern eher eine Folgerung aus 20.1.⁴⁶

20.4 ist mit 22 Konsonanten auffällig lang. Aber auch die allgemein akzeptierte Deutung von יִרְשׁוּ als eine Form von יִרְשׁ ist nicht unproblematisch. Normalerweise wird יִרְשׁ nicht mit ב konstruiert, sondern mit direktem Objekt.⁴⁷ Auch wäre ein absoluter Gebrauch ohne Objekt ungewöhnlich. Jedoch kennt das Aramäische die Wurzel רִשָּׁה , wobei ב רִשָּׁה jemanden bezeichnen kann, der Verfügungsgewalt über oder Anrecht auf etwas hat.⁴⁸ Dieser Ausdruck der traditionellen Rechtssprache war auch in Palästina bekannt.⁴⁹ Zudem begegnet רִשָּׁה dort auch in Verbindung mit שְׁלַט .⁵⁰ Schließlich belegen Mur. 22,4,⁵¹ 30,22⁵² und P.Yadin 44,24, dass רִשָּׁה dann auch in dieser Bedeutung Eingang in die hebräische Rechtssprache gefunden hat. Von diesem Befund her ist יִרְשׁוּ hier besser zu aramäisch רִשָּׁה zu stellen.

Der Befund, dass 20.2 und 4 aramäischen Spracheinfluss zeigen, korreliert mit einer weiteren Beobachtung. Wie oben ausgeführt, bietet 20.2 keine direkte Parallelaussage zu 20.1; hingegen steht aber der “unreine Geist” in einem antithetischen Parallelismus zu dem “Geist der Treue und des Wissens,” um den der Beter in 20.1 bittet. Von hierher ist wohl kaum zu bezweifeln, dass 20.1 und 20.2 das ursprüngliche Bikolon bildeten, dass einen recht guten Parallelismus membrorum aufweist und mit 17:19 auch kolometrisch ausgewogen ist.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Maier, *Die Qumran Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I*, der die Passage mit “Nicht möge ich straucheln über Ruinen” übersetzt. Aber dieses Bild ist in diesem Kontext völlig sinnlos—über welche Ruinen fürchtet der Beter zu straucheln?

⁴⁵ Vgl. auch García Martínez und Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1175: “Let me not stumble in transgression.”

⁴⁶ Dies wäre auch der Fall, wenn man der Deutung durch Sanders folgt.

⁴⁷ Die einzige mögliche Ausnahme wäre 4Q275 2 2, jedoch ist dort nicht nur der Text teilweise ergänzt, sondern auch der Kontext unklar.

⁴⁸ Vgl. J. Hoftijzer und K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (HdO I/XXI,1–2; Leiden, New York und Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 1086.

⁴⁹ Vgl. P.Yadin 7,15.53.63; 47,9; XHev/Se 8a,6f.; 50,12; Mur. 19,6.17.

⁵⁰ P.Yadin 7,15.20.26.53.63.68; 47b,6; XHev/Se 9,6.

⁵¹ Vgl. A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material* (2 vols.: A–B; Jerusalem: Ben Zion Dinur, 2000), A 47.

⁵² Vgl. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts*, A 51.

Hingegen sind 20.2+4 einer späteren Zufügung zuzurechnen, die starken aramäischen Spracheinfluss aufweist. Dabei kommentiert 20.2 offenkundig 20.1 dahingehend, dass die Bitte um die Gabe eines "Geistes der Treue und Wahrheit" den Sinn hat, dass der Beter zukünftig nicht mehr durch Sünde zu Fall kommen will.

20.4 paraphrasiert 20.3. So ersetzt *ירשו בעצמי* in 20.4 *בי חשלת* in 20.3 und macht damit deutlich, dass nach Meinung des Glossators die Aussage von 20.3 im Sinne des juristischen Gebrauchs von *חשלת* zu verstehen ist, wie er sich in Übereignungsurkunden findet, wo *חשלת* neben *רשה* begegnet. Dabei greift er wohl auch das Motiv aus 15.2 auf, dass der Beter durch seine Vergehen an die Scheol verkauft, d.h. übereignet worden war. So interpretiert er den Topos, dass JHWH keinen Satan oder unsauberen Geist über den Beter herrschen lassen möge, im Sinne einer Übereignung des Beters an diese Mächte. *יצר רע* erläutert dabei den sonst weder im AT noch in Qumran belegten Ausdruck *טמאה רווח* dahingehend, dass es sich hier nicht um irgendeine dämonische Macht handelt, sondern um den bösen Sinn, der den Beter wiederum in Sünde und damit in den Tod verstricken könnte.⁵³ Entsprechend wird *מכאוב* als Deutung von *שטן* anzusehen sein. Dem entspricht, dass *שטן* in 1QH^a XXII 25 im Kontext der Erwähnung von Plagen und Schmerzen (Z. 23) erscheint. Des Weiteren begegnet auch 2 Kor 12:7 und 1 Tim 1:20 Satan in Verbindung mit Schmerz oder als strafende Macht. Somit liegt hier wohl die Vorstellung zugrunde, dass *שטן* die Funktion einer strafenden Macht hat, der ein Sünder übereignet werden kann.

Es lässt sich aber fragen, ob *מכאוב* hier ursprünglich ist. Besser passen würde *מכאיב* im Sinne von "Peiniger." So steht zu vermuten, dass entweder der Schreiber, der ך und ך recht ähnlich und zuweilen nicht unterscheidbar schrieb, hier trotz der Beobachtung, dass die Lesung *מכאוב* epigraphisch wahrscheinlicher ist,⁵⁴ doch *מכאיב* intendierte oder aber ein ursprüngliches *מכאיב* zu *מכאוב* verlesen hat.

21.1–2 (XIX 16b–17a)

21.1–2 schließt den Bericht des Beters ab und greift dabei noch einmal zusammenfassend die zwei wesentlichen Elemente auf—den

⁵³ So ist es nach 4Q417 1 ii 12 die *מחשבת יצר רע*, die den Menschen verführt, und nach 4Q436 1a–b i 10 begegnet der *יצר רע* offenkundig als ein Oppositum zu einem "reinen Herzen", das Gott gibt.

⁵⁴ Dies ergibt ein Vergleich mit den anderen Schreibungen von *א* in 11Q5 XVIII 3, 4, 6; XIX 9, 10; XXII 5, 11, 14.

Lobpreis JHWHs, nach dem sich der Beter selbst in seiner Todesverfangenheit gesehnt hat und die sich darin manifestierende Hoffnung auf JHWH, die nicht getrogen hat. Dass nach 21.2 eine Abschnittsgrenze vorliegt, macht der folgende Text deutlich, der sich nun der Familie des Beters zuwendet, die sich mit ihm freuen soll.

Die besondere Funktion des Bikolons als zusammenfassender Abschluss des Ich-Berichts erklärt auch die Tatsache, dass hier ein stringenter Parallelismus *membrorum* fehlt. Will man nicht schematisch allein auf Grund dieser Tatsache das Bikolon als sekundär betrachten, so ist zu urteilen, dass hier der Dichter mit Hilfe des Parallelismus die Entsprechung zwischen Gotteslob und Vertrauen auf Gott zum Ausdruck bringt. Es ist das Vertrauen derjenigen, die JHWHs Namen lieben und die als solche erhört werden und sein Erbarmen finden (11.1–12.2). Und das eigene Erleben des Beters bestätigt dies (14.1–16.2), so dass er vertrauensvoll auch für die Zukunft um den Beistand JHWHs bitten kann (19.1–2; 20.1+3). So bringt 21.1–2 die untrennbare Einheit von Lob und Vertrauen durch das poetische Mittel des Parallelismus, der zwei Kola einer Einheit inhaltlich zusammenhält, zum Ausdruck.

22.1–24.2 (XIX 17b–19)

Auf Grund des Textverlustes am Ende des Psalms ist eine eindeutige kolometrische Aufteilung nicht mit Sicherheit zu rekonstruieren. Jedoch ist der Vorschlag von Sanders, die Kolagrenzen des folgenden Bikolon nach עמי und בהונכה,⁵⁵ mit Sicherheit falsch, da dadurch 22.2 mit 20 Konsonanten gegenüber 22.1 mit elf Konsonanten deutlich zu kurz würde. Aber auch die Annahme eines Trikolons mit 11:7:13 Konsonanten kann nicht überzeugen.⁵⁶

Gegen die Annahme, dass בהונכה zum Vorangehenden gehört sprechen aber auch einige weitere Beobachtungen. Die traditionelle Deutung von בהונכים בהונכה als “die über deine Huld staunen”⁵⁷ ist

⁵⁵ Vgl. Sanders, DJD IV, 77. In der Ansicht, das בהונכה zum Vorangehenden zu ziehen ist, folgen alle späteren Übersetzer Sanders.

⁵⁶ So Maier, *Die Qumran Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I*, 336, der die Kolagrenzen nach אמי und עמי setzt und auch בהונכה zu dieser Einheit zählt.

⁵⁷ So Maier, *Die Qumran Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer I*, 336; vgl. auch Sanders, DJD IV, 78 “who are astonished by thy gracious . . .” und Wise, Abegg, Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation*, 575: “amazed at Your favour”.

sprachlich nicht überzeugend. Zum einen ist שָׁמָּה eindeutig negativ denotiert und bezeichnet nicht ein “Staunen” oder “verwirrt sein”⁵⁸ über ein positives Ereignis. “Die Grundbedeutung der Wurzel läßt sich etwa durch die Ausdrücke ‘öde, vom Leben abgeschnitten sein’ fassen.”⁵⁹ Dabei bezeichnet das Verbum im Grundstamm hinsichtlich menschlicher Subjekte neben der subjektiv geprägten Bedeutung “erstarren, entsetzt sein” (< “sich wie leblos fühlen”)⁶⁰ auch die objektive Situation des Menschen, der von seinen Lebensmöglichkeiten abgeschnitten ist, wie z.B. eine geschändete oder unfruchtbare Frau (2 Sam 13:20; Jes 54:1). In Qumran begegnet שׁוֹמְמִים dann auch als Bezeichnung der “Kinder des Bundes” in ihrer Hilflosigkeit (4Q504 1 2) und Bedrohung. Mithin wird hier die Familie des Beters als solche beschrieben, die entweder über etwas entsetzt oder aber ihrerseits in einem Zustand der Verzweiflung oder Bedrängnis ist, der sie verstört.

הָיָה in der Bedeutung “Gnade(nerweis)” wäre ein Hapax legomenon, will man hier nicht הָיָה lesen und die Wiedergabe eines Kurzvokals mit Mater lectionis annehmen. Jedoch ergibt sich von הוֹנֵכָה, das 1QJes^a für MT הוֹנֵכָה in Jes 30,18 bietet, die Möglichkeit, בהוֹנֵכָה hier als ה + Inf. Qal von הָיָה + Sf. 2.m.sg. zu deuten.⁶¹

Sicher nicht zufällig ist die sich dadurch ergebende Parallele zu 7.2 und 8.1. 7.2 spricht von denen, deren Füße taumeln, was inhaltlich שׁוֹמְמִים in der Bedeutung “verzweifelt” oder “in Bedrängnis sein” entspricht. Und wenn dort diese Taumelnden Gott loben werden, so sollen hier die “Verzweifelten” oder “Bedrängten” sich freuen. Der Grund für das Lob wird in 8.1 dann aber mit ה + Inf. + Sf. 2. m.sg.

⁵⁸ In diese Richtung weist die Übersetzung bei García Martínez und Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1175: “who are baffled by your favour”.

⁵⁹ F. Stolz, “שָׁמָּה, *smm* öde liegen,” *THAT* 2:971.

⁶⁰ Stolz, “שָׁמָּה, *smm* öde liegen,” 971.

⁶¹ Da das Biblisch-Hebräische (Jes 30:18; Ps 102:14) sowie 4Q163 23 ii 8 sonst die Inf.-Form nach הָיָה aufweisen (der Beleg in 4Q163 23 ii 8 ist zwar teilweise zerstört, aber eine Lesung לְהוֹנֵכָה מִן הַיָּד לְהוֹנֵכָה מִן הַיָּד wäre epigraphisch nicht haltbar), kann man wohl kaum die Lesung in 1QJes^a als die gewöhnlichere Form bezeichnen (so Nötscher, “Entbehrliche Hapaxlegomena in Jesaja,” *VT* 1 [1951]: 299), auch wenn im Hebräischen sonst der Inf. Qal von Wurzeln II = II gern nach *qull* gebildet wird. Eine entsprechende Bildung von הָיָה begegnet sonst erst wieder im rabbinischen Hebräischen (Sifre Num. 21). Mithin kann diese Übereinstimmung unseres Textes mit dem Jesaja-Manuskript 1QJes^a, das im 2. Jhdt. v.Chr. geschrieben wurde (vgl. die Angaben bei B. Webster, “Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert,” in *DJD* XXXIX, 365), als weiteres Indiz für die Abfassung des Grundtextes in diesem Jahrhundert gewertet werden.

eingeführt: “wenn du ihnen deine Huld kundtust,” was בְּהוֹנֵכָה “wenn du gnädig bist” entspricht.

All diese Beobachtungen sprechen eindeutig dafür, dass 22.1–23.2 offenkundig eine Aufnahme des Gedankens von 7.1–8.2 ist. Mithin ist nicht nur aus kolometrischen Gründen die Grenze zwischen den beiden Bikola zwischen הַשּׁוֹמְמִים und בְּהוֹנֵכָה anzunehmen.

Fraglich ist, wie weit 23.2 reichte. Möglicherweise gehörte das mit לֵאמֹר-⁶² endende Wort noch dazu, wodurch sich ein Bikolon mit insgesamt ca. 30 Konsonanten ergibt. Da aber auch ein etwas kürzeres Bikolon möglich wäre, kann hier keine endgültige Entscheidung getroffen werden. Wie dem auch sei—בְּכֹה־אֲשַׁמְדָּה gehört sicher zu 24.1. Da voraussichtlich zu Beginn von Z. 20 der Text von Ps 139 einsetzte,⁶³ bleibt für den Rest des Textes nur noch eine Zeile, was für ein weiteres Bikolon zu kurz wäre. Mithin dürfte 24.1–2 den Abschluss des Textes gebildet haben.

Zusammenfassung

Die Analyse des erhaltenen Textes führt zu folgenden Ergebnissen: Es ist zu unterscheiden zwischen der ursprünglichen Textgestalt und späteren Zusätzen, die sich nicht nur durch die Störung der poetischen Struktur, sondern vielfach auch durch eine abweichende Sprachform, stilistische Abweichungen und inhaltliche Differenzen zu erkennen geben.

Der ursprüngliche Text war in Bikola abgefasst, die zwischen 25 und 36 Konsonanten aufweisen. Die Länge der einzelnen Kola liegt zwischen 11 und 19 Konsonanten, wobei aber die Abweichung vom jeweiligen Mittelwert maximal 15,15 % beträgt. Die Bikola weisen durchweg einen guten Parallelismus membrorum auf—lediglich 16.1–2 bietet hier eine Abweichung, die aber durch die besondere Funktion des Bikolons als zusammenfassender Abschluss erklärt werden kann. Geprägt ist der Text durch einen sehr bildhaften und konkreten Stil.

⁶² Die Ergänzung zu לֵאמֹר-⁶², die García Martínez und Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1174 vorschlagen (vgl. aber auch schon Sanders, *DJD IV*, 78; Berger, *Psalmen aus Qumran. Gebete und Hymnen vom Toten Meer*, 108; Wise, Abegg, Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation*, 575), ist gut möglich, aber auf Grund des fehlenden Kontextes nicht ausreichend sicher.

⁶³ Vgl. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum*, 49.

Der erhaltene Text lässt sich in folgende Abschnitte gliedern:

A) 6.1–9.2+11.1–12.2: JHWH wird durch die Lebenden gepriesen, die in seinem Leben erhaltenden Handeln ihn als Herrn des Lebens erkennen. Dabei lässt 7.2 erkennen, dass hier gerade auch Menschen in einer unsicheren oder angefochtenen Situation in den Blick genommen werden. 11.1–12.2 stellt innerhalb dieses Abschnittes eine eigene Einheit dar, die das Lob derjenigen zitiert, die JHWHs Rettungshandeln erfahren haben, wobei zugleich impliziert wird, dass sie seinen Namen geliebt haben. Sie sind es, die erhört werden.

B) 13.1–2+15.1–2+16.1*–2+19.1–2+20.1+3+21.1–2: Der Beter, der auch seine Hoffnung auf JHWH gesetzt hat (21.2) und in den Lobpreis einstimmen wollte (13.1–2), erzählt von seiner Errettung durch JHWH. Somit exemplifiziert er die Aussage des vorangegangenen Textes. Dabei findet sich in 19.1–2+20.1+3 die einzige Bitte im erhaltenen Text, die sich auf die Zukunft richtet und die Befreiung von Schuld und Begnadung mit einem guten Geist erbittet. So verlässt sich der Beter auch für die Zukunft nicht auf seine eigene Kraft, sondern auf den Beistand Gottes.

C) 22.1–24.2.: Zum Abschluss wendet sich der Beter indirekt seiner Familie oder Gemeinschaft zu, die ihrerseits offenkundig verzweifelt oder in Bedrängnis ist. Sie soll sich mit dem Beter freuen können, wobei 23.1 offenkundig wieder auf das gnädige Handeln JHWHs rekurriert.

Aus dieser Übersicht ergibt sich eindeutig, dass der Text sicher kein “Plea for Deliverance” ist. Aber auch als Lobpsalm wird man ihn nicht ansprechen können, obwohl der Lob JHWHs eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Jedoch wird im erhaltenen Text, abgesehen von dem “Zitat” in 11.1–12.2, JHWH nicht direkt gelobt. Der Schlüssel zum Verständnis dürfte aber in der Erwähnung der “Taumelnden” und “Verzweifelten” in 7.2 und 22.2 liegen. Offenkundig richtet sich der Text indirekt an diese und will ihnen Mut machen: Sie sollen sich mit ihm freuen, was impliziert, dass auch sie in ihrer Bedrängnis, die sie verzweifelt macht und taumeln lässt, in das Gotteslob einstimmen.⁶⁴ Hierin liegt auch ihre Hoffnung, denn, wie das Beispiel des Beters

⁶⁴ 22.1–2 ist offenkundig keine Fürbitte im dem Sinne, dass der Beter JHWH bittet, dass nun auch seine bedrängten Brüder sich freuen können sollen. Vielmehr macht עֲמִי in 22.1 deutlich, dass sie in *sein* Lob einstimmen sollen.

in B) und seine allgemeinere Ausführungen in A) zeigen, können diejenigen, die JHWHs Namen lieben und an seinem Lobpreis festhalten, mit seiner Hilfe rechnen.

Dieser Deutung entspricht gut die Datierung des ursprünglichen Textes in das 2. Jhdt. v.Chr., die durch einige sprachliche Besonderheiten nahe gelegt wird. So passt der Psalm recht gut in die Makkabäerzeit und kann in diesem Kontext als eine indirekte Aufforderung an die bedrängten und vielleicht auch unsicher gewordenen Frommen verstanden werden, an der Liebe zu JHWHs Namen und seinem Lobpreis festzuhalten und auf die Rettung durch ihn zu hoffen.

In dieses allgemeine Bild passt sich auch gut die Selbstbezeichnung des Beters als לָרָע "Geringer, Schwacher" ein, die 11Q6 4 2 bietet (4.2). Es ist auffällig, dass sowohl im AT als auch in den Texten aus Qumran eine solche Bezeichnung nicht in Bittgebeten begegnet, sondern in Schilderungen des Rettungshandelns oder der Macht JHWHs.⁶⁵ Und nach Zeph 3:12 ist es gerade das elende und geringe Volk, das JHWH als Rest übrig lässt und das auf ihn vertraut. Mithin ist zu vermuten, dass diese Selbstbezeichnung des Beters als eine Anspielung auf den Topos verstanden werden will, dass gerade der לָרָע seine Hoffnung auf JHWH setzen kann.

Die Ergänzung 10.1–2, in der eine Gruppe JHWH bittet, nach seiner Gnade an ihnen zu handeln, entspricht darin dem Anliegen des ursprünglichen Textes, dass sie auf seine implizite Aufforderung an die verzweifelten oder bedrängten "Brüder" des Beters antwortet, ihre Hoffnung auf JHWH nicht aufzugeben. Zudem spricht sie für einen liturgischen Gebrauch des Psalms im Rahmen eines gemeinschaftlichen Gebets, was auch seine implizite Ausrichtung auf eine Gemeinschaft widerspiegelt. Mithin wird diese Ergänzung wohl relativ früh in einem Stadium aufgenommen worden sein, in der dem Psalm noch in seiner ursprünglichen Aussagerichtung im Gebrauch war.

Einen völlig anderen Charakter haben die Zufügungen 14.1–2, 17.1–18.2 und 20.2+4. So liest sich 17.1–18.2 und 20.2+4 wie ein Kommentar zu 13.1–2, 15.1–11.2 und 20.1+3, der klarstellt, dass sich der Beter als einer, der JHWHs Name liebt, sich unter seinen Schutz begeben hat und aus dieser Erfahrung heraus die Kraft gewinnt, dass er nicht unter die Macht des Bösen gerät. Mithin betont er im

⁶⁵ Vgl. 1 Sam 2:8 || Ps 113:7; Jes 14:30; 25:4; Hi 5:16; 34:28; 4Q418 126 ii 7; 4Q434 1 i 2; 4Q436 1a+b i 1.

Gegensatz zum ursprünglichen Text das Handeln und die Haltung des Beters, wobei die Rettung “sola gratia” aus der Todesbedrohung, in die der Beter durch seine Sünde geraten war, in den Hintergrund tritt. Diese Akzentverschiebung lässt sich leicht aus einer veränderten Situation erklären, in der die Bedrohung der Frommen keine große Rolle mehr spielte. So ist es dem Theologen, der hier zu Wort kommt, wichtiger zu betonen, dass der Beter die Erinnerung an die Rettungserfahrung nutzt, der Macht des Bösen zu trotzen. Dabei zeigt auch der starke aramäische Einfluss auf die Sprache des Zusatzes, dass hier ein anderer Autor zu Wort kommt.

Möglicherweise steht aber auch Ps 119:131–133 im Hintergrund dieses “Kommentars.” Es ist nicht zu übersehen, dass dort verwandte Motive zu 13.1–20.3 begegnen. So erinnert das Bild, das der Beter seinen Mund aufgesperrt hat und lechzend sich nach Gottes Gebot sehnt (V. 131) an 13.1–2, während die Bitte um die Gnade Gottes nach dem Recht derer, die JHWHs Namen lieben (V. 132), die Rettungserfahrung des Beters widerspiegelt (16.1–2), der sich implizit auch als einer darstellt, der JHWHs Namen liebt (11.1). Und V. 133b bittet dann darum, dass JHWH keinem Unrecht über dem Beter Macht geben soll (אל השלט, vgl. 20.3). Entsprechend betont der “Kommentar” in 17.1–18.2, dass der Beter wirklich jemand ist, der JHWHs Namen liebte und sich bei ihm geborgen hat, während 20.2 die Bitte von V. 133a aufgreift, dass JHWH die Schritte des Beters durch sein Wort festmachen soll, wobei dies zugleich auch an 7.2 erinnert.

17.1–18.2 und 20.2+4 zeigen zudem eine poetisierende Tendenz, ohne jedoch die Gleichmäßigkeit der Kolalängen und den strikten Parallelismus membrorum des Grundtextes zu erreichen.

Hiervon hebt sich 14.1–2 in zweifacher Hinsicht ab. So weist dieser Zusatz keinerlei aramäischen Einfluss und auch keinen Parallelismus auf und kommentiert zudem den Text nicht, sondern gibt 13.1–2 als Zusatz eine andere Aussagerichtung. Mithin dürfte dieser Zusatz von einem anderen Autor stammen, dem wahrscheinlich 17.1–18.2 und 20.2+4 schon vorlagen. Die Fehlinterpretation von 13.1–2 bot sich besonders nach der Einfügung von 17.1–18.2 an, die die Rettung nachträglich mit dem Verweis auf das Lieben von JHWHs Namen begründet. Mithin dürfte 14.1–2 einem späteren Ergänzter zuzuweisen sein.

Schließlich zeigen die Korrekturen im Manuskript von 11Q5 und die kleinen Abweichungen in 11Q6, dass der Psalm als literarisches Werk die marginalen Überarbeitungen erfahren hat, die sich allent-

halben in der Überlieferung antiker Texte finden. Diesen lässt sich dann auch die offenkundige Erweiterung von 11.1 mit יְהוָה zuordnen.

Somit ist 11Q5 XIX ein schönes Beispiel für die Geschichte eines Textes, die die unterschiedlichen historischen Situationen widerspiegelt, in denen er zur Sprache kommt.

MOSE UND DIE PROPHETEN:
ZUR INTERPRETATION VON 4QMMT C

Reinhard G. Kratz
Göttingen

Das "Lehrschreiben" 4QMMT (4Q394–399) liegt seit 1994 in einer ersten kritischen Edition vor.¹ In ihr ist vor allem der Sprache dieses wichtigen Texts sowie dem halachischen Teil B größte Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Über die Halacha handeln zwei überaus erhellende Beiträge: eine ausführliche Kommentierung sämtlicher Halachot von 4QMMT durch den Herausgeber E. Qimron und eine materialreiche Studie über die Geschichte der Halacha von Y. Sussmann.² Wie der zweite Herausgeber, J. Strugnell, in einem Anhang erklärt, fehlt jedoch ein Kapitel über den homiletisch-paränetischen Teil C: "Such an important study remains to be done."³ Mit diesem Beitrag sei ein Anfang gemacht. Ich widme ihn außer Émile Puech, dem begnadeten Epigraphiker, auch Hartmut Stegemann, dem Meister der materiellen Rekonstruktion, den ich im März des Jahres 2005 nach Jerusalem in die École Biblique et Archéologique Française begleiten durfte, um gemeinsam mit ihm und Émile Puech an 4QMMT und anderen Dingen zu arbeiten. Für Hartmut Stegemann war es nach längerer Unterbrechung wieder das erste und zugleich das letzte Mal, daß er an den geliebten Ort kam, den er seit rund 40 Jahren regelmäßig aufgesucht hatte, um in der klösterlichen Abgeschiedenheit und herzlichen

¹ E. Qimron und J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). Als "Lehrschreiben" bezeichne ich den Text auf der Basis von C 10 (4Q397 14–21, 10; 4Q398 14–17 i 2) und C 26 (4Q398 14–17 ii 2; 4Q399 i 10).

² DJD X, 123–77 und 179–200. Vgl. auch E. Qimron, "The Nature of the Reconstructed Composite Text of 4QMMT," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (Hg. J. Kampen und M. J. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 9–13, 12f.

³ DJD X, 205. Auch die Studie von H. von Weissenberg, "4QMMT—Towards an Understanding of the Epilogue," *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 29–45 hält nicht, was der Titel verspricht. Sie findet in der Komposition von 4QMMT das Bundesformular des Deuteronomiums abgebildet, das die beiden divergierenden Teile B und C zusammenhalte.

Gemeinschaft der gelehrten Brüder die Handschriften vom Toten Meer zu studieren. Am 22. August 2005 ist er im Alter von 72 Jahren verstorben.

1. Schriftbezüge in 4QMMT

4QMMT geht in seinem dritten Teil C ausdrücklich auf Bestand und Bedeutung der als autoritativ angesehenen biblischen Bücher ein, auf die in dem Schreiben implizit angespielt wird und die explizit zitiert werden. Folgt man DJD 10, handelt es sich nicht nur um die Tora (C 24.27.28), das "Buch des Mose" (C 6.10f.17.21), sondern auch um die "Bücher der Propheten" (C 10.17) und um "David," d.h. den Psalter, irgendeine andere davidische Sammlung oder, wie man gemeint hat,⁴ die Hagiographen (C. 10.17). Und anders als in B werden in C nicht *dicta probantia* für die Halacha zusammengetragen, sondern die biblische Geschichte in Erinnerung gerufen und das Studium der biblischen Bücher empfohlen.

Die Reflexionen über die Schrift und ihren Gebrauch scheinen mir ein Schlüssel zum Verständnis jenes dritten Teils und des ganzen Werkes in der uns erhaltenen Gestalt zu sein. Im Folgenden sei darum zunächst der Schriftgebrauch von 4QMMT selbst untersucht. In Anknüpfung an Bernstein und Brooke⁵ werde ich die expliziten, durch Zitationsformel eingeführten Schriftzitate durchmustern, wobei es mir auf die Funktion der Zitate für die Komposition von 4QMMT sowie die bisher wenig beachteten Unterschiede zwischen B und C ankommt, die die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang der beiden Teile aufwerfen.

Die erste bezeugte⁶ Zitationsformel findet sich in B 27 (4Q394 3-7 ii 14) im Rahmen der Halacha über den Opferort in B 27-35. Eingeleitet durch *שם כהובן* [ועל], wird Lev 17:3 zitiert und der in Lev

⁴ DJD X, 59 Anm. zu Z. 10.

⁵ Vgl. M.J. Bernstein, "The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, 29-51; G.J. Brooke, "The Explicit Presentation of Scripture in 4QMMT," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995: Published in Honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden, New York, and Köln: 1997), 67-88.

⁶ Die Formel wird meistens auch in B 10 (4Q394 3-7 i 13) ergänzt; doch vgl. Brooke, "The Explicit Presentation of Scripture," 71.

17:4 erwähnte richtige Ort des Opfers, der Eingang zum Zelt der Begegnung, mit der Richtungsangabe “im Norden des Lagers” (vgl. Lev 1:11) umschrieben. Das Zitat dient als Ausgangspunkt für weitere, durch וְאֵלֵינוּ הוֹשְׁבִים ש eingeleitete und damit als Gesetzesauslegung gekennzeichnete Erläuterungen zur genauen Identifizierung des in Lev 17 genannten “Lagers” (מִדְּהַנָּה). Ausdrücklich wird das “Lager” mit Jerusalem und dem in Dtn 12 geforderten zentralen Kultort, dem Ort, den Jhwh aus allen Stämmen Israels erwählt hat (vgl. Dtn 12:5.11.14), gleichgesetzt, in dem auch das Heiligtum, das Zelt der Begegnung von Lev 17:4, situiert wird.⁷ Auffallend an dieser Halacha ist der Umstand, daß sie eine Schriftstelle und nicht, wie sonst üblich, einen Kasus zum Gegenstand hat.⁸ Im Hintergrund dieser Auslegung von Lev 17 dürfte die terminologische Unausgewogenheit sowie die uneindeutige Formulierung von Dtn 12 gestanden haben. Die Auslegung gleicht, um mit der modernen Wissenschaft zu sprechen, die unterschiedliche Terminologie von Dtn und P ab. Sie beseitigt damit Unklarheiten und weist vermutlich auch konkurrierende Lokalisierungen des “Lagers” sowie entsprechende Interpretationen von Lev 17:3f ab.

Ein Rätsel gibt die nächste Zitationsformel in B 38 (4Q394 8 iii 8–9; 4Q396 1–2 i 4) auf: וְהַדְּבַר כְּתוּב עֲבָרָה. Meier findet darin ein nichtbiblisches Zitat und übersetzt: “Und (es steht) das Wort geschrieben: ‘ein Trächtiges/ihr(en) Fötus’”;⁹ Qimron dagegen faßt das כְּתוּב als Verweis auf die vorher assoziierte Bibelstelle Lev 22:28 auf und übersetzt: “And the ruling refers (to) a pregnant animal.”¹⁰ Letzteres dürfte das Richtige treffen, insofern es in B 36–38 tatsächlich um den in Lev 22:28 geregelten Fall eines Muttertiers und seines Jungen beim Opfern bzw. Schlachten geht. Die Halacha stützt sich wiederum auf eine Bestimmung der Tora, die im Text wörtlich anklingt und regelrecht erklärt wird (וְאֵלֵינוּ הוֹשְׁבִים ש). Der Anlaß könnte eine aktuelle Diskussion über den Stellenwert des ungeborenen Lebens gewesen

⁷ Vgl. noch B 58–62; 11QT LII 13–16 und dazu DJD X, 143–47.

⁸ Vgl. וְעַל bzw. וְעַל יְהוָה in B [3.5].8.[9].13.[18].21.24.[36.37.49].52.55.62.64.72. 75.76.77; C 4.

⁹ J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer II* (UTB 1863; München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1995), 365.367; ebenso F. García Martínez und E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 2:793.797.

¹⁰ DJD X, 50f.141.157f; vgl. auch Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture,” 40–41; Brooke, “The Explicit Presentation of Scripture,” 72–73.

sein. Der Fall des Muttertiers und seines Jungen wird wie in 11QT LII 5–7 auf das trächtige Tier übertragen und darüber hinaus im Blick auf den Verzehr der Leibesfrucht geregelt. So leitet die Formel hier kein Zitat ein, sondern bezieht sich auf den vorher angeführten Bibeltext, der auf einen neuen Fall Anwendung findet: “Und das Wort (oder: die Sache) ist geschrieben von einem schwangeren (Tier).” Auch die schriftkonforme Auslegung der Schrift fällt demnach unter das Schriftzitat.

Die beiden folgenden expliziten Schriftbezüge in B 66 (4Q394 8 iv 16; 4Q396 1–2 iii 6; 4Q397 6–13, 7) und B 70 (4Q396 1–2 iii 10; 4Q397 6–13, 9) gehören in den Abschnitt über den Aussatz (B 64–72) und sind, obwohl der Text nicht gut erhalten ist, leichter zu identifizieren. Die erste Stelle zitiert Lev 14:8f, die zweite spielt auf Lev 4:13f bzw. 5:2f sowie Num 15:27–31 an. Mit dem zweiten Schriftbezug wird die Halacha unter eine besonders scharf formulierte Strafandrohung gestellt. Was den Fall so gewichtig macht, geht aus dem ersten Schriftbezug und seiner mit $\text{שְׁמֵנוֹ אֵלֵינוּ מֵאֵלֵינוּ}$ (B 64) eingeleiteten Kommentierung hervor. Der Kommentar stellt unter Berufung auf die Schrift, aber gegen die zitierte Schriftstelle klar, daß der Aussätzige während der siebentägigen Frist, die er nach der Reinigung und dem Eintritt in das Lager “außerhalb seines Zeltens,” d.h. seines Hauses, verbringen soll, keineswegs “rein” ist und daher auch nicht mit Reinem in Berührung kommen und z.B. vom Heiligen (Opferfleisch) essen darf (B 64f.67f.71). Auch hier dürfte eine aktuelle Diskussion über die gängige, in 4QMMT kritisierte Praxis den Anstoß zur Gesetzeserläuterung gegeben haben,¹¹ hinter der sich ein exegetisches Problem verbirgt. Die Formulierung in B 65f und B 71f führt nämlich auch auf Lev 13:46. Danach soll der Aussätzige während der ganzen Zeit seiner Unreinheit abgesondert “außerhalb des Lagers” wohnen. Das wirft, zumal wenn unter dem “Lager” Jerusalem verstanden wird, für Lev 14:8–9 die Frage auf, ob der Aussätzige nach seiner ersten Reinigung und seinem Wiedereintritt ins Lager tatsächlich schon rein ist oder nicht, wenn er doch weitere sieben Tage außerhalb seines Zeltens (seiner Wohnung) verbringen und sich ein weiteres Mal reinigen muß, um danach ein zweites und nach dem Opfer am achten Tag (Lev 14:10–20) ein drittes Mal für rein er-

¹¹ Vgl. DJD X, 166–70; etwas anders Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture,” 43f.

klärt zu werden. 4QMMT löst das Problem in der Weise, daß der Aussätzige mit Lev 13:46 die ganze Zeit isoliert (בַּדֵּד) bleiben muß, die Isolation aber—wohl innerhalb des Lagers (der Stadt)—auf die Absonderung von allem Reinen und Heiligen in der Stadt, im Tempel wie in den Wohnhäusern bezogen und damit verschärft wird.¹²

Eine Verschärfung oder wenigstens Klarstellung bedeutet auch die Kommentierung (אֲנַחְנוּ אֹמְרִים שֶׁ) des “Gesetzes für den Toten oder den Gefallen” in B 72–74, die sich auf Num 19:16–18 zu beziehen scheint. Worin genau die Klarstellung besteht, hängt von der Ergänzung der Textlücke in 4Q396 1–2 iv 2 ab.¹³ Deutlich ist, daß es um die Beschaffenheit des Knochens eines Toten geht, die—vermutlich entgegen anderslautender Auslegungen—für 4QMMT keine Bedeutung hat.

Die beiden letzten erhaltenen expliziten Schriftbezüge des halachischen Teils betreffen nicht den Gegenstand der Halacha, sondern haben dienende Funktion in der Argumentation über die Mischehen in B 75–82. Die Verweise auf die Schrift folgen unmittelbar aufeinander in B 76–78 (4Q396 1–2 iv 5–7; 4Q397 6–13, 13f) und sollen zweierlei belegen: erstens die Heiligkeit Israels, die vielleicht wörtlich aus Jer 2:3 zitiert, vielleicht aber auch aus dem gesamtbiblischen Befund abgeleitet ist (Ex 19:6; Lev 19:2; 21:15);¹⁴ zweitens die Unverträglichkeit zweier verschiedener Arten in dem Mischzitat aus Lev 19:19 und Dtn 22:9–10. Beides dient als Beleg dafür, daß Israel heilig ist und die “Söhne Aarons,” d.h. die Priester, ebenfalls heilig bzw. hochheilig¹⁵ sind und sich darum nicht vermischen dürfen. Der Kasus selbst ist am Anfang und in der mit וְאֵהָם יִדְעִים (B 80) eingeleiteten Polemik gegen Teile der Priesterschaft und des Volkes benannt: “Unzucht inmitten des Volkes” und illegitime “Vermischung,” die den heiligen Samen verunreinigen. Der biblische Spendertext hierfür dürfte das Gesetz über die Ehe des Hohenpriesters in Lev 21:13–15 sein. In 4QMMT wird diese Bestimmung auf alle Priester

¹² Zur Verschärfung trägt auch die zeitliche Präzisierung “bis zum Sonnenuntergang am achten Tag” (vgl. Lev 22:4–8) bei.

¹³ Vgl. DJD X, 170f.

¹⁴ Vgl. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture,” 45 und Brooke, “The Explicit Presentation of Scripture,” 74–75 einerseits, DJD X, 55 andererseits.

¹⁵ So mit der Ergänzung der Textlücke in B 79 nach DJD X, 56; vgl. auch Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener II*, 369.372; García Martínez und Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:798.800.

sowie die Ehen zwischen Priestern und Volk oder, je nachdem, wie man die Textlücke am Ende von B 80 füllt, auf sämtliche Ehen im Volk und in der Priesterschaft angewandt.¹⁶

Zusammenfassend läßt sich festhalten, daß die expliziten ebenso wie die hier nicht behandelten impliziten Schriftbezüge im halachischen Teil B von 4QMMT¹⁷—vielleicht mit einer Ausnahme (B 76/Jer 2:3²)—ausschließlich auf die Tora des Mose und hier vor allem auf das Buch Leviticus zurückgreifen. Das versteht sich angesichts der priesterlichen Interessen und Überzeugungen der Halacha in 4QMMT zwar von selbst, ist aber auch in literatur- und theologischeschichtlicher Hinsicht interessant, insofern 4QMMT damit nahtlos an die jüngeren und jüngsten gesetzlichen Partien des Pentateuchs anschließt, die ihrerseits von einer lebendigen halachischen Diskussion unter den Schriftgelehrten zeugen und im Zuge eines innerbiblischen Auslegungs- und Fortschreibungsprozesses entstanden sind.¹⁸

Auffallend ist auch, daß der Bezugspunkt, die Tora des Mose, nie beim Namen genannt wird. Es reicht das anonyme כְּתוּב,¹⁹ das auf das Gesetz und seine Autorität verweist.²⁰ Die entsprechende Schriftstelle wird mehr oder weniger frei zitiert. Zur Identifizierung reicht oft eine kleine wörtliche Anspielung, die sich nur demjenigen erschließt, der den Text auswendig beherrscht oder—wie wir heute—eine Konkordanz zur Hand hat. Auch solche feinen Anspielungen begegnen schon im literarischen Werden der biblischen Bücher und dienen der innerbiblischen Auslegung.²¹ In 4QMMT kann man beobachten, wie diese Technik in der externen Schriftauslegung weiterlebt.

¹⁶ Zur Diskussion vgl. DJD X, 171–75, bes. 171 Anm. 178a; Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture,” 46.

¹⁷ Vgl. DJD X, 136 und die Behandlung im einzelnen ebd., 147ff; Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture,” 36–38; Brooke, “The Explicit Presentation of Scripture,” 82–85.

¹⁸ Vgl. dazu R.G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments. Grundwissen der Bibelkritik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 99ff (englische Fassung 2005, 97ff).

¹⁹ Zu den verschiedenen in den Qumran-Schriften verwendeten Zitierformeln vgl. A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b})* (STDJ 13; Leiden: E.J. Brill 1994), 170–89, hier 172–74 zu 4QMMT.

²⁰ Auch B 52f (4Q394 8 iv 2f) spricht nur sehr allgemein von verschiedenen Typen von Gesetzen: הוֹק [וּמִשְׁפָּט וּפְדוּתָהּ] הוֹק יִשְׂרָאֵל; כְּמִשְׁפָּט הַמָּה אֵין הוֹלֵל. Vgl. B 74 (4Q396 1–2 iv 3; 4Q397 6–13, 11): כְּמִשְׁפָּט הַמָּה אֵין הוֹלֵל.

²¹ Vgl. M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); R.G. Kratz, “Innerbiblische Exegese und Redaktionsgeschichte im Lichte empirischer Evidenz,” in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* (R.G. Kratz; FAT 42; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 126–56.

Die externe Schriftauslegung gibt sich in 4QMMT ausdrücklich zu erkennen. Gleich zu Beginn von B wird deutlich gemacht, daß es sich bei den Anweisungen zur Praxis der Tora, den מִקְצַת דְּבָרֵי הַלְבָּעִשִׁים (vgl. מִקְצַת מַעֲשֵׂי הַחֹרֶדָה in C 27), um die Auslegung des Verfassers handelt, die unter der Überschrift אֱלֹהֵי מִקְצַת דְּבָרֵינוּ mitgeteilt wird (B 1–2). Die hierfür gebrauchte Formulierung חֹשְׁבִים שֶׁאֵין אִנְּנוּ (vgl. שֶׁהַשְּׁבִנוּ in C 27) wird dementsprechend in den einzelnen Halachot wiederholt aufgegriffen und dem כְּחֹב gleichberechtigt zur Seite gestellt. Auch wenn sich der Sinn der Schriftstelle ändert oder dem Wortlaut sogar zuwiderläuft, steht das “wir meinen” oder “wir sagen”—dem Selbstverständnis nach—nicht in Widerspruch, sondern in Einklang mit dem, was “geschrieben” steht. Die Auslegung richtet sich nicht gegen die Tora, sondern gegen Auslegungen und Praktiken der Tora anderer, auf die gelegentlich verwiesen wird (B 80–82). Ihnen begegnet die Antithese “wir aber sagen euch” mit einer Explikation dessen, was die Schrift nach Auffassung von 4QMMT im Blick auf dieses oder jenes exegetische oder praktische Problem zu sagen hat. Offensichtlich befinden wir uns in einer Phase, in der sich die Tora als verbindliche Größe des Judentums durchzusetzen begann und um die richtige Anwendung des Gesetzes bereits heftig gerungen wurde.

Einem etwas anderen Typ der Schriftbenutzung begegnet man im dritten, homiletischen Teil von 4QMMT (C). Hier wird die Referenzgröße beim Namen genannt. Und hier hat das Schriftzitat nicht nur dienende Funktion, sondern zeugt von der Bedeutung der Schrift selbst.

In C 6f (4Q397 14–21, 6f) ist Dtn 7:26 zitiert und mit Dtn 12:31 kombiniert. Von der Zitationsformel ist nur der Anfang eines כְּחֹב erhalten, das man—mit dem in C üblichen Sprachgebrauch—zu כְּחֹב [בְּסֵפֶר מוֹשֶׁה] ergänzen kann. Das Zitat ist im Blick auf das Folgende gewählt, das keine weitere Halacha, sondern eine Vollzugsmeldung bietet: Was Dtn 7:26 als Konsequenz der Verheißung an Israel im Blick auf die Völker und ihre Götter fordert, hat das “Wir,” das in 4QMMT spricht, im Blick auf das eigene Volk, vielleicht auch auf die in Z. 1–4 beschriebenen Praktiken,²² beherzigt und erfüllt.

²² Ob die Zeilen 1–4 der Fragmente 4Q397 14–21 eine Halacha darstellen, wie die Ergänzungen in DJD X, bes. Z. 4 (וְעַל הַנְּשִׂיִם), suggerieren, und in welchem Zusammenhang das Schriftzitat und das Folgende mit Z. 1–4 stehen, läßt sich aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustands nicht sagen. Doch vgl. מַעַל in Z. 4

Auch dies ist eine Auslegung der zitierten Stelle, die die Mahnung an ganz Israel vor der Landnahme auf die eigene Gegenwart und die Differenz zwischen Israel und den Völkern auf eine Spaltung in Israel selbst bezieht. Doch im Unterschied zur Halacha in B steht hier nicht die gesetzliche Bestimmung selbst, sondern die Frage zur Disposition, wer sie einhält. Die Halacha regelt nur, wie sie eingehalten werden soll.

Um die Einhaltung des Gesetzes als solche geht es auch in der Empfehlung des Schriftstudiums, die sich unmittelbar in C 10–16 (4Q397 14–21, 10–14; 4Q398 14–17 i 2–8) anschließt und mit einem dreifachen Schriftzitat untermauert ist. Der Text ist an dieser Stelle besonders interessant, aber auch besonders schwierig. Die Schwierigkeiten betreffen zunächst die Angabe der Bücher, die zum Studium empfohlen werden. Hierzu bietet der Composite Text in DJD X, C 10–11, mehr als man auf den Photos der Handschriften erkennen kann.²³ Zudem weichen die Handschriften voneinander ab, so daß man sie am besten gesondert betrachtet.

In der Fragmentengruppe 4Q397 14–21 liest DJD X in Z. 10–11:

] 10	]וּ אֵלֶיכָה שְׁחַבִּין בְּסֵפֶר מוֹשֶׁה	[בְּסֵפֶר]	[בְּיָאִים וּבְדוֹי]
] 11	[דוֹר וְדוֹר וּבְסֵפֶר כְּתוּב]		

Bezieht man die von Ulrich benannten Unsicherheiten der Lesung sowie der Einordnung von Fragment 17 (hier unterstrichen) mit ein, bleibt:

] 10	]וּ אֵלֶיכָה שְׁחַבִּין בְּסֵפֶר מוֹ	[בְּסֵפֶר]	[בְּיָאִים וּבְדוֹי]
] 11	[דוֹר וְדוֹר וּבְסֵפֶר כְּתוּב]		

In Fragment 4Q398 14–17 ist an entsprechender Stelle, Kol. i Z. 2–3, noch weniger Text erhalten. DJD X liest:

] 2	[גוֹם]	[פֶּר מוֹשֶׁה]
] 3	[דוֹר]	[סֵפֶר כְּתוּב]

und 9. Stilistisch verbindet das “Ihr w[ibt]” in C 8 den Abschnitt mit der Halacha in B 68.80.

²³ Vgl. E. Ulrich, “The Non-Attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT,” *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202–14, bes. 208–11. Grundsätzliche Zweifel an der Bezeugung eines “dreigeteilten Kanons” äußert J.G. Campbell, “4QMMT^d and the Tripartite Canon,” *JJS* 51 (2000): 181–90.

Ulrich liest:

...ו. מ.	]	גום	]	2
.ד. כתוב	]	דור	]	3

Mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit läßt sich der Text in 4Q397 14–21 wie folgt ergänzen und mit 4Q398 14–17 (hier doppelt unterstrichen) kombinieren:

] 10 [כתב]נן אליכה שתבין בספר מושה ובספרני נחביאים וברו.
] 11 [דור ודור ובספר כתוב]

Zweifelsfrei bezeugt ist demnach keine der in DJD X ergänzten Bezeichnungen biblischer Schriftensammlungen. Im Gegenteil: Die einzig sichere Lesung in 4Q397 14–21, 11 spricht nur von einem “Buch,” in dem etwas “geschrieben” steht. Da anschließend das Deuteronomium zitiert wird, dürfte es sich um die Tora des Mose, d.h. den Pentateuch, handeln, die auch in B zitiert und in C beim Namen genannt ist.²⁴ Eine Ergänzung zu “im Buch des Mose” in 4Q397 14–21, 10 // 4Q 398 14–17 i 2 legt sich daher nahe. Auch die Ergänzung des Wortes “[Pro]pheten” in 4Q397 14–21, 10 dürfte richtig sein, so daß hier wie vermutlich auch in Z. 15 (C 17) vom Buch des Mose und den Büchern der Propheten die Rede ist. Am unsichersten ist die Lesung “und in David” in Z. 10, gegen die epigraphische und philologische Gründe sprechen.

Merkwürdig an dieser Stelle ist zweierlei. Zum einen verwundert, daß nach den Schriftbezügen in B, die allesamt auf die Tora rekurrieren, hier nun Mose und die Propheten genannt sind; dies dürfte mit den Geschichtsreflexionen in C zusammenhängen und wirft auch ein (neues) Licht auf das Verständnis der Tora. Sie ist demnach nicht nur Gesetzbuch, sondern auch Geschichtsbuch.

Zum anderen erhebt sich die Frage, wie sich die Einleitung zu den folgenden Zitaten: “und in dem Buch steht geschrieben” zur Erwähnung von Mose und den Propheten verhält, insbesondere wenn man den Text ergänzen darf zu: “damit du Einblick gewinnst in das Buch Mose und in die Bücher der Propheten.” Im Vergleich mit der Parallele 4Q398 halte ich es für nicht ausgeschlossen, daß man es in 4Q397

²⁴ “Tora” in 4Q398 14–17 ii 3f (C 27f), vielleicht auch 4Q398 11–13, 7 (C 24); “Mose” in 4Q397 14–21 i 15 (C 17), vermutlich auch in 4Q398 11–13, 4 (C 21), nicht hingegen in 4Q397 22, 3 (eingeordnet in C 21).

mit einer nachträglichen Zufügung der Propheten zu tun hat, wodurch die Unstimmigkeit mit der folgenden Zeile entstanden wäre. 4Q398 weist schon im ersten Wort unserer Stelle eine Variante auf (כתב[נים] statt [כתב]ו in 4Q397).²⁵ Des weiteren ist die anschließende Lücke in 4Q398 14, 2 zu klein für den Text, den 4Q397 bietet (אליכיה שתבין) (בספר), so daß auch hier mit einer Textvariante zu rechnen ist. Dasselbe gilt übrigens auch für den Anfang der Z. 3 von 4Q398 14–17 i, der, nimmt man Kol. ii als Maßstab, für den Zwischentext von 4Q397 14–21, 10f (von ובספרי bis דור) einschließlich des nicht erhaltenen Textbestands kaum Platz bietet. So könnte der Papyrus 4Q398 eine ältere Textfassung bewahrt haben, die in 4Q397 erweitert und um den Hinweis auf die “Bücher der Propheten” (und gegebenenfalls auch “David”) ergänzt worden wäre.

Die in C 11–16 (4Q397 14–21, 11–14; 4Q398 14–17 i 3–8) folgenden drei Schriftzitate lenken den Blick auf Stellen der Tora, die zum Halten des Gesetzes gemäß der in 4QMMT vertretenen Halacha motivieren. Eingeleitet durch die Formeln “in dem Buch steht geschrieben,” “und auch steht geschrieben” sowie “und es steht geschrieben” werden nacheinander eine aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes nicht mehr identifizierbare Schriftstelle über vergangene Dinge,²⁶ Dtn 31:29 und Dtn 30:1–2 zitiert. Die beiden identifizierbaren Schriftstellen werden nicht nur paraphrasiert, sondern sind, wenn auch in Auswahl, nahezu wörtlich wiedergegeben. Auswahl und Abweichungen vom biblischen Text scheinen nicht zufällig zu sein.²⁷ Ausgelassen sind alle historisierenden Details der Moserede (Dtn 31:29) und das Exil (Dtn 30:1f) sowie alle internen Verweise auf die deuteronomische Gesetzgebung (“die ich dir vorgelegt habe,” “das ich euch geboten habe” etc.). Die Aussagen verlieren dadurch ihre Zeitgebundenheit und lassen sich auf eine andere Situation beziehen. Durch die durchgängige singularische Anrede sind sie der Redesituation von 4QMMT angepaßt.

Des weiteren fällt die verkehrte Reihenfolge der Zitate auf, mit der die Umstellung der eschatologischen Formulierung “am Ende der

²⁵ Zu den Textvarianten vgl. DJD X, 41.

²⁶ Vielleicht handelt es sich um den Vers Dtn 32:7, der unmittelbar vorher in דור דור anklingt (vgl. DJD X, 59 z.St.). Die Wortwahl (וקדמיות) könnte, sofern die Entzifferung des äußerst schwer lesbaren Texts von 4Q398 14–17 i 4 richtig ist, unter Einfluß von Jes 43:18 oder Mal 3:4f stehen.

²⁷ Für ähnlich gelagerte Fälle vgl. Brooke, “The Explicit Presentation of Scripture,” 77.79.

Tage” aus Dtn 31:29 in das Zitat von Dtn 30:1f einhergeht. Damit wird ein bestimmter Ablauf der Ereignisse suggeriert. Nach der Erinnerung an die Vergangenheit folgt die Beschreibung der Gegenwart als Zeit der Abkehr vom rechten Weg des Gesetzes und zuletzt die Ankündigung von Segen und Fluch für die Endzeit, in der es zur Umkehr kommen wird. Dieser Ablauf hat offensichtlich etwas mit den Geschichtsreflexionen in 4Q398 14–17 ii, der Fortsetzung von 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i, sowie 4Q398 11–13 zu tun. 4Q398 14–17 ii 2–4 (C 26–28) greift die direkte Anrede des Adressaten von 4Q397 14–21//4Q398 14–17 i (C 10) auf und verbindet die Erinnerung an David mit dem Hinweis auf die in 4QMMT mitgeteilte Halacha und die Tora-Kenntnis des Adressaten. Und wie in 4Q 397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i ist wohl auch in 4Q398 11–13, 4 (C 21) Dtn 30:1 im Blick, wenn vom Eintreffen von Segen und Fluch die Rede ist, verbunden mit historischen Reminiszenzen²⁸ und dem Ausblick auf die Umkehr am “Ende der Tage.” Das Halten der Tora²⁹ gemäß der Halacha von 4QMMT wird auf diese Weise in einen größeren geschichtstheologischen Zusammenhang eingebettet, der seinerseits an Tora und Propheten orientiert ist.

Nach allem sind die beiden Teile B und C enger aufeinander bezogen als es auf den ersten Blick vielleicht scheinen mag.³⁰ Allerdings geht die Verbindung einseitig von C aus. Während die Halacha in B sicher eine mündliche oder schriftliche Vorgeschichte hatte, wenn nicht sogar einmal ein Eigenleben führte,³¹ dürfte C für den Zusammenhang der beiden Teile verfaßt sein. Im Weiteren soll darum der Frage nachgegangen werden, worin der Beitrag des homiletischen Teils C zum halachischen Teil B und mithin zu 4QMMT im ganzen besteht.

²⁸ Die Tora betreffend in 4Q398 11–13, 7 (C 24).

²⁹ “Mit deinem ganzem Herzen und mit deiner ganzen Seele” nach Dtn 30:2 (4:29; 10:12; 26:16; 30:10).

³⁰ Vgl. DJD X, 111.

³¹ Vgl. M. Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Redactional Study,” *RevQ* 18/70 (1997): 191–205; C. Hempel, “The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT,” in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February, 1998* (Hg. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon, und A. Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden, Boston und Köln: Brill, 2000), 69–84, bes. 83f.

2. Die Platzierung von 4Q398 11–13

Die Antwort hängt wesentlich davon ab, in welcher Reihenfolge man die Fragmente von C anordnet. In dieser Frage sind sich die Herausgeber von DJD X nicht einig. Das Problem besteht in der Platzierung des Fragments 4Q398 11–13, das Strugnell (mit H. Stegemann) vor 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i–ii, d.h. in die Lücke des Übergangs von B nach C einordnet,³² während Qimron (unter Berufung auf M. Kister und B. Porten) es zwischen 4Q498 14–17 i und ii einfügt und mit 4Q397 14–21, 16 zusammenschließt (C 18–24).³³ Das Problem ist nicht einfach zu lösen und bedürfte angesichts des inhaltlichen Gewichts von C dringend einer neuen, eingehenden Untersuchung. Sie kann an dieser Stelle nicht geleistet werden, doch seien wenigstens die wichtigsten Gesichtspunkte kurz genannt, die sich aus der Durchsicht des relevanten Materials—der im Israel-Museum gelagerten Handschriften,³⁴ der Edition in DJD X und der persönlichen Aufzeichnungen von H. Stegemann³⁵—ergeben.

Die Ausgangslage ist eindeutig und daher unstrittig. Die sechs Handschriften 4Q394–399 gehören alle zu ein und demselben Werk. Textüberschneidungen erlauben die Zusammensetzung der Fragmente und Rekonstruktion des erhaltenen Textbestands in den Teilen A und B von 4QMMT:

A 1–21

4Q394 (a)	4Q395 (b)	4Q396 (c)	4Q397 (d)	4Q398 (e)	4Q399 (f)
1–2 i–v					
3–7 i 1–3					

³² DJD X, 205f.

³³ DJD X, 201f.

³⁴ Eingesehen mit freundlicher Genehmigung der IAA (Israel Antiquities Authority) und überaus zuvorkommender Unterstützung des zuständigen Teams im Israel Museum (unter Leitung von Dr. Tamar Rabbi) im März des Jahres 2005, wofür an dieser Stelle ausdrücklich gedankt sei.

³⁵ Sie wurden mir von H. Stegemann während unseres Aufenthalts in Jerusalem im Jahr 2005 zur Verfügung gestellt und enthalten a) eine Transkription aus dem Jahr 1983 unbekannter Herkunft, vielleicht von M. Kister (so Stegemann mündlich), mit englischer Übersetzung und handschriftlichen Notizen von J. Strugnell; b) Jerusalemer “Notes” von H. Stegemann aus den Jahren 1983, 1985 und 1990, insbesondere zur materiellen Rekonstruktion der Handschrift d (4Q397).

Table (*cont.*)

B 1-82

4Q394 (a)	4Q395 (b)	4Q396 (c)	4Q397 (d)	4Q398 (e)	4Q399 (f)
3-7 i 4-ii 4	1				
(3-7 ii 5ff)			(1-2?)	(1-3?)	
3-7 ii 13-19			3 1-6		
8 iii 6-20		1-2 i-ii 2	4 1-2; 5 1-6		
8 iv 1-16		1-2 ii 2-iii 6	6-13 1-7		
(8 v 9-10)		1-2 iii 6-iv 11	6-13 7-15		

Der Anfang des Werkes ist leider verloren. Der Übergang vom kalendarischen Teil A zum halachischen Teil B ist in 4Q394 3-7 i erhalten, die Fortsetzung in 4Q394 3-7 ii physisch gesichert.³⁶ Eine Lücke in der Textüberlieferung von B, die nicht durch physischen Kontakt der Fragmente oder Textüberschneidungen der Handschriften überbrückt wird, besteht zwischen 4Q394 3-7 ii 19³⁷ und 8 iii 6. Aus dieser Lücke stammen 4Q397 3, 5-6 sowie 4Q396 1-2 i 1-3 // 4Q397 4, 1-2. Füllt man diesen Text nach den Proportionen der Handschrift a) ein, fehlen 3 Zeilen zwischen dem Ende von 4Q394 3-7 ii 19 in 4Q397 3, 5-6 und dem Anfang von 4Q394 8 iii 6 in 4Q396 1-2 i 1-3 // 4Q397 4, 1-2. Zwar gibt es keine direkte Verbindung zwischen den beiden Enden in 4Q397 3 und 4Q397 4 // 4Q396 1-2 i, doch legt das gemeinsame Thema, die Frage nach dem Ort des Schlachtens und Opfern, den Schluß nahe, daß die Lücke nicht allzu groß ist und die Kolumnen 4Q394 3-7 ii und 4Q394 8 iii tatsächlich unmittelbar aufeinander folgten. Eine Überprüfung dieser Annahme ist nur durch die materielle Rekonstruktion sämtlicher Handschriften möglich.

³⁶ Die Einfügung von 4Q397 1-2 in die Lücke von 4Q394 3-7 ii 5ff (DJD X, 48) ist möglich (Stichwort עוררת), der Zusammenschluß von 4Q397 1-2 mit 4Q398 1-3 aus materiellen Gründen jedoch unsicher. 4Q398 1-10 gehört vermutlich nicht derselben Handschrift wie 4Q398 11ff an.

³⁷ Die Edition in DJD X zählt in 4Q394 3-7 19 Zeilen pro Kolumne, doch dürften es hier wie in 4Q394 iii-iv wohl 20 Zeilen gewesen sein, so daß man in 4Q394 3-7 i mit dem Verlust der ersten Zeile und in 4Q393 3-7 ii mit einer Lücke von neun Zeilen rechnen muß. Der Einfachheit halber bleibe ich hier jedoch bei der Zählung von DJD.

Für C stellt sich die Handschriftenbezeugung wie folgt dar:

C 1–32

4Q394 (a)	4Q395 (b)	4Q396 (c)	4Q397 (d)	4Q398 (e)	4Q399 (f)
				11–13?	
			14–21 1–14	14–17 i	
			14–21 15f(f)	11–13?	
			(22?)		
			(23?)	14–17 ii	i–ii

Klar bezeugt ist der Schluß des Werkes in 4Q398 14–17 ii // 4Q399 i–ii. Evident ist auch die Textüberschneidung in 4Q397 14–21, 9–14 und 4Q398 14–17 i. Nicht dokumentiert ist hingegen der Übergang von B nach C. Daraus ergibt sich die Frage, wo das Stück 4Q398 11–13 einzuordnen ist, ob in die Lücke zwischen 4Q394 8 v // 4Q396 1–2 iv // 4Q397 6–13 und 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i (so Strugnell und Stegemann) oder zwischen 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i und 4Q398 14–17 ii (so Qimron nach Kister). Die Herausgeber in DJD X haben eine weise Entscheidung getroffen, indem sie beide Möglichkeiten vorgestellt und damit die Diskussion eröffnet haben.

Für die zweite Möglichkeit sprechen vor allem inhaltliche Gründe.³⁸ Da man den stark zerstörten Anfang von 4Q397 14–21, 1–5 (C 1–5) mit einigem guten Willen und über die Stichwortverbindung הַנּוֹרָה (4Q397 6–13, 12ff) als Nachklang der Halacha verstehen kann, scheint er sich besonders gut für den Übergang von B nach C zu eignen. Sodann scheinen der Hinweis auf Mose und die Propheten und die diversen Schriftzitate in 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i (C 6–17) die historischen Reminiszenzen mit Ausblick auf das “Ende der Tage” in 4Q398 14–17 ii (C 25–32) anzukündigen. Da auch 4Q398 11–13 (C 18–24) einen solchen Rückblick bietet und ihn in Z. 6 wie 4Q398 14–17 ii 1 mit וְזָכַר אֱתָם einleitet und da beide Rückblicke auf die Rettung des Frommen aus seinen Nöten (נִצְּלָ מִצָּרָוֹת) zielen, ist die Verlockung groß, die beiden Stücke zusammenzustellen und auf 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i folgen zu lassen.

Dem steht jedoch der materielle Befund entgegen, der eher in die andere, von Strugnell und Stegemann eingeschlagene Richtung weist.

³⁸ DJD X, 201.

Die Lesung von 4Q397 14–21, 1–5 ist unsicher. Der erhaltene Text, soweit er sich entziffern läßt, spricht davon, daß etwas kommen soll (שׁוֹבֵי אֵרֶץ), sowie von ungunen Zuständen wie “Gewalttat” und “Unzucht” (הַחֲמָס וְהַזִּנוּת; הַחֲמָס וְהַמַּעַל) und in Z. 6 von gewissen Ortschaften (מִקְוֹמוֹת). Was auch immer dort gestanden haben mag, die erhaltenen Textreste stehen der folgenden, aus der Schrift abgeleiteten Selbstbeschreibung der “Wir” sehr viel näher als der vorangehenden Halacha.

Auch der Zusammenschluß von 4Q397 14–21, 15f mit dem Text von 4Q398 11–13 ist alles andere als evident. Nach dem wiederholten Rückgriff auf Mose (und die Propheten) und der Ankündigung von etwas Kommendem in 4Q397 14–21, 15 sind in Z. 16 (Fr. 20 und 21) lediglich noch die oberen Ränder einzelner Buchstaben zu sehen, die nicht alle eindeutig zu identifizieren sind. In Fr. 21 ist ה, vielleicht auch ו am Wortende und ש am Anfang des folgenden Wortes zu erkennen, was in DJD X zu שְׁבֹאוֹת הַבְּרַכּוֹת ergänzt wird. In Fragment 21 liest DJD X מִיָּמֵי und ergänzt mit 4Q398 11–13, 1 zu בִּימֵי [שְׁלוֹמוֹהַ בֶּן דָּוִד וְאֵף הַקְּלָלוֹת]. Stegemann (Notes) hat [אֵת דִּוְיָד] gelesen und die Zeile mit 4Q398 14–17 ii 1 zusammengeschlossen. In beiden Fällen scheint mir der Wunsch Vater der Lesung und Ergänzungen zu sein. Eine genauere Autopsie des Fragments³⁹ ergibt, daß die zweite Lesung wohl wahrscheinlicher, aber keineswegs sicher ist.⁴⁰ Auf sie sollte man darum sowenig wie auf die erste bauen.

Dasselbe gilt für die Fragmente 4Q397 22 und 23, die in DJD X der Reihe nach in 4Q398 11–13, 2–4 (C 19–21) und 4Q398 14–17 ii 5–6 // 4Q399 ii 2–3 (C 29–30) einsortiert werden. 4Q397 22 weist auf kleinstem Raum ungewöhnlich viele Textvarianten auf,⁴¹ dürfte in Z. 3 anders zu lesen sein⁴² und paßt sich von den Textproportionen her nur schlecht in das Format der Handschrift e) ein. Das alles läßt eine Kombination mit 4Q398 11–13 als sehr unwahrscheinlich erscheinen. Auch 4Q397 23 kann nur unter Ausblendung der in den Handschriften d), e) und f) sonst üblichen Proportionen in den Text von 4Q398 14–17 ii // 4Q399 eingefügt werden. Im Format der Handschrift d) kommen dabei nur halbe und recht unregelmäßige

³⁹ Für epigraphische Beratung danke ich Émile Puech.

⁴⁰ Möglich wäre etwa auch die Buchstabenfolge מִיָּמֵי. Zum Schriftbild vgl. Fr. 16, 2–4, 6; 18, 6.8.9; 23, 3 für מ; Fr. 16, 9; 18, 8.9.11.13 für ט; Fr. 18, 9–12; 19, 1 für כ.

⁴¹ Vgl. DJD X, 60f Anm. 4–5 zu C 19f.

⁴² Auf dem Foto (DJD X, Pl. VI) ist nur ein ה, im Original der Handschrift aber deutlich die Buchstabenfolge הַלְּאִי zu erkennen.

Zeilen heraus, was für die letzte Kolumne nicht unmöglich, aber ungewöhnlich wäre.

Was schließlich die Stellung des Fragments 4Q398 11–13 zwischen 4Q398 14–17 i und ii anbelangt, so fällt störend auf, daß in 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i von Segen und Fluch im Singular, in 4Q398 11–13 hingegen von Segnungen und Flüchen im Plural die Rede ist. Außerdem fehlt in 4Q398 11–13, bis auf den Imperativ וְכֹרֵר אִתְּךָ, die direkte Anrede des “Du,” die 4Q398 14–17 i (// 4Q397 14–21) und 4Q398 14–17 ii miteinander verbindet.

Mit am schwersten wiegen jedoch rein äußerliche Gesichtspunkte. 4Q398 11–13 hat in etwa dieselbe Form wie das physisch zusammenhängende Stück 4Q398 14–17 i–ii, in dem das Ende des Werkes erreicht wird. Lediglich die Beschädigungsspuren an den Rändern passen nicht recht zusammen: im einen Fall befinden sie sich am unteren, im anderen am oberen Rand, wobei die tiefen Einschnitte am rechten und linken Kolumnenrand von 4Q398 11–13 und 4Q398 14–17 ii miteinander korrespondieren. Der Befund läßt sich entweder dahingehend deuten, daß das fragliche Fragment 4Q398 11–13 auf dieselbe Ebene und also vor 4Q398 14–17 i–ii gehört. Oder man muß annehmen, daß der Papyrus in der Mitte gefaltet war, so daß Ober- und Unterkante aufeinanderlagen. 4Q398 14–17 i–ii wäre so ein Stück der oberen, 4Q398 11–13 ein Stück der unteren Hälfte des Papyrus. Doch auch in diesem Fall kann 4Q398 11–13 schwerlich die unmittelbare Fortsetzung von 4Q398 14–17 i sein. Gegen den Anschluß spricht, daß die auf beiden Stücken sichtbaren Klebestreifen und der Zeilenspiegel nicht zusammenpassen.

Die Entscheidung, welche der beiden Möglichkeiten den Vorzug verdient, fällt, wie gesagt, nicht leicht. Ich Folgenden werde ich versuchsweise die Lösung von Strugnell und Stegemann zugrundelegen, die sich vom materiellen Befund her aufdrängt: 4Q397 3–11; 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i; 4Q398 14–17 ii // 4Q399 i–ii. Ich werde zeigen, daß auch diese Abfolge der Fragmente inhaltlich stimmig ist und einen guten Sinn ergibt. Die Anordnung ändert nichts an der Tatsache, daß der Übergang von B nach C nicht erhalten ist. Sie setzt vielmehr voraus, daß zwischen dem Ende von B und dem Anfang von C eine Lücke klafft, die durch den Rand der Kolumne 4Q394 8 v, von der nur noch die drei Anfangsbuchstaben der Zeilen 11–13 zu erkennen sind, physisch bezeugt und durch 4Q396 1–2 iii 6–iv 11 // 4Q 397 6–13, 7–15 nicht vollständig überbrückt wird.⁴³

⁴³ Im Format der Handschrift a) ergibt der in den anderen Handschriften über

3. Interpretation von 4QMMT C

Der Text 4Q398 11–13 (C 18–24) setzt unvermittelt ein mit einem Rückblick auf die Tage Salomos, des Sohnes Davids, und die Tage Jerobeams, des Sohnes Nebats, bis zum Exil Jerusalems unter dem König Zedekia von Juda, d.h. bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems im Jahr 587 v.Chr. Literarisch gesprochen sind damit die Bücher Salomo und Könige und ihre Parallele, die Bücher der Chronik, im Blick. Die Verben stehen, soweit zu erkennen, im Perfekt und haben das Kommen von Segnungen (in den Tagen Salomos) bzw. Flüchen (in den Tagen der Könige von Jerobeam bis Zedekia) zum Subjekt. Die gesamte vorexilische Königsgeschichte wird damit pauschal verurteilt und ausdrücklich unter die Ankündigung von Segen und Fluch im Gesetz des Mose (Dtn 30:1; vgl. Jos 8:34) gestellt, was in den historischen Büchern des Alten Testaments lediglich an einer Stelle, 2Kön 22:19, angedeutet ist. Dieses Verständnis der Königszeit entspricht der deuteronomistischen Prägung der Bücher Samuel und Könige, doch der Plural deutet eine neue, mehr der Chronik verpflichtete Lesart an: Segen und Fluch werden in historische Einzelakte zerlegt.

Darüber, wie der Verfasser von 4QMMT, von der Halacha herkommend, auf dieses Thema zu sprechen kam, läßt sich nur spekulieren. Da die Segnungen und Flüche offenbar Subjekt und nicht Objekt auch des Hauptsatzes sind (vgl. וְאֵי הַקְּלָלוֹת), kann man ein vorausgehendes אִתּוֹ אֲוֵרֵי אֱוֵרֵי ausschließen. Vielleicht darf man aus dem Rückverweis auf das “Buch des Mose” in Z. 4 schließen, daß der Abschnitt wie in 4Q397 14–21, 15 mit einem Hinweis auf das Buch oder die Bücher eingeleitet wurde, in denen Segnungen und Flüche geschrieben stehen, mit dem Unterschied, daß es hier um vergangene, dort um künftige Ereignisse geht, weshalb 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i folglich auch aus inhaltlichen Gründen schwerlich die Anschlußstelle für 4Q398 11–13 sein kann.

Der geschichtstheologische Rückblick mündet in Z. 3 ein in die Ankündigung, daß etwas zurückgebracht werden soll (וְשִׁבְּנוּ אֵת אֲשֶׁר הָיָה). Das Pluralsuffix bezieht sich—in Übereinstimmung mit dem biblischen

4Q394 8 iv 16 hinaus erhaltene Text ungefähr 14–15 Zeilen. Er reicht bis an die Randbuchstaben in 4Q394 8 v 11–13 heran, läßt sich mit ihnen aber nur schwer zusammenschließen. Für das ה in Z. 11 und 13 stehen im Text von 4Q396 1–2 iv 9–11 mehrere Möglichkeiten zur Verfügung, für das in DJD X mit Vorbehalt gelesene כ in Z. 12 lediglich das seinerseits fragliche כ in 4Q396 1–2 iv 11; die nächsten Möglichkeiten in Z. 6–7 sind zu weit entfernt.

Sprachgebrauch von בּוֹא hif.—am nächsten auf die Galut Jerusalems und den König Zedekia, d.h. die Exilierten, die zurückgeführt werden sollen. Ein Bezug auf die Flüche⁴⁴ scheint mir demgegenüber weniger plausibel. Was es mit dem plötzlichen Wechsel der Perspektive von der Vergangenheit in die Zukunft auf sich hat, wird gleich anschließend in Z. 4–5 erklärt. Hier äußert sich der Verfasser über seine eigene Einsicht (נָכַר hif. Z. 3) in den Gang der biblischen Heilsgeschichte und führt diese auf etwas zurück, was im Buch des Mose geschrieben steht. Gedacht ist offenbar an Dtn 30:1–3. Aus der Perspektive des Verfassers ist die Ankündigung von Dtn 30:1 (“Und es wird geschehen, wenn alle diese Dinge, der Segen und der Fluch, über dich gekommen sind”) wenigstens teilweise schon eingetreten, so daß man sich nun auf die ebenfalls in Dtn 30:1–3 angekündigte Zukunft einstellen muß: das “Ende der Tage” (Dtn 31:29),⁴⁵ an dem man in Israel⁴⁶ umkehren und nicht wieder rückfällig⁴⁷ werden wird und die Frevler in ihrem Frevel verharren.⁴⁸ Es ist dieselbe Bewegung von der Vergangenheit zur Zukunft, wie man sie in Z. 1–3 findet und die hier auf den Standpunkt des Verfassers bezogen wird. Eine Anrede begegnet nicht und ist bis hierher auch nicht zu erwarten. Es wird zunächst die eigene Sicht der Dinge dargestellt, bevor im Folgenden, den Zeilen 6–7 wie auch in den anderen Fragmenten der Handschriften 4Q397–399, ein “Du” angere-det und ihm nahegelegt wird, sich dieser Ansicht anzuschließen.

Die Anrede geschieht zunächst unter Rückgriff auf das bisher zur vorexilischen Königsgeschichte Ausgeführte durch eine erste Ermah-

⁴⁴ So DJD X, 60 Anm. zu C 20.

⁴⁵ Die Wendung וְזֶה הוּא אֲדַרְיָהּ הַיְמִינִים (4Q398 11–13, 4) kann m.E. nur auf das Folgende bezogen werden, andernfalls hinge der Relativsatz שִׁיבֹי in der Luft. Folglich weist die Formulierung ebenso wie das folgende Impf. in die Zukunft. Inwieweit das “Ende der Tage” hier und an den anderen Stellen in 4QMMT auch eschatologisch gemeint ist, ist allerdings umstritten. Vgl. F. García Martínez, “4QMMT in a Qumran Context,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, 15–27, bes. 20–23.

⁴⁶ So auch Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener II*, 375; García Martínez und Tigchelaar, *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:803 (“return in Israel”); anders DJD X, 61 (“return to Israel”).

⁴⁷ Vgl. Maier, *ibidem* (“nicht wieder abtrünnig werden”); zur Semantik von שׁוֹב vgl. DJD X, 61 Anm. zu C 22; 87.

⁴⁸ Zur Wendung vgl. Dan 12:10, zitiert in 4Q174 1–3 iii 3. Maier, *ibidem*, übersetzt kausativ: “und da man die Frevler schuldig spricht.” Daß sie am “Ende der Tage” für ihre Freveltaten bestraft werden, ist so oder so anzunehmen.

nung, der Könige Israels⁴⁹ und ihrer Taten zu gedenken: זָכוֹר אֶת מַלְכֵי [וְהַחֲבוּן בְּמַעֲשֵׂיהֶם הָיָה] יִשְׂרָאֵל (4Q398 11–13, 7). Der Text sagt auch, worauf dabei besonders zu achten ist, nämlich ob einer von ihnen (die Tora) fürchtete und ein Tora-Sucher gewesen sei und dafür aus Nöten gerettet wurde. Der Ausdruck זָכוֹר אֶת kommt im biblischen Sprachgebrauch⁵⁰ vor allem als Anrede Gottes im Psalter vor und zielt auf dessen rettendes Eingreifen.⁵¹ Hier ist die Aufforderung an einen Menschen gerichtet, der am historischen Beispiel die Bedingungen der Rettung erkennen soll. Dieser Gebrauch des Ausdrucks erinnert an das Gedenken an die vergangenen Taten Gottes in den Psalmen⁵² und noch mehr an die damit verwandte Paränese des Deuteronomiums, die an einer Stelle (Dtn 9:7) den Imperativ und ansonsten eine entsprechende Verbform (impf., pf. cons., inf. abs.) verwendet und das Gedenken an vergangene Ereignisse der Aufforderung zum Gesetzesgehorsam dienstbar macht.⁵³ Nicht von ungefähr findet sich im näheren Umkreis der Stelle Dtn 30:1–3, die für 4QMMT C eine entscheidende Rolle spielt, die Aufforderung Dtn 32:7, an vergangene Tage und Jahre zu denken. In 4QMMT wird dieses Gedenken auf die Könige Israels fokussiert, um an ihrem Beispiel den Maßstab klarzumachen, auf den es künftig ankommt: das Halten der Tora, und zwar, so wird man schließen dürfen, in der in B vertretenen Auslegung. 4QMMT schließt damit nicht nur thematisch, sondern auch theologisch an die (spät-)deuteronomistische und chronistische Gesetzesparänese in den Königsbüchern und der davon abhängigen Chronik an.

Die Mahnung nimmt freilich zunächst nur eine der beiden Seiten des historischen Rückblicks von 4Q398 11–13, nämlich die negative, auf, den Ausblick auf die Zukunft am “Ende der Tage” hingegen nicht. Es fehlt eine Erläuterung des Tora-Suchens und eine positive Anweisung, was man in der Gegenwart für die Zukunft tun kann und

⁴⁹ Ohne Unterscheidung zwischen Israel und Juda. Vgl. 2Chr 28:27; 33:18; 35:18.

⁵⁰ In den Texten vom Toten Meer nur einmal bezeugt in 1Q34bis 1 + 2 6; vgl. aber auch 4Q501 1–2; 4Q504 1–2 ii 11; iii 4; v 9; 3 ii 5; 4 6; 5 ii 3; 6 6; 8 1; 4Q506 124 3; 131–132 12; 4Q 507 3 3; 4Q508 2 2; 4Q509 12 i–13 5; 125 1; 131–132 ii 5; 4Q525 14 iii 6; 11Q5 XXII 6; XXIV 11.

⁵¹ Vgl. Ps 25:6f; 74:2.18; 89:48; 119:49; 132:1; 137:7; auch Klq 3:19; 5:1; 2Kön 20:3 // Jes 38:3; 2Chr 6:42 sowie der berühmte Refrain Nehemias Neh 5:19; 6:14; 13:22.29.31.

⁵² Ps 77:6f.12f; 78:35.42; 105:5 // 1Chr 16:12; 106:7; 119:52; 143:5; Jes 63:9.11; Neh 9:17. Vgl. 4Q370 1 ii 7.

⁵³ Dtn 5:15; 7:18; 8:2.18; 15:15; 16:3.12; 24:9.18.22; 25:17. Vgl. 1QM XVII 2.

soll. Genau dies aber leistet die Fortsetzung in 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i (C 1–17) sowie 4Q398 14–17 ii // 4Q399 i–ii (C 25–32), die in den Zeilen 4Q398, 5–6 vorbereitet wird. Der in 4Q398 exponierte und in 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i aus der Schrift begründete Wechsel der Perspektive zieht sich demnach durch den ganzen Teil C: der Blick wendet sich von der düsteren Vergangenheit (4Q398 11–13) über die Gegenwart des Verfassers und des Adressaten in die Zukunft (4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i), die unter wiederholtem Bezug auf Vergangenheit und Gegenwart in hellen Farben geschildert wird (4Q398 14–17 ii // 4Q399 i–ii). Sachlich eignet sich das Stück 4Q398 11–13 somit vorzüglich als Vorbereitung der übrigen Fragmenten von C und fügt sich ohne Schwierigkeit in die ihm von Strugnell und Stegemann zugewiesene Position.

Da der Verfasser des Schreibens und die „Wir,“ die hinter ihm stehen, schon Bescheid wissen (4Q398 11–13, 3f), haben sie die nötigen Konsequenzen gezogen. Um nicht dem Fluch zu verfallen, nehmen sie die Tora des Mose ernst und haben sich gemäß der Anweisung in Dtn 7:26 von allem Unreinen getrennt (4Q397 14–21, 1–9). Sie haben damit die Umkehr vollzogen, von der in 4Q398 11–13 die Rede ist. Aber sie wollen auch den Adressaten davon überzeugen, es ihnen gleich zu tun. Darum wechselt der Text an dieser Stelle in die direkte Anrede des „Du“ und begründet aus der Schrift, was der Adressat zu tun und zu erwarten habe. Nun wird ihm der Sinn von Dtn 30:1–3 und 31:29 erklärt: Auch ihm stehen das „Ende der Tage“ und die Umkehr zum Gesetz bevor (4Q397 14–21, 10ff // 4Q398 14–17).

Zusammengenommen mit der Mahnung, das Schicksal der Könige Israels zu bedenken, auf denen der Fluch von 587 v.Chr. liegt, weist die geschichtstheologische Schriftexegese und eschatologische Paränese in 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i enge Berührungen mit einer Reihe von biblischen und nichtbiblischen Texten, vor allem Bußgebeten, auf, die in der Tradition des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes stehen und die vor Jahren O.H. Steck einer eingehenden Untersuchung unterzogen hat.⁵⁴ Die Erinnerung an die Geschichte Israels, die Betonung des (andauernden) Gerichts von 597 v.Chr. für die Sünden der vor-exilischen Königszeit, die Mahnung, auf Mose und die Propheten zu

⁵⁴ O.H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967).

hören, die Aufforderung zur Umkehr und die Erwartung eines noch bevorstehenden Endgerichts, in dem Fluch und Segen über Gerechte und Frevler ergehen—alles das gehört zum Repertoire dieses Geschichtsbildes, wie man es etwa in Dan 9, Neh 9, Bar 1–3, in der Zehnwochen- und der Tierapokalypse des 1Hen oder in dem Werk 4QDibHam (4Q504, 506) findet.⁵⁵

Besonders aufschlußreich ist der Vergleich von 4QMMT C mit 4QDibHam. In 4QDibHam begegnet auffallend häufig die Aufforderung des Gedenkens, hier wie in den Psalmen und anderen Gebeten an Gott gerichtet, um ihn zum Einlenken zu bewegen.⁵⁶ Demgegenüber verlangt 4QMMT das “Gedenken” von seinem Adressaten, d.h. von den Menschen selber. Wie in der Paränese des Deuteronomiums dient dieses Gedenken auch hier der Motivation zu Umkehr und Toragehorsam.

Auf derselben Linie liegt die Redeweise von Mose und den Propheten. In 4QDibHam (4Q504 1–2 iii 12–14 = XVI 13–15 in DJD 7) erscheinen sie, wie in der deuteronomistischen Tradition üblich, als Übermittler der Gebote und Warner vor dem drohenden Gericht. Eine Besonderheit besteht jedoch darin, daß unter den Knechten Gottes ausdrücklich die Schriftpropheten bzw. solche Propheten, die Bücher schreiben, verstanden werden.⁵⁷ Dasselbe ist auch in 4QMMT der Fall. Anders als in der deuteronomistischen Tradition und 4QDibHam wird in 4QMMT jedoch nicht (nur) verlangt, auf das zu hören, was Mose und die Propheten sagen, sondern ihre Bücher zu studieren und aus ihnen die Einsicht in den Ablauf der auf das “Ende der Tage” zugehenden Geschichte zu gewinnen (ב שחבין ב 4Q397 14–21, 10). Aus dieser Einsicht sollen sich Umkehr und Toragehorsam ergeben. Aufgrund der historischen Beispiele, die aus den “vorderen Propheten” stammen und wie die Schriften selbst “bedacht” werden sollen (vgl. ויהבנן in 4Q398 11–13, 6f), wird man wohl davon ausgehen dürfen, daß mit der umfassenden Formulierung “Bücher der Propheten,” die in den Texten vom Toten Meer nur noch einmal in CD VII 17 (= 4Q266 3 iii 18f) belegt ist,⁵⁸ nicht nur die einzelnen,

⁵⁵ Die Berührungen werden auch von Strugnell in DJD X, 205 erwähnt. L. Schiffman, “The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran Manuscripts,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, 81–98, zu C bes. 94–97, vergleicht 4QMMT mit 11QT.

⁵⁶ Die Belege aus 4Q504 und 506 s.o. Anm. 50.

⁵⁷ Vgl. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*, 119.167f.

⁵⁸ Auch die Wendung “Buch des Mose” ist nicht gerade häufig und außer in

in den Geschichts- und Prophetenbüchern auftretenden "historischen" Propheten, sondern der Schriftenbestand und spätere Kanonteil "Propheten" als solcher gemeint ist.

Schließlich sei noch darauf eingegangen, daß auch 4QDibHam vom "Ende der Tage" redet, auf das Mose und die Propheten weisen. In Übereinstimmung mit der deuteronomistischen Tradition ist das "Ende der Tage" mit dem Zorngericht von 587 v.Chr. identifiziert.⁵⁹ In 4QMMT hingegen steht es noch aus. Hier werden Vergangenheit und Zukunft geschieden und Segen und Fluch von Dtn 30:1–3 auf die verschiedenen Epochen verteilt. Die Vergangenheit dauert nicht an, sondern dient als Beispiel für die Gegenwart und die geweissagte Zukunft. Beides, Vergangenheit und Zukunft, sind den Büchern des Mose und der Propheten zu entnehmen.

Die herausgearbeiteten Unterschiede zwischen 4QDibHam und 4QMMT gewinnen weiter an Profil, wenn man sie mit dem Schriftverständnis der Prophetenauslegung in den Pescharim und anderen Schriften vom Toten Meer vergleicht.⁶⁰ Auch in ihnen ist an die Bücher der Propheten, in der Regel der Schriftpropheten, gedacht, die wörtlich zitiert, ausgelegt und gelegentlich beim Namen genannt werden.⁶¹ Die Hermeneutik geht aus 1QpHab II und VII hervor. Danach sind die Worte der Propheten in der Hauptsache⁶² als Weissagungen verstanden, die auf die eigene Zeit und das nahe bevorstehende Ende⁶³ gehen und, befähigt durch die Offenbarung aller Geheimnisse der Propheten an den Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit, entsprechend ausgelegt werden müssen. Eine Verbindung mit dem Gericht von 587 v.Chr. und früheren Erweisen von Segen und Fluch, wie etwa noch in der

4QMMT noch in 2Q25 1 3; 4Q197 4 ii 6 und 4Q249 1 verso belegt, entspricht jedoch spätbiblischem Sprachgebrauch (2Chr 25:4; 35:12; Neh 13:1; Esr 6:18); ansonsten heißt es "Buch/Bücher der Tora" CD V 2 (4Q273 5 1); VII 15; 4Q177 1–4 14; 4Q267 5 iii 5; 6Q9 21 3; 11Q9 LVI 21. Vgl. noch "Mose und die Propheten" (ohne "Buch") in 1QS I 3 (= 4Q255 1 3f); VIII 15f (= 4Q258 vi 7f), und für die Verbindung 4Q175 5–7; die "Propheten" in 1QpHab II 9; VII 5.8; 4Q166 ii 5 (pHos); 4Q198 1 4.12; 4Q292 2 4; 4Q381 69 4; 4Q390 2 i 5.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten*, 119 und zur Entwicklung des Gedankens in der deuteronomistischen Tradition ibidem, 184–89.

⁶⁰ Vgl. hierzu Kratz, "Innerbiblische Exegese und Redaktionsgeschichte," 128–35.

⁶¹ Vgl. "Buch des NN" 4Q174 1–2 i 15f; 1–3 ii 3; 4Q177 5–6 (I) 5; 7 3 (II 13); 4Q182 1 4; 4Q265 2 3; nur mit Namen CD III 21; IV 13; VII 10; XIX 7; 4Q285 5 1; 11Q13 ii 15.

⁶² Anders in 4QpHos (4Q166 ii 5), wo sie wie in der deuteronomistischen Tradition als Übermittler der Gebote erscheinen.

⁶³ Das "Ende der Tage" in 4Q174 1–2 i 15.

Auslegung der 70 Jahre des Jeremia in Dan 9, besteht nicht. Das macht den Unterscheid zur deuteronomistischen Tradition aus, markiert aber auch den Abstand zu 4QMMT. Mit seiner Empfehlung, Mose und die Propheten zu studieren, um aus den vergangenen Tagen der Könige Israels für das “Ende der Tage” zu lernen, zielt das Lehrschreiben auf einen Toragehorsam,⁶⁴ der im Sinne der vorher entfalteten Halacha nicht nur von kurzer Dauer sein, sondern nachhaltig geübt werden soll, ganz gleich, wann des “Ende der Tage” kommt. Denn Segen und Fluch, das lehrt die Geschichte der Könige Israels, können jeden zu jeder Zeit treffen.

So sind für 4QMMT C Mose und die Propheten alles in einem: Geschichtsbuch, Weissagung und Gesetz, das es zu halten, für den Einzelfall auszulegen und—am Tempel in Jerusalem!—zu praktizieren gilt. 4QMMT bewegt sich damit in allernächster Nähe zum Schriftverständnis der Chronik und der chronistischen Quellen-vermerke.⁶⁵ Und wie diese steht das Lehrschreiben besonders dem Buch Jesus Sirach nahe, seinem Ideal des Schriftgelehrten, der über das Gesetz des Höchsten nachsinnt und sich um die Prophezeiungen bemüht (Sir 39:1), seinen am biblischen Kanon orientierten historischen Exempeln (Sir 44–49), derer gedacht (נִזְכָּר) oder—in negativen Fällen wie dem König Jerobeam, dem Sohn Nebats—nicht gedacht werden soll (Sir 44:9; 47:23), und seinem Ideal des Hohenpriesters aus Aarons Geschlecht (Sir 45:6ff), der seinem Volk Israel Gottes Gebote lehrt (Sir 45:17) und für es sorgt (Sir 50). Wie 4QMMT hegt auch Sirach eine eschatologische Hoffnung (Sir 36). Doch stehen auch hier die Anweisungen und die Werbung für eine den Ansprüchen der Weisheit, des Kultus und der Tora genügende Lebens- und Amtsführung im Vordergrund.

Ganz in diesem Sinne ist denn auch der Schlußabschnitt von 4QMMT in 4Q398 14–17 ii // 4Q399 i–ii gehalten. Im Kleinen ist die Argumentation aufgebaut wie die beiden Abschnitte davor (4Q398 11–13 und 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i): Auf das נִזְכָּר אֵת und den Hinweis auf die positiven Folgen des Toragehorsams, die Rettung

⁶⁴ Vgl. auch 4Q174 1–3 ii 2.

⁶⁵ Vgl. dazu R.G. Kratz, “Die Suche nach Identität in der nachexilischen Theologiegeschichte. Zur Hermeneutik des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes und ihrer Bedeutung für das Verständnis des Alten Testaments,” in *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, 157–80. Man kann Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture,” 50 nur zustimmen: “The adoption of Chronicles as a model by 4QMMT is worthy of further consideration.”

aus Nöten (מצרות) (נצל מצרות), folgen der Zweck des Schreibens (כתבנו לך o.ä.), mit dem das Gegenüber für die eigene Position gewonnen werden soll (ואנחנו מכירים) und שפרשנו מן (und שחשבנו לטוב), und der Ausblick auf das “Ende der Zeit,” wie es hier statt “Ende der Tage” heißt.

Die parallele Struktur scheint mit nicht zufällig zu sein. Sie spricht sehr für die von Strugnell und Stegemann vertretene und hier vorausgesetzte Anordnung der Fragmente.⁶⁶ Umso mehr fallen die unterschiedlichen Akzente ins Gewicht. Nach der an Dtn 30:1–3 orientierten historischen Bilanz und geschichtstheologischen Zukunftsprognose im ersten Durchgang folgt die praktische Umsetzung. Die Mahnung זכור ה' bezieht sich auf ein positives Beispiel der Könige Israels, David, der vermutlich noch in die Segenszeit vor dem Sündenfall unter Jerobeam gehört, von der in 4Q398 11–13, 1 die Rede ist. Wie in der Chronik, in den Psalmen und in Jesus Sirach (Sir 47:1–11) gilt David als der exemplarische Fromme, der aus vielen Nöten gerettet und dem seine Fehlritte vergeben wurden. Er ist das historische Vorbild der “Wir,” von denen es im Anschluß an das negative Beispiel der Könige Israels in 4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i hieß, daß sie sich von der Menge des Volkes und allem Unreinen getrennt haben.

Dementsprechend fährt der Text von 4Q398 14–17 ii // 4Q399 i–ii in der wiederholten direkten Anrede des Adressaten damit fort, daß auf das Schreiben selbst und seinen Inhalt verwiesen wird. Während beim ersten Mal die Beschäftigung mit der Tora und den Propheten als Zweck des Lehrschreibens angegeben ist, um die geschichtstheologischen Zusammenhänge zu erkennen, die das toragemäße Verhalten der “Wir” bestimmt (4Q397 14–21 // 4Q398 14–17 i), wird beim zweiten Mal mit der Inhaltsangabe מקצה מעשי (ולעמך) התורה שחשבנו לטוב (C 27) ausdrücklich eine Verbindung der geschichtstheologischen Reflexionen in C zur Halacha in B

⁶⁶ Unter den Voraussetzungen der von Qimron vertretenen Anordnung findet auch Pérez Fernández, “4QMMT: Redactional Study,” 197f, zwei Teile mit paralleler Struktur: a) “Wir haben dir geschrieben” (C 10.26f), b) “Gedenke” (C23f.25f). Doch sein Schema gibt den Textverlauf nicht korrekt wieder. Wenn ich recht sehe, liegt darin keine parallele, sondern allenfalls eine konzentrische Struktur vor: a), b), b), a). Diese könnte für Qimrons Lösung sprechen, wäre sie denn tatsächlich intendiert und ließe sich, sowohl was die sehr unterschiedlichen Textproportionen als auch was den gedanklichen Zusammenhang anbelangt, am Text auch nachweisen. Die bloße Wiederkehr von Formulierungen, Stichwortanschlüsse und inhaltliche Berührungen besagen—zumal in einem fragmentarisch überlieferten Text—als solche nicht viel (s. auch die folgende Anm.).

hergestellt (vgl. B 1f). Die Verbindung besteht darin, daß derjenige, der Mose und die Propheten richtig zu lesen und im Sinne von C zu interpretieren weiß, auch der in B begründeten Halacha zustimmen und die Tora auf diese Weise halten wird.

Um dieser Konsequenz Nachdruck zu verleihen, bezeichnet der Verfasser seinen Adressaten als einen, bei dem er Klugheit und Tora-Wissen (ערבמה ומדע תורה) beobachtet habe, und fordert ihn auf, “dies alles zu bedenken” (בין ב) und “ihn (sc. Gott) zu ersuchen” (בקש), er möge den Adressaten von seinem falschen Weg abbringen (C 28f). Die Formulierung ist in mehrfacher Hinsicht signifikant. Sie bezieht sich offenbar auf beides, auf die richtige Einsicht in die Tora und die Propheten selbst wie auf das der Auslegung von Tora und Propheten gewidmete Schreiben. Sodann suggeriert sie dem Adressaten die in 4Q398 11–13 aufgezeigte, von den Königen Israels ausgeschlagene Möglichkeit, zu den “Tora-Suchern” (מבקשי תורה) zu gehören. Auf den Zusammenhang weisen die Stichwortverbindungen über die Lexeme בין (4Q398 11–13, 6; 4Q397 14–21, 10) und בקש (4Q398 11–13, 7).⁶⁷ Zu beachten ist dabei, daß die übliche—biblische und auch hier verwendete—Redeweise vom “Suchen Jhwhs” bzw. seines “Angesichts”⁶⁸ in Beziehung gesetzt wird zu der biblisch nicht belegten Formulierung des “Suchens der Tora,” die in der Wendung תורה מבקשי bezeichnenderweise nur noch einmal im—ebenfalls deuteronomistisch geprägten, geschichtstheologischen—ersten Kapitel des Jubiläenbuchs bezeugt ist (4Q216 II 13 = Jub 1:12), aber auch in die Sprache von Qumran Eingang gefunden hat.⁶⁹ Und schließlich mag auch Mal 2:7, die einzige Stelle im Alten Testament, an der תורה und בקש miteinander vorkommen, auf die Wahl der Formulierung eingewirkt haben: Einem Priester gleich, ist auch der Adressat, hinter dem nicht selten ein amtierender Hoherpriester und politischer Führer

⁶⁷ Der Sinn erschließt sich nur im Rahmen der hier gefundenen parallelen Struktur von C mit 4Q398 11–13 am Anfang, in der die Stichwortverbindung eine Art Inklusion bildet. Im Rahmen einer konzentrischen Struktur (s. Anm. 66) würde C 28 mit C 10 (בין), aber nicht mit C 23f korrespondieren; die fraglichen Stichworte in C 23f hätten wiederum in C 25f kein Pendant.

⁶⁸ Vgl. Dtn 4:29; Jer 29:13; 2Chr 20:3f (alle mit דרש in Parallele) bzw. 2Sam 21:1; Ps 24:6 (par. דרש); 27:8; 105:3 // 1Chr 16:11; 2Chr 7:14.

⁶⁹ 4Q306 2 3 (DSS 1, 11); 1QS V 11. Durchgesetzt hat sich allerdings die verwandte (s. die vorausgehende Anm.) Formulierung דרש תורה: Esr 7:10; Sir 35:15 (LXX 32:15); 1QS VI 6f; VIII 15; CD VI 7; VII 18; XX 6; 4Q159 5, 6; 4Q174 1–2 i 11. Beide Begriffe sind ebenso wie בין ב (vgl. Neh 8:8; Dan 9:2) auf dem Wege dazu, *termini technici* für das Schriftstudium zu werden. Vgl. DJD X, 89.

vermutet wird,⁷⁰ für das Volk Israel verantwortlich (C 27.31f). Seine Beschäftigung mit der Tora und sein Wissen sind die Grundlage dafür, daß er “Wissen” weitergeben und man von ihm “Tora” erfragen kann.

Auch der wiederholte eschatologische Ausblick am Schluß nimmt auf das Schreiben selbst Bezug (מקצת דבריני bzw. מדבריני C 30, vgl. B 1f) und wendet die geschichtstheologischen Reflexionen ins Praktische. Wie bei der zweiten direkten Anrede gilt nicht die Schrift selbst, sondern deren Auslegung im vorliegenden Lehrschreiben als die entscheidende Orientierung. Das Schreiben soll den Adressaten dazu anleiten, es nicht den “Königen Israels” gleich zu tun, von denen man aus Mose und den Propheten weiß, daß sie immer nur das Böse in den Augen Jhwhs getan haben, sondern (wie David) das Rechte und Gute zu tun.⁷¹ Wenn er nur—mit Gottes Hilfe—beherzigt, was in diesem Lehrschreiben steht, kann er dem “Ende der Zeit,” wann auch immer es kommt, gelassen und mit Freude entgegensehen. Seine “Gerechtigkeit” ist ihm wie dem frommen Abraham (Gen 15:6; 4Q225 2 i 8) und dem Priester Pinhas (Ps 106:31) sicher. Belial ist (noch) nicht die endzeitliche Figur, die im endzeitlichen Kampf besiegt werden muß, sondern der Inbegriff des Bösen, hier der bösen Gedanken und Pläne,⁷² die im täglichen Leben besiegt werden müssen und können, und zwar dank “Mose und der Propheten” in der von 4QMMT gegebenen Auslegung von Gesetz und Geschichte.

⁷⁰ Vgl. dazu DJD X, 116ff.

⁷¹ Man beachte, daß die Handschriften schwanken zwischen der üblichen Kurzform der in Dtn 12:8.25; 13:19 sowie für die Zeit der “Richter” (Ri 2:11 u.ö.) und wieder seit den Tagen Jerobeams (!) gebrauchten, deuteronomistischen Formel “das Böse/das Rechte in den Augen Jhwhs tun” (1Kön 14:22; 15:11.26 etc.) und der in Dtn 6:18; 12:28 sowie 2Chr 14:1; 31:20 belegten Langform “das Rechte und das Gute tun.” In diesem wie in anderen Fällen hat 4Q399 gegenüber 4Q398 die kürzere und vermutlich ältere Lesart (C 27.30.31).

⁷² Zum Parallelismus von רעה und בליעל vgl. 1Sam 30:22; zu בליעל im intellektuellen und ethischen Bereich Prov 6:12–14; Ps 101:3–4; von Priestersöhnen, die Gott nicht kennen, 1Sam 2:12. Der Sprachgebrauch in 4QMMT bewegt sich somit noch ganz im Rahmen des biblischen Hebräisch und zeigt noch nicht die Veränderungen, die er in Qumran erfahren hat. Vgl. DJD X, 84.

THE QUMRAN DEAD SEA SCROLLS— LIBRARY OR MANUSCRIPT CORPUS?*

Armin Lange
University of Vienna

Since F.M. Cross wrote his book “The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies”¹ it has more or less been taken for granted, that the scrolls found in the caves around Khirbet Qumran are the remnants of an ancient Jewish library. Some scholars even suggested that the Qumran caves were the hiding place of the temple library during the first Jewish war.² Recently, the assumption of a Qumran library has been criticized by Emanuel Tov.

For most aspects discussed . . . , it is probably immaterial whether or not the Qumran corpus as a whole or the texts from cave 4 alone should be considered a library, a term used often in the scholarly literature since the influential study by F.M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, which has dominated scholarship since its first edition . . . Several studies have been written on the basis of the assumption that the Qumran collection, especially that of cave 4, represents a library; e.g. K.G. Pedley, “The Library at Qumran,” *RevQ* 2 (1959) 21–41, who went as far as contemplating whether or not there ever existed an inventory of the ‘Qumran library’ such as that in several ancient libraries. Likewise, the director of the University library in Bonn, V. Burr, devoted a study to the Qumran corpus based on his experience as a librarian: “Marginalien zur Bibliothek von Qumran,” *Libri* 15 (1965) 340–352. However, neither the contents of the Qumran corpus nor any external features of the caves or a community building can be adduced as

* I am obliged to Mr. Matthias Weigold for editing this article and to Mr. Michael Lesley for revising my English. It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to both of them.

¹ F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958). Cross actually entitled one of his chapters “A Catalogue of the Library of Qumran” (23).

² K.H. Rengstorf, *Hirbet Qumrân und die Bibliothek vom Toten Meer* (Studia Delitzschiana 5; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960); English translation: *Hirbet Qumrân and the Problem of the Library of the Dead Sea Caves* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963). N. Golb, “The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124 (1980): 1–24; idem, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York, N.Y.: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1995).

supporting evidence for the assumption that cave 4 housed a library. Several Qumran caves were used as depositories for all the written material owned by the Qumran community, which may have been stored previously in several locations in the Qumran compound itself. Among other things, it is unlikely that *tefillin* and *mezuzot*, scribal exercises, personal notes such as 4QList of False Prophets ar (4Q339) and 4QList of Netinim (4Q340), an inner-Qumran community document such as 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer (4Q477), and Greek texts, would have been kept in a library of the Qumran community . . . It should also be noted that some caves (3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10) served as temporary dwellings for individuals who left behind their utensils as well as some written material.³

Tov prefers to describe the Qumran manuscripts as a “corpus.”⁴ Are the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls the remnants of an ancient Jewish library, i.e. are they an Essene library,⁵ or is the term “corpus” a more fitting designation? To discuss this question in detail is a fitting tribute to the work of Emile Puech, as most of his life was and is dedicated to the decipherment and interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls. To answer the question at hand, whether the Qumran manuscript collection was an ancient Jewish library or not, I will first give a survey of Ancient Near Eastern and ancient eastern Mediterranean libraries found in archeological excavations or described in the ancient sources. Afterwards, I will compare the contents of the Qumran collection with these ancient libraries.

I. *Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Graeco-Roman Libraries*

In the Ancient Near East, libraries in the modern sense were nonexistent or at least very rare. Only since the first millennium did some libraries loan their books to scholars. In the famous reference work *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, a library is defined as follows:⁶

³ E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Text Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 4–5. Due to the delayed publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the earlier studies by K. Greenleaf Pedley and V. Burr mentioned in Tov’s quotation are based on insufficient evidence and thus can be neglected in the following.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵ For the reasons why I consider Qumran to be an Essene settlement, see A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Ordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden, New York and Köln, 1995), 5–6, 20–21; *idem*, “Qumran,” *RGG*⁴ 6 (2003), 1873–96, esp. 1873–82.

⁶ J.A. Black and W.J. Tait, “Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East,”

Almost any group of documents excavated together can be called an “archive,” on a broad definition of the word. Within Mesopotamia and the rest of the regions using cuneiform writing, “library” tends to be reserved for a collection including literary, historical, and perhaps scientific texts, in an institutional building such as a palace or temple or in a private house . . . In practice the distinction between archive and library is often impossible to make, since administrative, legal, and business records may be stored in the same room as traditional or scientific texts used for scribal training, and priests or scholars kept their family records at home with their private libraries.

From the Greco-Roman world, an ancient definition is preserved of what a library is:

Bibliothecae et apud Graecos et apud nos tam librorum magnus per se numerus, quam locus ipse, in quo libri conlocati sunt, appellatur.

With the Greeks as well as with us, a large number of books as well as the place where they are stored is called a library.⁷

Notwithstanding this definition however, libraries could contain archival documents in the Greco-Roman world as well as in the Ancient Near East.⁸

Egypt

According to these definitions, from the different cultures of the Ancient Near East, several archives and libraries of private individuals, palaces, and temples are preserved.⁹ Although ancient Egypt seems to have had a long tradition of libraries and archives, little is known about the purposes of these libraries. Basically, two different types of temple libraries can be observed. The “house of books” is a library for the temple cult.¹⁰ The “houses of life” (*per ankh*) were also affiliated

in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. Jack Sasson; reprint of the edition 1995; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000), 4:2197–2209 (2197).

⁷ The Latin grammarian Festus in his dictionary *De verborum significatu*. Text according to W.M. Lindsay (ed.), *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli Epitome* (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1913). The translation is my own.

⁸ Cf. H. Blank, *Das Buch in der Antike* (Beck's Archäologische Bibliothek; München: C.H. Beck, 1992), 133.

⁹ For the libraries of Egypt and Mesopotamia, see Black and Tait, “Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East,” 2197–2209; U. Jochum, *Kleine Bibliotheksgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1993), 13–23.

¹⁰ An example of this would be the collection of 32 papyrus scrolls that was once housed in the Horus temple at Edfu. The papyri themselves are lost, but inscriptions

with temples. As the place where the Egyptian scribes generally worked and learned their craft, the houses of life included libraries. In these libraries theological, scientific, and literary texts were written, copied, and stored.¹¹ Furthermore, Egyptian temples served as archives for local records. In addition to temple libraries, royal libraries existed in Ancient Egypt, too.¹² The extent of texts collected in an Egyptian library might be illustrated by a private collection of papyri from the time of the 13th dynasty belonging to a lector-priest. It included literary narratives, military dispatches, an onomasticon, medical remedies, magical spells, a hymn to Sobek, and fragments of a dramatic or ritualistic composition.¹³ Another example is the catalogue of the Edfu temple library which listed not only texts concerned with the daily cult, texts concerned with special rituals, texts concerned with apotropaic spells, and texts concerned with astronomy but also archival material.¹⁴

Mesopotamia

In Mesopotamia, libraries had existed since the 3rd millennium B.C.E.¹⁵ They were part of temples, palaces, schoolhouses, and private build-

on the walls of the temple library preserve the names of these texts (see Dieter Arnold, *Die Tempel Ägyptens: Götterwohnungen, Baudenkmäler, Kultstätten* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1992), 99–100).

¹¹ For ancient Egyptian libraries, see G. Burkard, “Bibliotheken im Alten Ägypten,” *Bibliothek* 4 (1980): 79–115; A. Gardiner, “The House of Life,” *JEA* 24 (1938): 157–79; I. Shaw and P. Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 161 (entry “libraries”). J.E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum: With transl. and comments by W. Spiegelberg*, London: Quaritch 1898; H.R. Hall, “An Egyptian Bookplate: The *ex-libris* of Amenophis III and Teie,” *JEA* 12 (1926): 30–33; Vilmos Wessetzky, “Bibliothek,” in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (ed. W. Helck and E. Otto; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), 1:783–85; idem, “Die ägyptische Tempelbibliothek,” *ZÄS* 100 (1973): 54–59; idem, “Die Bücherliste des Tempels von Edfu und Imhotep,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 83 (1984): 85–90.

¹² That such royal libraries existed in ancient Egypt is proven by three faience bookplates bearing the name of Amenhotep III. Two of these bookplates are also inscribed with names of the literary works copied on their papyri (see Shaw and Nicholson, *Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 161; cf. Hall, “An Egyptian Bookplate”).

¹³ See Shaw and Nicholson, *Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 161.

¹⁴ See Wessetzky, “Bücherliste,” 85–89; Dieter Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (2nd revised edition; Düsseldorf and Zürich: Artemis und Winkler, 1998), 140–47.

¹⁵ For Mesopotamian libraries, see A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (2nd ed.; Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 15–21; O. Pedersen, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East: 1500–300 B.C.* (Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1998); D.T. Potts, “Before Alexandria: Libraries in the

ings. Libraries are often found in temples of the scribal deity Nabu, and medical libraries were associated with the healing deity Gula. Furthermore since the 2nd millennium B.C.E. royal palaces were also equipped with libraries. The most famous example of such a palace-library is the library of Ashurbanipal, which tried to collect the entire cuneiform literature known in its time. Ashurbanipal's library is thus the first systematically collected library in the Ancient Near East, and probably comes closest to our modern (university) libraries. Ashurbanipal's library contained omen texts, rituals and spells, lexical texts, hymns and prayers, epic poems, myths, wisdom texts, and archival documents. Library records indicate "that out of all these hundreds and thousands of tablets and boards, only a tiny fraction . . . consists of what would be called *belles-lettres*, i.e. epics, myths, etc."¹⁶ The Ashurbanipal library inventories also indicate that private libraries were often in the property of diviners, scribes, and priests.¹⁷ Representative of Mesopotamian temple libraries are the contents of a temple library in Sippar found still on the shelves in the Shamash temple.

Approximately 800 clay tablets have been unearthed in the library temple. Only a handful of them have so far been published . . . From the available information, many of the traditional literary works from Babylonia were represented. The texts were either Akkadian or bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian. There are a large number of different types of omens of the traditional series, as well as a number of incantations, hymns, prayers, and lamentations. Several of the traditional epics like Atrahasis, Enuma elish, and Lugale have been reported. There are lexical lists, mathematical, and astronomical texts. A collection of copies of royal inscriptions from previous periods of Mesopotamian history, including the prologue to Hammurabi's law, and some pseudo-biographical works has also been found. A small group of letters and economic texts have

Ancient Near East," in *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World* (ed. R. MacLeod; London and New York, N.Y.: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2000), 19–33. See also O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations*, vols. 1–2 (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 6, 8; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1985–86).

¹⁶ S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," *JNES* 42 (1983): 1–29, 6. For an inventory of Ashurbanipal's library, see also W.G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *JCS* 16 (1962): 59–77; cf. idem, "A Late Assyrian Catalogue of Literary and Scholarly Texts," in *Kramer Anniversary Volume: Cuneiform Studies in Honor Samuel Noah Kramer* (ed. B.L. Eichler; AOAT 25; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchner Verlag, 1976), 313–18.

¹⁷ Parpola, "Library Records," 8–10.

also been identified. The latest dated tablet is reported from the reign of Cambyses II (529–522 B.C.).¹⁸

Typical for Mesopotamia, all libraries put a heavy emphasis on divinatory texts, especially omen texts. A.L. Oppenheim speaks even of a “predominance of scholarly over literary texts, and, within the scholarly texts, the predominance of texts which Assyriologists call ‘omen texts.’”¹⁹ Besides these texts, however, as compared to the palace library of Ashurbanipal, the Sippar temple library also has a heavier emphasis on liturgically relevant texts.

Asia Minor and Syro-Palestine

What is preserved from the Hittite libraries from Boghazköy and the Ugarit libraries resembles the Mesopotamian evidence. Hittite libraries²⁰ contained mainly archival material such as letters, and also lexical texts, (magical) rituals, and, rarely, literary texts. In Ugarit²¹ several libraries were found but no temple library. The contents of the respective libraries depend on their purpose. In general, the Ugarit libraries contained archival and administrative texts, religious texts, lexical texts, lists of scripts, legal texts, and literary texts.

A special case is the mention of a library (βιβλιοθήκη) in 2 Macc 2:13–15:²²

The same things are reported in the records and in the memoirs of Nehemiah, and also that he founded a library and collected the books

¹⁸ Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries*, 197.

¹⁹ Oppenheim, *Mesopotamia*, 16.

²⁰ For a description of the libraries of the Hittite capital Boghazköy, see H. Otten, “Das Hethiterreich,” in *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient: Mesopotamien, Hethiterreich, Syrien-Palästina, Urartu* (ed. H. Schmökel; Stuttgart: Kröner, 1961), 402–409; idem, “Archive und Bibliotheken in Hattuā,” in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries: Papers Read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 4–8 July 1983* (ed. K.R. Veenhof; Leiden: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1986), 184–95.

²¹ For the libraries of Ugarit, see W.H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40; Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 47–231; idem, “The Syllabic Akkadian Texts,” in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (ed. W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt; HO 1.39; Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill, 1999), 29–36; W.T. Pitard, “The Alphabetic Ugaritic Texts,” in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, 48–51; M. Dietrich and W. Mayer, “The Hurrian and Hittite Texts,” in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, 58–61.

²² For a more detailed discussion of 2 Macc 2:13–15, see A. Lange, “2 Maccabees 2:13–15—Library or Canon?,” in *The Books of Maccabees: History, Theology, and Ideology* (ed. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengeller; JSJSup; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006).

about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and letters of kings about votive offerings. In the same way Judas also collected all the books that had been lost on account of the war which had come upon us, and they are in our possession. So if you have need of them, send people to get them for you.

2 Macc 2:13–15 is part of the second letter to the Egyptian Jews in the beginning of 2 Maccabees. 2 Maccabees reports that Judah Maccabee reassembled the library of the Jerusalem temple, which had been lost during the Hellenistic religious reforms of the years 175–164 B.C.E. and which, according to legend, had been founded by Nehemiah.²³ The description of Nehemiah's library fits well what is known about the contents of Ancient Near Eastern temple libraries. "Books about kings and prophets" refers to literary works, while 11QPs^a XXVII 2–11 demonstrates that "the writings of David" designates liturgical and poetical texts, and the "letters of kings about votive offerings" reminds of the archival documents, which were kept in Ancient Near Eastern temple libraries.

The Greco-Roman World

In ancient Greece and the Hellenistic world, libraries were a well established institution.²⁴ Although early archives and libraries are known, e.g. the Peisistratide in Athens²⁵ and the library of Polykrates on the island of Samos,²⁶ the first typical Greek library seems to have been the private library of Aristotle. Aristotle's library, which is said to have contained 1000 books,²⁷ is the first known Greek

²³ For the existence of a Jerusalem temple library, see also A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Freiburg/Schweiz and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 332–35.

²⁴ For libraries in the Greco-Roman world, see J. Platthy, *Sources on the Earliest Greek Libraries with the Testimonia* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1968); Jochum, *Bibliotheksgeschichte*, 24–47; L.L. Johnson, *The Hellenistic and Roman Library: Studies Pertaining to Their Architectural Form* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, 1992); Blank, *Buch*, 134–52; K. Vössing, "Bibliothekswesen: B: Griechenland, Rom, christliche Bibliotheken," *DNP* 2 (1997): 640–47; L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

²⁵ For the Peisistratide library see Gellius, *Noctium Atticarum*, 7.17.1–2 (Platthy, *Sources*, 100, #8). Cf. Platthy, *Sources*, 97–110, #1–27.121. Cf. Blank, *Buch*, 134.

²⁶ For the libraries of Peisistratus and Polykrates see Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1:3 A–B (Platthy, *Sources*, 152, #121).

²⁷ Ptolemy, the Philosopher, as quoted by Elias in his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* (Platthy, *Sources*, 126, #67).

library which tried to collect literature systematically. About Aristotle, Strabo writes in the 13th book of his *Geographica*:

and he is the first man, so far as I know, to have collected books and to have taught the kings in Egypt how to arrange a library.²⁸

In the Hellenistic world, libraries could be found in palaces, temples, and gymnasiums. Without doubt, the most famous Hellenistic library, however, is the library of Alexandria.²⁹ It was founded by a student of Aristotle, Demetrius of Phaleron, with the support of either Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II.³⁰ Situated in the palace of the Ptolemies, the library of Alexandria is said to have contained 500,000 manuscripts at its inception, and tried to collect all known Greek literature, as well as the most important non-Greek texts. Access to the Alexandrian library was restricted to the scholars of the Alexandrian *Musaion*.

The library of Alexandria soon became the model for Hellenistic rulers, who created palace libraries according to the Alexandrian paradigm. Two of the more famous examples are the library of Pergamon, founded by Attalos I, and the library of Antiochia, founded by Antiochus III. Often these palace libraries were more available to the public than that of Alexandria. Hellenistic palace libraries had a dual purpose. On the one hand, they enhanced scholarship, and on the other hand they demonstrated the superiority of Greek culture and turned the king's residence into a center of *paideia*.

As in the Ancient Near East, temple libraries can also be found in the Greek-Hellenistic cultures. Famous examples are the Asclepius sanctuaries in Kos, Epidauros, and Pergamon, as well as the Serapeum and Sebasteium in Alexandria. In contrast to those of the Ancient Near East, however, Greek-Hellenistic temple libraries allowed for public access.

Furthermore, two passages in Polybius's and Alexis's writings illustrate the existence of both private and public libraries in larger Hellenistic cities. In the 2nd c. B.C.E., the Greek historiographer Polybius criticizes the use of libraries for historic research (*Histories* 12:27).

²⁸ Strabo, *Geographica*, 13:1.54 (Platthy, *Sources*, #68), translation according to Platthy, *Sources*, 127.

²⁹ For the library of Alexandria and its history, see M. El Abbadi, *Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria* (2nd revised ed.; Paris: UNESCO/UNDP, 1992); R. MacLeod (ed.), *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World* (London and New York, N.Y.: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2000).

³⁰ See *Let. Aris.* 9–10, and El-Abbadi, *Life*, 79–82.

The way in which Polybius phrases his criticism implies not only an extensive use of libraries by the ancient historians but demonstrates also that in the 2nd c. B.C.E. libraries were a widespread institution.

Now, Timaeus enters on his inquiries by the pleasanter of the two roads, but the inferior one. For he entirely avoids employing his eyes and prefers to employ his ears. Now the knowledge derived from hearing being of two sorts, Timaeus diligently pursued the one, the reading of books, as I have above pointed out, but was very remiss in his use of the other, the interrogation of living witnesses. It is easy enough to perceive what caused him to make this choice. Inquiries from books may be made without any danger or hardship, provided only that one takes care to have access to a town rich in documents or to have a library near at hand. After that one has only to pursue one's researches in perfect repose and compare the accounts of different writers without exposing oneself to any hardship. Personal inquiry, on the contrary, requires severe labour and great expense, but is exceedingly valuable and is the most important part of history.³¹

The quote of Polybius illustrates well that in the wake of the famous Hellenistic palace libraries, public city libraries developed. Furthermore, private donations laid the foundations for public libraries in gymnasiums.

A fragment of a play by the early Hellenistic poet Alexis entitled *Linus* shows that already in the 4th c. B.C.E. the existence of private libraries was taken for granted. The only surviving fragment of the play deals with the education of Heracles in the house of Linus:³²

Linus: Go up and take whatever book from there you wish;
then looking carefully at the titles,
quietly and at your leisure, you shall read.
Orpheus is there, Hesiod, tragedies,
Choerilus, Homer, Epicharmus, histories
of all sorts. For thus shall you show
the bent of your nature.

Heracles: I will take this one.

Linus: Tell me first what it is.

Heracles: As the title says, Cookery.

Linus: You are a philosopher, that's obvious,
for preferring the treatise of Simus to

³¹ Text quoted from Polybius, *The Histories: In Six Volumes*, with an English Translation by W.R. Paton, vol. 4 (LCL; Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press and Heinemann, 1960), 401.

³² For the Greek text of the Alexis fragment and the translation quoted above, see Platthy, *Sources*, 115–17.

all these other writings.

Heracles: Simus, who's he?

Linus: A very talented fellow. At present he is interested in tragedy, and of all actors he is much the best cook in the eyes of those who hire him, but of cooks he is the best actor.

Hunger personified!

Heracles: Call me anything, I am hungry, for I want to eat.

In contrast to Ancient Near Eastern libraries, Greek palace, private, and public libraries seem to have focused on literary texts but did not include archival documents.

II. *The Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls*

How does the Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman evidence relate to the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls? Does the composition of the Qumran collection resemble what was collected in the ancient libraries? Are there material indications that the manuscript finds from Qumran are the remnants of an ancient library?

The Contents of the Qumran Manuscript Find

The circa 900 manuscripts found in the 11 caves from Qumran resemble the composition of Ancient Near Eastern libraries.³³ As in Ancient Near Eastern libraries, a large number of literary texts were found: next to the books collected in the Hebrew bible, a significant number of paratextual³⁴ compositions were part of the Qumran collection. Examples are the Enochic literature (Book of Giants [1Q23–24,

³³ The following list is not exhaustive but only gives examples. For a detailed list of the different text types attested by the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls, see A. Lange and U. Mittmann-Richert, "C. Annotated List of Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Genre and Content," DJD XXXIX, 115–64, esp. 122–49.

³⁴ In the DJD series this type of literature is described as "parabiblical." E. Tov defines parabiblical texts as literature "closely related to texts or themes of the Hebrew Bible" ("Foreword," DJD XIII, ix). As the concept of bible did not exist in Second Temple Judaism, I prefer the term paratextual. Paratextual literature can be described as follows: On the basis of texts or themes from authoritative literature, the authors of paratextual literature employ exegetical techniques to provide answers to questions of their own time, phrased as answers by God through Moses or the prophets. The result of their exegetical effort is communicated in the form of a new book. Therefore, paratextual literature should not be understood as a

2Q26, 4Q203, 206 2–3, 530–533, 6Q8], Astronomical Enoch [*I En.* 72–82; 4Q208–211], Book of Watchers [*I En.* 1–36; 4Q201–202, 204 1 i–xiii, 205 1 xi–xii, 206 1 xx–xxii, xxvi–xxviii], Book of Dreams [*I En.* 83–90; 4Q204 4, 205 2 i–iii, 206 4 i–iii, 207 4, 212 1 i 1–ii 21], Letter of Enoch [*I En.* 92–108; 4Q204 5 i–ii, 212 1 ii 21–v 26, 7Q4, 8, 11–14]), the texts collected in 1QapGen (1Q20), the Aramaic Levi Document (1Q21, 4Q213, 213a, 213b, 214, 214a, 214b), the Book of Jubilees (1Q17–20, 3Q5, 4Q216–224, 176a, 11Q12 + XQ5a), the Apocryphon of Moses (1Q22, 29, 4Q375–376, 408, 225–227, 368), the Temple Scroll (4Q524, 11Q19–21), the Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q378–379, 522, 5Q9), the Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4Q383, 384, 385a, 387, 388a, 389–390, 387a), Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385, 386, 385b, 388, 391, 385c), and the New Jerusalem text (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554–555, 5Q15, 11Q18). Among the literary texts from the Qumran caves are also poetical texts (e.g. Hodayot [1QH^a; 1Q35, 4Q427–432], Barki Nafshi [4Q434–438], Non-Canonical Psalms A–B [4Q380–381]), sapiential texts (Instruction [1Q26, 4Q415–418, 418a, 418c, 423], Mysteries [1Q27, 4Q299–301], Beatitudes [4Q525]), historical texts (e.g. Historical Text D, E, F [4Q332, 333, 468e]) and tales (e.g. Prayer of Nabonidus [4Q242] and ProtoEsther [4Q550, 550a–c]), apocalyptic (e.g. Book of Dreams [4Q204 4, 205 2 i–iii, 206 4 i–iii, 207 4, 212 1 i 1–ii 21], the New Jerusalem text [1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554–555, 5Q15, 11Q18], and Four Kingdoms [4Q552–553]) and eschatological texts (e.g. the War Rule [1Q33, 4Q285, 471, 491–497, 11Q14]). Furthermore, among the Qumran manuscripts are some of the earliest Jewish exegetical texts. Examples include thematic pesharim like the Midrash on Eschatology [4Q174, 177–178, 182] and continuous pesharim³⁵ like Peshar Isaiah A [4Q161], Peshar Isaiah B [4Q162], Peshar Hosea [4Q166–167], Peshar Nahum [4Q169], Peshar Habakuk [1QpHab], and Peshar Psalms [1Q16, 4Q171, 173]. In addition to the pesharim other commentaries (e.g. Commentary on Genesis A–D [4Q252–254, 254a]), a halakhic midrash (Midrash Sefer Moshe [4Q249]), and a compilation of eschatological quotations (4QTestimonia [4Q175]) have been found in the Qumran caves.

pseudepigraphic phenomenon, i.e. the ascription of a literary work to a biblical author, but as a form of scriptural revelation, comparable to the phenomenon of literary prophecy.

³⁵ For the distinction between thematic and continuous pesharim, see J. Carmignac, “Le document de Qumrân sur *Melkisédeq*,” *RevQ* 7/27 (1970): 342–78, esp. 360–63.

A large portion of the Qumran manuscripts are concerned with priestly matters and religious law. Most prominent among these texts are the community rules. Examples include Serekh haYahad (1QS I 1–III 12 [III 13–IV 26] par 4Q255 1–2 par 4Q256 I–III par 4Q257 I–VI par 4Q262 1 par 5Q11) and the Damascus Document (4Q266–273, 5Q12, 6Q15). Other texts concerned with religious law are purity rules (e.g. 4QTohorot A [4Q274]), eschatological rules (e.g. the Serekh ha-‘Edah [1Q28a, 4Q249a–i]), and an epistolary treatise (Miqsat Ma‘ase Hattôrâ [4Q313, 394–399]). A rather large group among the texts concerned with priestly matters and religious laws are the liturgical texts. Examples include collections of daily prayers (e.g. 4Qpapyrus Prières Quotidiennes [4Q503], 4QDibre Hamme’orot^{a-c} [4Q504–506]) and liturgical texts concerned with different festivals and sacrifices (e.g. Shirot ‘Olat Hashabbat [4Q400–407, 11Q17], Berakhot [4Q286–290], 1QS I 11–III 12, 1Qsb [1Q28b]). The liturgical texts also include exorcistic rituals (e.g. Shirot [4Q510–511, 11Qapocryphal Psalms [11Q11]). Closely connected to the liturgical texts are the calendrical texts from Qumran which are concerned with the times of services of the priestly classes (e.g. Mishmarot A, B [4Q322, 323]; Calendrical Document/Mishmarot A [4Q320]), festivals and sabbaths (e.g. 4QCalendrical Document C [4Q326]; 4QCalendrical Document D [4Q394 1–2; olim 4Q327]).

Somewhat smaller text groups found in the 11 Qumran caves include magical texts (e.g. 4QCurses [4Q280] and 4QExorcisms ar [4Q560]), omen lists (4QHoroscope [4Q186], 4QPhysiognomie/Horoscope ar [4Q561]), a treasure list (3QCopper Scroll [3Q15]), scribal exercises (e.g. 4QExercitium Calami A, C [4Q234, 341]), letters (4QLetter? ar [4Q342], 4QLetter nab [4Q343]), and documentary texts. Among the latter are documentary texts concerned with religious law (e.g. 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer [4Q477]), accounts (e.g. 4QAccount of Cereal A ar [4Q351]), and other documentary texts (e.g. 4QDeed of Sale ar [4Q346]).

As for the documentary texts and letters from Qumran (4Q350–358), A. Yardeni argues that the Bedouins found these texts in the caves of Nahal Hever or Wadi Murabaat and simply claimed a Qumran origin for them. The only exceptions would be 4Q350 and 4Q355.³⁶

³⁶ A. Yardeni, “Appendix: Documentary Texts Alleged to Be from Qumran,” DJD XXVII, 283–317, 283f.

Yardeni argues her case by referring to 4Q342, 344, 357, and 359, which on paleographic grounds can be identified as deriving from Nahal Hever. Several observations argue, however, for a Qumran origin of 4Q342–343, 345–346, 350–358:

1. 4Q355 is written on the *verso* of 4QMishmarot C (4Q324) and 4Q350 is written on the *verso* of 4QNarrative Work and Prayer (4Q460).

2. The 364-day calendar employed by 4QMishmarot C argues for a Qumran provenance for 4Q355.

3. Aside from 4Q350–358, no such accounts are known from any Nahal Hever cave. Another possibility would be to understand 4Q350–358 as originating from Wadi Murabba'at where similar accounts were found (Mur 8–10A, Mur 41, Mur 89–103, Mur 118–125). However, because of the original ascription of 4Q350–358 to the Qumran corpus and because accounts are also attested at Qumran (the *verso* of 4Q324 [4Q355] and 4Q460 [4Q350]), a Qumran provenance for 4Q350–358 seems to be more probable.

4. The paleographic dates of 4Q342–343, 345–346, 350–358 point to Qumran as the find site of these manuscripts.

The composition of the Qumran manuscript find resembles other Ancient Near Eastern libraries. The high percentage of liturgical or other ritually significant texts (calendrical texts, community rules, exorcistic rituals etc) resembles the composition of Ancient Near Eastern temple libraries such as the one in Sippar. These libraries also included literary and documentary texts. That in contrast to Ancient Near Eastern libraries the percentage of literary texts is relatively high in the Qumran manuscript collection agrees well with Hellenistic libraries. Another significant difference between Qumran and Ancient Near Eastern (temple) libraries is the lack of lexical texts and omen lists in the Qumran find. No lexical texts and only two omen lists were found; instead, the scholarly interests of the Qumran manuscript find seems to be reflected in commentaries and other interpretative literature.

In principal, though, the composition of the Qumran manuscript collection resembles Ancient Near Eastern temple libraries in its mixture of documentary, literary, liturgical, ritual and other texts of priestly interest. The composition of the Qumran manuscript collections indicates, therefore, that it is the remnant of an ancient Jewish library. But are there also material indications that the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls are the remnant of such a library?

Material Indications

In antiquity, libraries were normally stored in buildings not erected for this purpose. They often occupied one room in larger buildings (palaces, temples, private buildings). Sometimes, during controlled excavations, bookshelves or niches were found in such a room which still contained ancient texts.³⁷ But normally the material characteristics of libraries are not preserved. The Qumran library is no exception. The only material hint to a library might be the titles of books noted on the verso of some Qumran scrolls. They could hint to a reference system identifying individual scrolls.³⁸ In 4Qpap cryptA Midrash Sepher Moshe and 4QDibre Hamme'erot^a the titles are written on the back of the first inscribed sheet. In 1QS and 4QGen^{h-title} the titles are written on the back of the scroll's handle sheet. In 4QpapS^c a short line of text is found on the verso but somewhat more removed from the beginning of the scroll. It is not impossible to imagine that the few very difficult to read characters attest to a book title.³⁹ That only so few titles out of about 900 Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls are preserved should not be surprising, as the beginnings and ends of ancient scrolls deteriorated far more significantly than the better protected middle layers.

III. Conclusion:

The Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls—A Temple Library?

Although the characterization of the Qumran manuscript collection as a library was recently criticized, comparison between the inventories of both Ancient Near Eastern and Hellenistic libraries argue for the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls being the remnants of an ancient library. The composition of the Qumran library compares best with Ancient Near Eastern temple libraries. Whether the Qumran library was orig-

³⁷ E.g. the library of the Shamash temple in Sippar.

³⁸ For an instructive overview, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 120–21.

³⁹ Cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 121; cf. S. Pfann, "4Q249 Midrash Sefer Moshe," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995: Published in Honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden, New York, and Köln: 1997), 11–18 (11 n. 4); contra P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4 XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD XXVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 69–70.

inally stored in Qumran settlement or in cave 4 remains uncertain. During the first Jewish war at least some scrolls were hidden in the caves more removed from Qumran (e.g. cave 1). Other scrolls were found in caves which had been used as living quarters by the Qumran community (3Q, 5Q, 7Q, 8Q, 9Q). It is therefore probable that some scrolls were “checked out” of the Qumran library.

Some of the Qumran scrolls seem to have been used for teaching purposes and others for liturgical purposes. The former is indicated by the fact that some scrolls attributed to the maskil (“teacher”) were written in the crypt A cipher. A good example is 4Q298, which is entitled: “[Word]s of a *Maskil* which he spoke to all sons of dawn” (4Q298 1 1). The phrase “sons of dawn” is a designation for new members of the community.⁴⁰ That some of the Qumran scrolls were used for liturgical purposes is suggested by the recitals of prayers and hymns during festivals and fixed times of the day, as prescribed in 1QS IX 25–X 8.⁴¹ Furthermore, the Torah-scrolls from the Qumran library were also used for study and public readings.

In any place where is gathered the ten-man quorum, someone must always be engaged in study of the Law, day and night, continually, each one taking his turn. The general membership will be diligent together for the third of every night of the year, reading aloud from the Book, interpreting law and praying together. (1QS VI 6–8)⁴²

Furthermore, the documentary texts show that, typical for Ancient Near Eastern libraries, the Qumran library was also used for archival purposes. As indicated by several accounts, this part of the library was dedicated to accounting but covered also the implementation and practice of religious law. 4Q477 (4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer) is a list of members rebuked by the overseer as prescribed in CD IX 16–20 (cf. also 1QS V 24–VI 1 and CD IX 2–4).⁴³ XQOstr 1 is an ostracon found at the eastern wall of the Qumran

⁴⁰ S.J. Pfann and M. Kister, “Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn,” DJD XX, 1–30 (17).

⁴¹ Cf. D. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 1998), 46–54.

⁴² Translation according to M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 138. Abegg translates מִשְׁפָּט in line 7 as “scripture,” but as חֻרָה in line 6 seems to designate the same subject matter, “law” is a more appropriate translation.

⁴³ For this text see E. Eshel, “477. 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer,” DJD XXXVI, 474–83; idem, “4Q477: The Rebukes by the Overseer,” *JJS* 45 (1994): 111–22.

settlement. This ostrakon contains a draft copy of a deed of gift concerning the appropriation of the property of a new member by the *yahad* as prescribed in 1QS I 11–12 and VI 18–23.⁴⁴ The practice of the *yahad* of having communal property also explains the great diversity of the Qumran library. As part of their personal property new members brought scrolls with them which they acquired before they joined the *yahad*.⁴⁵

But why does the Qumran library resemble Ancient Near Eastern temple libraries? Are the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls the remnant of the Jerusalem temple library hidden in the Qumran caves during the first Jewish war (thus Rengstorf and Golb)?⁴⁶ In this case the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls should not be connected to the Qumran settlement at all. But such a connection between the Qumran library and the settlement is not only suggested by relatively unique pottery found both in the Qumran caves and in the Qumran settlement. It is also indicated by the religious documentary texts found in the settlement and the caves. Why would a list of rebuked people written on scrap leather—such as 4Q477—have been brought from Jerusalem to Qumran? And why would an ostrakon found in the Qumran settlement attest to the implementation of a community rule, which would have been brought to the Qumran caves from Jerusalem?⁴⁷

But if the Qumran library is not the Jerusalem temple library, why does it resemble a temple library? The answer is to be found in the particular character of the Qumran community. The Essene occupants of the Qumran settlement rejected the Jerusalem temple as ritually defunct because of its use of a lunar calendar and the illegitimate Hasmonean non-Oniad high priests officiating during the rituals.⁴⁸ But religious law prohibited a new physical temple outside of Jerusalem (Deut 12). Hence there is no archeological indication that the Qumran settlement itself was a temple.⁴⁹ Instead of build-

⁴⁴ For the ostrakon see F.M. Cross and E. Eshel, "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumrân," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 17–28 (26–28); idem, "1. Khirbet Qumran Ostrakon," *DJD* XXXVI, 497–507 (503–507).

⁴⁵ To my knowledge, this idea was first articulated by Shemaryahu Talmon in a discussion at the 1991 Dead Sea Scrolls conference in Krakow.

⁴⁶ See note 2.

⁴⁷ For a more detailed criticism of the ideas of Rengstorf and Golb, see the review on Golb's book by L.L. Grabbe in *DSD* 4 (1997): 124–28.

⁴⁸ See Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 14–17.

⁴⁹ Contra J.-B. Humbert, "L'Espace sacré à Qumrân: Proposition pour l'archéologie," *RB* 101 (1994): 161–211. Humbert's interpretation of the later phase of the

ing an alternate physical temple in Qumran or elsewhere, the Qumran community considered itself a spiritual temple. This spiritual temple was built out of members of the Essene movement and thus called **מקדש אדם** (“sanctuary of humans”; 4QMidrEschat^a III 6–7). In this human sanctuary, prayer and praise functioned as sacrifices. If the Qumran community considered itself to be a spiritual temple, it is no surprise that its library had the structure and composition of a temple library.

Qumran settlement as a sanctuary is mainly based on deposits of animal bones scattered through the site. But there can be hardly any doubt that these animal bones “represent the remains of communal meals” and not sacrifices (for the animal bone deposits in the Qumran settlement see J. Magness, *The Archeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich., and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans, 2002], 117–29, the quote is on 121).

LE PSAUME 154: SAGESSE ET SITE DE QOUMRÂN

André Lemaire
EPHE—Paris

Jusqu'à la découverte des manuscrits de Qoumrân, le Psaume 154 ne nous avait été conservé que dans la tradition littéraire syriaque du *Livre de discipline* (*Kêtabâ d'durâsâ*) écrit par l'évêque nestorien du X^e s., Elie d'al-Anbar¹ et une brillante analyse littéraire avec un essai de reconstruction de l'original hébreu en avait été publiée par M. Noth dès 1930.² L'original hébreu a été maintenant retrouvé sous deux formes différentes parmi les manuscrits de Qoumrân: dans 11Q5 = 11QPs^a (col. XVIII) et dans la colonne A de 4Q448 = 4QpsAp, ce qui a entraîné un certain nombre de nouvelles recherches.

Avant même l'*editio princeps* de 11QPs^a, les études de M. Delcor,³ de M. Philonenko⁴ et J. Sanders⁵ avaient, avec diverses nuances, proposé de rattacher ce Ps 154 au courant essénien. Cependant dans son édition préliminaire,⁶ puis dans son *editio princeps*, J.A. Sanders avait

¹ Cf. W. Wright, "Some Apocryphal Psalms in Syriac," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 9 (1887): 257–66; W. Baars (éd.), *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version, IV, 6, Apocryphal Psalms* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), II–IX et 7–8; J. Strugnell, "Notes on the Text and Transmission of the Apocryphal Psalms 151, 154 (= Syr II) and 155 (= Syr. III)," *HTR* 59 (1966): 257–81, voir 231–32; A.S. van der Woude, "Die fünf syrischen Psalmen," dans *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, IV, 1–3. Poetischen Schriften* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1974), 29–47; P.W. Skehan, "Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 143–58; H.F. van Rooy, "The Hebrew and Syriac Versions of Psalm 154," *Journal for Semitics* 5 (1993): 97–109; idem, "The marginal notes to the Syriac apocryphal psalms in manuscript 12t4," *VT* 48 (1998): 542–55.

² M. Noth, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apocryphen Psalmen," *ZAW* 48 (1930): 1–23.

³ M. Delcor, "Cinq nouveaux psaumes esséniens?," *RevQ* 1/1 (1958): 85–102; idem, *Les hymnes de Qumrân (Hodayot)* (Paris: Letouzey, 1962), 302–12; idem, "Zum Psalter von Qumrân," *BZ* 101 (1966): 15–29.

⁴ M. Philonenko, "L'origine essénienne des cinq psaumes syriaques de David," *Semítica* 9 (1959): 35–48.

⁵ J.A. Sanders, "The Scroll of Psalms (11QPss) from Cave 11: A Preliminary Report," *BASOR* 165 (1962): 11–15.

⁶ J.A. Sanders, "Two Non-Canonical Psalms in 11QPs^a," *ZAW* 76 (1964): 57–75, voir 66–67.

exprimé quelques réserves sur cette interprétation et, ne retrouvant dans ce psaume aucune des expressions typiques de Qoumrân, avait proposé de le rattacher à une époque antérieure, le qualifiant de “proto-essénien” ou de “hassidique.”⁷ Cette position a été reprise et accentuée dans la plupart des études ultérieures, en particulier celle de D. Lührmann⁸ qui a argumenté du caractère nettement sapientiel de ce psaume et de son rapprochement avec les idées du livre de Ben Sira pour le rattacher au courant de la sagesse tardive et rejeter une possible origine qoumraniennne.

Les choses se sont encore compliquées avec la publication de 4Q448 où les éditeurs⁹ ont tout de suite reconnu la présence des versets 17–20¹⁰ du psaume 154 dans les lignes 8 à 10 de la colonne A. Corrigéant quelque peu la lecture de cette colonne, nous avons alors nous-même montré que ce manuscrit comportait non seulement une partie de la fin du Psaume 154 mais aussi une partie du début (superscription et versets 1–4), tandis que la partie centrale en était totalement absente. Ce phénomène signifie que 4Q448A représente probablement une ver-

⁷ J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 38–39, 64–70, spéc. 69–70; idem, “Psalm 154 Revisited,” dans *Biblische Theologie und gesellschaftlicher Wandel. Für Norbert Lohfink* (éd. G. Braulik, W. Groß, et S. McEvenue; Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel et Wien: Herder, 1993), 296–306, voir 304. Cf. aussi la position très nuancée de J.C. Lebram, “Die Theologie der späten Chokma und häretisches Judentum,” *ZAW* 77 (1965): 202–11; Van der Woude, “Die fünf syrischen Psalmen,” 35; cf. aussi J. Strugnell, “The Smaller Hebrew Wisdom Texts Found at Qumran: Variations, Ressemblances, and Lines of Development,” dans *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (éd. C. Hempel, A. Lange, et H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 31–60, voir 39–41. Sur la date de ce psaume, cf. aussi A. Hurvitz, “Observations on the Language of the Third Apocryphal Psalm from Qumran (11QPs III),” *RevQ* 5/18 (1965): 225–32; R. Polzin, “Notes on the Dating of the Non-Massoretic Psalms of 11QPs^a,” *HTR* 60 (1967): 468–76, voir 468.

⁸ D. Lührmann, “Ein Weisheitspsalm aus Qumran (11QPs^a XVIII),” *ZAW* 80 (1968): 87–98.

⁹ E. Eshel, H. Eshel et A. Yardeni, “A Scroll from Qumran which Includes Part of Psalm 154 and a Prayer for King Jonathan and His Kingdom,” *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 295–324 (Héb); idem, “A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and his Kingdom,” *IEJ* 42 (1992): 199–229. Cf. aussi É. Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie et les débuts de la communauté de Qumrân: 4QJonathan (4Q523) et 4QPsAp (4Q448),” *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 240–70, avec quelques corrections de lecture justifiées et des restitutions plus discutables: cf. H. Eshel et E. Eshel, “4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpIsa,” *JBL* 119 (2000): 645–59, voir 645, n. 2.

¹⁰ La numérotation des versets suit celle proposée par l’*editio princeps* de J.A. Sanders, reprise dans Eshel et Eshel, “4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpIsa,” 657–58.

sion ancienne du psaume ne comportant encore que la partie hymnique identifiée par M. Noth tandis que le cœur du psaume sapiential, versets 5 à 15, a pu être rajouté ultérieurement.¹¹ Les corrections de lecture proposées ont pu être intégrées par l'*editio princeps* au niveau des épreuves.¹² H. et E. Eshel se sont même appuyés ensuite sur cette lecture corrigée pour proposer une interprétation de la superscription et un contexte historique à tout le manuscrit 4Q448.¹³

Cette naissance probable en deux étapes du Ps 154 nous conduit naturellement à essayer de caractériser ces deux étapes, le milieu d'origine des deux parties successives et leur lien éventuel avec le groupe de Qoumrân. Tout en notant que plusieurs commentateurs s'étaient prononcés négativement en ce qui concerne le dernier point,¹⁴ nous l'avions nous-même, en 1997, explicitement réservé à une étude ultérieure car il nous semblait prudent d'attendre la publication de la totalité ou de la quasi-totalité des manuscrits connus. C'est pratiquement chose faite aujourd'hui et, de fait, un certain nombre de manuscrits sapientiaux publiés dernièrement jettent une nouvelle lumière sur ce problème. En effet, la distinction de deux étapes de la rédaction pose des problèmes liés à la chronologie, à la thématique et à la terminologie de Ps 154:5–15.

En ce qui concerne la chronologie, il faut d'abord tenir compte de la date approximative des deux manuscrits de Qumrân. On sait que 4Q448B mentionne un roi Jonatan: comme Jonatan fils de Mattathias n'était pas roi, malgré G. Vermes¹⁵ et É. Puech,¹⁶ il s'agit probablement d'Alexandre Jannée (103–76 av. n. è.); ce psaume date donc

¹¹ A. Lemaire, "Attestation textuelle et critique littéraire: 4Q448 col. A et Psaume 154," dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery, Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (éd. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, et J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Israel Museum, 2000), 12–18. Cf. aussi Eshel et Eshel, "4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpIsa^a," 645–59, voir 648.

¹² E. Eshel, H. Eshel et A. Yardeni, "4Q448. 4Qapocryphal Psalm and Prayer," dans *Qumran Cave 4, VI. Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 403–25, voir 403, 410, 416–18.

¹³ Eshel et Eshel, "4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpIsa^a," 645–59.

¹⁴ Lührmann, "Ein Weisheitspsalm aus Qumran (11QPs^a XVIII)," 87–88; E.M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran, A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 9–10; Van der Woude, "Die fünf syrischen Psalmen," 35.

¹⁵ G. Vermes, "The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment (4Q448)," *JJS* 44 (1993): 294–300, voir 299–300.

¹⁶ É. Puech, "Note sur le fragment d'apocalypse 4Q246: « le fils de dieu »,» *RB* 101 (1994): 533–59, voir 553–54, n. 73; *id.*, "Jonathan le Prêtre Impie et les débuts de la Communauté de Qumrân: 4QJonathan (4Q523) et 4QpsAp (4Q448)," 241–70, voir 258–70.

probablement du vivant d'Alexandre Jannée, vers 100 ou au début du Ier s. av. n. è. et la paléographie semi-cursive correspondrait bien à une telle datation approximative.¹⁷ De façon plus précise, même si on ne peut écarter que cette prière demande l'intervention divine "contre" Alexandre Jannée,¹⁸ honni dans les textes de Qoumrân, l'interprétation de H. et E. Eshel conduirait à dater ce psaume au tout début du règne, vers 102 av. n. è.¹⁹ avec une forte probabilité que le manuscrit lui-même date aussi de cette époque, avant que ce roi ne devienne honni à Qoumrân. De son côté, le manuscrit 11QPs^a est daté paléographiquement des débuts de notre ère,²⁰ peut-être plus précisément vers 30–50.²¹ C'est dire que la forme brève du psaume dans 4Q448 est attestée environ un siècle ou siècle et demi avant la variante longue de 11QPs^a, aussi à la base de la tradition littéraire syriacque. Sans la prouver, cette chronologie relative des manuscrits des deux variantes s'expliquerait bien si l'addition centrale aboutissant à la version longue était due à un auteur qoumranien.

La partie hymnique attestée par 4Q448A est centrée sur la glorification (verbes et mots dérivés de la racine פאח) de la divinité et comporte de nombreux verbes à l'impératif. Elle se termine par le rappel du choix de Sion/Jérusalem comme lieu d'habitation de YHWH. Cette mise en valeur de Jérusalem s'accorde bien avec la superscription faisant apparemment référence au rôle de Jérusalem lors de l'invasion de Sennachérib. Même si elle comporte certains thèmes communs comme la gloire, la diffusion de la connaissance (5, 7, 14) et la mention des simples (פוחאים 7a), la partie sapientielle commençant par כִּי²² au début du verset 5 a une autre tonalité: elle est centrée sur la sagesse (הוכמה 5b), elle-même identifiée avec la "loi du Très-Haut" (14). Bien plus, le cœur de l'addition sapientiale insiste sur l'équivalence

¹⁷ Cf. DJD XI (1998), 405.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Lemaire, "Le roi Jonathan à Qoumrân (4Q448,B-C)," dans *Qoumrân et les Manuscrits de la mer Morte. Un cinquantenaire* (éd. E.-M. Laperrousaz; Paris: Cerf, 1997), 57–70.

¹⁹ Eshel et Eshel, "4Q448, Psalm 154 (Syriac), Sirach 48:20, and 4QpIsa^a," 656–57.

²⁰ Sanders, DJD IV (1965), 9.

²¹ Cf. Sanders, "Two Non-Canonical Psalms in 11QPs^a," 74; P.W. Flint, "‘Apocrypha’, Other Previously-Known Writings, and ‘Pseudepigrapha’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls," dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years* (éd. P.W. Flint et J.C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:24–66, voir 38.

²² Sur le rôle de cette particule dans les interpolations, cf. déjà J. Magne, "Le Psaume 154," *RevQ* 9/33 (1977): 95–102, voir 98.

entre la glorification du Très-Haut dans ses œuvres avec l'offrande et les sacrifices sur l'autel. Ce sont ces thèmes qui avaient semblé non-qoumraniens à D. Lührmann alors qu'il rapprochait cette mise en valeur de la sagesse de l'évocation d'une maison de sagesse dans le livre de Ben Sira où la sagesse est effectivement identifiée avec la Tôrâ (1:26; 6:37; 15:1 . . .). Cependant depuis cet article et, plus précisément, depuis une dizaine d'années, l'existence d'écrits sapientiaux à Qoumrân même ne fait plus aucun doute et de nombreuses études ont été consacrées à ces textes qoumraniens de sagesse,²³ en particulier au *mûsâr l'mêvîn*, "éducation/avertissement pour un intelligent" (4QInstruction). Cette dernière instruction a été rapprochée du livre de Ben Sira, lui-même attesté à Qoumrân. Si l'identification de la Sagesse avec la Loi pourrait être une "innovation de Ben Sira,"²⁴ elle est aussi clairement attestée dans d'autres manuscrits de Qoumrân,²⁵ ainsi:

Béni soit l'homme qui obtient la sagesse (הַחֹכְמָה)
et se conduit suivant la Loi du Très-Haut (בְּתוֹרַת עֲלִיוֹן) (4Q525 2 ii 3–4).

De plus, l'équivalence entre l'étude et la prière, spécialement la prière de louange, d'une part, et les offrandes et sacrifices liés à l'autel et donc au Temple, d'autre part, est aussi un thème qui semble approprié à Qoumrân²⁶ dont le groupe semble s'être tenu à l'écart des sacrifices, au moins expiatoires, du temple de Jérusalem.²⁷ En fait, ce thème se trouve déjà dans Prov 15:8, quelque peu interprété dans CD XI 20–21: "Le sacrifice des méchants est une abomination mais

²³ Cf. les indications bibliographiques dans A. Lemaire, "Les écrits de sagesse à Qoumrân et l'interprétation du site," à paraître; cf. aussi, par exemple, J.I. Kampen, "The Diverse Aspects of Wisdom in the Qumran Texts," dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, 1:211–43.

²⁴ Cf. É. Puech, "Le livre de Ben Sira et les manuscrits de la mer Morte," dans *Treasures of Wisdom. Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom. Festschrift M. Gilbert* (éd. N. Calduch-Benages et J. Vermeylen; BETL 143; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 411–26, voir 418. Cf., dans le même sens, à propos de l'image du "puits," J. Cook, "Law and Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls with Reference to Hellenistic Judaism," dans *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (éd. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 323–42.

²⁵ Cf. déjà D.J. Harrington, "Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts are Important," *DSD* 4 (1997): 245–54, voir 249–50.

²⁶ Cf. déjà, vers le tournant de notre ère, B.T. Viviano, *Study as Worship. Aboth and the New Testament* (SJLA 26; Leiden: Brill, 1978), voir 142–52.

²⁷ Le problème de la valeur des sacrifices pour la communauté essénienne a été discuté et doit être nuancé, cf., par exemple, F. Schmidt, "Les modèles du Temple à Qoumrân," dans *Qoumrân et les manuscrits de la mer Morte. Un cinquantenaire*, 345–65.

la prière des justes est comme une offrande agréable (כַּמְנַחֵה רִצּוֹן) et ce verset pourrait bien avoir inspiré directement Ps 154:10–11. En l'absence de la chair des holocaustes et de la graisse des sacrifices sanglants, "l'offrande des lèvres est comme un parfum de justice et la perfection de la conduite comme une offrande volontaire agréable (רִצּוֹן כְּנֶרֶבֶת מְנַחֵה)" (1QS IX 4–5; cf. VIII 6–7, 9–10). Le fait que ce thème soit repris dans les textes fondamentaux régulant le groupe de Qoumrân montre bien qu'il s'agit là d'un aspect important pour la vie de ce groupe.

Ainsi, les deux thèmes au centre de la partie sapientiale du Ps 154 se retrouvent-ils à Qoumrân. Qu'en est-il de leur formulation?

On remarque d'abord que les versets 5–15 comportent deux כִּי qui pourraient indiquer deux ajouts/insertions différents, l'un au début du v. 5 et l'autre au début du v. 9. De fait, les versets 9–11 semblent introduire les vv. 10b et 11 avec le thème de l'équivalence entre prière de louange et sacrifice et le début du v. 12 pourrait très bien suivre le v. 8 (même mot פָּהַח et même suffixe féminin de la troisième personne renvoyant à la sagesse).

Au v. 5, l'expression לְהוֹדִיעַ est déjà attestée 2 fois au v. 4 et se retrouve au v. 7 et au v. 14, révélant ainsi apparemment une certaine continuité de l'insertion 5–8, 12–15 par rapport à la partie hymnique. De façon plus précise, לְהוֹדִיעַ כְּבוֹד peut être rapproché de לְהוֹדִיעַ כְּבוֹדָךְ en 1QH^a V 19 et IX 19 (cf. aussi 1Q34bis 3 ii 7), en notant que כְּבוֹד est très fréquent en 1QH^a (52 fois). L'écriture du tétragramme en paléo-hébreu se retrouve dans tout le rouleau des psaumes 11QPs^a et, selon P.W. Skehan,²⁸ il pourrait s'agir d'un développement secondaire remplaçant éventuellement אֱדוּנִי et donc difficile à situer chronologiquement²⁹ mais bien attesté à Qoumrân.³⁰ Dans la deuxième partie du v. 5, le terme הוֹכְמָה, "sagesse," est bien connu à Qoumrân (60 fois) et il est employé avec le verbe נָתַן, "donner," en 4Q525 1,1.

Au v. 6, לְסַפֵּר est parallèle à לְהוֹדִיעַ comme en 1QH^a IX 29 et

²⁸ P.W. Skehan, "The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 14–44, voir 23.

²⁹ Cf., par exemple, les remarques d'É. Puech, *Qoumrân Grotte 4. XVIII. Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD XXV; Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998), 36–37 et 89; A. Lemaire, *Naissance du monothéisme. Point de vue d'un historien* (Paris: Bayard, 2003), 163–68.

³⁰ Cf. E. Tov, "Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School," dans *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After their Discovery*, 199–216, voir 204–207.

il est associé au terme *מעשה* comme dans 1QM XII 9; 1QH^a IX 30, 33; XI 23; XIX 24 . . . La forme *מעשי* sera reprise au v. 9. Le verbe *ידע* est déjà attesté avec *הוכמה* en 4Q525 1 2 tandis que la forme passive *נודעה* se rencontre déjà plusieurs fois à Qoumrân. L'expression *לאדם* est aussi déjà connue à Qoumrân (1QS XI 9, 10; 1QH^a VII 12; XII 38 . . .) et *אדם* va se retrouver au v. 10. On note aussi la formulation assez proche: *נהן לאדם דעה* dans le fragment 4Q305 II 2 et l'expression *לאד* en 4Q381 1 11.

Au v. 7, *לפוחאים*, "aux simples," est un écho de *פוחאים* du v. 4 et peut être rapproché de *פתיים/פוחאים* en 1QH^a V 2; X 9; 1Q14 7 3 . . . On retrouve, en particulier, cette expression en 4Q381 1 2 et 4Q418 221 2. "Les simples" désigne l'un des trois groupes de ce psaume: ceux auxquels s'adresse l'enseignement du maître, qui ne sont ni "méchants" ni "parfaits"³¹ mais qui peuvent se mettre en marche vers la sagesse et la perfection. Le syntagme *להודיע עונו* est déjà attesté au v. 4 et se retrouvera au v. 14, tandis qu'il peut être aussi rapproché de *להודיע ישעו* (v. 4). Dans la deuxième partie du v. 7, l'expression *להשכיל* est bien attestée à Qoumrân; on la retrouve, en particulier, en 4Q381 69 4, 5a, 7; 79 5; 4Q418c 7 (*להשכילו*?) et 4Q525 1,2. Le syntagme *לחסרי לבב* semble un hapax à Qoumrân, mais, en parallèle avec *פוחאים/פתיים*, on rencontre *לב נמהרי* en 1QH^a X 9 et *לאין לב* en 4Q381 1 2. À la fin de la ligne *נדרהו* renvoie probablement au même mot à restituer au v. 2.

Au début du v. 8, la forme *הרהוקים* semble un hapax à Qoumrân mais l'adjectif *y* est bien attesté, en particulier ici-même au v. 15. *מפתהיה* doit être rapproché de *מפתחי צדיקים* au v. 12 et *פתח* est bien attesté à Qoumrân, en particulier dans les écrits de sagesse 4Q184 1 10 et 4Q418 127 2. Le verbe *נדה* est aussi bien connu (18 fois), ainsi que le mot *מבוא* (20 fois), l'association *מבוא – פתח* se retrouvant déjà en 11Q17 X 7 et 4Q405 23 i 8, 9.

Au début du v. 9, la particule *כי* pourrait introduire une nouvelle insertion, comme au v. 5. *עלין* renvoie au v. 3 et 14 et se retrouve au v. 10. Cette appellation bien attestée à Qoumrân était très en faveur à l'époque hellénistique, tandis que *ארון* et *עקוב* sont aussi fréquents à Qoumrân. *הפארהו* est déjà attesté au v. 4 et probablement à restituer au v. 1. Le mot est bien connu à Qoumrân et on peut

³¹ Sur ces trois groupes dans le Ps 154, cf. Sanders, "Two Non-Canonical Psalms in 11QPs^a," 64–65; idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 108; idem, "Psalm 154 Revisited," 303.

surtout en rapprocher l'expression לעליון הפארתו en 1QS XI 15. Pour מעשיו, cf. supra au v. 6 en notant que כול מעשיו est déjà attesté en 1QS X 17; XI 16; 1QH^a XII 32.

Au v. 10, אדם a été déjà rencontré au v. 6 et מפאר עליון est à rapprocher de לפאר עליון au v. 3 et מפאריו au v. 17 (cf. aussi פארו probablement à restituer au v. 2 et הפארתו étudié supra au v. 9). Les verbes רצה et נגש sont chacun attestés une quarantaine fois à Qoumrân et מנחה 60 fois. Tout le v. 10 peut être rapproché de CD XI 21 (cf. 4Q271 5 i 14: (ה)פלה צדקם כמנחת רצון), s'inspirant, en le transformant, de Prov 15:8, ainsi que de 1QS IX 5: ותמים דרך כנרבת רצון מנחת רצון.

La formulation du v. 11 semble présenter une certaine originalité à Qoumrân. Si le verbe קרב y est très bien attesté (84 fois), le participe מקריב y semble unique; עתודים semble aussi un hapax, de même que בני בקר (même si בן בקר y apparaît). Le participe מדשן semble aussi un hapax de même que son association avec מזובה, même si ce dernier est très bien attesté (70 fois). עולה est aussi bien attesté mais le syntagme רוב עולה semble un hapax. קטורה n'est attesté que 4 fois et jamais dans l'expression כקטורה ou ניהוח כקטורה. Ce dernier mot est assez fréquent (34 fois) mais on en rapprochera surtout le syntagme של לקטורה ניהוח (1QM II 5; 4Q496 7 1) et כניהוח צדק (1QS IX 5 = 4Q258 2 ii 5-6). Si צדיקים se retrouve au v. 12, le syntagme מיד צדיקים est un hapax à Qoumrân.

Dans la deuxième partie du v. 12, le syntagme קהל חסידים semble un hapax à Qoumrân, reprenant le hapax biblique du Ps 149:1, mais peut être rapproché de la restitution ברים בקהל du v. 1, tandis que le nom זמרה est attesté 15 fois en hébreu qoumranien.

Au v. 13 les verbes אכל et שתה sont bien attestés à Qoumrân (179 et 30 fois). אכל et שתה sont associés une dizaine de fois, et les verbes אכל et שבע un peu moins souvent, tandis que le nom (ה)שבע ne l'est que 4 fois. À la fin du verset יהדיו בהבר יהדיו doit probablement être rapproché de יהדו הבר du v. 4 (cf. aussi la restitution הברו au début du v. 3) et des allusions aux repas communautaires de 1QS VI 4-6 et 1QS^a II 11-22.³² D'une manière plus générale, החבר semble désigner "l'association," "la communauté," "la société" esséno-

³² Pour les repas communautaires à Qoumrân, cf., par exemple, M. Delcor, "Repas culturels esséniens et thérapeutes, thiasés et haburoth," *RevQ* 6/23 (1968): 401-25.

qoumranienne en CD XIV 16–17 = 4Q266 10 i 10 עבודת החבר et (בית החבר).

Au début du v. 14, le syntagme תורת עליון est déjà attesté dans l'écrit de sagesse 4Q525 2 ii + 3 4 tandis que le verbe שיה l'est, en particulier, en 4Q381 1 1; 31 2 et dans les écrits de sagesse 4Q418 126 ii 10 et 4Q525 2 ii + 3 6. Après le v. 13, le début du v. 14 semble s'éclairer à la lumière de la description du déroulement des banquets sacrés des Thérapeutes dans Philon³³ (cf. aussi 1QS VI 2–6). Le nom אמר qui se retrouve au v. 15 est attesté 20 fois à Qoumrân dont 5 en 4Q525.³⁴

Au v. 15, רשעים est fréquent à Qoumrân: 96 fois dont 9 dans CD et 14 dans 1QH^a. Ce dernier rouleau contient aussi une attestation de זדים (1QH^a XIV 35). À la fin du vers, לדעהה, où le suffixe personnel renvoie à la “sagesse,” doit être rapproché de 4Q525 1 2: לדעהת הוכמה.

Ainsi, l'étude de la formulation de Ps 154:5–15 semble révéler non seulement que ces versets ont de nombreux liens avec les versets hymniques,³⁵ surtout avec 1–4, mais aussi qu'ils ont de nombreux échos dans la littérature non-biblique attestée à Qoumrân en particulier celles des hymnes/psaumes (surtout 1QH^a et 4Q381) et celle des écrits de sagesse (surtout 4Q525). Le seul passage dont l'originalité de la formulation pourrait faire quelque peu hésiter semble être 10b–11. En fait, il est vraisemblable que l'addition des versets 5–15 s'est faite en deux étapes: d'abord l'insertion des versets 5–7 et 12–15, introduits par כִּי (le verset 15 pouvant suivre naturellement le verset 7 avec le suffixe personnel féminin renvoyant à הוכמה, “sagesse”), puis les versets 9–11 (introduits aussi par כִּי) introduisant l'idée de l'équivalence entre la louange et les sacrifices effectués au Temple.

Au total, la publication récente des textes sapientiaux de Qoumrân révèle que la position de D. Lührmann rejetant une origine essénienne pour le Ps 154 parce qu'il s'agissait essentiellement d'un psaume sapientiel apparaît tout à fait périmée: il ne semble y avoir aucune raison de ne pas rattacher ce psaume au courant esséno-qoumranien

³³ *De vita contemplativa* § 64–82, voir 75–80.

³⁴ 4Q525 14 ii 18(?), 20, 24; 23 7; 24 ii 11(?).

³⁵ Les liens entre la partie sapientiale et la partie hymnique ont été bien soulignés par P. Auffret, “Structure littéraire et interprétation du psaume 154 de la grotte 11 de Qumran,” *RevQ* 9/36 (1978): 513–45, mais ils peuvent très bien s'expliquer dans le cadre d'une *fortschreibung*.

comme l'ont proposé M. Delcor et M. Philonenko. Bien plus, le texte court de 4Q448 semble antérieur au texte long de 11Q5 et une analyse de critique littéraire révèle que ce psaume a probablement connu une rédaction en trois étapes: d'abord l'hymne des versets 1-4 et 16-20, puis le poème sapientiel des versets 5-8 et 12-15, enfin l'affirmation de l'équivalence entre la louange et les sacrifices en 9-11, chaque étape reprenant une partie du vocabulaire de l'étape précédente, un bel exemple de *fortschreibung* qui s'est probablement, au moins pour les deux dernières étapes, déroulée dans l'"école" de Qoumrân, une sorte de *beit midrash* essénienne.³⁶

³⁶ Cf. A. Lemaire, "L'enseignement essénien et l'école de Qoumrân," dans *Hellenica et Judaica. Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (éd. A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Label, et J. Riaud; Leuven et Paris: Peeters, 1986), 191-203; idem, "Lire, écrire, étudier à Qoumrân et ailleurs," à paraître, avec bibliographie.

RECENTIORES NON DETERIORES
A NEGLECTED PHILOLOGICAL RULE IN THE
LIGHT OF THE QUMRAN EVIDENCE

Corrado Martone
University of Turin

Among his many merits in the field of Qumran studies, Émile Puech has identified a number of Biblical manuscripts from tiny and often neglected fragments. In the *Appendix* below the reader will find a quick survey of his main achievements.

It is interesting to note Judg 4:9 as reconstructed by Puech in 4Q50a 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 12:¹

[...⁹ [ו]תאמר הלך אלך עמך אפס] 12 [ו]דע] כי לא תהיה תפארתך [על הדרך אשר]

The LXX (A) runs as follows:

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Δεββωρα πορευομένη πορεύσομαι μετὰ σοῦ πλὴν γίνωσκε ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται τὸ προτέρημά σου εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν

and the LXX (B) as follows:

καὶ εἶπεν πορευομένη πορεύσομαι μετὰ σοῦ πλὴν γίνωσκε ὅτι οὐκ ἔσται τὸ προτέρημά σου εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν

The MT is slightly different:

ותאמר הלך אלך עמך אפס כי לא תהיה תפארתך על הדרך אשר

As Puech notes, the reconstructed Qumran reading is “avec le grec des LXX πλὴν γίνωσκε et la *Vieille Latine scio*.”² Thus, if Puech’s reconstruction is correct, we would have another Qumran text confirming a LXX reading, as well as, for that matter, the hypothesis put forward in the BHS’s apparatus *ad loc.*: G ad γίνωσκε = דע.

¹ É. Puech, “Notes sur le manuscrit des Juges 4Q50a,” *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 315–19.

² Puech, “Notes sur le manuscrit des Juges 4Q50a,” 318. Puech refers to A.E. Brooke and N. McLean, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917–).

Not too many years ago Puech's conjecture would have been judged hazardous. To put it in other words, prior to the Qumran discoveries, it was much harder to consider any of the ancient versions of the Bible a reliable witness to an original reading. Today we know the Dead Sea Scrolls' importance for Septuagint studies. As Dorival, Harl and Munnich put it: "En définitive, les découvertes de Qumrân ont résolu une énigme: on sait maintenant que le grec, lorsqu'il s'écarte du TM, n'invente pas."³

However, we cannot say the same thing about the mediaeval Hebrew manuscripts. Some forty years ago M. Goshen Gottstein⁴ published a thorough study whose main conclusion can be summarized in the author's own words:

Almost all our evidence from medieval MSS would be explicable as a secondary development from a common archetype and practically all of it as belonging to one 'recension'⁵

It comes as no surprise that such a judgment turned out to be mainly directed against Kennicott and De Rossi's great collections of variant readings,⁶ and James A. Sanders has drawn on Goshen Gottstein's conclusions in more recent years:

The shift from pre- to proto-Masoretic is rather dramatic to observe, though "thin layers" of variant readings continue even into citations in rabbinic literature, and can be seen in the work of Jerome in the fourth and early fifth century C.E. At the other end of the spectrum, it has become clear for many of us . . . that the variant readings in post-eleventh-century Masoretic manuscripts collated by Kennicott, de Rossi, and Ginsburg were derivative and, with few exceptions, did not date back before the Masoretic period.⁷

³ G. Dorival, M. Harl and O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf/Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1994), 78; see also E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Second Revised Edition* (Minneapolis, Assen: Fortress Press, Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 117.

⁴ M. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," *Bib* 48 (1967): 243–89; Idem, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament Rise, Decline, Rebirth," *JBL* 102 (1983): nn. 40–41.

⁵ Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts," 285–86.

⁶ B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, I (Oxonii, 1776); J.B. De Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti, I–II* (Parmae, 1784–1788). On Kennicott and De Rossi and their works see B. Chiesa, *Filologia storica della Bibbia ebraica* (Vol. 2; Brescia: Paideia, 2002), 408–14.

⁷ J.A. Sanders, "The Hebrew University Bible and Biblia Hebraica Quinta," *JBL* 118 (1999): 518–26 (520). Significantly enough, Sanders's reference is to Goshen-Gottstein's article cited above.

Thus, biblical textual criticism comes to reject a rule widely accepted in classical philology: *recentiores non deteriores*. This is the title of chapter 4 of G. Pasquali's seminal book *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*,⁸ in which the author shows that younger manuscripts are not necessarily worse manuscripts and that true readings may be sometimes to be found in recent witnesses.⁹

A brief note is not the place to even try to solve this problem. However, it may be of some interest to cursory find out if this judgment on the Mediaeval witnesses of the Hebrew Bible is still legitimate in the light of the now complete Qumran evidence.

Lev 10:1 is attested as follows in 11QLev^b:¹⁰

11QLev^b 2 4–7 (DJD XXIII, 3–4)

4 [. . .] על פניהם ויקחו ש[ני בני אהרן] 5 [נרב ואביהוא א]ש מחתתו ויתנו
בהן אש ושימו] 6
6 [עליה קשורת ו]יקריבו לפני יהוה אש זרה] 7 [אשר לא צוה יהוה] אתם
והצא] אש מלפני יהוה . . .] 2

LXX

καὶ λαβόντες οἱ δύο υἱοὶ Ααρων Ναδαβ καὶ Αβιουδ ἕκαστος τὸ πυρεῖον οὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐπέβαλον ἐπ' αὐτὸ θυμίαμα καὶ προσήνεγκαν ἔναντι κυρίου πῦρ ἀλλότριον ὃ οὐ προσέταξεν κύριος αὐτοῖς

MT

ויקחו בני אהרן נרב ואביהוא אש מחתתו ויתנו בהן אש ושימו עליה קשרת ויקריבו לפני יהוה אש זרה אשר לא צוה אהם:

The editors' integration ש[ני בני אהרן] is supported by the LXX and by a number of medieval manuscripts, namely mss Kennicott 5, 181, De Rossi 535.

⁸ G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (2nd ed.; Florence: Le Monnier, 1952), 43–108.

⁹ See also M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973), 50ff. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 301–302 is less drastic than Sanders and rightly notes that “the fallacy of the dependence upon the age of witnesses was recognized long ago.”

¹⁰ F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar and A.S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11: 11Q2–18 and 11Q20–31* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1–9 (3–4).

Lev 22:18 is attested as follows in 4QLev^b:¹¹
4QLev^b 9 i + 10–17, 25–27 (DJD XII, 182)

25 וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר ¹⁸דבר אל אהרן ואל בניו ואל כל בן
י [ישראל] ו[אמרת]
אליהם] 26 איש איש מבית ישראל ומן הנגר הנגר ב[ישראל] אשר יקריב
[קרבתו לכל נדריהם]
27 או לכל נדבותם אשר יקריבו ליהוה לעלה ¹⁹לדצ[נכס]ת[מי]ם זכר
בבקר [בכשבים ובעזים]

LXX

λάλησον Ααρων και τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ και πάση συναγωγῇ Ἰσραηλ και ἐρεῖς
πρὸς αὐτούς ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ ἢ τῶν υἱῶν τῶν
προσηλύτων τῶν προσκειμένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἰσραηλ ὅς ἂν προσενέγκῃ τὰ
δῶρα αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁμολογίαν αὐτῶν ἢ κατὰ πᾶσαν αἴρεσιν αὐτῶν ὅσα
ἂν προσενέγκωσιν τῷ θεῷ εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα

MT

דבר אל אהרן ואל בניו ואל כל בני ישראל ואמרת אלהם איש איש מבית
ישראל ומן הנגר הנגר בישראל אשר יקריב קרבנו לכל נדריהם ולכל נדבותם
אשר יקריבו ליהוה לעלה:

הנגר הנגר—τῶν προσηλύτων τῶν προσκειμένων (Sam) is supported by mss Kennicott 4, 69, 109, 150 as well as by mss De Rossi 16, 245, 262 I, 264, 419, 543, 668, 674, 754, against MT's הַנְּגֵר.

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that a number of LXX readings may be found in para- (or non) biblical manuscripts too and sometimes these readings are supported, again, by mediaeval mss. Such cases are a further proof that the distinction between biblical and parabiblical manuscripts in a Qumran context is, to say the least, ambiguous.¹²

Here are a few instances taken from 4Q365, the parabiblical text *par excellence*.¹³

¹¹ E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4.VII. Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 177–87, pls. XXXI–XXXIV.

¹² B. Chiesa “Biblical and Parabiblical Texts from Qumran”, *Henoch* 20 (1998): 131–51; C. Martone, “Biblical or Not Biblical? Some Doubts and Questions”, *RevQ* 21/83 (2004): 387–94.

¹³ See E. Tov and S. White, in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 255–334; see also E. Tov’s observations on p. ix.

Exod 8:13

Cmp. 4Q365 2 2¹⁴

13] ויך את עפר הארץ ותהי הכנים באד[ם] [ובב]חמה ובכל עפר הארץ
היה כנים

LXX

ἐξέτεινεν οὖν Ααρων τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ράβδον καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὸ χῶμα τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σκνίφες ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἐν τοῖς τετράποσιν καὶ ἐν παντὶ χῶματι τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο οἱ σκνίφες ἐν πάσῃ γῆ Αἰγύπτου.

MT

ויעשו כן ויש אחרן את ידו במשהו ויך את עפר הארץ ותהי הכנם באדם
ובבהמה כל עפר הארץ היה כנים בכל ארץ מצרים:

καὶ ἐν παντὶ χῶματι is supported by ms De Rossi 233 against MT's כל עפר.

Lev 11:20

Cmp. 4Q365 15a–b 3¹⁵

3 וכול שרץ העוף[...]

καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐρπετὰ τῶν πετεινῶν ἃ πορεύεται ἐπὶ τέσσαρα βδελύγματα ἔστιν ὑμῖν.

MT

כל שרץ העוף ההלך על ארבע שקץ הוא לכם:

καὶ πάντα is supported by the Peshitta (*wkllh*) and by mss Kennicott 132, 181 as well as De Rossi 592 I, against MT's כל.

Num 13:22¹⁶

4Q365 32 10–11

10] וי[תרו] את הארץ ממדבר צין עד רחוב לבו חמת²² ויעלו לנגב ויבואו
11] [עד] חברון ושמה אחימון וששי ותלמי ילידי הענק וחברון ש[בע]

LXX

καὶ ἀνέβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ ἦλθον ἕως Χεβρων καὶ ἐκεῖ Αχιμαν καὶ Σεσσι καὶ Θελαμιν γενεαὶ Εναχ καὶ Χεβρων ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν ὠκοδομήθη πρὸ τοῦ Τάνιν Αἰγύπτου.

¹⁴ DJD XIII, 263.¹⁵ DJD XIII, 284.¹⁶ DJD XIII, 305.

MT

ויעלו בננב ויבא עד חברון ושם אחימן ששי ותלמי ילידי הענק וחברון שבע
שנים נבנתה לפני צען מצרים:

ויבאו—καὶ ἦλθον (Sam ויבאו—Pesh *w'tw*) is supported by mss Kennicott 1 and 196, against MT's ויבא.

As noted above, nothing definitive can be said here and now on the subject. These are only a few examples of mediaeval variant readings confirmed by the Qumran-LXX evidence against the Masoretic tradition. In my opinion at least two of these (Lev 10:1 and 22:18) are “real” variant readings, to use Goshen Gottstein’s terminology.¹⁷ Needless to say, without the Qumran evidence it would have been much easier to disregard these variant readings as attested in *codices descripti*.¹⁸

Once again, the Qumran biblical (and para-biblical) evidence forces us to reconsider our assumptions about the whole textual history of the Hebrew Bible, and we can more confidently assume that “la marcia di avvicinamento al textus receptus sia stata graduale, anche dopo il fantomatico ‘concilio di Jamnia’.”¹⁹

¹⁷ That is, those variants that cannot “arise again and again through scribal activity,” Goshen-Gottstein, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts”, 274–75. On this subject, see also A. Catastini, “4QXII: a proposito di alcune implicazioni di critica del testo (Osea 13,4),” in *We-zo’t le-Angelo. Raccolta di studi giudaici in memoria di Angelo Vivian* (ed. G. Busi; Bologna: Edizioni Fattoadarte, 1993), 119–25.

¹⁸ See Goshen-Gottstein, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts”, 278 n. 3.

¹⁹ Transl.: “The approaching to the textus receptus has been gradual, even after the imaginary “council of Jamnia.” B. Chiesa, “Il testo dell’Antico Testamento. Rassegna di studi/8,” *Henoch* 15 (1993): 93–105 (98); see also P. Sacchi. “In difesa del De Rossi,” *Rivista Biblica* 41 (1993): 459–62; P.G. Borbone. “Il testo masoretico di 2 Cronache 30,27,” *Henoch* 26 (2004): 243–50.

APPENDIX

ÉMILE PUECH'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE RECOVERY OF
THE QUMRAN "BIBLE"*Genesis*4QGenⁿ²⁰ 1: Gen 34:7–10

- 1 [?] ובני יע[ק]ב באו מן השרדה כשומעם ויתעצבו האנשים]
- 2 [וייחר להם מאוד כי נבלה עשה בישראל לשכב את] בת [יעקב וכן לא עשה⁸ ויידבר חמור אתם לאמר שכם]
- 3 [בני השקה נפשו בבחכם חנו נא אתה לו לאשה⁹ ויהת]חתנו א[ותנו בנתיכם חתנו לנו ואת בנותינו תקחו]
- 4 [לכם¹⁰ ואתנו תשבו והארץ תהיה לפניכם שבו וסחרוה ו]האחוזו בה

4QGenⁿ 2: Gen 50:3

וימלאו לו ארבעים יום כי כן ימלאו ימי ה[ח]תנש[ים] ויבכו אהו מצרים שבעים יום

pap4Genèse^o:²¹

Gen 1:9–10 in 4Q483 2:

- 1 [מתחת השמים אל מקום א]חדן ותראה היבשה ויהי כן¹⁰ ויקרא]
- 2 [אלוהים ליבשה ארץ ול]מקנה המים קרא ימים וירא אלוהים]

Gen 1:27b–29a in 4Q483 1:

- 1 [בצלם אלוהים ברא אותו וזכר ונקבה ברא אותם²⁸ ויברך אותם]
- 2 [אלוהים ויאמר להם אלוהים פרו ורבו ומלאו את הארץ [וכיבש]ה]
- 3 [ורדו בדגת הים ובעוף השמים ובכול חיה הרומשת ע]ל הארץ
- 4 [ויאמר אלוהים הנה נתתי לכם את כל עשב זורע ז[רע] אש[ר]
- 5 [על פני כל הארץ . . .]

*Leviticus*²²

Lev 26:3–9 (Col. I):

- 1 אם בחוקתי תלכו ואת מצ[ותי] תשמ[רו] ועשיתם אותם
- 2 ונתתי נשמיכם בעתם [ונתנה] הארץ יבול[ה] [וע]ץ השרדה
- 3 יתן פרוי⁵ והשיני לכם [דיש את ב]ציר ובציר ישיני את
- 4 זרע ואכלתם לחמכם לשבע ויש[ב]תם לבשה בארצכם
- 5 ונתתי שלום בארץ ושכבתם ואין [מ]הריר והשבת[י] חיה⁶

²⁰ É. Puech, "Un autre manuscrit de la Genèse récemment identifié dans les fragments de la grotte 4 (4QGenⁿ)," *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 637–40.

²¹ É. Puech, "Un nouveau manuscrit de la Genèse de la grotte 4: 4Q483 = pap4QGenèse^o," *RevQ* 19/74 (1999): 259–60.

²² É. Puech, "Un autre manuscrit du Levitique," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 311–13.

6 רעה מן הארץ וחרב לא תעבר ב[אר]צכם⁷ וירדפתם
7 את איביכם ונפלו לפניכם לחרב⁸ וירדפו מכם המישה
8 [מאה ומאה] מכם [רכבת] ירדופו ונפלו איביכם לפניכם
9 [לחרב] ופניתי אליכם והפר[יתי אתכם וה]רביתיו אתכם

Lev 26:33–37 (Col. II):

1 חורבה³⁴ או תרצה הא[רץ] את שבתתיה כול ימי
2 הושמה ואתם בארץ איבינכם או ת[שב]ת[ה] הא[רץ]
3 והרצת את שבתתיה³⁵ כל ימי הש[מח]ת [שבת את]
4 אשר לא שבתה בשבתתים בשבת[כם עליה]³⁶ והנשארם]
5 בכם והבאתי מרדך בלבבם בארצת א[יביהם ורדף]
6 [אתם קול עלה נדף ונסו מנסת ת[רב ונפלו ואין]
7 [רדף]³⁷ וכשלו איש באחיו [כמפני חרב ורודף אין]
8 [ולא תחיה לכם [תקומה לפני איביכם . . .]

11Q1 (11QpalLev^a)²³

Lev 4:23–26 (31–35) Frags. A+, a, b

Frag. A+

1 תמי[מ]²⁴[וס]מב
2 לפ[ני יהוה].
3 י[ושח]ט.ש.את.העלה.ושפ[כ]
4 [יהוה.וכפר.עליו]

Frag. a

1 ה[י]וס.ר.חלב.
2 ק[שיר.הכה]נ

Frag. b

1 הכה[נ].ו[נסלח לו]

Lev 6:12–13 ? Frag. f

1] י¹² [
2 [דבר יהוה.אל.משה.לאמר.¹³זה.קרבנ.אהרנ.ו[בנין] אשר

Lev 8:10–11 ? Frag. c

1 המשת[ה.וין]
2 ואת[.כל.כליו]

Lev 10:6 Frag. d (to join to Frag. B)

1 ו[לא לעור.ולאית[מר].בנין]
2 [ועל.כל.העדה.יקצא]

Lev 10:9 Frag. n

1 את[ה.ובניכ].

Lev 13:5–6 Frag. D+

3 הכהנ.ביומ.השבילעי
4 נ.שבעת.ימי.ש[נית].
5 א.פשה.הננע].

²³ É. Puech, "Notes en marge de 11QPaléoLévitique. Le Fragment L, des fragments inédits et une jarre de la grotte 11," *RB* 97 (1989): 161–83, pls. I–III.

Lev 13:32–35 ? Frag. e

- 1 ו[מר]אה
- 2 והסני[ר.הכהג.]
- 3 והג[ה.לא.פש]ה

Lev 13:33–34 ? Frag. m

- 1 ו[את].הנתק
- 2 ור[³⁴אה ה]כהג

Lev 14:16–19, 21 Frag. F+

- 2 ו[הזה.מנ.השמו.שבע.פע]מימ[.לפנ]י
- 3 ה[כהג.נ.על.ראחג]ו[כ.אונ.המטהר.דימניה.ועל].כ[הג]
- 4 הימני[ת.על.דמ].האשמ.¹⁸והנותר.בשמ[נ].א[ש]ר[.על.כפנ]
- 5 ה[כהג.לפנ]י.יהוה.¹⁹וע[שה.הכהג.את].החטא[ת]
- 8 אשמ.להנופה.לכ[פר]

Lev 16:1 Frag. M+

- 2 את[רי.מות.שני.בני.אהרנ.ב]קרבחמ

Lev 17:2–3 Frag. H+ (Frag. g, h)

- 3 א[ל.אהרנ.ואל.כל.בני.ישראל.ואמ]ר[
- 5 אשר.ישחט.שור.און].כשב[א]
- 6 הנה.⁴ואל.פחה.אהל.מוע[ר].ל[א]

Lev 20:4, 6 Frag. J+ and frag. j

- 6 [דשי].י[ואמ.העלמ.יעלמו.עמ.הארצ].
- 7 [בתחו.מ]ז[ר]ע[ו.למלכ.לבלחי.המית].
- 9 ה[אבות.ואל.הידענימ]

Lev 23:27–28 Frag. k

- 8 תמ[.אשה.ליהוה.²⁸וכל.מלאכה.לא.תעשו.בעצמ.היומ.הזה.כי.יו
- 9 [מ.כפר]ימ.הוא[.לכפר.עליכמ.לפנ]י[.יה[ו]ה.אלהיכמ.²⁹כי.כל.הנפש.אשר

*Deuteronomy*²⁴

Deut 12:31–13:(1)–3 (?) in PAM 43.563 (= 4QDeut^r [4Q38c] 1)

- א 2 [. . .] 3a [. . .] vacat נו[. .] 3 [. . .] המפת אשר דב[. .] 4 [. .] 1 [. . .] איהם [. . .]

Deut 14:28–29 in PAM 43.563 (= 4QDeut^r [4Q38c] 2)

- 1 [. . .] שנים תוציא את כל מעשר תבואתך בשנה ה[יא] והנחת בשעריך²⁸
- 2 [לו חלק ונחלה עמך והגר והיתום והאל]מנה אשר בשעריך[. . .]²⁹ ובא הלוי כי אין

²⁴ É. Puech, “Identification de nouveaux manuscrits bibliques: Deutéronome et Proverbes dans les débris de la grotte 4,” *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 121–27.

*Judges*²⁵Judg 1:10–12 (4Q50^a 1)

- 1 ¹⁰וילך יהודה [א]ל הכנעני [ה]ישוב בחברון]
- 2 [ושם ה]ברון לפנים קר[י]ת א[ר]בע [ויכו את]
- 3 [ש]שי ואת אחימן ואת תלמי ¹¹[ו]ילך [משם אל]
- 4 ישבי דביר ושם דביר לפנים ק[רית ספר]
- 5 ¹²וויאמר כלב אש[ר] יכה את [קרית ספר ולכדה]
- 6 [ונתחין] ל[ו] את עכסה בחי לאשה . . .]

Judg 3:(22)23–24 in XUnidentified Text 2 (4Q50^a 2)

- 1 [ויצא הפרשדנה ²³ויצא אהוד] המסדרונ[ה]
- 2 [ויסגר דלתות העליה בעדו] ונעל ²⁴והוא
- 3 [יצא ועבדיו באו ויראו והנה ד]לתות

Judg 4:5–9 in the Schoyen and Hecht collections (4Q50^a 3 + 4 + 5 + 6)

- 1 [בין הרמה וב]ין בית אל כהר אפרים
- 2 [ויעלו אליה] בני ישראל למשפט ⁶והשלה
- 3 [והקרא לב]רק בן אבינעם מקדש נפתלי
- 4 [והאמר אליו ה]לא צוה יהוה אלהי
- 5 [ישראל לך ומשכת כהר חבור ולקחת עמך]
- 6 [עשרת אלפים איש מבני נפתלי ומ]בני
- 7 [זבולון ⁷ומשכתי אליך אל נח]ל קישון
- 8 [את סיסרא שר צבא יבין ואת ר]כבו
- 9 [ואת המונו ונתחיהו בידך ⁸ויאמר] אליה
- 10 [ברק אם תלכי עמי והלכתי ואם לא תלכי]
- 11 [עמי] לא אלק ⁹[ו]האמר הלך אלקך עמך אפס
- 12 [וידע] כי לא תהיה] הפארתיך [על הדרך אשר]

*Isaiah*1QIsa^{b26}

Isa 44:23–25

- 1 ²³[כי] עשה יהוה [ה]ריעו תחתיות ארץ [פצחו הרים רנה] יער
- 2 וכל עץ בו כי נ[אל] י[הוה] יעקב ובישראל יתפאר ²⁴[כה א]מר י[הוה]
- 3 גואלך ויוצרך מב[טן] אנכי יהוה עשה כלן גטה ש[מים] לב[די]
- 4 רוקע הארץ מי [אתי] ²⁵מפר אתה בדים וקוסמים יהולל משיב

²⁵ Puech, "Notes sur le manuscrit des Juges 4Q50^a," n. 1.

²⁶ É. Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988), 38–55, at 55 n. 40. Identification of small fragment that belongs to the left end of col. IV (E.L. Sukenik, *אוצר המגילות הגנוזות* [Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik and the Hebrew University, 1954], pl. 6).

*Proverbs*4QProv^c (4Q103a) in PAM 43.563²⁷

Prov 9:16–17

1 [...] וחסר ל[ב ואמרה ל]ו] 2 [מים נגובים ימתקו ולה]ם [...]

*Qohelet*4QQohelet^{b28}

Qoh 1:8–9 (olim 4Q468l)

1 [ללכת ⁸כל הדברים [ינע]ים [לוא] י[וכ]ל [א]י[ש]ן לדבר לא תשבע עין]
2 [לראות ולוא תמלא אות]ן משמוע ⁹מה שה[יה] הוא שיהיה ומה שנעשה]

²⁷ Puech, “Identification de nouveaux manuscrits bibliques: Deutéronome et Proverbes dans les débris de la grotte 4.”

²⁸ É. Puech, “Un nouveau fragment du manuscrit^b de l’Ecclésiaste” (4QQohélet^b ou 4Q110),” *RevQ* 19/76 (2000): 617–21.

LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE NONBIBLICAL QUMRAN TEXTS: A MULTIDIMENSIONAL APPROACH

Donald W. Parry

The two chief goals of corpus linguistics, according to Douglas Biber et al., are to describe “some group of texts” and to describe “a linguistic structure and its variants.”¹ The objective of this paper is to provide a corpus-based description of the nonbiblical Qumran texts by presenting a few of their linguistic structures and variants. The description is multifeature/multidimensional, examining the corpus’s contents, contentive and function words, and top-ranked lexical units (i.e., fifty top-ranked nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions). The paper does not examine all linguistic forms, nor does it exhaust an examination of any particular structure.

The paper profiles a total of 669 texts,² many of which are fragmented, from Qumran caves 1–6, 8–9, and 11; also included are

¹ See Douglas Biber, Susan Conrad, and Randi Reppen, *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 269. Scholars for decades have utilized computerized and tagged corpora for empirical research. W.N. Francis describes a corpus as “a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language, dialect, or other subset of a language to be used for linguistic analysis.” See W.N. Francis, “Problems of Assembling and Computerizing Large Corpora,” in *Computer Corpora in English Language Research* (ed. S. Johansson; Bergen: Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities, 1982), 7. Jan Aarts further explains, “A corpus is understood to be a collection of samples of running text. The texts may be in spoken, written or intermediate forms, and the samples may be of any length.” See Jan Aarts, “Intuition-based and Observation-based Grammars,” in *English Corpus Linguistics. Studies in Honour of Jan Svartvik* (ed. K. Aijmer and B. Altenberg; London and New York: Longman, 1991), 45. Tognini-Bonelli holds that “a corpus can be defined as a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language put together so that it can be used for linguistic analysis. . . . Here, let us just characterize the approach to corpus work adopted along three lines: it is an *empirical approach* to the description of *language use*; it operates within the framework of a *contextual and functional theory of meaning*; it makes use of *new technologies*” (italics in original). See Elena Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2001), 2. See also Elena Tognini-Bonelli’s review of the history of corpus linguistics, in *ibid.*, 50–52.

² The computerized tool that provides the texts is the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library (DSSEL)*, edited by Emanuel Tov and empowered by Brigham Young University’s WordCruncher. This product, in its third edition, will be published by Brill in spring of 2006. For details regarding *DSSEL*’s approach and contents, see

the compositions labeled CD,³ XQ6 (XQOffering ar), and Kh.Q. Ostrakon 1–3. All of the 669 Qumran texts are nonbiblical texts.⁴ However, for the purposes of comparison, I have included corresponding linguistic structures from the Masoretic Text. Such comparisons enable researchers to more fully appreciate the Qumran texts' linguistic structures. I have set forth a number of tables and lists together with observations and conclusions, all of which serve to profile the Qumran corpus. The tables are entitled as follows: Table 1: Book Report Information: Qumran Hebrew/Aramaic Texts; Table 2: Word Lengths of the Qumran Nonbiblical Texts; Table 3: Most Frequently Attested Grammatical Forms—Contentive; Table 4: Most Frequently Attested Grammatical Forms—Function Words; Table 5: High-Frequency Words in the Qumran Texts—Lexical Forms; Table 6: High-Frequency Words in the Hebrew Bible—Lexical Forms; Table 7: Rank Order of Fifty Nouns; Table 8: Rank Order of Fifty Verbs.

The corpus-based description reaches across the boundaries of genre (i.e., poetic, exegetical, liturgical, parabiblical, apocalyptic, eschatological, calendrical, or sapiential texts, or texts concerned with religious law) and the dating of the individual texts. The two corpora under discussion—the Qumran nonbiblical texts and the Hebrew Bible—are diachronically diverse.

Methodology

This paper, to a degree, follows Douglas Biber's "Multi-Dimensional approach to register variation." According to Biber, "The Multi-Feature/Multi-Dimensional (MF/MD) approach to linguistic variation that we have developed is particularly well-suited to the development of a typology of text types. This approach uses standardized computer-based text corpora and automatic identification techniques to com-

E. Tov's introduction to this software. *DSSSEL* is based on the *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader (DSSR)* which includes changes and corrections of a number of volumes in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series (DJD), for example the DJD V texts are new editions. *DSSR* also has newly published texts.

³ CD is part of the Cairo Geniza, believed to have originated at Qumran. Hence its inclusion in *DSSSEL*.

⁴ "*DSSSEL* covers only the nonbiblical Qumran texts based on a formal understanding of what constituted a biblical text. The canonical biblical books are excluded from this edition, while Ben Sira (2Q18) is included." See E. Tov's introduction to *DSSSEL*.

pute the frequencies of salient and syntactic features. The distributions of these features are analyzed through multivariate statistical techniques to identify the functional ‘dimensions’ of linguistic variation among texts and to provide an overall description of relations among text types with respect to these dimensions.”⁵

Over the years, beginning in 1984, Biber has developed and fine-tuned his methodology.⁶ The multidimensional approach is composed of the following eight items:

1. The approach requires a corpus of texts that occur naturally. That is to say, the corpus must be composed of authentic texts rather than forced or strained samples that are created for the sole purpose of linguistic study.⁷ The two corpora I will access—the Qumran library and the Hebrew Bible—both comprise “genuine communications”⁸ that reflect the historical, social, and religious circumstances of those who created the corpora. Both corpora were written in natural circumstances, over a period of time, by a number of individuals or groups.

2. The approach requires computerized, linguistically tagged texts that permit researchers to search a number of linguistic features in a variety of texts. Martin Abegg conducted the work of digitizing and tagging the Qumran nonbiblical texts. His procedure included the preparation of a database that consisted of four columns, and he assigned every morpheme in the corpus to the columns.⁹ The

⁵ Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, “An Initial Typology of English Text Types,” in *Corpus Linguistics II: New Studies in the Analysis and Exploration of Computer Corpora* (ed. Jan Aarts and Willem Meijs; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1986), 20.

⁶ This multidimensional approach was first published in Douglas Biber, “A Model of Textual Relations within the Written and Spoken Modes” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1984). Subsequently, Biber published the following articles: “Investigating Macroscopic Textual Variation through Multi-Feature/Multi-Dimensional Analyses,” *Linguistics* 23 (1985): 337–60; *Variation across Speech and Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and *Dimensions of Register Variation: A Cross-Linguistic Comparison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷ For a discussion on sample size, text authenticity, and representativeness, see Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work*, 55–64.

⁸ Tognini-Bonelli, *Corpus Linguistics at Work*, 55.

⁹ The columns present the following data: “1) full reference: manuscript number, fragment, column, and line numbers; 2) inflected form as represented in the text edition; 3) lexical form; 4) grammatical tag [that] . . . describes the grammatical components of the inflected form included in column 2.” For more information on Abegg’s tagging procedure, see the “Read me” file (Version 1.0, 1991) of the *Westminster Hebrew Morphological Database*. See also Accordance 6.2’s electronic introduction for Abegg’s complete methodology. For Westminster’s methodology, see “A

linguistically tagged Hebrew Bible is a product of the *Westminster Hebrew Morphological Database*.¹⁰

Actual numbers of linguistic features and variations presented in this study are derived from the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library (DSSEL)*,¹¹ a database that contains both the Qumran texts and the Hebrew Bible. The database features transcriptional texts from the Westminster Hebrew Bible, the *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* editions, when available, and other standard editions.

3. The approach allows researchers to analyze linguistic features of both individual texts (i.e., individual compositions such as Genesis, Exodus, 1QS, and 11QTemple) and registers. A computerized search yields quantitative, empirical results. *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* enables analysts to create sections composed of any number of individual texts; these sections then become registers.

4. The approach assumes that there are linguistic variations among the individual compositions and the registers.

5. The approach is multidimensional, meaning that multiple aspects of the subject matter are examined and displayed.

6. The approach is quantitative: the linguistic features and their distributions and variations throughout the registers are determined and graphically presented.

Reference Guide to the Westminster Hebrew Morphology Database” (MORPH), Westminster Hebrew Institute, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Documents Release 4.2, June 30, 2004. MORPH followed the Masoretic Textual tradition (Leningrad Codex), utilized the Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann Jakob Stamm (eds.), *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament* (3rd ed; E.J. Brill, 1967–96) and other sources, and consulted a number of standard grammars for parsing and grammar.

¹⁰ According to Westminster’s “A Reference Guide to the *Westminster Hebrew Morphology Database*,” 6, “There are six categories of records: (1) paragraphing, (2) particle, (3) pronoun, (4) noun, (5) adjective or numeral, and (6) verb. A seventh category, suffixes, cannot stand alone, but appear attached to the end of prepositions, nouns, or verbs.” Particles are separated into the following categories: article, conjunction, adverb, interrogative, interjection, negative, object marker, preposition, and relative. Hebrew verbs are parsed as *qal*, *piel*, *pual*, *nifal*, *hifil*, *hofal*, *qal pass*, *hitpael*, *pael*, *peatal*, *pilel*, *pilpel*, *polel*, *poel*, *tifil*, *polal*, *polpal*, *pulal*, *poal*, *hotpaal*, *hitpolel*, *hitpalpel*, *hitpalpel*, *hishtafel*, and *nitpael*. Aramaic verbs are parsed as *afel*, *hafel*, *hishtafel*, *hitpaal*, *hitpeel*, *hitpolel*, *ishtafel*, *itpeel*, *polel*, *shafel*, *peal*, *pael*, *peil*, *hofal*, *safal*, *itpaal*, and *itpoel*.

¹¹ *DSSEL* was in the last stages of preparation when I prepared this paper and subsequent tests and analyses may slightly adjust *DSSEL*’s numbers. Further, although Martin Abegg prepared the tagged texts for *DSSEL*’s Qumran texts, the actual numbers or statistics presented in this study do not always agree with those that are generated by Abegg’s Accordance 6.2. This is because the published editions of *DSSEL* and Accordance 6.2 sometimes use different published editions for the transcriptional texts. The different editions account for a dissimilar count of lexical units.

7. The approach is qualitative: linguistic features can be observed and analyzed.

8. The multidimensional approach allows for both macro- and microscopic examinations of the texts and registers: macroscopic in the investigation of specific linguistic variation across a wide variety of texts and/or registers; microscopic in the investigation of specific linguistic features in a single text or multiple texts.

In addition to the multidimensional approach, the following items are noted:

a. The tables and reports presented below do not include Qumran Greek texts, only Hebrew and Aramaic texts. The reports encompass only fully attested words (i.e., מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה, from 4Q258 [4QS^d], col. 1 [Frg. 1a I], line 1) or partially reconstructed words (i.e., ל]בב בני אור in [ל]בב בני אור [1Q33 col. 1 line 14]), but not fully reconstructed words (i.e., בני אור in [ל]בב בני אור [1Q33 col. 1 line 14]), *DSSEL* enables users to “turn off” fully reconstructed words, according to the user’s needs. Further, the tables’ forms are lexical (i.e., כתב) rather than inflected (i.e., כתבהי). Homographic words are marked with numerals, such as א-ל-1, א-ל-2, א-ל-3, and so forth. Aramaic words are designated with the @ symbol.

b. Although *DSSEL* enables users to search for the Masoretic text’s approximately 3,600 *qere* readings, this capability was turned off so the computer would not double count the *ketiv/qere* readings and consequently skew the numbers and statistics.

c. All Hebrew and Aramaic texts of *DSSEL* are from the *DJD*¹² series, except for the following editions, re-editions, and newly identified fragments (e.g., E.J.C. Tigchelaar): 4Q226, XQpapEnoch (E. Eshel and H. Eshel); CD, 1QH^a, 1QpHab, 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB, 1QapGen, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q207, 4Q212, 4Q317, 4Q324d-e, 4Q551-561, 4Q569, 4Q581 (M.G. Abegg and E. Cook); 1QM, 4Q161, 4Q163, 4Q165-168, 4Q170-176, 4Q180-183 (J.H. Charlesworth); 4Q394-399, 4Q413 (F. García Martínez – E.J.C. Tigchelaar); 4Q158 (E. Tov and S. White Crawford); 4Q159, 4Q162 (M. Bernstein); 4Q169 (S. Berrin); *The Temple Scroll* (Y. Yadin); 4Q201-202, 4Q204-207, 4Q210-212 (J.T. Milik).¹³

¹² Note that all of the *DJD* V texts have been replaced.

¹³ For full bibliographic sources of these various texts, see Tov’s Introduction to *DSSEL*, notes 4, 11-14.

d. As part of an internal quality control, I cross-checked the data found in the tables, specifically the Hebrew and Aramaic words and accompanying numerals, with Accordance Version 6.2 (for the Qumran texts) and BibleWorks, Version 5.0 (for the Hebrew Bible). Possible variances are explained in footnote 11.

Issues that Pertain to this Study:

1. *Sampling.* Sampling pertains to the number of lexical units (e.g., the sample size) of each of the texts or registers that are selected for the study. Every study of this type must present a sample large enough that it represents “the full range of variability in a population.”¹⁴ In other words, the register (or corpus) should embrace a sufficient number of lexical units that allow for an adequate investigation. Biber, who has considered the issue of sampling, “finds that counts are relatively stable across 1,000-word samples from a text.”¹⁵ Biber’s investigative work on sampling pertains to English-based corpora and may or may not apply to Hebrew-based corpora. In fact, the texts from the Judean Desert and Hebrew Bible stand unique when compared with many English corpora, because the ancient Hebrew texts are fixed groupings of texts, with unchanging word counts and static lexical forms.¹⁶ Although the Hebrew Bible and Qumran library do not necessarily represent the complete language system (in terms of written or oral communications) of the Biblical or Qumran peoples, they are legitimate samples of the language.

2. *Representativeness.* For representativeness¹⁷ it is important to consider whether the language of the extant Qumran texts (or Hebrew Bible) is typical or characteristic of the language that existed for the group that created or possessed the texts. Is there a sufficient num-

¹⁴ Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register* (Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 378.

¹⁵ Douglas Biber, “Methodological Issues Regarding Corpus-based Analyses of Linguistic Variation,” *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 5 (1990): 257–69.

¹⁶ The unchanging word counts and static lexical forms have no application in the instance of additional scroll discoveries or future modifications by analysts to the respective databases of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hebrew Bible.

¹⁷ On the topic of representativeness, see G. Leech, “The State of the Art in Corpus Linguistics,” in *English Corpus Linguistics: Studies in Honour of Jan Svartvik*, 27 and Douglas Biber, “Representativeness in Corpus Design,” in *Current Issues in Computational Linguistics: in Honour of Don Walker* (ed. A. Zampolli, N. Calzolari, and M. Palmer; *Linguistica Computazionale IX.X. Giardini Editori e Stampatori in Pisa and Kluwer Academic Publishers*, 1994), 377.

ber of extant texts that serve as specimens for the written language of the population that owned them?

The representativeness of the Qumran texts and Hebrew Bible is illustrated by the fact that scholars have published research tools—computerized software, lexicons, and grammars—for these corpora. That is to say, the corpora are of sufficient size and variety that software specialists, lexicographers, and grammarians have created these resources. In fact, many examples of these resources are readily available for researchers of both corpora. If another large cache of scrolls is found that belongs to the same group as those identified with Qumran, it is generally assumed by those who prepare such tools that the linguistic framework will not radically change. In the end, however, the question of representativeness “must be regarded largely as an act of faith.”¹⁸

3. *Lemmatization.* The process of lemmatization, or determining the lemma, is always a subjective effort. While those who analyzed and tagged the tens of thousands of lexical forms in the biblical and Qumranic corpora are professional and competent in their analytical skills, the possibility of human error always exists; or of equal importance, there is the prospect that researchers have diverging opinions concerning the tagging of individual lexical units.

4. *Incomplete or Reconstructed Texts.* Scholars recognize that most Qumran texts are not complete because of the destructive forces of the natural elements. For this reason scholars have reconstructed portions of the texts that are lacking, with varying degrees of success. For this study, as stated below, I have included only fully attested words or partially attested/partially reconstructed words. I have not included fully reconstructed words.

5. *Presenting Partial Lists.* Each list or table of lexical forms or grammatical components in this paper serves as a characterization of the items represented on the list or table; the list or table does not pretend to exhaust the lexical forms or grammatical components that are presented. Therefore, generally each list accounts for the top-ranked fifty of each category.¹⁹ While the top fifty provide serviceable

¹⁸ See Leech, “The State of the Art in Corpus Linguistics,” 7. While Leech made this “act of faith” statement with regard to modern languages, it also applies to biblical and Qumranic corpora.

¹⁹ Fifty is a number regularly used by corpus linguists. See, for example, tables 3.3, 3.4, and 5.2 in Graeme Kennedy, *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics* (London: Longman, 1998), 98–99, 101–102, 286–87.

descriptive material, that material is incomplete and therefore provides a tilted or distorted picture. A complete list of any single grammatical component, however, would require a large volume of material. For instance, a hard-copy printout of all nouns (single space, single column) from the nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls resulted in a document of 116 pages.

6. *Parallel Texts*: Parallel texts and overlaps create (relatively few) duplicate readings, which may impact slightly the statistics in the tables. For example, 4QReworked Pentateuch presents an overlap of Exod 21:15 in 4Q158 (4QRP^a) and 4Q364 (4QRP^b); another example of an overlapping text is 4Q159 (4QOrdinances^a) 1 ii 13–14 and 4Q513 (4QOrdinances^b) 1–2 i 4–5. Concerning *DSSEL*, E. Tov wrote, “As in *DJD*, multiple manuscripts of the same composition are presented separately without attempting to create a composite edition on the basis of various manuscripts.”²⁰

In connection with duplicate readings, four small fragments have been double-published in *DJD* XXIX as 4Q471b frgs. 1a–d and 4Q431 frg. 1; these small fragments will cause very few duplicate readings.

The Linguistic Framework of the Two Corpora

Book Report Information: Qumran Hebrew/Aramaic Texts

In order to derive the numerals of Table 1, all English and Latin words associated with the Hebrew and Aramaic transcriptional texts—those added by modern editors—have been removed. These include editor’s names, headings, footnotes, numerals (fragment, column, and line numbers), the words *top margin*, *bottom margin*, *recto/verso*, the abbreviations *fig.*, and *col.*, and other words.

As the table indicates, there are 175,724 inflected forms in the nonbiblical Qumran corpus. These include prepositions, pronouns, nouns, adjectives and numerals, verbs, articles, conjunctions, adverbs, interrogatives, interjections, negatives, object markers, relative pronouns, and pronominal suffixes that are attached to infinitive constructs, nouns, and prepositions. The 175,724 forms include fully attested and partially reconstructed forms, even if only a single let-

²⁰ See E. Tov’s introduction to *DSSEL*. For a list of parallel texts and a discussion of challenges pertaining to them, see E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *DJD* XXXIX, 258–322.

ter is attested, e.g., in היה (see 4Q258 (4QS^d) Col. 1, line 6), ה is counted as a word but the article ה is not counted because the article is fully reconstructed. In addition to the 175,724 inflected forms, there are 51,065 fully reconstructed words, those not attested on the scrolls, which have been added by modern editors.

The column labeled *Number of Diverse Words* refers to the number of different word forms that exist in the corpus. For example, the following words are different word forms: יבוא , באו , באים , תבוא , באה , בוא , יבאו , באת , אבוא , מביא , יביא , באתי , אביא , הביא , בא , יבאו , באה , and באהם . The column labeled *Frequency Average of Diverse Words* reveals the average number of times that each diverse word form occurs in the corpus. For instance, of the 175,724 inflected forms in the corpus, 15,380 are different, each of which occurs on the average of 11.4 times.

The table also reveals that there are 136,716 lexical forms (base forms or irreducible words) in the corpus, of which 5,775 are diverse, occurring on the average of 23.7 times. In addition to the four categories of forms listed on the table (inflected forms, inflected forms [reconstructed], lexical forms, and lexical forms [reconstructed]), the 667 Qumran texts are composed of 8,414 columns and/or fragments, and 35,607 lines of text.

The size of the various compositions varies greatly, with the largest being 11Q19 (11QTemple^a), comprised of 13,099 words. Nine texts that follow 11QTemple^a in terms of rank order are 1QH^a (11,670 words), 4Q418 (6,668 words), 1QS (6,329 words), 1Q33 (6,178 words), 1Q20 (5,898 words), 4Q266 (5,351 words), 4Q365 (4,904 words), 4Q364 (4,628 words), and 11Q20 (3,376 words). The smallest compositions that scholars have given a Qumran number and have named may consist of a single word or two (see, for example, 1Q62 [1QUnclass Frgs.] and 4Q354 [4Qaccount B ar or heb]).

Table 1: Book Report Information: Qumran Hebrew/Aramaic Texts

Report	Number of Words	Number of Diverse Words	Frequency Average of Diverse Words
Inflected Forms	175,724	15,380	11.4
Inflected Forms (Reconstructed)	51,065	5,987	8.5
Lexical Forms	136,716	5,775	23.7
Lexical Forms (Reconstructed)	45,863	3,218	14.3

Word Lengths of the Qumran Nonbiblical Texts

Table 2 sets forth word lengths together with the frequency of each, i.e., the table's first row indicates that there are a total of 63,734 words in the Qumran corpus that consist of a single character. Note, however, that the frequency numerals may be slightly skewed because they include mid-line circlets, calendrical symbols, and unreadable words (where one or more characters is discernible but the word is incomplete and unreadable).

Single-character words include ו, ל, ב, ה, א, מ, ם, י, כ, and ך; two-character words include -כה, -את, -אל, -הם, -על, -כל, -כי, -עד, -לא, -נו, -עם, -מן, and -די; three-character words include כול, אשר, לוא, איש, לוא, ארץ, הוא, עלי, הון, חמה, כיא, פני, יום, בני, רוח, רבים, שבעה, עשות, חורה, שמים, דברי, שנים, הואה, עולה; four-character words include בליעל, עשרים, אלוהי, מלחמה, ישראל, מועדי, קודשים, כוהנים, עולמים, אלוהים, שביעי, נפלאותי, ירושלים, חצוצרות, ראשונה, ראשונים, קדמוניות, ראשונים, and נבוכדנאצר; an example of a nine-character word is אודהדואן.

Table 2: Word Lengths of the Qumran Nonbiblical Texts

Word Lengths	Frequency
1	63,734
2	27,641
3	37,007
4	27,535
5	13,873
6	4,676
7	884
8	146
9	50

Most Frequently Attested Grammatical Forms—Contentive Words

The texts of tables 1 and 2 have been normalized using a frequency per million (fpm) technique. Normalization converts the actual token count to a norm for purposes of comparison. The computerized tool that provides the fpm count is the *DSSEL*.

The table features five grammatical components²¹—adjectives,

²¹ Tagging, or morphological analysis, shows the status of each text word, such as ביה: “noun, common noun, masculine, singular, absolute.”

adverbs, common nouns, proper nouns, and verbs—from the non-biblical Qumran texts and the Hebrew Bible. The various words that belong to these five components constitute content words, or words that provide substance and value to any composition. Content words play a major role in any composition, regardless of the text-type or genre. For instance, a few of the most frequently attested nouns of the Hebrew Bible are *בית*, *עם*, *יהוה*, *ישראל*, *איש*, *בני*, *אֶרֶץ*, *מלך*, *אלהים*, and *יום*; and for the Qumranic texts, *אל*, *איש*, *ישראל*, *בני*, *קודש*, *משפט*, and *רוח* (see Table 7). Each of these nouns supply substance to the respective compositions wherein they are attested, and each works together with other content words and with function words to form meaningful compositions. Non-content words, or functional words, will be examined below.

Of the five components, common nouns figure most prominently. In fact, nouns are more prime than all other grammatical forms that make up the two corpora, including verbs, adjectives, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, articles, negatives, and pronouns. As the table indicates, nouns in both corpora comprise more than 300,000 tokens calculated at a frequency per million (Qumran = 312,637; HB = 309,100). This specifies that with a theoretic word count of one million words in the Qumran corpus, nouns would constitute almost one-third of all grammatical forms. The same holds true for the Hebrew Bible.

There is another way to determine nouns' prominence in the two corpora. Nouns have an approximately two-to-one ratio over verbs (Qumran has a 2.3 noun-to-verb ratio; Hebrew Bible has a 1.96 noun-to-verb ratio); and nouns have at least a six-to-one ratio over adjectives in both corpora. There are more nouns in each of the corpora than the combined total of adjectives, adverbs, and verbs.

Viewing the table's graphics of the Qumran corpora, verbs, adjectives, proper nouns, and then adverbs follow the nouns in terms of numerical prominence. In both corpora, adverbs present the fewest forms on the table. In terms of fpm, the numbers of common nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs of the Qumran corpora correspond to the same numbers of the Hebrew Bible. The frequency per million numericals of the nouns between the two corpora are analogous, with 312,637 nouns in the scrolls and 309,100 in the Hebrew Bible. The same relative correspondence exists between adverbs: Qumran texts have 19,032 and the Hebrew Bible has 15,947.

Proper noun statistics between the two corpora are conspicuously different. There are 2.7 times the number of proper nouns in the

Hebrew Bible (75,274) versus the Qumran texts (27,683). This difference in numbers may be explained by the greater number of historical narratives in the Hebrew Bible that make frequent reference to characters and places. Very large pericopes in Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, and other books consist of histories that yield great numbers of proper names and places. The Qumran texts also contain narratives that reference characters and places, but narratives occur less frequently.

Table 3: Most Frequently Attested Grammatical Forms—Contentive

Grammatical Form	Frequency per Million
DSS Adjectives	48,383
HB Adjectives	35,733
DSS Adverbs	19,032
HB Adverbs	15,947
DSS Nouns	312,637
HB Nouns	309,100
DSS Proper Nouns	27,683
HB Proper Nouns	75,274
DSS Verbs	135,499
HB Verbs	157,653

Most Frequently Attested Grammatical Forms—Function Words

Table 1 sets forth five grammatical components—adjectives, adverbs, common nouns, proper nouns, and verbs—that constitute content words. Table 4 highlights seven grammatical components—conjunctions, directional-*he*,²² interrogatives, negatives, prepositions, and pronouns—that constitute function words (or discourse particles),²³ or words that serve in utilitarian capacities in the sentence structure.

²² Directional-*he* itself is a function unit, but the noun that it is attached to is a content word.

²³ English function words, for instance, include *a, about, all, also, an, and, any, are, as, at, be, been, but, by, can, each, for, from, had, have, he, her, his, I, if, in, is, it, may, more, no, not, of, on, one, only, or, other, she, so, some, such, than, that, the, their, there, they, this, to, up, was, we, were, what, when, which, who, will, with, would, and you*. See Kennedy, *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*, 98–99.

Function and content words interact to make up an infinite number of expressions, which expressions then formulate sentences, paragraphs, and compositions.

As the table illustrates, the rank order of each of the seven grammatical components is exactly the same for both the Qumran texts and the Hebrew Bible. That is to say, for both corpora prepositions occupy the most prominent position, followed by conjunctions, articles, pronouns, negatives, interrogatives, and directional-*he*. The rank order of each component, together with the frequency per million numerical, is listed below, ranked from highest to least.

Although the rank order for these components is identical for the Qumran and the biblical texts, the frequency per million for individual components is not the same. The Qumran texts have more prepositions and negatives than the Hebrew Bible. The Qumran texts have slightly fewer conjunctions, articles, and pronouns (almost identical numbers) and significantly fewer interrogatives and directional-*he*'s.

Table 4: Most Frequently Attested Grammatical Forms—
Function Words

Grammatical Form	Frequency per Million
DSS Prepositions	158,741
HB Prepositions	137,530
DSS Conjunctions	116,037
HB Conjunctions	124,063
DSS Articles	54,827
HB Articles	66,766
DSS Pronouns	12,718
HB Pronouns	13,019
DSS Negatives	11,324
HB Negatives	11,224
DSS Interrogatives	2,568
HB Interrogatives	4,535
DSS Directional- <i>he</i>	749
HB Directional- <i>he</i>	2,384

High-Frequency Words in the Qumran Texts—Lexical Forms

Table 5 sets forth the high-frequency words of the nonbiblical Qumran corpus. The computer (*DSSEL*) generated all three components of the table—the top-ranked words, the frequency count of each word, and the accumulative percentage of each of the words in view of the total corpus. The table's first column presents head words or lexical units and each head word may represent a number of inflected forms.

The import of the chart's data cannot be overstated. Forty-two high-frequency words are shown, encompassing 50 percent of the total words in this corpus. Stated differently, the total count of all forty-two of these high-frequency words equals the quantity of all other words in the Qumran corpus. The Hebrew conjunction *vav* holds the number-one place on the list, consisting of almost 10 percent of the total corpus. The Aramaic *vav* conjunction adds approximately 2 percent to the 10, making up 12 percent of total. The five top-ranked words of the Qumran corpus are ו, ב, ל, ה, and כל. These five represent 27.26 percent of the total words in the entire nonbiblical Qumran corpus.

Of all high-frequency words, function words dominate the Qumran texts. The first seventeen words listed on the table are function words, and these seventeen make up 39 percent of the total corpus. These consist of the following grammatical forms—conjunction *vav* (ו), prepositions (ב, @-ב, ל, @-ל, מן, על, עם), articles (ה, @-א), nouns (כל), relative pronouns (אשר), direct object markers (את), and negative particles (לא/לו). In fact, the first content word that appears on the ranked list is איש, which is the eighteenth word on the list. Other high-frequency content words include nouns (יום, רוח, ארץ, משפט, עולם, ישראל) and verbs (אמר-1, עשה-1, בוא, היה) and (אלהים).

Table 5: High-Frequency Words in the Qumran Texts—Lexical Forms

Word	Frequency	Percentages
ו	13,205	word is 9.66% of total
ב	7,604	2 words are 15.22% of total
ל	7,299	3 words are 20.56% of total
ה	6,217	4 words are 25.11% of total
כל	2,948	5 words are 27.26% of total
@-ו	2,604	6 words are 29.17% of total
מן	1,943	7 words are 30.59% of total
@-א	1,846	8 words are 31.94% of total
אשר	1,642	9 words are 33.14% of total

Table 5 (*cont.*)

Word	Frequency	Percentages
את-1	1,574	10 words are 34.29% of total
לא	1,482	11 words are 35.38% of total
על-2	1,429	12 words are 36.42% of total
ל-@	1,359	13 words are 37.42% of total
כי-2	1,123	14 words are 38.24% of total
ב-@	901	15 words are 38.90% of total
עם	876	16 words are 39.54% of total
אל	873	17 words are 40.17% of total
איש	870	18 words are 40.81% of total
כ	840	19 words are 41.43% of total
היה	770	20 words are 41.99% of total
יום	753	21 words are 42.54% of total
אל-5	694	22 words are 43.05% of total
בן-1	642	23 words are 43.52% of total
קדש	625	24 words are 43.97% of total
פנה	590	25 words are 44.41% of total
ישראל	567	26 words are 44.82% of total
כל-@	549	27 words are 45.22% of total
בוא	543	28 words are 45.62% of total
עשה-1	531	29 words are 46.01% of total
די-@	516	30 words are 46.38% of total
עולם	496	31 words are 46.75% of total
משפט	485	32 words are 47.10% of total
ארץ	469	33 words are 46.45% of total
הוא	468	34 words are 47.79% of total
רוח	456	35 words are 48.12% of total
יד	444	36 words are 48.45% of total
אמר-1	441	37 words are 48.77% of total
מן-@	441	38 words are 49.07% of total
אלהים	417	39 words are 49.40% of total
עד-3	401	40 words are 49.69% of total
כבוד	396	41 words are 49.98% of total
אם	380	42 words are 50.26% of total

High-Frequency Words in the Hebrew Bible—Lexical Forms

For purposes of comparison between the nonbiblical Qumran corpus and the Hebrew Bible, Table 6 presents high-frequency words in the Hebrew Bible. This table sets forth twenty-seven of the most frequently attested words in the Hebrew Bible, ranked according to frequency. These twenty-seven account for 50 percent of all words in the Hebrew Bible. Similar to the Qumran's high-frequency words, most of the

highest rated forms are function words, e.g., אל, 2-על, אשר, כל, לא, ל, ה, ו, ב, ל, 1-אם, מן, and so forth. Nevertheless, content words also have a place in the highest ranked forms, including יהוה with its 6,828 tokens, 1-אמר with its 5,365 tokens, 1-בן with its 4,941 tokens, and היה with its 3,577 tokens.

Twenty-seven words in the Hebrew Bible account for 50 percent of the total words; forty-two words in the Qumran corpus account for 50 percent of the total. Why does the Hebrew Bible require only twenty-seven different lexical forms to comprise 50 percent of the total number of lexical units while the Qumran texts require forty-two? One obvious response to this question pertains to the seven Aramaic words (@-ו, @-א, @-ל, @-ב, @-כל, @-די, and @-מן) shown in Table 5. All seven forms duplicate comparable Hebrew forms, thus skewing the percentage count that is revealed in the third column of the table. A second answer pertains to the fact that the Hebrew Bible has a greater number of words than the Qumran corpus, which means that most lexical forms in the high-frequency list will have slightly higher percentages of the total.

The data from Table 6 shares a number of similarities with Qumran's high-frequency words (see Table 5). The top-ranked lexical form of both corpora is the conjunction *vav*. In addition to the *vav*, the prepositions מן, ב, ל, the article ה (cf. @-א), the relative pronoun אשר, and the object marker 1-אם are the top ten lexical forms that are common to both corpora. However, though the conjunction *vav* heads each list, the ordering of the lexical units that are common to both corpora is different. For example, the Qumran texts list the prepositions ב and ל in second and third place, but the Hebrew Bible lists the preposition ל in third place, followed by the preposition ב. The article ה in Qumran is number four, but it resides in second place in the Hebrew Bible.

Of the high-frequency words presented in tables 5 and 6, there are a number of Hebrew words common to both corpora: 1-אמר, ה, 1-בן, בוא, ב, 1-אה, (cf. @-די), אל, אלהים, ארץ, אש, אשר, ארץ, (cf. @-א), היה, ו, (cf. @-ו), יום, כ, ישראל, כ, 2-כי, כל, (cf. @-כל), ל, (cf. @-ל), לא, מן, (cf. @-מן), 2-על, עם, עשה, 1-עשה, פנה. Although most of these words are high-frequency function words, high-frequency content words are also present. For example, both corpora's lists include the verbs בוא, היה, and עשה, and both include the nouns אלהים, ארץ, and ישראל. These three nouns appear a total of 1,453 times in the Qumran texts and 7,614 times in the Hebrew Bible. Their frequent attestation reveals that *God/gods, Israel, and the land*

are significant theme-words that the writers of the Qumran and Hebrew Bible texts' incorporated into various contexts of the compositions. High-frequency words (referring to the top 50 percent of words) that are unique to Qumran texts (e.g., כבוד, עולם, קדש, רוּחַ, משפט) or to the Hebrew Bible (e.g., יהוה, מלך-1) also reveal much regarding the various texts.

Table 6: High-Frequency Words in the Hebrew Bible—Lexical Forms

Word	Frequency	Percentages
ו	50,524	word is 11.68% of total
ה	31,244	2 words are 18.90% of total
ל	20,322	3 words are 23.60% of total
ב	15,608	4 words are 27.21% of total
את-1	10,980	5 words are 29.75% of total
מן	7,594	6 words are 31.51% of total
יהוה	6,828	7 words are 33.09% of total
אל	6,247	8 words are 34.53% of total
על-2	5,777	9 words are 35.87% of total
אשר	5,557	10 words are 37.15% of total
כל	5,415	11 words are 38.40% of total
אמר-1	5,365	12 words are 39.64% of total
לא	5,189	13 words are 40.84% of total
בן-1	4,941	14 words are 41.99% of total
כי-2	4,487	15 words are 43.02% of total
היה	3,577	16 words are 43.85% of total
כ	3,053	17 words are 44.56% of total
עם	2,917	18 words are 45.23% of total
מלך-1	2,880	19 words are 45.90% of total
עשה-1	2,632	20 words are 46.51% of total
אלהים	2,602	21 words are 47.11% of total
בוא	2,592	22 words are 47.71% of total
ישראל	2,507	23 words are 48.29% of total
ארץ	2,505	24 words are 48.87% of total
יום	2,303	25 words are 49.40% of total
פנה	2,290	26 words are 49.93% of total
איש	2,188	27 words are 50.43% of total

Rank Order of Fifty Nouns

Of all grammatical components in each of the two corpora, nouns are the most universal. Nouns, in fact, are more common than the next two frequently attested grammatical components combined—prepositions and verbs—in terms of frequency per million calculations (see

Table 1). Table 3 focuses on nouns by listing the top-ranked fifty nouns, common or proper, in the two corpora. Each of the fifty are lexical forms and each may represent a variety of inflected forms. For example, the lexeme אִישׁ in the Qumran list embodies the forms אִנְשֵׁי, אִישׁ, אִנוּשִׁי, and אִנְשִׁים, with a cumulative of 870 tokens. In another example from Qumran texts, the פְּנָה appears on the table with 533 tokens. Derived from פְּנָה are פְּנֵי, פְּנוּי, פְּנִים, and פָּנ (with various pronominal suffixes).

The fifty top-ranked nouns of Qumran texts, listed in descending order, begin with כָּל (which includes the orthographic variant, כּוֹל), with 2,947 tokens. אִישׁ follows כָּל with 870 tokens. The next three nouns are יוֹם, אֶל-5, and בֶּן-1 with 753, 694, and 642 tokens. The five top ranked nouns in the Hebrew Bible are יְהוָה, כָּל, בֶּן-1, אֱלֹהִים, and מֶלֶךְ-1, which appear a total of 22,401 times.

One significant difference between the two lists pertains to the placement of *Elohim* and *YHWH* in the two lists. The Hebrew Bible lists these two names in the top five of all nouns; *YHWH* holds the first rank and *Elohim* the fourth.²⁴ The Qumran texts position both deific names lower on its list, with *Elohim* stationed at fifteen and *YHWH* at nineteen. Although the Qumran sectarians were thoroughly versed in the Hebrew Bible, they were systematic in avoiding common usage of the tetragrammaton and *Elohim* in their compositions. Rather, they used a variety of techniques to avoid common usage, including the employment of substitutes or surrogates.²⁵ This approach in the Qumran texts contrasts sharply with the prophetic and religious texts of the Hebrew Bible, wherein religious writers freely refer to these names.

There are two proper nouns in the top-ranked fifty of the Qumran texts (יְהוּדָה and יִשְׂרָאֵל)²⁶ and eight that of the Hebrew Bible (יְהוּדָה,

²⁴ According to a concordance count, the Tetragrammaton is attested in the Hebrew Bible more than 6,800 times. It is found in the Pentateuch 1,818 instances (Genesis, 166; Exodus, 400; Leviticus, 310; Numbers, 400; Deuteronomy, 542). Isaiah and Psalms, two of the apparently more popular texts discovered at Qumran, use the Tetragrammaton 438 and 690 times respectively. See O. Odelain and R. Séguineau, *Dictionary of Proper Names and Places in the Bible* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1981), 385.

²⁵ See, for example, D. Parry, "Notes on Divine Name Avoidance in Scriptural Units of the Legal Texts of Qumran," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995: Published in Honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden, New York, and Köln: 1997), 437–49.

²⁶ The ten top-ranked proper nouns in the nonbiblical Qumran texts are בְּלִיעַל, נְמוּל, יְהוּדָה, יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֲדוּנִי, יַעֲקֹב, יְהוּדָה, מִצְרַיִם, אֲדָרֹן, מוֹשֶׁה,

ישראל (שואול, יהודה, אדני, ירושלם, מצרים, משה, ישראל). The Hebrew Bible's frequent attestation of proper nouns is owing to its several narrational texts, such as Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Ruth. Narratives, as it is well known, contain numerous references to historical characters and places.

Out of the top-ranked fifty words in the table, thirty are common to both the Qumran texts and the Hebrew Bible: אלהים, ארץ, 1-בית, איש, אדם-1, אב, נפש, משפט, מלך-1, מים, לב, כל, כהן, ישראל, יום, יהודה, יד, דרך, דבר, נוי, בן-1, שנה, שם-1, ראש-1, קדש, פנה, פה, עם, עולם, תוך. Statistically, these nouns that are common to both corpora may represent a high degree of equivalency between the two; however, because there is not a great number of ancient Hebrew corpora to use for comparative purposes, it is difficult to express the precise significance with regards to degrees of equivalency.

Table 7: Rank Order of Fifty Nouns

Number	Qumran	Number of tokens	Hebrew Bible	Number of tokens
1	כל	2,947	יהודה	6,828
2	איש	870	כל	5,516
3	יום	753	בן-1	4,931
4	אל-5	694	אלהים	2,600
5	בן-1	642	מלך-1	2,526
6	ישראל	567	ישראל	2,514
7	כל-@	549	ארץ	2,504
8	קדש	546	יום	2,318
9	פנה	533	איש	2,185
10	עולם	496	פנה	2,125
11	משפט	485	בית-1	2,045
12	ארץ	470	עם	1,882
13	רוח	447	יד	1,617
14	יד	444	דבר	1,441
15	אלהים	411	אב	1,210
16	כבוד	396	עיר-1	1,088
17	עם	364	דוד	1,075
18	דבר	362	עין	895
19	יהודה	343	שנה	875
20	מעשה	342	שם-1	864
21	אמת	321	יהודה	819
22	פה	317	עבד-1	800
23	דרך	294	אשה	781
24	שנה	268	משה	767
25	כהן	265	נפש	754

Table 7 (*cont.*)

Number	Qumran	Number of tokens	Hebrew Bible	Number of tokens
26	בריה	259	כהן	750
27	שם-1	258	דרך	706
28	נפש	246	מצרים	681
29	צדק	233	ירושלם	643
30	מועד	219	אה-2	629
31	לב	210	לב	600
32	מים	206	ראש-1	599
33	קץ	202	בת-1	584
34	בר-2@	201	מים	580
35	בית-1	200	הר	558
36	מלחמה	193	נוי	554
37	שבת	188	אדם-1	546
38	פלא	181	קול	505
39	ראש-1	181	פה	497
40	תורה	180	צבא	485
41	אב	177	קדש	469
42	מלך-1	174	אדני	439
43	דעת-1	172	עולם	439
44	אור	171	משפט	421
45	תוך	168	שמים	421
46	אדם-1	165	שר	421
47	אמר-1	164	תוך	418
48	נוי	164	חרב	412
49	חק	159	שאל	405
50	בשר	157	כסף	403

Rank Order of Fifty Verbs

This table lists the top-ranked verbs in the Qumran texts and the Masoretic Text. These verbs provide a view, although limited, of the verbal character of these two libraries. In terms of frequency per million calculations, the fifty verbs, together with all other verbs, occupy the third place in the grammatical scheme of both corpora, preceded only by nouns and prepositions. Conjunctions and then adjectives follow verbs in terms of prominence.

The two lists in the table embody inflected forms. For example, **אמר** in the Hebrew Bible includes the following inflected forms: **תאמר**, **יאמרו**, **יאמר**, **אמרי**, **תאמרתה**, **נאמר**, **תאמרי**, **אמרה**, **תאמרו**, **אמרה**, **אמרתם**, **אמרים**, **אמרת**, **אמרו**, **אמרתה**, and **אמרנו**. Another example, **בוא** includes these inflected forms: **באה**, **יביא**, **מביא**, **אבוא**, **באת**, **יביאו**, **אביא**, **באתי**, **אביא**, **יבוא**, **באתי**, **אביא**, **יבוא**, **באתם**, **הביא**, **תבוא**, **באים**, **באו**, **יבוא**, **בוא**, **יבאו**, **באתם**, and others.

Although the fifty verbs of each corpus belong to a variety of religious texts, most verbs lack direct theological meaning, with the possible exception of 2-ברך, חטא, @-הוה, 2-הלל, @-הוה, and טהר. Absent from the top fifty list are such verbs as נאל, כפר, ברא, פשע, טמא, פדה, טהר, and others. However, all fifty verbs serve together with other contentive words to shape compositions that have religious substance. The fifty verbs interact with theologically centered verbs that are less frequently attested; with proper nouns of religious characters (Moses, David, Jacob); with Biblical places (Jerusalem); and with a variety of function words to make religious texts.

Thirty-two of the fifty verbs are common to both texts' collections: היה, הלך, חזק, ידע, יצא, ישב, לקח, מות, מוצא, נפל, נשא, אכל, דבר-2, ברך-2, בוא, אמר-1, שלח, שמע, שוב, צוה, קרב, קרא-1, קום, ראה, דבר-2, עשה-1, עמד, עלה, עבר-1, נתן, שמר, שים, פקד, עשה-1, עמד, עלה, עבר-1, נתן, שמר, שים. These thirty-two verbs serve as indicators of how many common points exist in the two corpora in terms of verbal communication between author and audience.

Table 8: Rank Order of Fifty Verbs

Number	Qumran	Number of tokens	Hebrew Bible	Number of tokens
1	היה	771	אמר-1	5,308
2	בוא	543	היה	3,566
3	עשה-1	530	עשה-1	2,630
4	אמר-1	439	בוא	2,578
5	ידע	355	נתן	2,013
6	הלך	326	הלך	1,554
7	ברך-2	324	ראה	1,306
8	שוב	309	שמע	1,162
9	נתן	301	דבר-2	1,134
10	יצא	222	ישב	1,084
11	שמע	212	יצא	1,075
12	@-הוה	205	שוב	1,069
13	דבר-2	202	לקח	967
14	ראה	191	ידע	952
15	בין	189	עלה	890
16	אכל	185	שלח	847
17	כתב	179	מות	844
18	עמד	169	אכל	818
19	רום	164	קרא-1	738
20	@-אמר	154	נשא	659
21	קום	150	קום	627
22	לקח	145	שים	585

Table 8 (*cont.*)

Number	Qumran	Number of tokens	Hebrew Bible	Number of tokens
23	שמר	136	עבר-1	552
24	דרש	135	עמד	523
25	ישב	128	נכה	500
26	חזה-@	124	ילד	496
27	כון	121	צוה	493
28	שפט	118	שמר	469
29	נלה	114	מצא	457
30	שים	114	נפל	435
31	שלה	113	ירד	380
32	חזק	112	בנה	376
33	פתח-1	112	נגד	370
34	פלא	110	מלך-1	349
35	הלל-2	106	ברך-2	327
36	מוה	102	ירא-1	318
37	נפל	100	ענה-1	315
38	נשא	100	פקד	303
39	עלה	98	סור	298
40	עבר-1	97	חזק	290
41	קרא-1	97	כרת	289
42	פקד	95	עבד	289
43	צוה	95	איב	285
44	מצא	92	חיה	281
45	משל-2	92	קרב	280
46	ספר	90	מלא	252
47	קרב	90	השא	240
48	טהר	88	זכר	235
49	אהב	87	ירש	231
50	עזב-1	87	רבה-1	227

Concluding Notes

1. This descriptive article takes a corpus-based approach to profile a total of 669 texts, many of which are fragmented, from Qumran caves 1-6, 8-9, and 11; and also the compositions labeled CD,²⁷ XQ6 (XQOffering ar), and Kh.Q. Ostrakon 1-3. The 667 texts are com-

²⁷ CD is part of the Cairo Geniza, believed to have originated at Qumran. Hence its inclusion in *DSSEL*.

posed of 8,414 columns and/or fragments, and 35,607 lines of text.

The Qumran corpus of nonbiblical texts is comprised of 175,724 inflected forms, which includes both fully attested and partially reconstructed forms. In addition to the 175,724 inflected forms, there are 51,065 fully reconstructed words, or words that are not attested on the scrolls which have been added by modern editors. Of the 175,724 inflected forms in the corpus, there are 15,380 diverse forms, each of the which occurs on the average of 11.4 times. Additionally, there are 136,716 lexical (base forms or irreducible words) forms in the corpus, of which 5,775 are diverse, occurring on the average of 23.7 times.

Word-lengths for the great majority of words consist of one to four characters. To be precise, the great majority of words consist of a single character (63,734), followed by three characters (37,007), two characters (27,641), and four characters (27,535). Longer word lengths, consisting of five (13,873), six (4,676), seven (884), eight (146), or nine (50) characters are occur far less frequently in the Qumran writings.

2. The words that belong to the grammatical components—adjectives, adverbs, common nouns, proper nouns, and verbs—constitute content words, or words that provide substance and value to any composition. Of the five components, common nouns figure most prominently. In fact, nouns have an approximately 2.3 ratio to verbs and at least a six-to-one ratio over adjectives in both the nonbiblical Qumran texts and the Hebrew Bible. There are more nouns in the Qumran corpus than the combined total of adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. As the table's graphic indicates, nouns are calculated at a frequency per million of 312,637. This specifies that with a theoretic word count of one million words in the Qumran corpus, nouns would constitute almost one-third of all grammatical forms.

The words of seven grammatical components—conjunctions, directional-*he*, interrogatives, negatives, prepositions, and pronouns—constitute function words (or discourse particles). The rank order of each of the seven grammatical components is exactly the same for both the Qumran texts and the Hebrew Bible. That is to say, for both corpora, prepositions occupy the most prominent position, followed by conjunctions, articles, pronouns, negatives, interrogatives, and directional-*he*. Although the rank order for these components is identical, the frequency per million for individual components are not the same. There are more prepositions and negatives in the Qumran texts than the Hebrew Bible (using a frequency per million value), but

fewer conjunctions and articles, and significantly fewer interrogatives and directional-*he*'s. The frequency per million count of pronouns is almost identical for the two corpora.

3. This paper listed forty-two high-frequency words, encompassing 50 percent of the total words in the Qumran corpus. The Hebrew conjunction *vav* holds the number one place on the list, consisting of almost 10 percent of the total corpus. The top ranked five words of the Qumran corpus are ב, ל, ה, ו, and כל. These five represent 27.26 percent of the total words in the entire nonbiblical Qumran corpus.

Of all high-frequency words, function words dominate the Qumran texts. The first seventeen words listed on the table are function words and these make up 39 percent of the total corpus. These consist of the following grammatical forms—conjunction *vav* (ו), prepositions (מן, על, עם, ב, @-ב, ל, @-ל), the article (ה, @-א), noun (כל), relative pronoun (אשר), direct object marker (את), and negative particle (לא/לוא). In point of fact, the first content word that appears on the ranked list is איש, which is the eighteenth word on the list. Other high-frequency content words include nouns (e.g., ארץ, רוח, אלהים, יום, ישראל, עולם, משפט) and verbs (e.g., היה, בוא, אמר-1, עשה-1).

A corpus linguistic approach to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Bible is of value to a variety of investigators, including linguists, lexicographers, pedagogues, and grammarians. A corpus linguistic study provides investigators with a comprehensive view of the language together with functional statistics that may be used to prepare dictionaries, descriptive grammars, interactive CD's, and other research tools. Lexicographers who focus on the English language, for example, have used pre-electronic corpora for more than two centuries to prepare comprehensive dictionaries. Three prominent English dictionaries come to mind. Samuel Johnson, together with a crew of assistants, accessed a large corpus to prepare 40,000 headwords when creating the *Dictionary for the English Language*.²⁸ A number of scholars utilized a pre-electronic corpus while editing Noah Webster's 1828 *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. The end result of this comprehen-

²⁸ See W.N. Francis, "Language Corpora B.C.," in *Directions in Corpus Linguistics. Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82*, Stockholm, 4–8 August 1991 (ed. J. Svartvik; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992), 17–32.

sive effort was the *New International Dictionary* (3rd edition), which was published in 1961. A large team of lexicographers over a period of decades used English corpora to prepare the first and second editions of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). This multi-volumed dictionary has more than 447,000 entries and approximately 2.4 million illustrative quotations.

Furthermore, at least since the nineteenth century, language teachers of Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish²⁹ have obtained pedagogical value from pre-electronic corpora. A principal example of this is E.L. Thorndike's *Teacher's Wordbook*, published in 1921.³⁰ Thorndike, together with assistants, prepared a corpus containing 4.5 million words to create a high-frequency list for the purpose of bettering the English-teaching curricula.

On one level, pre-electronic corpora have served researchers for a period of time, but now during the electronic age, corpus linguistics belongs to a higher level because of the computer power that provides instant and accurate data to investigators. Perhaps future studies will use computerized corpora to conduct any number of studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, including the verbal structure of the scrolls, the employment of the directional-*he* in various registers, collocations of a given key word or specific function words, relative proportions of specific word classes in the corpus, the ratio of imperfect to perfect verbs (or other ratios), the attestation of proper nouns in various registers, rare verbal forms, the employment of the object marker, specialized vocabulary in Qumran sectarian texts, linguistic profiles of prose versus poetry, or any number of linguistic variations among the registers or text-types.

²⁹ Kennedy, *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*, 16.

³⁰ E.L. Thorndike, *Teacher's Wordbook* (New York: Columbia Teachers College, 1921).

SUR LES EXPRESSIONS “MAISON FIDÈLE EN ISRAËL,”
“MAISON DE VÉRITÉ EN ISRAËL,” “MAISON DE
PERFECTION ET DE VÉRITÉ EN ISRAËL”

(Contribution à l'étude du sociolecte esséno-qoumrânien)

Marc Philonenko
Institut de France

Le lecteur des textes de Qoumrân y relève nombre d'expressions nouvelles, inconnues de la Bible hébraïque. Ces locutions spéciales doivent faire l'objet d'une attention soutenue: mieux que des parentés doctrinales, toujours difficiles à établir, elles indiquent des filiations. Nous avons proposé de reconnaître dans ces tournures un véritable langage de secte, un sociolecte, c'est-à-dire le parler propre à un groupe socioculturel donné.¹ Ces formules idiomatiques n'ont pu naître, se développer et se fixer que dans un groupe isolé, replié sur lui-même, ayant une conscience exacerbée de sa légitimité et de sa singularité.

Les dénominations que les adeptes de la secte de Qoumrân donnaient à leur mouvement sont, à cet égard, très significative. Ils l'appelaient l'“Alliance,” la “Nouvelles Alliance,” l'“Alliance des Pères,” le “Conseil de Dieu,” le “Saint Conseil,” la “Communauté,” le “Conseil de la Communauté,” la “Congrégation d'Israël,” la “Maison fidèle en Israël” (CD III 6), la “Maison de vérité en Israël” (1QS V 6), la “Maison de perfection et de vérité en Israël” (1QS VIII 9).

Chacune de ces appellations mériterait une étude approfondie. Nous nous limiterons ici aux trois dernières, “Maison fidèle en Israël,” “Maison de vérité en Israël,” “Maison de perfection et de vérité en Israël,” dont on voudrait faire apparaître l'origine biblique, le sens nouveau et la diffusion éventuelle.

L'expression “Maison fidèle en Israël,” attestée dans CD III 6 reprend l'oracle divin énoncé en 1 Samuël 2:35: “Je lui bâtirai une

¹ M. Philonenko, “‘Faire la vérité’. Contribution à l'étude du sociolecte esséno-qoumrânien,” dans *Jüdische Schriften in ihrem antik-jüdischen und wchristlichen Kontext* (éd. H. Lichtenberger et G.S. Oegema; Gütersloh: Mohn, 2002), 251–57.

maison fidèle”; dans l’*Écrit de Damas*, “en Israël” n’est pas une addition,² mais une modification intentionnelle du syntagme “Maison d’Israël,” si fréquent dans la Bible hébraïque pour désigner “tout le peuple d’Israël,³ mais très rare dans les textes de Qoumrân,⁴ car affecté, sans doute, dans ce milieu sectaire, d’une connotation dépréciative. Dans l’*Écrit de Damas*, la “Maison fidèle” désigne la Communauté de l’Alliance, le petit “reste,” retranché du peuple d’Israël pris dans son ensemble.⁵

Dans l’expression biblique “Maison d’Israël,” les deux noms sont en relation génitive et rien en principe, ne doit les séparer.⁶ L’addition de l’adjectif “fidèle” crée une séparation. L’on ne peut écrire “Maison fidèle d’Israël,” d’où l’adjonction de la préposition ׀ devant “Israël”: “en Israël.” L’ajout de la préposition a une portée idéologique, car la Communauté ne s’identifie pas à “tout Israël,” mais à une partie de celui-ci, au petit “reste,” au véritable Israël.

L’expression de la *Règle*, “Maison de vérité en Israël” (1QS V 6), relève du même procédé; l’addition de אמת “vérité,” brise l’expression génitive “Maison d’Israël” et amène la préposition ׀ devant “Israël”: “en Israël.” Un autre type d’expression doit être relevé, toujours dans la *Règle*, en VIII 5–6, où il est dit de la Communauté identifiée au Sanctuaire:

C’est la Maison de sainteté pour Israël
Et la société de suprême sainteté pour Aaron.⁷

Ces formules ont, naturellement, un caractère polémique. La préposition ׀ “pour” s’applique à “Israël” et “Aaron,” les laïques et les prêtres, membres de la Communauté.

On observera qu’en 4Q258 I 5, c’est préposition ׀ “pour,” qui est insérée devant “Israël”: “la Maison de vérité *pour* Israël,” de

² Comme l’a pensé Ch. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (2me éd.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 13.

³ Voir, par exemple, *HALOT*, 1:442b.

⁴ Voir 4Q382 43, 1 et 4Q391 56 3, dans des contextes lacunaires.

⁵ Sur l’idée du “reste” dans les textes de Qoumrân, voir, entre autres, H. Kosmala, *Hebräer-Essener-Christen* (Leyde: Brill, 1959), 68; J. Jeremias, *Neutestamentliche Theologie* (4me éd.; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1988), 167–70; D. Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jérusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1988), 236–42; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (6me éd.; Paris: Payot, 1996), 55.

⁶ Voir P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l’hébreu biblique* (2me éd.; Rome: Institut biblique pontifical, 1947), 386.

⁷ Voir B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament. A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 23–30.

même en 4Q256 IX 5–6: “une Maison de vérité *pour* Israël,” de même encore en 1QS VIII 5; 1QS VIII 8–9 et 1QS IX 6. L’expression “un fondement de vérité *pour* Israël” (1QS V 5) est apparemment faite sur l’expression “la Maison de vérité *pour* Israël” (4Q258 I 5; 4Q256 IX 6).

Il n’est pas assuré que les prépositions ם “en” et ך “pour” aient, l’une et l’autre, dans ce contexte, un sens très différent.

La mise en parallèle des expressions “Maison d’Aaron” et “Maison d’Israël” ou, en ordre inverse, “Maison d’Israël” et “Maison d’Aaron” a un modèle dans les Psaumes. Citons le Psaume 115:12:

Il bénira la Maison d’Israël,
Il bénira la Maison d’Aaron.⁸

La troisième formule, “Maison de perfection et de vérité en Israël” (1QS VIII 9) est, peut-être, la plus intéressante. Cette double construction génitive est l’équivalent de deux génitifs de qualité: “Maison de perfection” et “Maison de vérité.” Ces deux expressions sont inconnues de la Bible hébraïque et pourraient avoir eu, l’une et l’autre, une existence indépendante en milieu qoumranien. On notera que l’expression “Maison de perfection” n’est apparemment attestée qu’une seule fois dans les textes de Qoumrân.

Depuis la publication de la *Règle*, en 1951,⁹ aucun parallèle à ces expressions qoumrâniennes n’a été apporté. Il en est cependant dans la littérature mandéenne qui a conservé nombre de locutions qoumrâniennes typiques.¹⁰ On relève ainsi dans les *Liturgies* l’expression “le Grand édifice de la vérité” (*biniana raba d-šrara*)¹¹ et, souvent, dans les *Liturgies*, dans le *Ginza* et dans le *Livre de Jean*, l’expression “Maison de perfection” (*bit tušlima*).¹² La “Maison de perfection” est, dans le mandéisme, l’un des noms du monde de lumière.¹³ Ces expressions

⁸ Comparer Psaumes 115:9–10; 118:2–3; 135:19.

⁹ M. Burrows, J.C. Trever, and W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s Monastery, II, 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951).

¹⁰ Voir G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (2me éd.; New York: The Jewish theological seminary of America, 1965); G. Widengren, *Der Mandäismus* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), 8.

¹¹ *Liturgies* 135, 2; 136, 1 (éd. M. Lidzbarski).

¹² *Liturgies* 153, 9; 205, 8; 207, 1; 225, 3; 244, 10; *Ginza*, voir l’édition de M. Lidzbarski, *Ginzā. Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1925), Index, s.v. “Haus der Vollendung,” *Livre de Jean* 221, 29 et 222, 13; voir aussi Widengren, *Der Mandäismus*, 148, n. 45.

¹³ Voir A.J.H.W. Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1893), 5 n.1; Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, 5, n. 9.

mandéennes sont de simples calques des expressions qoumrâniennes correspondantes. Rien n'est dit d'Israël, mais l'antijudaïsme déclaré des Mandéens leur interdisait ici d'en faire mention.¹⁴

Remarque d'importance: les appellations communautaires esséniennes "Maison de vérité" et "Maison de perfection" ont été très survalorisées dans la gnose mandéenne, puisqu'elles en viennent à désigner les demeures éthérées promises aux Parfaits.

Une transposition comparable figure dans les *Actes de Thomas*, qui ont des points de contact avec les écrits mandéens. L'Apôtre déclare aux nouveaux baptisés:

En retour du vinaigre que tu as bu pour nous, que soit fortifiée notre faiblesse.

En retour du crachat que tu as reçu à cause de nous, recevons la rosée de ta bénignité.

En retour du roseau par lequel ils t'ont frappé à cause de nous, recevons la Maison parfaite.¹⁵

La "Maison parfaite" (οἶκος τέλειος) est le souverain bien que les souffrances du Christ sur la croix apportent aux chrétiens.¹⁶

Tout invite à penser que les expressions "Maison de vérité" et "Maison de perfection" ont été empruntées, à haute époque, à la secte de Qoumrân, par des Mandéens établis dans la vallée du Jourdain.

¹⁴ Voir M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer. II Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915), 192, n. 1.

¹⁵ Actes de Thomas 158 (éd. M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* [3 vols.; Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1903; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1959], 2:268, 8-11; traduction A.-J. Festugière, *Les actes apocryphes de Jean et de Thomas* [Cahiers d'orientalisme 6; Genève: Cramer, 1983], 114).

¹⁶ Ph. Vielhauer, *Oikodome* (2^{me} éd.; Munich: Kaiser, 1979), 2:49.

4Q448—THE LOST BEGINNING OF MMT?

Annette Steudel

Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen

The aim of this contribution is a comparison of two texts found at Qumran, 4QMMT and 4Q448. Both important documents have been studied quite intensively in modern scholarship.¹ The question of a relationship between 4Q448 and 4QMMT has so far never been raised. A *definite decision* on the character of both texts and on the hypothesis, that they might come from the same composition, is impossible, because their state is too fragmentary and no textual overlap exists. Nevertheless, this article collects arguments, which might—in their combination—speak for the fact, that 4Q448 represents the beginning of MMT.

In the following, first some aspects of 4QMMT and 4Q448 will be introduced briefly (1), then similarities of both will be discussed (2), some historical implications will be dealt with (3), and finally conclusions will be drawn (4).

I dedicate this article to Émile Puech, teacher and friend, with deepest respect for his incomparable scholarly work.²

Emile Puech has profoundly contributed to the research on 4Q448 in his article “Jonathan le prêtre impie et les débuts de la communauté de Qumrân. 4QJonathan (4Q523) et 4QPsAp (4Q448).”³ The

¹ On 4Q448 see the bibliography of É. Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie et les débuts de la communauté de Qumrân. 4QJonathan (4Q523) et 4QPsAp (4Q448),” *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 241–70, esp. 249–63, and the bibliography of E. & H. Eshel and A. Yardeni, in DJD XI. For a bibliography on MMT, based on informations of F. García Martínez, see J. Kampen and M. Bernstein (eds.), *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 145–56.

² Émile Puech and Hartmut Stegemann were dear friends for many years. Hartmut Stegemann was therefore so happy to dedicate his reconstruction of MMT to Émile Puech in this *Festschrift*. Hartmut Stegemann died in August 2005 without having been able to conclude his contribution. Reinhard G. Kratz, who had worked with Hartmut Stegemann on MMT in March 2005, took up Stegemann’s ideas on the sequence of MMT C and presents his own textual interpretation in this volume.

³ See above note 1.

following study is based on his transcription of 4Q448 as well as on the text given in the *editio major* by E. Eshel, H. Eshel and A. Yardeni.⁴ Although both editions differ in some places, this does not affect the results of this article in general.⁵ The edition of E. Qimron and J. Strugnell in DJD X is used for MMT.⁶ It does not seem to make a difference for the analysis below whether the sequence of fragments suggested for MMT C by E. Qimron is used or the sequence preferred by J. Strugnell and H. Stegemann.⁷ The comparison of MMT and 4Q448 is made without a certain historical pre-assumption.

1. *Introduction to some aspects of 4QMMT and 4Q448*

1.1. *4QMMT*

Six copies of 4QMMT were edited by E. Qimron and J. Strugnell in DJD X in 1994. Palaeographically the manuscripts are dated there from (no later than) the early-Herodian to the mid-Herodian period. Three different parts of the former composition can be distinguished: 4QMMT A deals with the calendar,⁸ while MMT B consists of a collection of 22 halakhot, many of which concern the Temple cult at Jerusalem. MMT C is a kind of “hortatory epilogue.” The middle-part and the end of the work are fairly well known through a combination of the text of the single MMT-copies, which differ from one another only in a few minor details. But the beginning section of MMT is no longer preserved among the 4QMMT manuscripts.⁹

⁴ In DJD XI, 403–25, plate XXXII. In counting the columns of 4Q448 as A–C, I follow É. Puech, this equals the counting of the columns as I–III in DJD XI.

⁵ Whenever necessary for the analysis, differences will be mentioned.

⁶ E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

⁷ See DJD X, Appendix 2, 201–202. This sequence is the textual basis in R.G. Kratz, “Mose und die Propheten: Zur Interpretation von 4QMMT C” (in this volume).

⁸ It is doubtful whether the calendar fragments (4Q394 1–2) indeed belong to 4QMMT^a (4Q394). Nevertheless, 4QMMT A 19–21 show that the calendar was dealt with in 4QMMT, at least in 4QMMT^a.

⁹ According to an unpublished calculation of H. Stegemann, about one third of the composition is missing in the beginning. Confer the reference in H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 105.

How the incipit of the former composition looked like, depends on the literary genre of the text as a whole. “Letter”/“epistle” or “treatise” have been suggested as its form. The “we,” which appears in the text, obviously represents the group of its author, while the “you” designates the addressee of the composition.¹⁰

1.2. 4Q448

The *editio major* of 4Q448 was presented by E. & H. Eshel and A. Yardeni in DJD XI in 1998.¹¹ Only a single fragment belongs to this manuscript. It comes from the very beginning of a scroll, and its fastening, as well as the top and the bottom margin, are still partly preserved. The fragment, which contains remains of three columns (A–C), is inscribed in an unusual way: Below column A, which was obviously of normal width, there is—more to the right—a very narrow column (B) followed by another column (C) of unknown size. Column A preserves a psalm, including parts of Ps 154, followed by a prayer for the welfare of “king Jonathan” starting in B 1. Column A can at least in parts be reconstructed quite satisfyingly with the help of the 11Q5 version and the Syriac version of Ps 154. Unfortunately, only very little is preserved of the prayer (and following text) in B and C.¹² A number of readings are uncertain and disputed, they make the understanding of the text even more difficult.¹³

¹⁰ Also a “they” group exists. See below.

¹¹ The manuscript was first presented in E. Eshel, H. Eshel and A. Yardeni, “A Scroll from Qumran which Includes Part of Psalm 154 and a Prayer for King Jonathan and His Kingdom,” *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 295–324 (Hebrew); idem, “A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and his Kingdom,” *IEJ* 42 (1992): 199–229.

¹² On the problem to structure the text of cols. B and C see e.g. Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 256, n. 49.

¹³ The major variants in reading the text concern עיר קדש (= Jerusalem) or קדש עור (e.g. *editio major* and E. Puech) in B 1 and לַיְהוֹנָתָן הַמֶּלֶךְ (editio major, with closed dots above *waw* and second *lamed*) or „יִהְיֶה וְכָל עַמְדָּךְ“ (E. Puech, with close dot above *ayin* and open dots above *waw*, medial and final *kaf*) in C 8. The reading עיר קדש in B 1 was suggested by D. Flusser, “Some Notes About the Prayer for the King Jonathan,” *Tarbiz* 61 (1992): 297–300 (Hebrew), G. Vermes, “The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment (4Q448),” *JJS* 44 (1993): 294–300, esp. 296, and Ph. Alexander, “A Note on the Syntax of 4Q448,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 301–302, esp. 301–302. Although it would fit nicely with the preceding context, this reading is very probably to be excluded because of the limited space for the completion, which would be needed at the end of the line in A 10. On the palaeographic arguments for the reading of עמך וְכָל עַמְדָּךְ in C 8 see Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 255–56.

The genre of 4Q448 was described as homage. A crucial point for the interpretation of the text is the palaeographic dating of 4Q448, which is written in a semi-cursive hand. Columns B and C have a slightly different script than col. A, but perhaps the same scribe was at work here too. The dating of the small group of semi-cursive documents in Qumran is difficult. Ada Yardeni's dating of the script of 4Q448 during the first half of the first c. B.C.E. pre-assumes that "king Jonathan," who is mentioned in this text, refers to Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.).¹⁴ The method of the dating, and also the dating itself was criticized with plausible arguments e.g. by E. Puech. He suggests a slightly earlier date, in the second half of the second c. B.C.E.¹⁵

2. A Comparison of 4Q448 and 4QMMT

The following similarities between 4Q448 and 4QMMT can be observed:

(a) With regard to the orthographic representation of *sin*, both, 4Q448 and 4QMMT, show—beside the usual way of representing it by š —cases of an interchange of š and c .¹⁶ E. Qimron has observed that such an interchange is "very infrequent" in Qumran Hebrew as well as in Biblical Hebrew.¹⁷ It is the rule in the Copper Scroll.

¹⁴ "4Q448 includes a prayer for the welfare of King Jonathan, whom we identify as Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). We believe that 4Q448 was copied during Jannaeus' lifetime and that it is thus the only document from Qumran published to date which can be assigned with almost complete certainty to the first half of the first c. B.C.E. Hence, this document is extremely important for Hebrew palaeography." A. Yardeni, DJD XI, 404–405.

¹⁵ In "Jonathan le prêtre impie," 258, where he also admits "La datation paléographique de 4Q448 en écriture semi-cursive et cursive est délicate." Cf. on Puech's dating of the manuscript similarly Vermes, "The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment (4Q448)," who suggests to date 4Q448 in the second c. B.C.E.

¹⁶ In 4Q448 in A 3, A 5, and less likely in C 1 (regular spelling is found in B 4), and in MMT e.g. in B 13, B 14, and B 75 (regular spelling often in MMT). In MMT, this interchange occurs in different manuscripts, and was therefore not the habit of a certain scribe, but seems to have been copied from the original.

¹⁷ E. Qimron, DJD X, 69. According to E. Qimron, this interchange is the rule in the Copper Scroll, and it often occurs in the Bar-Kokhba letters and is not infrequent in Mishnaic Hebrew texts. In his grammar, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harvard Semitic Studies 29; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986), 24, E. Qimron counts less than 10 cases of such an interchange outside of 4QMMT and 4Q448 (not counting the Copper Scroll there).

(b) Both, 4Q448 and 4QMMT, use $\text{-}\text{ש}$ beside ש as relative particle.¹⁸ This usage is extremely rare among the non-biblical texts in Qumran. The only text that uses $\text{-}\text{ש}$ (or ש) intensively is 4QMMT. The Copper Scroll attests only to this usage; it does not have ש along with the short form of the relative particle.

(c) 4Q448 and 4QMMT are the only texts from Qumran which attest to both phenomena: the interchange of ש and ס along with the regular graphical representation of *sin*, as well as use of $\text{-}\text{ש}$ along with ש as relative particle.

(d) Both, 4Q448 and 4QMMT, fit the form of a letter—not a letter actually sent to the addressee, but a letter in the form, in which it was preserved for the archive of the sender, i.e. without the name of the addressee and the sender, etc. Alternatively, one might think about the possibility that the document was sent in the preserved form and was accompanied by a covering letter. 4QMMT as a kind of letter has often been discussed.¹⁹ Also 4Q448 could well represent the beginning of a letter.²⁰ To start with a psalm (4Q448 A) and to continue with a prayer for the welfare of the addressee (4Q448 B) is definitely appropriate for a letter. Especially the second element is well attested in ancient letters. Although different in many formal details, as e.g. the *Präskript*, the Letter to the Ephesians might serve as an example of a letter, which is formally similar to what would result from a combination of 4Q448 and MMT. Two structural parallels exist to the beginning of the Letter to the Ephesians after the *Präskript* (Eph 1:1–2): As in 4Q448 (A), a praise of God starts in Eph 1:3 and a prayer for the addressee begins in Eph 1:17 (cf. 4Q448 B). As in MMT (C), the letters final section is a long exhortatory passage (Eph 4–6).

(e) 4QMMT has obviously been addressed to a ruler of the people of Israel, who has a very high rank.²¹ The same seems to hold

¹⁸ ש in 4Q448 C 5 (ש is found in B 5) and e.g. ש in 4QMMT C 21 (ש is often found in MMT). Cf. on the phenomenon E. Qimron, DJD X, 74–75 and 95–96.

¹⁹ See e.g. the chapter on “The Literary Character and the Historical Setting” of 4QMMT in DJD X, 109–21.

²⁰ Either a copy for the sender’s archive or a draft of the letter before it was sent, see below.

²¹ 4QMMT C 27 (“for your welfare and the welfare of your people”) and 4QMMT C 31–32 (“for your own welfare and for the welfare of Israel”), as well

true for 4Q448, which is usually described as homage to a king. “King Jonathan” is mentioned in B 2 as the first object of the prayer. Such an address of an earthly ruler of Israel, although only implicitly found in 4Q448, is found among the Dead Sea Scrolls exclusively in these two texts.

(f) Jonathan and “king Jonathan”: Jonathan the Maccabee is probably the most prominent candidate for being the addressee of MMT.²² 4Q448 mentions “king Jonathan” in B 2. An identification of the 4Q448 “king Jonathan” with Jonathan the Maccabee is—at least at first sight—problematic, because Jonathan the Maccabee is nowhere in the sources designated as king. Therefore, most scholars identify “king Jonathan” of 4Q448 B 2 with Alexander Jannaeus, who definitely had the title “king.”²³ Anyhow, Jonathan occurs a second time in 4Q448, namely in C 8, and there, as E. Puech has shown, without the following title מלך .²⁴ This made E. Puech suggest that Jonathan the Maccabee rather than Alexander Jannaeus was mentioned in 4Q448. According to E. Puech the palaeographic date of the manuscript 4Q448 also seems to speak against a identification with Alexander Jannaeus.²⁵ Philologically supported is E. Puech’s identification by the evidence that Jonathan’s designation as $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (1 Macc 10:65) might well be reflected by מלך . $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ translates מלך in Job 15:24 and in Dn 10:13.²⁶ It deserves mentioning, that

as the phrases “Think (זכור) of the kings of Israel . . .” 4QMMT C 23, and “Think (זכור) of David . . .” 4QMMT C 25 might in the given context speak for the fact that the addressee was the highest political ruler in Israel at that time.

²² Cf. e.g. Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie”, 266, Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, and cautiously Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 118–21. The internal analysis of 4QMMT in a combination with 4QpPs^a 1–10 iv 7–9 and 1QpHab VIII 10–13 leads to this identification. The sender of MMT would be the “Teacher of Righteousness” and the addressee the “Wicked Priest” (= Jonathan the Maccabee, cf. especially H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*, Bonn 1971). See also below section 3. “Historical Implications.”

²³ The “Jonathan” bullae (king and high priest) are interpreted as belonging to Alexander Jannaeus by N. Avigad, “A Bulla of King Jonathan,” *IEJ* 25 (1975): 245–46, and idem, “A Bulla of Jonathan the High Priest,” *IEJ* 25 (1975): 8–12. Cf. on these inscriptions most recently I. Kottsieper, *Nordwestsemitische Texte* (8. *Jh. v. Chr.—3. Jh. n. Chr.*) (Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge 2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005).

²⁴ On the reading of C 8 see above n. 13.

²⁵ See above 1.2.

²⁶ See Puech, DJD XXV, 76.

the psalm in 4Q448 would fit with both alternatives, Jonathan and Alexander.²⁷

(g) As sharply critical as 4QMMT is with regard to halakhic matters,²⁸ it speaks very politely with the addressee:

We have (indeed) sent you some of the precepts of the Torah according to our decision, for your welfare (לְטוֹבָה) and the welfare of your people. For we have seen (that) you have wisdom and knowledge of the Torah. . . . And this will be counted as a virtuous deed of yours, since you will be doing what is righteous and good in His eyes, for your own welfare (לְטוֹבָה) and for the welfare of Israel. MMT C 26–32.²⁹

4Q448 exhibits the same friendly attitude.³⁰ It has a positive image of the political ruler, addressing him implicitly in the prayer for his welfare, which is unfortunately only very badly preserved:

Guard (or: Rise up), O Holy One over King Jonathan (or: for King Jonathan) and all the congregation of Your people Israel who are in the four winds of heaven. Let them all be (at) peace and upon Your kingdom may your (sic.) name be blessed. 4Q448 B 1–9.³¹

²⁷ Compare below n. 34.

²⁸ In the focus of the critic is the “they”-group (MMT B), for whom the “you” (sg.) is responsible (see MMT C). See also below section 3. “Historical Implications.”

²⁹ Translation by E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, DJD X, 63. The friendly attitude towards the addressee of MMT was underlined also by E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, DJD X, 118.

³⁰ Although a negative attitude towards “king Jonathan,” as has been suggested by D. Harrington and J. Strugnell, “Qumran Cave 4 Texts: A New Publication,” *JBL* 112 (1993): 491–99, esp. 498–99, A. Lemaire, “Le roi Jonathan à Qoumrân (4Q448, B–C),” in *Qoumrân et les Manuscrits de la mer Morte. Un cinquantenaire* (ed. E.-M. Laperrousaz; Paris: Cerf, 1997), 57–70, and E. Main, “For King Jonathan or Against? The Use of Bible in 4Q448,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28, Leiden: Brill, 1998), 113–35, cannot totally be excluded, the majority of scholars convincingly thinks of a positive attitude towards the ruler (see e.g. the arguments given in the *editio major* of 4Q448 in DJD X, 421–22). In the first case, B 1–2 should be understood as “Rise, o Holy One, against King Jonathan,” but for a less common understanding of עֹרֵךְ עַל as “watch/guard over” see Deut 32:11, and Job 8:6. If 4Q448 and 4QMMT indeed represent the same composition, one might note that Deut 32 (v. 7) was explicitly referred to in 4QMMT C 11–12. The understanding of “king Jonathan” as a negative figure seems to be first of all raised in order to avoid the difficulty of a Qumran text, which (only) at a first sight does not look like fitting with the Qumran attitude towards the addressee. “King Jonathan” as a positive figure fits much better with the preceding psalm in 4Q448 A.

³¹ Translation DJD XI, 421.

Or, with a syntactically different division of the text:

Lève-toi, ô Saint! sur Jonathan, le roi, et toute l'assemblée de ton peuple, Israël—Que ceux qui sont (dispersés) aux quatre vents des cieux soient tous (en) paix!—et sur ton royaume, et que ton nom soit béni!
4Q448 B 1–9.³²

Unfortunately, it is impossible to know, whether the lacking messianic reference in the quotation of Ps 154:19³³ in 4Q448 A reflects the intention of the 4Q448 author, than perhaps with a critical sense. These verses of Ps 154 might as well have been unknown to the author of 4Q448, or even have been included into Ps 154 at a later stage.³⁴

(h) One might ask very, very cautiously, whether main aspects of 4Q448—as well from the Psalm as from the prayer—are taken up and in parts re-interpreted in MMT:

If the restoration of the 4Q448 A 6–10 according to Ps 154 was, at least in principal, correct, then different topics of MMT could be detected here:³⁵

6 [. . . Bind (חברו) your soul with the good ones (טובים)] 7 and with the pure ones (המימים, better: “perfect ones”) [to glorify the Most High. Behold the eyes of the Lord are compassionate (רחמל) over the good ones (טובים)] 8 and upon those who glorify Him He [increases his kindness; from an evil time (מעתה רעה) will the Redeemer deliver (יציל) their soul.] 9 the humble (עני) from the hand of adversaries (צרים)[and he delivers (מציל) the perfect (המימים) from the hand of the wicked. He desires] 10 His habitation in Zion, ch[oozes Jerusalem forever]
4Q448 A 6–10.

³² Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 257.

³³ “[Who establishes a horn out of Ja]cob and a judge of [people out of Israel].” J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QP^a)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

³⁴ Cf. Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 262: “Il ne serait pas impossible que la pièce 4Q448 A soit un Psaume sur Judah, célébrant l’intervention divine lors de la libération d’Antiochus IV et les purification et dédicace du temple le 25 kisleu 164 (1 Macc 4,42–59, 2 Macc 10,8 et l’éloge post-mortem de 1 Macc 3,3–9), mais expurgé d’une mention messianique pourtant attendue dans la citation. Dans ce cas on comprendrait l’adjonction du Psaume sur Jonathan à l’éloge précédent, mais absent du manuscrit recopié.” On the possibility that they form a later addition, found in 11Q5 and the syriac Psalms, see M. Noth, “Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apocryphen Psalmen,” *ZAW* 48 (1930): 1–23.

³⁵ On the reconstruction in detail see DJD XI, 420. The translation is taken from there, words in brackets are mine.

A hypothetical interpretation with regard to MMT might be given in the following:

Ll. 6–7: The text on which both E. Puech and the *editio major* agree, starts in l. 7 “Behold the eyes . . .”³⁶ The aim of MMT is obviously that the addressee changes his mind and follows the Torah interpretation of the senders (the “we”). The group of the sender of MMT might very well have understood or identified themselves as “the good ones” (טובים) and „the perfect” (תמימים), which already in Ps 154 designated those who fulfil God’s will written down in the Torah.³⁷ If the restoration of l. 6 was correct—but see E. Puech’s reading at the beginning of l. 7—³⁸ this might even be interpreted as a motto for MMT: “Bind (pl.) your soul with the good ones”.

If not simply meant as a *captatio benevolentiae*:³⁹ One might think about the possibility that the author of MMT quoted Ps 154 as a Davidic Psalm⁴⁰ in the beginning of his letter (4Q448 A) and alluding to it later on, as referring to his own time. Nevertheless, it is not absolutely certain, whether “David” is indeed to be read in the formula “the book of Moses and in the books of the Prophets and (the writings of) David” in 4QMMT C 10. But the figure of David plays an important role in MMT C 25–26.

L. 8–9: If the restoration was correct, which seems very likely, a combination of the roots נצל (twice in 4Q448) and צרה—although not a direct one in 4Q448 A—occurred in both, MMT and 4Q448. In both cases they refer to the deliverance of (a) pious one.⁴¹

L. 10: The mentioning of Jerusalem as God’s place—which is not at all as frequent in the Qumran text as one might expect—is common to both 4Q448 and 4QMMT.⁴²

Another parallel occurs in 4Q448 B and C and in 4QMMT C, namely the connection of the roots ברך and מלך. In 4Q448 B 8–9

³⁶ Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 256, reads the beginning of l. 7 differently: [השליכם ולהרום ים].

³⁷ Cf. “the perfect ones” (תמימים) also in l. 8. תמימים became a favorite self-designation at Qumran.

³⁸ Above n. 36.

³⁹ Acknowledging military success with the help of God.

⁴⁰ Ps 154 occurs in 11QPs^a (11Q5), a collection which has a “strong Davidic emphasis,” see P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 239.

⁴¹ David in MMT C 25–26.

⁴² MMT B 29 with 32–33. Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 256 restores the line differently, but in the same sense.

both words certainly refer to God,⁴³ while in 4Q448 C 6—here in a direct combination—they refer rather to the earthly kingdom.⁴⁴ The motif of king(ship) and blessing is prominent in 4QMMT C 18–21. MMT demands the addressee to follow the example of king David, who was a searcher of the Torah, in order to make the blessings come true at the end of the days, the present time of the author. Anyhow, the preserved passage of 4Q448 does not speak about curses, which appear in the context of blessings in MMT. But perhaps one might not expect their mentioning in the beginning of the letter.

The following list of words/roots which are common to 4QMMT and 4Q448 (either preserved or quite certainly restored with the aid of Ps 154) might be given in the end of this section:⁴⁵ רעה⁴⁶ (which is far less common among the Dead Sea Scrolls than רע), טוב,⁴⁷ רשע,⁴⁸ עת,⁴⁹ נצל,⁵⁰ צרה,⁵⁰ ברך,⁵¹ מלך,⁵² עם,⁵² קהל,⁵³ ישראל, and ירושלים. With regard to the small amount of text, which is represented by 4Q448, this is quite remarkable.

(i) As far as I know, frgs. 1–2 of 4QMMT^a (4Q394) and column B of 4Q448 are, apart from 4Q511 frg. 63 iv, the only columns among the non-biblical texts from Qumran, which are of such an extremely narrow width.⁵⁴ Was this a certain scribal habit at least

⁴³ While the *editio princeps* reads ועל ממלכתך יחברך שמך, Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” reads ועל ממלכתך ויחברך שמך, i.e. the connection of both roots is less close here.

⁴⁴ Perhaps somehow taking up B 8–9.

⁴⁵ Cf. also above 2 a–c.

⁴⁶ See 4Q448 A [8] according to Ps 154, and 4QMMT C 9. 12. 29 (MMT^c).

⁴⁷ See 4Q448 A [6.7] according to Ps 154, and 4QMMT C 27. 31 (2x).

⁴⁸ See 4Q448 A [9] according to Ps 154, and 4QMMT C 22.

⁴⁹ See 4Q448 A [8] according to Ps 154, and 4QMMT B 66 and C 30.

⁵⁰ On נצל and צרה see above. A close combination of these two roots seems to occur apart from MMT and 4Q448 only in 4Q434 1 ii 1 and 4Q504 1–2 vii 2.

⁵¹ See above.

⁵² See above.

⁵³ קהל is attested only 46 times in Qumran.

⁵⁴ 4Q448 B is 2.6 cm wide, the columns in 4QMMT^a frgs. 1–2 are even slightly smaller (width of lines varies a little bit). 4Q511 frg. 63 iv (see DJD VII, plate LXVI) comes from the left edge of a sheet, and includes the end of a hymn containing only three lines, with three or four words each, cf. DJD XI, 404, which also refers to small columns in biblical manuscripts. There, in the biblical manuscripts, the phenomenon of narrow columns is more common, see e.g. 6QCant and 5QLam.

by some scribes who copied the composition? The observation of the extremely small columns holds of course true also, if one assumes that frgs. 1–2 of 4QMMT^a (4Q394) do not belong to 4QMMT^a, but form a MMT-copy of its own.⁵⁵ In case that frgs. 1–2 indeed belonged to 4QMMT^a, as published in the edition, we would have in 4QMMT^a as well as in 4Q448 the same mixture of small and “normal size” columns.

(j) The semi-cursive script of 4Q448 and that of the papyrus 4QMMT^c (4Q398) are very similar, as already A. Yardeni observed.⁵⁶ Although not identical, 4Q448 is the closest palaeographical parallel to 4QMMT^c and *vice versa*. 4Q448 is very probably older than 4QMMT^c.⁵⁷ One might ask, whether 4Q448 with its strange division of the columns, their irregular width, the lack of drawn lines, and the careless impression of the script might have been a first draft. 4QMMT^c might have been copied perhaps not too much later by the same scribe in a more careful way, or, perhaps more probable, by a different scribe who followed his tradition quite closely.⁵⁸

(k) Hartmut Stegemann calculated convincingly that about one third of MMT is missing in the beginning.⁵⁹ Concerning 4Q448, E. Puech mentions cautiously: “Si la cassure parallèle au bord droit correspondait à celle de gauche, elle donnerait la circonférence du rouleau et l’attache exige que le rouleau comprit plusieurs colonnes.”⁶⁰ A first very rough calculation on this basis seems at least not at all to contradict the fact that the scroll 4Q448 included the amount of

⁵⁵ I tend to this solution.

⁵⁶ Confer the script charts and palaeographical analyses done for both manuscripts by A. Yardeni in DJD X, 29–34, and DJD XI, 404–408.

⁵⁷ See e.g. the use of medial *kaf* in final position preserved in 4Q448 B and C. Ada Yardeni dates 4QMMT^c to the late Hasmonian or early Herodian period (in the context of dating 4Q448 in DJD XI, 405; in dating the manuscript 4QMMT^c in DJD X “early Herodian” 34). On the dating of 4Q448 see above 1.2.

⁵⁸ Interestingly, J. Baumgarten, DJD XVIII, 2, notes “It seems that along with the scrolls that were copied at Qumran by professional scribes, there were some private drafts (e.g. 4Q448, 4Q398, 4Q255) and other fragments in semi-cursive hands.” I would hesitate with regard to 4Q398 (MMT^c), which seems to be more regular than 4Q448. Many of the Qumran texts—and especially the 777-texts—are preserved in at least two copies, which are palaeographically very close to each other, e.g. 1QM and 4QM^b, 4QH^d and 4QH^e (see for a first overview B. Webster, “Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert,” in DJD XXXIX, 351–446).

⁵⁹ See above n. 9.

⁶⁰ Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 250.

text, which we expect for the whole MMT-composition. But more work has to be done on the original of 4Q448. Nevertheless, the irregular columns of 4Q448 will prohibit us from too far-reaching conclusions concerning the amount of text, which was included in the former scroll.

To evaluate critically the above observations: Those arguments on the script, the division of columns in 4Q448 and 4QMMT as well as on the possible amount of text in the composition are certainly not the strongest ones (j-k), while the combination of the philological observations given in a-c seems to be of more importance. Anyhow, the evidence presented in a-c might reflect only the fact that both, 4QMMT and 4Q448, belong to a similar kind of literature, which is using a language that is probably closer to the spoken language than most of the other Qumran texts. Also the arguments under d and g, do not necessarily speak for the same composition, but for a similar or same genre. More decisive is the fact that both seem to address a ruler of Israel (e). Point f, "Jonathan," might be purely coincidental, but it is striking at least. The same might hold true with point g (topics shared in 4Q448 and 4QMMT). In evaluating the possibility that 4Q448 and 4QMMT might have belonged to the same composition, it is necessary to weigh carefully all the given arguments on their own and than to consider their combination.

3. *Historical Implications*

If one assumed that 4Q448 and 4QMMT represent the same letter, the addressee would be a certain "king Jonathan," either Alexander Jannaeus, or Jonathan the Maccabee.⁶¹ In the following, both possibilities should only be dealt with briefly. Methodologically, one might take for both alternatives 4QpPs^a 1-10 iv 7-9⁶² (in combination with 1QpHab VIII 8-13)⁶³ into consideration, in assuming that this passage reflects MMT, as is often done.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, this relationship, which would identify the sender of the letter with the

⁶¹ On both possibilities see above 2.f.

⁶² The text is incorrectly presented in DJD V.

⁶³ This is one of the most characteristic passages about the "Wicked Priest."

⁶⁴ See e.g. the *editio princeps* of 4QMMT.

“Teacher of Righteousness” and its addressee with the “Wicked Priest,” is likely, but not absolutely certain. Therefore, in principal other historical identifications should not be ruled out. Another methodological problem concerns the question of whether one accepts the traditional historical identification of the “Teacher of Righteousness” (= founder of the TT) and the “Wicked Priest” (= Jonathan the Maccabee) as developed by H. Stegemann,⁶⁵ whom many scholars followed,⁶⁶ but some adopted different views.⁶⁷ Personally, I still find Stegemann’s identification convincing, but this should not exclude other models in general.

(a) Concerning Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.): Referring to Alexander, 4Q448 might well have been a text of the TT .⁶⁸ The contested theory, that 4Q448 was brought into the TT from the outside and does not reflect the TT ’s attitude,⁶⁹ would definitely have to be ruled out, if MMT reflected the halakhic position of the TT , as is quite probable.⁷⁰ Whatever methodological approach one might use, it is historically certain, that “Lion of Wrath” is clearly the epithet of Alexander Jannaeus. “Lion of Wrath” occurs twice in the Dead Sea Scrolls, namely in 4QpNah (4Q169) II 2, 8, and in 4QpHos^b (4Q167) 2 1. As rightly observed by H. Stegemann, “Lion of Wrath” and therewith the image of Alexander Jannaeus is not necessarily negative in the Qumran authors’ eyes.⁷¹ Alexander is the

⁶⁵ H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*.

⁶⁶ E.g. Puech, and, most recently, J.C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas. High Priests After the Exile* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2004), 267–70.

⁶⁷ With regard to the “Wicked Priest” see e.g. A.S. van der Woude, “Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary,” *JJS* 33 (1982): 349–59. Cf. cautiously J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer, Band III: Einführung, Zeitrechnung, Register und Bibliographie* (UTB 1916; München and Basel: Reinhardt, 1996), 37, n. 34.

⁶⁸ See VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas. High Priests After the Exile*, 336, with the same arguments as H. Stegemann, “A Congratulation to King Alexander Jannaeus,” in idem, *The Library of Qumran*.

⁶⁹ See DJD XI, 413.415.

⁷⁰ See the calendar, the parallels to the Temple Scroll, which many scholars (e.g. E. Puech) consider to be a product of the TT or its fore-runner group see also the high number of copies, which probably reflects the importance of this text for the group who copied and preserved it.

⁷¹ See e.g. Stegemann “A Congratulation to King Alexander Jannaeus,” 133–34. Cf. also Y. Yadin, “Peshar Nahum (4Q pNahum) Reconsidered,” *IEJ* 21 (1971): 1–12.

“Lion of Wrath,” because he defeated the enemy of the הה , the Pharisees. The letter might then recur to a certain time under the reign Alexander Jannaeus.⁷² Would this be possible with regard to the halakhic questions raised in MMT, like the calendar, specific rules for Temple cult etc.? We know so little about the historical and religious circumstances apart from military/political actions of that time. But one could at least play with the idea that a halakha close to the positions of the Pharisees was (at least until 88 B.C.E.) the rule at the Temple under Alexander. The group of the author of MMT might have tried to gain some influence on the halakhic practices, perhaps in the situation when Alexander turned against the Pharisees in 88 B.C.E.⁷³ This would exclude an authorship of the “Teacher of Righteousness”, as the founder of the הה , who was already dead by then. If a reference to 4QpPs^a 1–10 iv 7–9 existed, the “Teacher of Righteousness” in this passage must have been another person. It is questionable whether the characteristics of the “Wicked Priest” in 1QpHab VIII 8–13 would fit with Alexander.⁷⁴ At least, the fact that the language of MMT seems to reflect the earlier phase of the existence of the הה ,⁷⁵ which came into being around the middle of the second c. B.C.E.,⁷⁶ might speak against an identification with Alexander Jannaeus. Also the palaeographical dating of 4Q448 suggested by E. Puech would make such a identification less probable, if not excluded.⁷⁷

(b) Concerning Jonathan the Maccabee (160/159–142 B.C.E.)⁷⁸: Everything with regard to this identification in 4Q448 depends on whether we follow E. Puech’s interpretation of המלך in 4Q448 A 2

⁷² Different situations during Alexander’s reign might be possible. See e.g. the considerations in the *editio princeps*, DJD XI, 412–15.

⁷³ Might in this case the expression “we have separated ourselves from the multitude of the people . . .” 4QMMT C 7–9 have the background of a general hatredness of the people against Alexander as reported by Josephus, *Ant.* 13.13?

⁷⁴ The “Wicked Priest” and the “Lion of Wrath” would become one and the same figure, as sometimes suggested, contrary to the traditional identification, see also below.

⁷⁵ See especially the lack of the specific terminology of the הה .

⁷⁶ See the palaeographical dating of copies of הה —documents, as e.g. 4QS^a, which gives the *terminus ad quem* for the foundation of the הה .

⁷⁷ See above 1.2. Not all consequences of an identification of Alexander as the addressee of MMT can be debated here.

⁷⁸ High priest 152–142 B.C.E.

supported by his reading of 4Q448 B 8.⁷⁹ Jonathan the Maccabee is the most often suggested candidate for the addressee of MMT, because of the possible reference to MMT in 4QpPs^a 1–10 iv 7–9 in combination with 1QpHab VIII 8–13.⁸⁰ According to this hypothesis, the “Teacher of Righteousness” (and his group) might have been the author of MMT, and the—from a later perspective—“Wicked Priest,” namely Jonathan the Maccabee, was its addressee.

Since a real *hostile* attitude towards the addressee, cannot be observed, neither in 4QMMT nor in 4Q448, the letter would best fit into the period when Jonathan the Maccabee, although already being the high priest, was still regarded in principal as a positive character. In this case, the role of the “Teacher of Righteousness” as “amtsvertriebener Hohepriester” of the *Intersacerdotium* might slightly be rethought.⁸¹ Possibly, the Teacher left his post as high priest more deliberately than traditionally is assumed—perhaps, because of the respect for Jonathan and for his family’s political/military success? No textual evidence from Qumran or from other sources necessarily demands the assumption of an aggressive act of Jonathan against the “Teacher of Righteousness”—probably the high priest of the *Intersacerdotium*—when he took over the highest office in the Temple.⁸² Confirmation might be gained from 1QpHab VIII 8–13, a passage, which knows about a time, when the “Wicked Priest” had a positive reputation:

1QpHab VIII 8–9.⁸³ הכוהן הרשע אשר נקרא על שם האמת בתחלת עמדו

⁷⁹ See above 2.f.

⁸⁰ Cf. e.g. Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 266, Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 105, and cautiously DJD X, 118–21.

⁸¹ Although he and his group might—from a later (post-MMT) perspective—have seen him as thrown out of his office.

⁸² 1 Macc 10:20 and Josephus, *Ant.* 13:45f.

⁸³ Especially because of the preceding “Wicked Priest,” עמדו seems to refer to his office as high priest, cf. e.g. M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQ Monograph Series 8; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979), differently from Puech, “Jonathan le prêtre impie,” 262 n. 65. Puech, 268, suggested that 4Q448 comes from the period when Jonathan was only a military ruler and not yet high priest, while 4Q523 (and MMT) originate from the time when Jonathan was already the high priest.

It might well have been that after a certain period of general acceptance of Jonathan as high priest by the “Teacher of Righteousness,”⁸⁴ that he addresses Jonathan in a letter (MMT) politely but sharply critical with regard to halakhic matters and asks him to change certain practises of his priests (“they”), especially in Jerusalem and in the Temple. The letter—at least explicitly—does not at all demand from Jonathan to resign from his office as high priest.⁸⁵ On the contrary, an ongoing reign—also in Torah matters—is envisaged in the final lines of MMT C.

Also if one accepts the hypothesis of the “*Amtsvertreibung*” of the “Teacher of Righteousness” by Jonathan,⁸⁶ 4Q448 would be a possible candidate for the beginning of MMT. As polite as 4QMMT, 4Q448 might well be a *captatio benevolentiae* in the incipit of the letter MMT—acknowledging Jonathan as political ruler over Israel.

4. Conclusion

As stated in the introduction of this article, a definite proof for the hypothesis that 4Q448 was the beginning of MMT is impossible, because of the fragmentary state of 4QMMT and especially 4Q448, furthermore the fact that no textual overlap exists. Therefore, the collection of similarities given in this study is thought as a contribution to open the discussion about the relationship of 4Q448 and 4QMMT, and not to give a definite answer. The similarities, which could be observed there (2. a–k), are of different value, some count more than others.⁸⁷ And only a *combination* of them can lead to the assumption that 4Q448 might have been the beginning of MMT. Although objections might well be raised against one point of similarity or another, the majority of combined arguments seems to

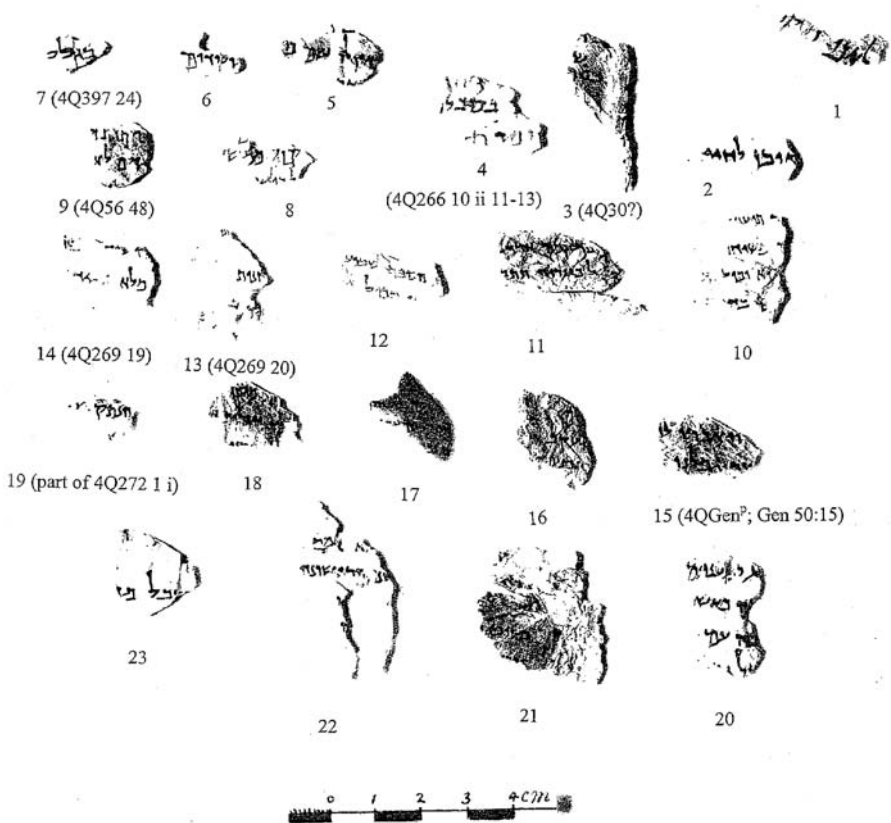
⁸⁴ Might the use of the biblically and elsewhere attested expression “all the congregation of Your people Israel *who are in the four winds of heaven*” in 4Q448 B 3–6 hint to the fact that the author and his (as well as other pious) groups stay outside the country?

⁸⁵ As suggested by Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 105.

⁸⁶ Historically, it is not absolutely certain that the “Teacher of Righteousness” was the *immediate fore-runner* of Jonathan as high priest. But his designation as *הַכֹּהֵן* seems to speak for an identification as high priest.

⁸⁷ See their evaluation at the end of section 2 “A Comparison of 4Q448 and 4QMMT.”

speak for the proposal of a relationship of these two texts. The result for the understanding of MMT would be, that the addressee was a certain “king Jonathan,” either Alexander Jannai, or, perhaps better, Jonathan the Maccabee.



PAM 43.398
 Photo Israel Antiquities Authority

PUBLICATION OF PAM 43.398 (IAA #202)
INCLUDING NEW FRAGMENTS OF 4Q269

Eibert Tigchelaar
Qumran Instituut, Groningen

Most of the Cave 4 unidentified fragments have been placed on forty museum plates that were photographed as PAM 43.660–43.701, and published in a volume of *Qumran Cave 4 Unidentified Fragments*.¹ However, some of the more interesting unidentified fragments had already been placed separately on three other plates that were photographed as PAM 43.398, 43.399 and 43.400. All the fragments of the latter two photographs have been published in the DJD series, most of them in DJD XXXVI.² On the other hand, only two out of twenty-three fragments of PAM 43.398 have been published in the DJD series. This contribution will briefly present the twenty-three fragments, and comment somewhat more extensively on the newly identified 4Q269 fragments.³

¹ Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIII Unidentified Fragments* (DJD XXXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001). Cf. a discussion of the volume in E. Tigchelaar, “On the Unidentified Fragments of DJD XXXIII and PAM 43.680: A New Manuscript of 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition, and Fragments of 4Q13, 4Q269, 4Q525 and 4Q5b (?)” *RevQ* 21/83 (2004): 477–85.

² PAM 43.399 contains 4Q281a-f (4QUnidentified Fragments A, a-f; published by Joseph Fitzmyer in DJD XXXVI, 212–15), 4Q468a–d (4QUnidentified Fragments C, a–d; published by Magen Broshi in DJD XXXVI, 401–5), 4Q468cc–dd (4QUnidentified Fragments C, cc–dd; published by Eibert Tigchelaar in DJD XXVIII, 219–22), as well as the (identified) fragment 4Q98g (4QPs^x; published by Patrick Skehan, Gene Ulrich and Peter Flint in DJD XVI, 163–67). One fragment has been published twice: 4Q468d was also published as 4Q238 (4QWords of Judgement, published by Peter Flint in DJD XXVIII, 119–23).

PAM 43.400 contains 22 fragments. Twenty were published as 4Q282a–t (4QUnidentified Fragments B, a–t; published by Joseph Fitzmyer in DJD XXXVI, 216–27). The other two are 4Q98f (4QPs^x; published by Joseph Fitzmyer in DJD XVI, 161–62) and 4Q468e (4QHistorical Text F; published by Magen Broshi in DJD XXXVI, 406–11).

³ This publication is very preliminary; I dedicate it in friendship to Émile Puech, who, as palaeographer *par excellence*, will be able to improve upon the readings, and, I hope, to identify more of the fragments.

1. *PAM 43.398 (IAA #202)*

Photograph PAM 43.398 represents the Rockefeller Museum Plate 202 (now IAA #202).⁴ The Reed Catalogue records the siglum “M126a Misc frgs.”⁵ Before placement on #202, most fragments were found in different earlier PAM photographs. One gets the impression that some of the unidentified fragments from other plates were placed together because of some remarkable lexical or palaeographic feature. Two fragments (frgs. 4 and 19) from this photograph were identified as Damascus Document fragments and have been published in DJD XVIII, whereas the other fragments have not been published.⁶ The photograph is not in any of the plates in the DJD volumes, nor in the Brill CD-Rom.⁷

In the IAA Plate #202 the following fragments have been marked by a “v” written in pencil close to the fragment: frgs. 4, 10, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23. The present state of the Plate represents almost exactly the photograph 43.398. The exceptions are that frg. 1 has broken into pieces, part of frg. 8 has been rotated, and at the bottom of the plate a few tiny specks have been collated in two groups, and are kept together by some kind of tape. Judging from the colour, I surmise that the group at the bottom right are specks broken from frg. 17, and that the few specks and a thread of c. 1 cm at the bottom left belong to frg. 22.

In this publication, I present the photograph of PAM 43.398, and I refer to the fragments in the manner that was used in DJD XXXIII, namely by PAM number of the photograph, and order of the fragments within the photograph (from right to left; top to bottom). Thus, the fragments are numbered PAM 43.398 frgs. 1–23, even

⁴ Examination of IAA #202 in August 2005 and publication of the photography by courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

⁵ Stephen A. Reed, Marilyn J. Lundberg and Michael B. Phelps, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue. Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers* (SBLRBS 32; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994), 146–47: “4Q Documents with uncertain Q numbers from Milik Collection.”

⁶ I described frag. 9 in Eibert Tigchelaar, “Minuscula Qumranica I,” *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 643–48 at 646.

⁷ The photograph number PAM 43.398 is in the index of the CD-Rom (T.H. Lim, *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library CD-ROM, Volume 1* [Leiden: Brill, 1997]) but the image linked to the number is that of PAM 43.192. The photograph is however included in the 1991 Facsimile edition (Plate 1392) and the Brill *Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche Edition* (in the latter a dark and a light image).

though some of the fragments have been identified as belonging to other manuscripts, in which case I give additional new fragment numbers to those fragments.

2. Brief Publication of the PAM 43.398 Fragments

PAM 43.398 Frg. 1

The fragment (also in PAM 42.763) reads]לאִשְׁכֵי הַקָּדָשׁ[, which one may restore to]מִן לְאִשְׁכֵי הַקָּדָשׁ[⁷ or]מִן לְאִשְׁכֵי הַקָּדָשׁ[דָּשׁ]. The latter expression, “the angels of the sounds,” is attested in 4Q216 V 7 (*Jub.* 2:2), while “the holy angels,” is read in the Dead Sea Scrolls in *Jubilees* (4Q216 V 5), *Pseudo-Jubilees* (4Q226 7 6), the *Damascus Document* (4Q266 8 i 9), and perhaps *Berakhot* (4Q289 1 5). However, the hand of PAM 43.398 frg. 1 does not correspond to that of any of the copies of those compositions. Presently the orange-brown coloured and rather thin fragment has broken into several pieces, and only the letters אִשְׁכֵי are still in their proper place.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 2

The light brown fragment (also in PAM 42.763 and 43.159) reads]וְאִשְׁכֵי הַקָּדָשׁ[⁸. This combination of words is not attested in the Hebrew Bible or Dead Sea Scrolls.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 3 (=4Q30?)

The brown fragment (also in PAM 41.407), with stitching at the right side, contains traces of letters in lines 1 (read e.g.]בְּהַיָּוָה[) and 3, and four letters in line 2 reading]בְּהַיָּוָה[. The scribe first wrote *samek*, but cancellation dots have been added above and below *samek*, and *sin* has been added supralinearly. The photograph suggests that the last letter is *resh*, but the fragment strongly suggests the left stroke going downwards, slightly diagonally, indicating *mem*, or *taw*.

A survey of the manuscripts that have cancellation dots both above and below single letters,⁹ suggests that the fragment may belong to

⁸ The head of the last letter poses some questions. I get the impression from microscopic examination that it is a normal *waw*, but that an additional, almost horizontal, stroke has been put under its head. This can hardly be the stroke of a new normal letter, but what is it?

⁹ Cf. the list provided by Emanuel Tov in DJD XXXIX, 329–32.

4Q30 (4QDeut^c): the hand seems the same, the distance between the lines varies in 4Q30, but is compatible with that of PAM 43.398 frg. 3. Moreover, 4Q30 frg. 5 has a similarly narrow right margin of less than one cm between the stitching and the text. If one reads]^פר] {ס}ב, then the fragment may preserve any of the occurrences of בשר in Deuteronomy.¹⁰

PAM 43.398 Frg. 4 (= 4Q266 10 ii 11–13)

The fragment (also in PAM 42.860, 42.940 and 43.168) has been published as part of 4Q266 (4QD^a) 10 ii. Cf. DJD XVIII, Pl. XIII, which refers to PAM 43.398. The placement of the fragment in the penal code section in 4Q266 10 ii 11–13 seems warranted on the basis of the rather rare word סכלוה, “folly,” followed in line 3 by מי, though the reconstructions in these lines demand different amounts of space. The few traces in line 1 are damaged and have not been identified by the editor, even though he reconstructs 4Q266 10 ii 11 on the basis of 1QS VII 14. In view of the space, the traces should be where the editor reconstructs פוה with 1QS, a word only attested in that place, and is usually taken to be a by-form or mistake for פוהה, “clad in rags.”¹¹ Whereas the last letter in PAM 43.398 4 line 1 may indeed be *khē*, it is more difficult to identify the preceding traces, especially since it is not evident whether the horizontal stroke is part of a letter, or of a line to cross out a reading. In sum: the reconstruction of 4Q266 10 ii 11 with the reading פוה should be considered uncertain.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 5

The dark fragment (also in PAM 42.050), which is barely legible with the naked eye, contains traces of letters in lines 1 (e.g.]^ר.^א and]^ב.) and 3 (e.g.]^ה.^ב/ה^ה], and reads clearly in line 2] ויאין לו שם כי] . This sequence of words, “with no name for him, for,” is not attested in the Hebrew Bible or the Dead Sea Scrolls.

¹⁰ Alternatively, one might perhaps read]^פר] {ס}ב, reflecting Deut 28:47, in which case PAM 43.398 frg. 3 should be placed close above 4Q30 frg. 51. But this would imply a variant reading, e.g., ב^הו^ה in line 1 (MT ובורעך).

¹¹ Cf. comment to 4Q259 I 12 in DJD XXVI, 138. פוה is attested only in 1QS VII 14, while it is reconstructed in the DJD editions of 4Q259 I 12, 4Q261 5a–c 9, 4Q266 10 ii 11 and 4Q270 7 i 3.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 6

The fragment (also in PAM 43.159) reads]מוֹלִידִים]. The hiphil participle המולדים is attested in Jer 16:3, but the hand of this fragment does not correspond to that of any of the Cave 4 Jeremiah manuscripts.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 7 (4Q397 24)

The fragment reads]בנלל] [, a word (“because of”) which is rather rare in the Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The hand and the colour of the skin are virtually identical to 4Q397 (4QMMT^d), but my suggestion¹² to place the fragment in 4Q397 14–21 5 before החמס should be dismissed on the grounds of the different quality of the skin. PAM 43.498 frg. 7 has horizontal stripes in the leather, whereas the skin of 4Q397 14–21 (IAA #157a) is more smooth and has vertical, not horizontal, stripes.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 8

The fragment (also in PAM 43.159) is presently broken, and the left part has been incorrectly placed 90 degrees counterclockwise on IAA #202. Read line 1]ש] ; line 2]לכול ממשל] ; line 3]כבודו].¹³ The phrase ממשלחם לכול, “for all their dominion,” is also attested in 1QH^a XX 8–9.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 9 (4Q56 48)

The fragment (also in PAM 43.159), which contains part of Isa 55:12–56:1, belongs to 4Q56 (4QIsa^b). Due to abrasions of the surface of the skin, parts of some letters are not anymore present.

- 1]והצליח אשר שלחתי¹² כי בשמחה תצאו ובשלום] תובלון ההרים והנבעות]
 2]יפצחו לפניכם רנה וכלעצי השדה ימחאו]כף¹³ תחת ה]נעצוץ יעלה ברוש
 תחת]
 3]הסרפד יעלה הדס והיה ליהוה לשם לאות]עולם לא] יכרת [*vacat*
 4]¹כה אמר יהוה שמרו משפט ועשו צדקה כי ק]רוב]ה ישועתי לבוא וצדקתי]

¹² Cf. the edition of 4QMMT in *Texts Concerned With Religious Law* (2nd ed.; eds. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov; The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader 1; Leiden and Boston: Brill, forthcoming).

¹³ A discolouration in the photograph suggests the first letter of line 3 is *lamed*, but this is the shade of a tear, and not ink. The last letter might seem to be *shin*, but is in fact *dalet*, followed by a trace of a next letter.

Earlier, I read the traces of line 4 as [נ]צַבְרָקְתִי ,¹⁴ but closer examination of the fragment itself shows that the middle letter must be *vav*. The present reading indicates a vacat after Isa 55:13, where מ^{L} has a *setuma*.¹⁵ The number of letters-spaces per line is ca. 65.

The shape of the fragment indicates it stems from the same “wad” as 4Q56 frgs. 34, 36, 38, and 39. In DJD XV the identification of frag. 38 is incorrect, though. The height of a column of ca. 45 lines¹⁶ corresponds to the text between frag. 34 (Isa 49:21–23) and frag. 36 (Isa 51:14–16), that between frag. 36 (Isa 51:14–16), and frag. 39 (Isa 53:11–12), and that between frag. 39 (Isa 53:11–12) and frag. 48 (Isa 55:12–56:1).¹⁷ Frg. 38 therefore belongs to the same column as frag. 36, frag. 38 preserving the left margin, and frag. 34 being close to the right margin.¹⁸ This results in the following reading for 4Q56 frgs. 36, 38 (Isa 51:14–16):

[צבאות]19

- 1 [לשחת] ולא יחסר^{דברי} לחמו ואנכי יהוה אלהיך רנע הים ויהמו גליו ית[נה]
 2 [שמו] ואשים בפך ובצ[ל ידי כסיתך לנפע שמים וליסד ארץ ולאמן]^{לציון}
 3] vacat [אתה]

PAM 43.398 Frg. 10

Unfortunately, in this fragment [משיח'ו] is the only certain word, since several sections of the fragment have suffered from partial or complete abrasion of the skin. In line 1 the remnants seem to be [ר הוענ'ו] .²⁰

¹⁴ Tigchelaar, “Minuscule Qumranica I,” 646.

¹⁵ DJD XV, 20 describes briefly the methods of signalling a new paragraph in 4Q56. This manuscript often leaves the remainder of a line blank.

¹⁶ Cf. DJD XV, 19–20.

¹⁷ The amount of words (of MT) running from frag. 34 איפה to frag. 36 ולא is 474; from frag. 36 ולא to frag. 39 יסבל there are 468 words; from frag. 39 יסבל to frag. 48 כה 416 words. Reconstruction of the two lines of frag. 39 does indeed suggest that those lines were somewhat shorter than in the previous columns.

¹⁸ In short: we have fragments from the same wad, from four consecutive columns: i (frag. 34); ii (frgs. 36 + 38); iii (frag. 39); iv (frag. 48).

¹⁹ I reconstruct צבאות as a supralinear addition (like צבאות in 4Q56 3 11) since it does not fit at the beginning of line 2.

²⁰ There is no indication that a letter has been abraded between *resh* and *tav*. The letter after *ayin* is most likely *nun* with abraded base or *zayin*. The next letter has an upper part of a stroke which seems to curve upwards to the right. It is not clear whether the two traces belong to two consecutive letters, or to one. If it is

in line 2 read]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ/וּ] in line 3]וּ.וְכֹל.וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ].²¹ and in line 4]עָרָרְ בַּהּ. . .].

PAM 43.398 Frg. 11

The general appearance of the fragment (also in PAM 43.163) is not unlike frg. 10, but the hand slants more to the left, and the letters are slightly more curved. Read in line 1]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ אֶרְבֶּכָה].²² “I will enlarge your inheritance,” and in line 2]ל . . . ל בְּכֹארוֹיָהּ חֶתֶב].²³

PAM 43.398 Frg. 12

Read in line 1]וְהַסְפֵּר שְׁבוּעַת] and in line 2]וּ.וְכֹל.וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ]. In line 1, *וְהַסְפֵּר* can be a noun (“the book”), or a verbal form, whereas *שְׁבוּעַת* can be “week,” or, more difficult, a form of *שָׁבַע*. A possible manner to connect the two words is by reconstructing something like *וְהַסְפֵּר שְׁבוּעַת* [הַסְפֵּר שְׁבוּעַת], “when [one] week has been counted,” where *שְׁבוּעַת* is used in stead of the *יָמִים*.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 13 (4Q269 20)

For the identification of the fragment (also in PAM 41.453 and 42.860) as part of 4Q269 (4QD^d) cf. discussion in Section 3. Read in line 1]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ]; line 2]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ]; line 3]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ]; line 4]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ].²⁴

PAM 43.398 Frg. 14 (4Q269 19)

Read in line 1]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ עוֹד שְׁבַע]; in line 2]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ עוֹד שְׁבַע]; and in line 3]וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ עוֹד שְׁבַע]. The fragment (also in PAM 41.453 and 42.860) can be fitted in 4Q269 7 6–7. Cf. discussion in Section 3.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 15 (Gen 50:15 [4Q12a])

The fragment (also in PAM 42.050), which contains remnants of Gen 50:15, is written in a late Herodian bookhand. It does not

one, then *alef* (but different from *alef* in line 3), or perhaps *khet* or *he*, with much abrasions.

²¹ In *וְיִשְׁחַדְוּ* *vav* is more likely than *yod*. In the last word the first letter is narrow, like *yod*, *vav*, or *zayin*, but perhaps the first two traces are in fact the remnants of *he*. The last letter is probably *mem* or *pe*.

²² The fragment preserves the left part of the basestroke of *bet*, a stroke which is not visible in the photograph, presumably because of the wrinkling of the skin.

²³ I prefer *כְּאֹרֶיָהּ* above *בְּאֹרֶיָהּ*. The photograph might suggest that the second letter is *gimel*, but *alef* is certain on the fragment.

²⁴ The letters *מש* in line 4 are only preserved in a piece in PAM 41.453.

correspond to any of the Cave 4 *Genesis* or *Reworked Pentateuch* manuscripts. Therefore, it may be given the siglum 4QGen^p.²⁵

1 [יוסף כי מת אביהם] ויאמרו לו[ן] ישטמנו יוסף והשב ישיב לנו[ן]
2 [את כל הרעה א]שר נמלנו א[תו] וייצונו אל יוסף לאמר אביך[ן]

The trace in the photograph in line 3 is not in the actual fragment which is dark, and poorly legible with the naked eye.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 16

The fragment (also in PAM 41.373, 42.511 and 42.933), from the left end of a column, is dark and barely legible with the naked eye. The bottom right part has suffered from some abrasion. Line 1 ל.[; line 2 ם.[; line 3 יעקב[; line 4 נכנעיה[.]. line 5].[. The top left part preserving *lamed* of line 1 is in PAM 41.373 and 42.511. The word in line 4, if this is the right reading, should mean “her subdued ones.”

PAM 43.398 Frg. 17

The fragment is very dark. Presently some kind of adhesive tissue joins the major part with the bottom right part. Due to the darkness and the tissue, examination of the actual fragment is of little help; only the faintest remains of letter are visible to the naked eye, or under the microscope. However, examination with the microscope does show that fragment is thick and possibly consists of two layers. The fragment seems to be quite brittle, and a small piece seems to have broken off from the left.

The writing is small, and the reading of some letters in lines 2 and 4 is uncertain. Tentatively, I suggest the following reading, based on the photographic print supplied by the IAA: line 1]ממ.[; line 2]ר/רָשִׁים כָּמֵה הַלְךְ/רָ[; line 3]ן[; line 4]מֵנִי נֹכַח[. Only the third line with the phrase “from the days of Adam until” is certain. This phrase is attested in *Jub.* 16:8 and 50:4, but the other lines do not seem to correspond to *Jubilees*.

²⁵ At present the following Cave 4 Genesis manuscripts have been identified: 4Q1–10 (4QGen-Exod^a; 4QGen^{b-k}; DJD XII, 7–78), 4Q11–12 (4QpalGen-Exodⁱ; 4QpalGen^m; DJD IX, 17–52), and, by Émile Puech, 4Q576 (4QGenⁿ; DJD XXV, 191–93) and 4Q483 (pap4QGen^p; DJD VII, 2). Cf. É. Puech, “Un nouveau manuscrit de la Genèse de la grotte 4: 4Q483 = pap4QGenèse,” *RevQ* 19/74 (1999): 259–60. I suggest to refer to this fragment as 4Q12a (4QGen^p).

PAM 43.398 Frg. 18

Read in line 1]וה מקד[ש; in line 2]לפ/וני ויכרות א.[; and in line 3]לני ויכרות אש[ריו]. A possible reconstruction of line 2 would be]לפ/וני ויכרות א.[.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 19 (4Q272)

The fragment (also in PAM 42.510 and 42.934) has been published as part of 4Q272 1 i (4QD^s), but the number of the PAM photograph has not been recorded, neither in the text, nor in DJD XVIII, Pl. XL.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 20

This fragment (also on PAM 42.043 and 42.932) preserves a remarkable “X”-like sign which I am unable to explain. Read in line 1]עיים ל. X[; line 2]ה ב/כאש.[; line 3]בה עם[; line 4]אל נ.[

PAM 43.398 Frg. 21

Large sections of the upper layer of this fragment (also in PAM 43.171) have flaked off. The remaining upper layer of the skin is in most places very dark brown, and only a few letters of line 4 are legible with the naked eye. The fragment has a wide right margin. Read line 1]ש[; line 2]... א.; line 3]המש אמ[וה; line 4]כ/בשוט[; line 5]... וכ. It is not clear to me what kind of text would combine the phrase “five cubits,” with כשוט or בשוט, “with a whip,” “when roaming about.”

PAM 43.398 Frg. 22

The first lines of the fragment (also in PAM 42.082, 42.510 and 42.934) are reminiscent of the mishmarot fragments. Read in line 1]בל[נא אמר, which seems to be preserve part of a catalogue of the twenty-four mishmarot.²⁶ Line 2, reading]ה/שנה הרישונה may preserve the heading of the annual listing of all courses. The hand of the fragment does not correspond to that of the other mishmarot from Cave 4. Lines 3 and 4 end with] and]ה[. It is not clear why the separate piece has been placed at the bottom right of the composite fragment. This piece has only one trace since the remainder of the surface has been damaged. The fragment may have preserved

²⁶ Compare 4Q329 (4QMishmarot C) frg. 1 (DJD XXI, 145).

the left edge of a sheet, and the thread that is presently at the bottom of the plate may have been part of this fragment. The many black spots on the fragments have the appearance of specks of tar lying on top of the fragment.

PAM 43.398 Frg. 23

The fragment (also in PAM 43.173) consists of two pieces, the first letter of line 3 being split on both pieces. The lines have been ruled. Read in line 1]וּ .[; line 2 is unwritten; line 3 reads]בל מ.[

3. *Notes on the 4Q269 Fragments in #202*

a. PAM 43.398 Frg. 14 (4Q269 19) in Relation to 4Q269 7 and 4Q272 1 i and ii

PAM 43.398 frg. 14 (line 1]וּ עוֹד שְׁבַעֲתָי [; line 2] מלא הניד .[can be placed to the right of the second piece of 4Q269 7, in lines 6–7, resulting in the following reading:

ואחר י' שָׁוָה [ב]וּ] כאשר [אמר והס'ני]רו עוד שְׁבַעֲתָי]	] 6
[ימים עד אשר יצ'מת הבשר וראה [ביום ה]שביעי' [והנה] מלא הניד ד' [ם] [ורוח החיים עולה ו]יורדת והבשר] צמח נרפא מן הנגע	] 7] 8

“[And afterwards he] shall compare it [as] he said: “And he shall l[o]ck him up again for seven [days until] the flesh [gr]ows. And ^{the} priest shall examine (him) [on the] seventh [day, and if] the artery is full [with blood and the spirit of life is going up and] down, and the flesh [has grown, then he is healed from . . .”

The section on skin diseases is textually challenging, since it has been fragmentarily preserved in four overlapping manuscripts (4Q266 6 i; 4Q269 7; 4Q272 1 i–ii; 4Q273 4 ii) that all consist of multiple fragments that have to be related to one another.²⁷

²⁷ The most important transcriptions and/or treatments of the text are J.T. Milik, “Fragment d’une source du Psautier (4Q Ps 89) et fragments des Jubilés, du document de Damas, d’un phylactère dans la grotte 4 de Qumran,” *RB* 73 (1966): 94–106; Milik’s preliminary transcriptions, as present in the Card Concordance, were made accessible to other editors in *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Caves II–X Including Especially the Unpublished Material from Cave IV*. Printed from a card index prepared by Raymond E. Brown, S.S., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., W.G. Oxtoby, J. Teixidor. Prepared and arranged for

The new identified PAM 43.398 frg. 14 offers a few additional words that had hitherto not been reconstructed in the composite text.²⁸ The DJD edition reconstructs after [כאשר] אמר the quotation from Lev 13:5b (הכהן שבעת ימים שנית והסנידר), without the last word שנית which presumably was omitted in the reconstruction for reasons of space. The PAM 43.398 fragment shows that the quotation was not entirely literal, but a paraphrase: the subject הכהן was omitted, and שנית was replaced by עוד. The second line presents two words (מלא הניד) that were not included in the DJD reconstruction that reads [והנה רן] ה החיים עולה ויורדת. The phrase we now have is close to that of 4Q272 1 ii 1 (4Q266 6 i 12) ורוח החיים הם ונמלא דם והניד נמלא דם ורוח החיים עולה ויורדת which is used in a similar context.²⁹

This new reading also affects the transcriptions of the overlapping manuscripts. In 4Q272 1 the vertically written text in the margin between cols. i and ii should read: [כאשר] אמר והסנידר [עוד שבעת] מים. In 4Q272 1 i 6–7 one may read:

] 6 [אשר יצמה [הבשר וראו] הכהן ב[יום]
] 7 [השביעי והנה מלא הניד דם ורן] חיים עולה ויורדת [הבשר צמה]

printing by Hans-Peter Richter. Volumes I–V. Editorum in Usum (privately printed in Göttingen, 1988), which in turn was used by B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four. Fascicle One* (Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991); J.M. Baumgarten, “The 4Q Zadokite Fragments on Skin Disease,” *JJS* 41 (1990): 153–65; E. Qimron, “Notes on the 4QZadokite Fragment on Skin Disease,” *JJS* 42 (1991): 256–59; J.M. Baumgarten with M.T. Davis, “Cave IV, V, VI Fragments Related to the Damascus Document (4Q266–4Q273 = 4QD^{a-h}, 5Q12 = 5QD, 6Q15 = 6QD),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 2 Damascus Document, War Scrolls, and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 59–79; J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*, on the basis of transcriptions by J.T. Milik, with contributions by S. Pfann and A. Yardeni (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document. Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1998), 43–48; F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 588–89, 606–7, 622–27.

²⁸ The separate fragments are edited in J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*, on the basis of transcriptions by J.T. Milik, with contributions by S. Pfann and A. Yardeni (DJD XVIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), but there are inconsistencies in the reconstructions. The best attempt towards a composite text is Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 43–48. Hempel’s composite text is the result of a consistent attempt to combine the readings of all fragments.

²⁹ For that reason I transcribe the trace at the left end as *dalet* of [ם] ד.

³⁰ In the DJD transcription the line begins [הזי והסנידר עד]. This reconstruction

However, this results in a too long line 7, whereas the DJD reconstruction

7 [השביעי והנה ורן]ח היים עולה יִוִּרְדָּה [ן]הבשר צמה

in turn is too short in comparison to those lines that can be reconstructed with confidence. One must therefore assume either a variant, or, for example, that some words were written supralinearly in 4Q272.³¹

With the few new words one may reconstruct 4Q273 4 ii 2–3 as follows:

2 אמר [והס]נ[ן]רִו [עוד שבעת ימים עד אשר יצמה הבשר וראו]ן
3 הכה[ן] ב[י]ום השביעי[ן] והנה מלא הניד דם ורוח החיים עלה וירדת

The new fragment also has consequences for the material placement of the fragments. In DJD XVIII, plate XXIII, the second piece of 4Q269 7 is placed too much towards the left, as it is clear that the DJD reading of line 6 והס[ן]נירו הכוה[ן] would spill over the borders of the sheet. This holds true even more so if we add PAM 43.398 frg. 14. But also the physical join between the two top pieces (lines 1–3 and lines 4–7) as suggested by the DJD plate is questionable. In fact, there are no textual or physical grounds to place this piece in lines 4–7 at all. If line 4 ה[ן] ואת ה[ן] would overlap with 4Q272 1 i 5 [ההוי ואת הבה[ן]], then this piece should rather be placed in lines 5–8, as in fact it is placed in PAM 43.301. Moreover, the reading ה[ן] ואת ה[ן] is not certain at all,³² and one might consider e.g. ה[ן] ו/ו vac שאת ה[ן].

is uncertain and seems too short (but one may solve the shortness by adding a subject (הכוה[ן]), and the overbar above the first three letters of והסנירו is incorrect, since והס[ן]נירו of 4Q269 7 corresponds to והסנירו in the vertically written insertion in the margin, not to this reconstructed והסנירו).

³¹ If one reconstructs the lines of 4Q272 1 i on the basis of the other manuscripts, one arrives at rather varying lengths. In lines 15 and 18 DJD shortens the text of the other manuscripts in order to arrive at lines of more or less equal length. In line 15 .[and the short space preceding it correspond to 4Q266 6 i 7 והננע .[בניד ופר[ה]ה הננע .[J.T. Milik, "Fragment d'une source du Psautier (4Q Ps 89) et fragments des Jubilés, du document de Damas, d'un phylactère dans la grotte 4 de Qumran," *RB* 73 (1966): 94–106 reconstructs והננע in stead of הננע. In line 18 DJD reads ור[ספ] יספ[ן] למען, corresponding to 4Q266 6 i 9–10 אשר יספור למען. However, the fitting in of the reading of 4Q269 7 into 4Q272 1 ii 7 results in lines of 57 letter-spaces, which would be even longer (57 ls) than lines 15 or 18 with the omitted words restored.

³² Baumgarten with Davis, "Cave IV, V, VI Fragments Related to the Damascus Document," 70, merely transcribe]. את ה[ן].

An altogether different point is the reconstruction of fragment 4Q272 1 i-ii. The placement of most fragments of 4Q272 1 i and the top two fragments of 1 ii is assured through the overlap with 4Q266 6 i. The placement of the other fragments of 1 ii is based on the contents. 4Q272 1 ii 2-4 (par 4Q266 6 i 14-16) clearly deals with a זכ, a male person having a discharge. The third fragment (now in 4Q272 1 ii 5-9) has in lines 5-6 masculine forms ("he shall wash" and "him"), but line 7 introduces the זבה, the female person having a discharge. As a consequence, other fragments that seem to deal with menstrual impurity are placed lower in the column. This is all very logical, but it conflicts with the supralinear and intramarginal reading that belongs to 4Q272 1 i 6. The last part of the supralinear reading above 4Q272 1 6 reads]ר ישוה], whereas in the right margin of the fragment preserving 4Q272 1 ii 11-18 we read]מר והסניד[and more downwards] . . . [. Above I indicated that the intramarginal reading should be read]ם[מר והסניד]ן עוד שבעת [מ'ם]. In 4Q269 7 DJD offers the reading]אמר [כאשר]ו [ב]ו [שהוה]ן עוד שבעת [מ'ם], and the note to 4Q272 1 i 6a states that the interlinear text ואת]ר שהוה apparently continues with ואת]מר והסנידו כאשר, etc., the citation of Lev 13:5 written vertically, to the left of the column. There should have been enough space to write]ר ישוה]ן בר כאשר] interlinearly, and then to continue vertically with]ם[מר והסניד]ן עוד שבעת [מ'ם]. But that would mean that the piece should be placed at the right margin of 4Q272 1 ii 7ff, where now another piece has been placed, instead of ll. 11ff.³³ Therefore, one either has to assume a longer missing text between the words ישוה and אמר, or one has to change the position of the pieces of 4Q272 1 ii. With regard to the latter, one must note that the placement of the present piece in ll. 6-10 at the right margin is uncertain.³⁴

b. PAM 43.398 Frg. 13 (4Q269 20)

The identification of the fragment as part of 4Q269 (4QD^d) is based on its physical appearance (identical to PAM 43.398 frg. 14 as well

³³ Also in the case that כאשר was written vertically, the piece (then to be placed in lines 8ff) still stands in the place now occupied by another one.

³⁴ The fragment does not preserve the margin, but the placement is based on the fact that the beginning of the words ויכבס, בו, הזבה, שבעת, and [הנ]נע are in a straight row. However, this only goes if *shin* of שבעת was written considerably larger than any of the preserved *shins* in 4Q272.

as the 4Q269 fragments on IAA #220 and 221) and the occurrence of the word מַחֲנֵה [בְּ]. Nonetheless, I am unable to identify an overlap with any of the other Damascus Document texts. The word מַחֲנֵה occurs in seven places in the Damascus Document: CD VII 6 (par CD XIX 2), XII 23, XIII 20 (par 4Q266 9 iii 11; 4Q269 10 ii 3), XIV 3 (par 4Q267 9 v 6; 4Q269 10 ii 9), 9 (par 4Q266 10 i 2; 4Q267 9 v 13), 17³⁵ (par 4Q266 10 i 11; 4Q269 11 i 1), 4Q266 11 17 (par 4Q270 7 ii 11; 4Q269 16 15). Apart from CD VII 6, these references are all in the end of the composition, from CD XII 23, the beginning of the section on the organization of the camps, to the end of the Damascus Document, but it is not clear where this new fragment might fit in this part of the composition. The few traces of the last line of the fragment]מַחֲשׁ[correspond only to מַחֲשִׁט in 4Q270 3 iii 19, but the join of this fragment (4Q270 3 iii 18–19) with the other piece of 4Q270 3 iii (lines 20–21) is textually very problematic, and therefore of no help. I therefore conclude that the fragment does not overlap with the remaining parts of the Damascus Document.

Appendix: Overview of Identified 4Q269 Fragments

The transcriptions in the Card Concordance were based on the identification and arrangement of fragments as represented in PAM 42.402 and 42.403 (photographed May 1957). Therefore, the presentation of these fragments in the unofficial edition based on the Card Concordance represented an earlier stage than that of PAM 43.400 and 43.401 (photographed June 1959).³⁶ In DJD XVIII Joseph Baumgarten published the fragments found in IAA #220 and #221 as 4Q269 1–14. These correspond to PAM 43.400 and 43.301, but on those photographs 4Q269 6, as well as one of the pieces of frg. 7 (ll. 10–11) were not yet present. Baumgarten failed to identify the context and placement of frgs. 10 i–ii, and 12–14 within the Damascus

³⁵ Reconstructing plural, with, e.g., Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 131, 133.

³⁶ Wacholder and Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four. Fascicle One*, 48–53. Not yet included are 4Q269 6, 7b, 7d, 7e and 12.

Document. Subsequently, Stegemann identified the section of the Damascus Document with which frg. 10 i–ii overlapped, and identified two additional fragments of 4Q269, frgs. 15 and 16 which he was able to place at the end of the scroll, overlapping with 4Q266 10 ii and 11, and with 4Q270 7 i–ii.³⁷ I myself (re-)identified the overlap of 4Q269 14 with CD XIV 17–18 (par 4Q266 10 i 11–12),³⁸ and between 4Q269 13 and 4Q266 18.³⁹

The latter overlap had previously been identified by Józef Milik, as appears from the distant join of 4Q266 18a and 18b. On the basis of this overlap, one should correct the reading of 4Q266 frg. 18a–b as follows:

1 [ב.י. . . ים ו] ידעו מ.]
 2 [ם ליש[וע]תו ישי]
 3 [עול]

In the Card Concordance Milik considered the possibility that 4Q269 13 overlapped with CD XX 33–34, as is indicated in the BAS publication:

1 [ויעזו לב] הם וינב[רו על כל בני תבל וכפר אל בעדם]]
 2 [והראה]ם לישועתו .]

This was a problematic identification, since it involved in each of the four partially preserved words some minor variant (לב[ם] הם וינב[רו] for לבם, and ויחנברו for ויחנברו, וראו בישועתו for וראו בישועתו, and והראה]ם לישועתו for וראו בישועתו). Nonetheless, on the basis of cases like these Milik wrote in an early stage that “a few fragments of the 4Q manuscripts . . . contain a text substantially the same as that in the [*sc.* Cairo Genizah] B recension.”⁴⁰

³⁷ H. Stegemann, “More Identified Fragments of 4QD^d (4Q269),” *RevQ* 18/72 (1998): 497–509; and idem, “4QDamascus Document^d frgs. 10, 11 (Re-edition), 15, 16,” in *DJD XXXVI*, 201–11. Cf. also idem, “Towards Physical Reconstructions of the Qumran Damascus Document Scrolls,” in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February 1998* (eds. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon, A. Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), 178–200.

³⁸ E. Tigchelaar, “More Identifications of Scraps and Overlaps,” *RevQ* 19/73 (1999): 61–68, at 67–68.

³⁹ *DJD XXXIX*, 300 n. 14.

⁴⁰ J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Desert of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959), 60.

More 4Q269 fragments were found in PAM 43.680 and 43.684 (frgs. 17 and 18),⁴¹ and (as discussed above) in PAM 43.398 (frgs. 19–20).

Hence, at the moment the following 4Q269 fragments have been identified.

1	CD II 4–6
2	CD III 7–11
17+18, 3	CD IV 16–20
4 i	CD V 21–VI 2
4 ii	CD VI 19–VII 3
5	CD VII 17–20
6	CD VIII 5–6; 4Q266 3 iv 3–4
7, 19	4Q266 6 i 1–4; 4Q272 1 i 1–12; 4Q273 4 ii 3–9
8 i	4Q271 2 7
8 ii	4Q270 3 iii 2–21; 4Q271 2 8–13
9	4Q270 5 15–21; 4Q271 3 9–15; (4Q267 7 12–14 ?)
10 i	CD XIII 2–5; 4Q266 9 ii 14; 4Q267 9 iv 1
10 ii	CD XIII 16–XIV 7; 4Q266 9 iii 4–7, 11–19; 4Q267 9 v 1–11
11 i, 14	CD XIV 18–22; 4Q266 10 i 11–14
11 ii, 15	4Q266 10 ii 12–15; 4Q270 7 i 4–8; cf. 1QS VII 14–18
16	4Q266 11 3–21; 4Q270 7 i 17–21; 4Q270 7 ii 11–15
13	4Q266 18 [initially tentatively identified with CD XX 33–34]
12	?
20	no overlap

⁴¹ E. Tigchelaar, “On the Unidentified Fragments of DJD XXXIII and PAM 43.680: A New Manuscript of 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition, and Fragments of 4Q13, 4Q269, 4Q525 and 4QSb (?),” *RevQ* 21/83 (2004): 477–85, at 483, 485.

HEBREW SCRIPTURE EDITIONS: PHILOSOPHY AND PRAXIS*

Emanuel Tov

1. *Background*

The hundreds of different Hebrew Scripture editions¹ and thousands of modern translations in various languages are more or less identical, but they differ in many large and small details. Yet, in spite of these differences, all these sources are known as “the Bible.” The differences among the Hebrew editions pertain to the following areas: (1) the text base, (2) exponents of the text presentation, and (3) the overall approach towards the nature and purpose of an edition of Hebrew Scripture. In this study, we will evaluate the philosophies behind the various text editions and outline some ideas for a future edition.

Behind each edition is an editor who has determined its parameters. Usually such an editor is mentioned on the title page, but sometimes he acts behind the scenes, in which case the edition is known by the name of the printer or place of appearance.

The differences among Hebrew editions pertain to the following areas:

(1) The text base, sometimes involving a combination of manuscripts, and, in one case, different presentations of the same manuscript.² These differences pertain to words, letters, vowels, accents, and

* Thanks are due to Prof. J.S. Penkower of Bar-Ilan University for his critical reading of my manuscript and offering several helpful suggestions.

¹ For surveys, see C.D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London 1897; repr. New York: Ketav, 1966), 779–976; C. Rabin, “מקרא, דפוס, המקרא,” *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Heb.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1968), 5:368–86; N.H. Snaith, “Bible, Printed Editions (Hebrew),” *EncJud* (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica Jerusalem, 1971), 4:836–41.

² Codex Leningrad B19^A is presented differently in the following editions: *BH* (1929–51), *BHS* (1967–76), *Adi* (1976), *Dotan* (2001), and *BHQ* (2004–). *BH*, *BHS*, and *BHQ* are referred to as “the *BH* series.”

Ketiv/Qere variations. Usually the differences between the editions are negligible regarding Scripture content, while they are more significant concerning the presence or absence of *Ketiv/Qere* variations. Equally important are differences in verse division (and accordingly in their numbering).³ In the case of critically restored texts (“eclectic editions”),⁴ differences between editions are by definition substantial. In addition to these variations, most editions also introduced a number of mistakes and printing errors, reflecting an additional source of divergence.⁵

(2) The exponents of text presentation, partly reflecting manuscript evidence: the presentation of the text in prose or poetry (in the *BH* series often against codex L),⁶ details in the chapter division,⁷ the sequence of the books,⁸ the inclusion of the Masorah and details in the Masoretic notation (inter alia *Ketiv/Qere*, sense divisions).⁹

(3) Editorial principles pertaining to small details in the text,¹⁰ as well as to major decisions: the inclusion of the traditional Jewish commentators,¹¹ of ancient or modern translations, and of a critical apparatus of variants. Editorial principles are also reflected in liber-

³ See J.S. Penkower, “Verse Divisions in the Hebrew Bible,” *VT* 50 (2000): 378–93.

⁴ See below, 2f.

⁵ For some examples, see my *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press and Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 7–8 (henceforth: *TCHB*) and the study by Cohen and Freedman quoted in n. 29. Many mistakes are found in the 1477 edition of the Psalms quoted in n. 20.

⁶ The presentation of the text as either prose or poetry bears on exegesis, for example in the analysis of Jeremiah (cf. the prophecies in prose in most of chapter 7 as opposed to v 29 in that chapter and the surrounding chapters, all presented as poetry).

⁷ E.g., Gen 30:25 appears in some editions as 31:1, 31:55 appears as 32:1, and Ezek 13:24 as 14:1. Likewise, the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments appear sometimes as one verse (Exod 20:12 or 13; Deut 5:17), and sometimes as three verses (Exod 20:13–16, Deut 5:17–20). For details, see *TCHB*, 4–5 and J.S. Penkower, “The Chapter Divisions in the 1525 Rabbinic Bible,” *VT* 48 (1998): 350–74.

⁸ Editions differ regarding the place of Chronicles and the internal sequence of Job-Proverbs-Psalms and the Five Scrolls.

⁹ For some examples and bibliography, see my *TCHB*, 3–8.

¹⁰ For example, the presentation of the *ga'yot* (secondary stresses) and the presentation of some elements as either one or two words, such as Gen 14:1 כדרלעמר (*Miqra'ot G'dolot*, Ginsburg 1926; Koren 1966; Adi) as opposed to כדרלעמר (Letteris, Ginsburg after 1926, Breuer, *BH*, *BHS*).

¹¹ These commentators are included in the Rabbinic Bible (see below) as well as some additional editions.

ties taken in small changes in the base text(s) or the combination of base texts.¹² Some of these conceptions are closely connected with the intended readership (confessional/scholarly). The major decision for a modern editor pertains to the choice of base text, which could be a single manuscript, a group of manuscripts, or the adherence to “tradition,” which implies following in some way or other the Second Rabbinic Bible (RB2). The principle of accepting a base text of any type is considered conservative when compared with “eclectic” editions in which readings are deliberately chosen from an unlimited number of textual sources, and in which emendation is allowed (section 2e below). With most editions being either Jewish or scholarly, one’s first intuition would be to assume that the difference between the two would be that the former adhere to tradition, and the latter to scholarly principles, among them the precise representation of a single source. However, precision is not necessarily a scholarly principle, just as adherence to tradition is not necessarily linked with religious beliefs. Thus, not only Jewish editions but also several scholarly editions (among them the first edition of the *Biblia Hebraica*)¹³ follow RB2, while among the modern Jewish (Israeli) editions several are based on a single codex.¹⁴

As a result of these divergences, there are no two editions that agree in all their details,¹⁵ except for photographically reproduced editions or editions based on the same electronic¹⁶ (computer-encoded) text.

¹² See, among other things, below, section 2c.

¹³ Leipzig 1905, ed. R. Kittel.

¹⁴ Adi (1976) and Dotan 2001 (both: codex L). See also below regarding the editions of Breuer and the *Jerusalem Crown*.

¹⁵ Some editions differ from each other in their subsequent printings (which sometimes amount to different editions), without informing the reader. Note, for example, the differences between the various printings of the editions of Letteris and Snaith resulting from the removal of printing errors.

¹⁶ Computerized versions of Hebrew Scripture, usually accompanied by a morphological analysis of all the words in the text, are almost always based on codex L or *BHS* which in principle should be identical, but in practice are not (among them: Accordance, Bible Works, Jewish Classical Library, Quest, Logos, WordSearch, Gramcord, Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible) and in one case on the Aleppo Codex (*Tokhnit “HaKeter”–Ma’agar HaTanakh*, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan; part of the *Miqraot Gedolot “HaKeter”* Project). For details, see my paper “Electronic Resources Relevant to the Textual Criticism of Hebrew Scripture,” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 8 (2003) [<http://purl.org/TC>], updated in my paper “The Use of Computers in Biblical Research,” in *Festschrift E.C. Ulrich* (ed. P.W. Flint et al.), forthcoming.

Modern translations differ from one another in many of the text base parameters mentioned above¹⁷ and much more. Thus, the interpretations and styles of the translations differ greatly, and their language may be solemn, modern, or even popular.

2. *Development of Editorial Conceptions*

Editorial concepts have changed over the course of the centuries.¹⁸ The following approaches are presented more or less in chronological sequence.

a. *No Exact Indication of the Source*

Virtually all Jewish¹⁹ editions of Hebrew Scripture, with the exception of eclectic editions, are based on manuscripts of MT,²⁰ more precisely TMT²¹ (the Tiberian MT).²² As the Masoretic manuscripts differed from one another, the very first editors and printers needed to decide on which source(s) their editions should be based (see below). The perception that an edition should be based on a single manuscript, and preferably the oldest one, had not yet developed,

¹⁷ These translations usually follow MT with or without a selection of readings from other sources. For an analysis, see my paper "The Textual Basis of Modern Translations of the Hebrew Bible: The Argument against Eclecticism," *Textus* 20 (2000): 193–211 (with bibliography).

¹⁸ For an insightful description of the thinking process behind several editions, see M. Goshen-Gottstein, "Editions of the Hebrew Bible—Past and Future," in *Shā'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. Fields; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 221–42.

¹⁹ This definition excludes the Samaritan Pentateuch.

²⁰ Even the first edition of the Psalter ([Bologna?], 1477) should be described as reflecting MT, although it lacks 108 verses and differs often from MT in words and letters. See Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 789.

²¹ The term was coined by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein. See *Mikraot Gedolot, Biblia Rabbinica, A Reprint of the 1525 Venice Edition* (with introduction by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein; Jerusalem: Makor, 1972), 5–16.

²² Some editions are based on the Masoretic Text according to the Babylonian tradition. Thus the Yemenite "Tag" of the Torah, ספר כתר תורה, contains for each verse MT, Targum Onkelos, and Saadya's Arabic Translation (Jerusalem, 1894). In practice the content of the Yemenite Torah tradition is identical to that of the Aleppo Codex. See J.S. Penkower, *New Evidence for the Pentateuch Text in the Aleppo Codex* (Heb.; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992), 62–73.

as had not the understanding that the choice of readings from several manuscripts requires the indication of the source of each reading. When the first editions were prepared, based on a number of relatively late Masoretic manuscripts, the earlier manuscripts that were to dominate twentieth century editions (codices L and A) were not known to the editors or recognized as important sources.

The first printed edition of the complete biblical text appeared in 1488 in Soncino, a small town in the vicinity of Milan. Particularly important for the progress of subsequent biblical research were the so-called Polyglots, or multilingual editions,²³ followed by the Rabbinic Bibles (later to be called *Miqra'ot Gedolot*, "folio edition"), which included traditional Jewish commentaries and Targumim.²⁴

These editions were based on several *unnamed* manuscripts, to which the editors applied their editorial principles. The editors of RB1 and RB2 derived their base text from "accurate Spanish manuscripts" close to the "accurate Tiberian manuscripts" such as L and A.²⁵ In the words of Goshen-Gottstein, "[w]ith a view to the fact that this is the first eclectic text arranged in the early sixteenth century, it seems amazing that, until the twentieth century, this early humanistic edition served as the basis for all later texts."²⁶

²³ The later Polyglot editions present in parallel columns the biblical text in Hebrew (MT and SP), Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Latin, and Arabic, accompanied by Latin versions of these translations and by grammars and lexicons of these languages, while the earlier ones present a smaller range of texts. The first Polyglot is the Complutensis prepared by Cardinal Ximenes in Alcalá (in Latin: Complutum), near Madrid, in 1514–17. The second Polyglot was prepared in Antwerp in 1569–72, the third in Paris in 1629–45, and the fourth, the most extensive of all, was edited by B. Walton and E. Castellus, in London, in 1654–57.

²⁴ The first two Rabbinic Bibles (RB) were printed at the press of Daniel Bomberg in Venice, the earlier one (RB1, 1516–17) edited by Felix Pratensis and the later (RB2, 1524–25) by Jacob Ben-Hayyim ben Adoniyahu. For a modern edition of the *Miqra'ot Gedolot*, see M. Cohen, *Miqra'ot Gedolot 'Haketer'—A Revised and Augmented Scientific Edition of Miqra'ot Gedolot Based on the Aleppo Codex and Early Medieval MSS*, parts 1–7 (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992–2000).

²⁵ Thus J.S. Penkower, *Jacob Ben-Hayyim and the Rise of the Biblia Rabbinica*, unpubl. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1982 (Heb. with Eng. summ.); idem, "Rabbinic Bible," in *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (ed. J.H. Hayes; Nashville: Abingdon Press), 2:361–4 (363).

²⁶ Goshen-Gottstein, "Editions," 224.

b. *Adherence to the Second Rabbinic Bible (RB2)*

Because of the inclusion of the Masorah, Targumim, and the traditional Jewish commentaries in RB2, that edition was hailed as *the* Jewish edition of the Hebrew Bible. RB2 also became the pivotal text in scholarly circles since any text considered to be central to Judaism was accepted as authoritative elsewhere. Consequently, for many generations following the 1520s, most new editions reflected RB2, and deviated from it only when changing or adding details on the basis of other manuscripts, editorial principles, or when removing or adding printing errors.

Ever since the 1520s, many good, often precise, editions have been based on RB2.²⁷ The influence of RB2 is felt to this day, as the edition of Koren, probably the one most frequently used in Israel, is based on that source.

The aforementioned Polyglot editions, though influential for the course of scholarship in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, did not continue to influence subsequent Bible editions or Bible scholarship.

c. *Adherence to the Ben-Asher Tradition*

RB2 became the leading edition because of its status within Judaism and the scholarly world, not because of its manuscript basis which remains unknown (although its type has been recognized). The uncertainty regarding the textual base of these editions is problematic for precise scholarship, and therefore several new editions have tried to improve upon RB2 in various ways.²⁸ Sometimes readings were changed according to specific Masoretic manuscripts (e.g., J.D. Michaelis [1720] and N.H. Snaith [1958] following B.M. Or 2626–8).²⁹

²⁷ The most important are those of J. Buxtorf (1618), J. Athias (1661), J. Leusden (2d ed. 1667), D.E. Jablonski (1699), E. van der Hooght (1705), J.D. Michaelis (1720), A. Hahn (1831), E.F.C. Rosenmüller (1834), M.H. Letteris (1852), the first two editions of *BH* (Leipzig 1905, 1913), C.D. Ginsburg (1926), and M. Koren (1962). The dates mentioned refer to the first editions, subsequently followed by revisions and new printings.

²⁸ See Goshen-Gottstein, "Editions," 221–26.

²⁹ However, the Snaith edition did not follow the British Museum manuscript exactly, as pointed out in detail by M.B. Cohen and D.B. Freedman, "The Snaith Bible: A Critical Examination of the Hebrew Bible Published in 1958 by the British and Foreign Bible Society," *HUCA* 45 (1974): 97–132.

At the same time, since all these editions reflect the Ben-Asher text, the centrally accepted text in Judaism, the recognition developed that any new edition should involve an exact representation of that tradition. Thus S. Baer and F. Delitzsch attempted to reconstruct the Ben-Asher text on the basis of, among other things, Ben-Asher's grammatical treatise *Diqduqqê ha-T'amim*,³⁰ particularly with regard to the system of *ga'yot* (secondary stresses). C.D. Ginsburg (1926) tried to get closer to the original form of the Ben-Asher text on the basis of his thorough knowledge of the notations of the Masorah. At the same time, the edition itself reproduces RB2. Cassuto (1958) hoped to reach the same goal by changing details in an earlier edition (that of Ginsburg) on the basis of some readings in the Aleppo Codex which he consulted on the spot.

Only in later years did the search for the most precise Bible text lead scholars to use manuscripts presumably vocalized by Aaron ben Moshe ben Ben-Asher *himself* (the Aleppo Codex = A), or those corrected according to that manuscript (Codex Leningrad B19^A = L), or codex C, there being no better base for our knowledge of the Ben-Asher tradition.³¹

The first single manuscript to be used for an edition was codex L³² from 1009 that was used for the third edition of *BH* (1929–37, 1951),³³ *BHS* (1967–77), two editions by A. Dotan (Adi [1976] and

³⁰ S. Baer and F. Delitzsch, *Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit* (Leipzig, 1869–94).

³¹ For a good summary of these tendencies among editors, see J.S. Penkower, "Ben-Asher, Aaron ben Moses," *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, 1:117–9. The colophon of codex C states that the manuscript was vocalized by Aharon Ben-Asher's father, Moshe Ben-Asher. However, recent scholarship suggests that this colophon was copied from the original manuscript which was indeed vocalized by Moshe Ben-Asher. See J. Penkover, "A Pentateuch Fragment from the Tenth Century Attributed to Moses Ben-Asher (Ms Firkowicz B 188)," *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 355–70.

³² Facsimile editions: D.S. Loewinger, *Twrh nby'ym wktwbym, ktb yd byngrd B19^A* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1970); *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition* (ed. D.N. Freedman; Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge/Leiden, New York and Cologne: Eerdmans/Brill, 1998). This text is also used in the Hebrew Scripture module in the computer programs *Accordance*, *Bible Works*, and *Tokhnit "HaKeter"—Ma'agar HaTanakh*, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan.

³³ *Biblia Hebraica* (1st and 2nd editions; ed. R. Kittel; Leipzig 1905, 1913; 3rd ed.; ed. R. Kittel and P. Kahle, 1929–37; "7th ed.," ed. R. Kittel, P. Kahle, A. Alt and O. Eissfeldt, 1951; all Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt). The term "seventh edition" (see title page and p. XXXIX) is misleading, as the earlier *BHS* is considered to be the fourth edition and *BHQ* the fifth. The term probably refers to the seventh printing of the third edition.

Dotan [2001]), and *BHQ* (2004–). The great majority of computer programs using a biblical text are also based on this manuscript (see n. 16).

The second manuscript used for an edition is the Aleppo Codex³⁴ (vocalized and accented in approximately 925 C.E.),³⁵ used for the *HUB*.³⁶ The lost readings of this manuscript (in the Torah) have been reconstructed on the basis of new evidence by J.S. Penkower³⁷ and had previously been included in the editions of Breuer (1977–82)³⁸ on the basis of Yemenite manuscripts. The *Jerusalem Crown* (2000) follows the Breuer edition.³⁹

d. *Representation of a Single Manuscript*

The search for the best Ben-Asher manuscript involved the use of a single manuscript rather than a combination of sources. This development coincided with one of the leading ideas in *Editionstechnik* of producing a diplomatic edition on the basis of a single manuscript, not “improved” upon by readings from other sources. Soon enough, the use of a single manuscript became a leading principle in Hebrew

³⁴ For some literature: A. Shamosh, *Ha-Keter—The Story of the Aleppo Codex* (Heb.; Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1987), which includes, inter alia, a thorough discussion of the question of whether its vocalization, accentuation, and Masorah were really inserted by Aaron Ben Asher himself (with much literature). M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, “*kt*”*rm swbh whlkwt spr twrh l-RMB”M,” Spr hywbl l-r’ y”d Soloveichik* (Heb.; Jerusalem/New York, 1984) II.871–88; M. Glatzer, “The Aleppo Codex—Codicological and Paleographical Aspects,” *Sefunot* 4 (Jerusalem 1989), 167–276 (Heb. with Eng. summ.); J. Offer, “M.D. Cassuto’s Notes on the Aleppo Codex,” *ibid.*, 277–344 (Heb. with Eng. summ.); Cohen, *Miqra’ot Gedolot* (see n. 24).

³⁵ Facsimile edition by M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Aleppo Codex* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1976).

³⁶ M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Hebrew University Bible, The Book of Isaiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995); C. Rabin, S. Talmon, E. Tov, *The Hebrew University Bible, The Book of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1997); M.H. Goshen-Gottstein and S. Talmon, *The Hebrew University Bible, The Book of Ezekiel* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004).

³⁷ Penkower, *New Evidence*.

³⁸ In most books, this edition followed codex A, but where this manuscript has been lost, in the Torah among other places, Breuer resorted to reconstruction. In these sections, the edition is based on the majority readings among a limited number of Palestinian manuscripts, which, Breuer claims, are almost completely identical to codex A. See Breuer’s introduction and Goshen-Gottstein, “Editions,” 240–41.

³⁹ This edition is described in the title page as “following the methods of Rabbi Mordechai Breuer.” See previous note.

Scripture editions, as in the case of some of the editions of the LXX,⁴⁰ Peshitta⁴¹ and the Targumim.⁴²

e. *Addition of an Apparatus of Variants to the Text of Critical Editions*

The search for an exact representation of a single source (in this case: a Ben-Asher *codex unicus*) often went together with the presentation of a critical apparatus (*BH* series, *HUB*) containing inner-Masoretic and extra-Masoretic variant readings. However, the two procedures are not necessarily connected, as codex L in Dotan's editions (Adi [1976] and Dotan [2001]) is not accompanied by a textual apparatus. These critical apparatuses became the centerpiece of the critical editions.

A critical apparatus provides a choice of variant readings which, together with the main text, should enable the reader to make maximum use of the textual data. Naturally, the critical apparatus provides only a selection of readings, and if this selection was performed judiciously, the apparatus provides an efficient tool.

f. *"Eclectic" Editions*

In the course of critical investigation of the Hebrew Bible, it is often felt that the combination of a diplomatically presented base text (codex L or A) and a critical apparatus do not suffice for the efficient use of the textual data. Consultation of MT alone is not satisfactory since it is merely one of many biblical texts. By the same token, the use of an apparatus is cumbersome as it involves a complicated mental exercise. The apparatus necessitates that the user place the variants in virtual boxes which *may* be used to replace readings of MT.

⁴⁰ The edition of H.B. Swete (fourth edition: Cambridge: University Press, 1907–12) and the volumes of the "Cambridge Septuagint" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906–40) present codex Vaticanus (B).

⁴¹ The first volumes of *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966–98) present codex Ambrosianus diplomatically with a critical apparatus of variants. The volumes appearing since 1976 emend the text of this codex if it is not supported by two other manuscripts from the period preceding 1000.

⁴² A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, vols. I–IVa (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959–68).

In practical terms, if the scholar were to implement the recommendations of the apparatus regarding these little boxes, he/she would create a new biblical text that is actually *a* or *the* reconstructed original text. Since each scholar evaluates the data differently, everyone creates in his/her mind a different reconstructed *Urtext*. In other words, the user of the *BH* series constantly works with two sets of data, a real edition (MT) which he/she sees in front of him and a virtual one, which is composed eclectically from the apparatus.⁴³

Against this background, it is not surprising that a system has been devised to transform the fragmented and often confusing information of a critical apparatus into a new type of edition, the “eclectic edition.” It is no longer necessary to replace in one’s mind a detail of MT with a variant reading found in the apparatus, as these preferred readings have actually been incorporated into the running text. Thus, in MT in Gen 1:9, the command (“let the water under the heaven be gathered into one place, so that dry land may appear”)⁴⁴ is followed by an abbreviated account of its implementation (“and so it was [וַיְהִי כֵן]”). However, in Hendel’s edition of Genesis,⁴⁵ the detailed implementation is included in the text itself (“and the water under the heaven was gathered into one place, and dry land appeared), following a harmonizing plus⁴⁶ in 4QGen⁴⁷ and the LXX. An edition of this type provides a very convenient way of using the textual data together with an expert’s evaluation. This procedure is common in classical studies (see the many editions of Greek and Latin Classical texts published by Oxford University Press and Teubner

⁴³ The user of the *HUB* does not create his own virtual edition, since that edition does not provide guidance as does the *BH* series. This edition does not provide value judgments, leaving the decision process to the user. This neutral presentation probably is profitable for those who prefer to evaluate the readings themselves during the course of writing commentaries or studies, but most users would prefer to have the data provided together with a learned value judgment.

⁴⁴ יָקוּוּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל מְקוֹם אֶחָד וְתִרְאָה הַיַּבֶּשֶׁת.

⁴⁵ R.S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11—Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁴⁶ [וַיִּקְוּוּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל מְקוֹדֵהֶם] וְתִרְאֵה הַיַּבֶּשֶׁת]. The first preserved word is preceded by a wide margin.

⁴⁷ The minute fragment consists of a few letters of two words without any context, and its placement as a plus to MT rather than the command of MT itself is not at all certain. For the data, see J.R. Davila in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (ed. E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross; DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994 [repr. 1999]), 76.

of Leipzig),⁴⁸ and also has much to recommend it for the study of Hebrew Scripture. As a result, several eclectic editions of biblical books or parts thereof have been published since around 1900.⁴⁹ In modern times,⁵⁰ this idea has been revived in the so-called *Oxford Hebrew Bible* (*OHB*) among other publications, and is described in R. Hendel's programmatic introduction to that edition.⁵¹ So far, only individual chapters and biblical books have been presented in this way, but the complete *OHB* will present a critical eclectic edition of the whole Bible. The procedure followed is not in disagreement with that of the *BH* series; in the words of Hendel, "[t]he *BHQ* and *OHB* are complementary rather than contradictory projects."⁵²

3. *Evaluation of Critical Editions*

The needs of the various Bible users differ, but all of them benefit from a precise representation of Hebrew Scripture based on a single manuscript, be it L, A or any other source. Evaluations of textual readings as in the *BH* series are greatly welcomed by some scholars, but criticized by others for being intrusive and often misleading. Near-completeness as in the *HUB* is welcomed by some, but considered cumbersome by others because of the wealth of data. Finally, many scholars consider the eclectic system of the *OHB* too subjective, while others consider it helpful for the exegete. In short, there will never be a single type of edition that will please all users, partly due to the fact that these editions are used by the specialist

⁴⁸ See the instructive paper of M.L. West, "The Textual Criticism and Editing of Homer," in *Editing Texts—Texte edieren* (Aporemata, Kritische Studien zur Philologiegeschichte 2; ed. G.M. Most; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 94–110.

⁴⁹ For a list, see *TCHB*, 372, n. 1.

⁵⁰ The following editions have been published since 1990: P.G. Borbone, *Il libro del profeta Osea, Edizione critica del testo ebraico* (Quaderni di Henoch 2; Torino: Zamorani, [1990]); G. Garbini, *Il Cantico dei Cantici: Testo, traduzione e commento* (Brescia: Paideia, 1992); A. Catastine, *Storia di Giuseppe (Genesi 37–50)* (Venice: Marsilio, 1994); Hendel, *Genesis 1–11*; K. Hognesius, *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16, A Critical Edition with Textual Commentary* (ConBOT 51; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2003); cf. my review of the latter in *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 68 (2003): 208–13.

⁵¹ "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition." Prof. Hendel kindly allowed me to read a preview of that introduction.

⁵² Hendel, "Introduction," 7.

and non-specialist alike. Being aware of these different audiences, inclinations, and expectations, we will attempt to evaluate the extant editions with an eye to their usefulness, completeness, precision, and the correctness of their data. However, it should be understood that any evaluation is hampered by the fact that the *BH* series is constantly being revised, that only the Major Prophets have been published in the *HUB*, and that none of the volumes of the *OHB* has been published yet. The use of these editions by scholars is uneven since most use the *BH* series, while the *HUB* is probably consulted mainly by specialists in textual criticism, authors of commentaries, and specialists in the intricacies of the Masorah. Our evaluation of the *BH* series will bypass *BH*, focusing on both *BHS* and *BHQ*, of which one fascicle has appeared (2004).⁵³

I. We start with the *HUB*, since most scholars are probably in agreement regarding its advantages and disadvantages, as reviewed fairly by Sanders.⁵⁴ This edition is not meant for the average Bible scholar, but for the specialist.⁵⁵ The *HUB* does not present an evaluation of the evidence, considered an advantage by some and a disadvantage by others. Most relevant evidence is covered, and in addition the edition focuses on Jewish and rabbinic sources, but is not matched by an equal amount of attention to biblical quotations in early Christian sources and in the intertestamental and Samaritan literature. However, the third volume published, that of Ezekiel, does cover the non-biblical Qumran writings.⁵⁶ The technical explanations in the apparatus realistically reflect the complexity of the evidence (e.g., regarding the LXX), but by letting the reader sense the variety of possibilities, the edition is not user-friendly; in fact, it may be impossible to compose a user-friendly tool in this complex area. At the same time, many of these technical considerations and explanations are located in a special apparatus of notes rather than in the

⁵³ *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (ed. A. Schenker et al.), Part 18: *General Introduction and Megilloth* (ed. P.B. Dirksen et al.; Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004).

⁵⁴ J.A. Sanders, "The Hebrew University Bible and *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*," *JBL* 118 (1999): 518–26.

⁵⁵ The edition is also used outside the academic community by Orthodox Jews, who focus on the apparatuses relating to the intricacies of MT (Masorah and medieval manuscripts) and rabbinic literature.

⁵⁶ In the earlier editions of Isaiah and Jeremiah this literature was not covered.

main apparatuses themselves. In fact, the reader who is well versed in the languages quoted in the first apparatus may use the more straightforward evidence of that apparatus also without these notes.

The exegetical and translation-technical formulaic explanations attached to translational deviations from MT in the *HUB*, an innovation by the general editor of the HUBP, M.H. Goshen-Gottstein,⁵⁷ were influential in the development of other critical editions as well.⁵⁸ In this system, in a series of types of differences such as in number, person, verbal tenses, and vocalization of the Hebrew, the apparatus specifies neither the data nor its text-critical value, since in these cases such a decision is impossible according to the *HUB*.⁵⁹ Instead, the apparatus describes the versional reading in general terms as e.g., “(difference in) num(ber)”.

I hope I can be sufficiently objective in reviewing the *HUB*, to which I have contributed in the past, just as R. Weis, part of the *BHQ* team, is equally objective when comparing that edition with others.⁶⁰ The *HUB* is hailed by all as a perfect tool for the specialist, albeit a little too one-sided in the direction of MT and Jewish sources, and less practical for the non-specialist who would like to be spoon-fed with evaluations.

II. *BHS* improved much on *BH* in method,⁶¹ but several aspects remained problematic:

1. Every collection of variants presents a choice, but *BHS* often presents less data than *BH*, filling up the apparatus with less significant medieval variants from the Kennicott collection (1776–80) and the Cairo Genizah.

2. In spite of much criticism voiced against the earlier *BH*, the number of medieval Hebrew manuscripts attesting to a certain variant

⁵⁷ Presented for the first time in M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Book of Isaiah, Sample Edition with Introduction* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1965).

⁵⁸ The system was accepted, with changes, in the *BH* series and the *OHB*.

⁵⁹ For a description of the system, see my *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged; Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 154–62. To be quoted below as *TCU*.

⁶⁰ R.D. Weis, “*Biblia Hebraica Quinta* and the Making of Critical Editions of the Hebrew Bible,” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002) [<http://purl.org/TC>].

⁶¹ For my own evaluation of these two editions, see my review “*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*,” *Shnaton* 4 (1980): 172–80 (Heb. with Eng. summ.). The differences between the systems of the two editions are described in *TCHB*, 375–76.

is still taken into consideration in *BHS* in such notations as “pc Mss”, “nonn Mss”, “mlt Mss” (see, e.g. 1 Sam 8–9).

3. Inconsistency in approach among the various books is visible almost everywhere. A glaring instance is the lack of evaluations in Samuel against the policy of *BHS* elsewhere.

4. Versional data is often presented as if unconnected to suggestions by *BHS*, and therefore creates the impression of emendations for those who are not conversant with the ancient languages.⁶² This system resulted from the overly cautious approach by the editors of *BHS*, who preferred not to make a direct link between the text of a version and a Hebrew reading actually reconstructed from that version.

5. As in the *HUB*, the *BH* series focuses on the Ben-Asher text and its Masorah. It would have been better had some or equal attention been paid to the Masorah of the Samaritans and the biblical quotations in the New Testament and in Second Temple literature.

The system of *BHQ* substantially improves *BHS*, as shown in the first published fascicle which includes a very instructive “General Introduction” by the Editorial Committee (see note 53):

a. The texts from the Judean Desert are covered in full by *BHQ* (see, e.g., the full coverage of the Canticles scrolls from Qumran). See below, § *e*.

b. *Formulaic explanations*. The apparatus contains a long series of formulaic explanations of the background of the versional deviations from MT in the versions which are explained as exegetical rather than pointing to Hebrew variants. Thus וַאֲמָרָה לֵהּ (“and she said to him”) in S in Ruth 3:14 for וַיֹּאמֶר (“and he said”) in MT is explained in the apparatus as “assim-ctext” (assimilation to words in the context). Naomi told her two daughters-in-law (1:8) that they should each return to the house of their *mother* (אִמָּה), while in some manuscripts of the LXX they are told to return to the house of their

⁶² E.g. Jer 23:33 אִתּוֹ מִדָּה מִשָּׁא
BH: ל c GLV אָרָם דְּמִי
BHS ל אָרָם דְּמִי cf. GV

Whether or not one should prefer the reading of GV remains to be discussed, but once one decides that a reading other than MT should be read, the reader should know that it is actually based on those versions, and that these versions should not be consulted as merely comparative material.

father (τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς). This detail is explained in the apparatus as “assim-cultur” (“assimilation to the cultural pattern prevailing at the time of the translator or copyist”). Amplifications found frequently in the LXX and Targum of Esther (e.g., 1:4) are described in the edition as “ampl(ification)” or “paraphr(ase).” The apparatus to Esth 1:1 describes the LXX equivalent of Ahasverus, “Artaxerxes,” as “substit.” The Targum Rishon (T^R) מִתְּנִיחֵיךְ of מְהִיחֵיךְ in Esth 8:17 is described as “lib-seman” (“liberty in respect to semantic matters”) and therefore has no textual value.

These notes provide the reader with helpful explanations of the versions, and show the editors’ intuition; at the same time they may be criticized as not belonging to a critical apparatus of a *textual* edition. In my view, this type of recording should be left for borderline cases in which it is unclear whether the translational deviation reflects the translator’s exegesis or a Hebrew/Aramaic variant, and should not be employed when the editors themselves suggest that the translation reflects content exegesis. In the case of Esther, the paraphrastic character of the LXX and Targum is well established, and therefore these exegetical notes probably should have been far fewer in number. However, *BHQ* decided to break new ground with this novel type of recording. The “General Introduction,” XIII, is well aware that the novelty of this type of recording transcends the textual treatment of the Hebrew Bible in the past, but the editors nevertheless decided to include notes illustrating the translators’ exegesis.

The principles behind this system have been adopted from the *HUB* (thus Weis, “*BHQ*,” paragraph 16) and they improve the information provided but, as in the case of the *HUB*, they make the edition less user-friendly. Besides, *BHQ* contains many instances of exegetical renderings in the versions, while the *HUB* only contains borderline cases between exegesis and the reflection of possible variants in the translation.⁶³ The notation of *BHQ* is more complicated than that of the *HUB*, since in the latter edition the

⁶³ This approach is spelled out as follows in the “General Introduction”: “The editors intend that, so far as possible, the apparatus will include all cases of variation in these witnesses that meet two general criteria for inclusion. First, such a variation is judged to be text-critically significant. . . . Second, it is judged to be potentially significant for translation or exegesis” (p. XIII).

explanations are included in a separate apparatus of notes, while in *BHQ* the evidence is adduced *together* with its explanation in a single apparatus.

c. *Textual and literary criticism.* *BHQ* heralds a major change in approach towards textual data that, according to the editors, should be evaluated with literary rather than textual tools since they involve data that may reflect literary editions of a biblical book different from MT. *BHQ* now absolves such details from textual judgment.⁶⁴ In the books published so far, this approach cannot be judged well as these problems do not feature much in the *Megillot*. But Weis, “*BHQ*,” gives some examples regarding Jeremiah. Thus, the omission of *יְהוָה נֹאֵם* in the LXX of 23:1 and *אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* in 23:2 and the transposition in the LXX of vv 7–8 after v 40 are not evaluated in the apparatus since they are considered part of an overall feature of the LXX in that book, described as being “lit(erary).”⁶⁵ However, once this explanation is applied to some details reflecting such a literary layer, it is hard to ascertain whether this system may be applied to all details in that layer. For example, if several details of a typological layer of the LXX are earmarked as reflecting a recension shorter than MT, should not all or most of the evidence

⁶⁴ In the words of the “General Introduction,” XII: “The Hebrew Old Testament Text Project committee elaborated and implemented a particular approach to the task of textual criticism which clearly distinguishes between specific text critical matters and the history of the literary development of the text, and thus differentiates between cases proper to other scholarly methods that operate purely on the basis of internal evidence. This approach was adopted by the United Bible Societies as the basis for this new edition of *Biblia Hebraica*.” In the words of Weis, “*BHQ*,” paragraph 32: “As noted above, *BHQ* also takes seriously the survival of diverse literary forms of the text into the transmissional history of some books of the Hebrew Bible, for example, Jeremiah. This appears in the characterization of variant readings stemming from such diverse forms as “literary” (abbreviated as “lit” in the apparatus), and thus not relevant to establishing the text at hand. The editors’ philosophical commitment to keeping that distinction clear is expressed in this particular fashion, however, because it is the only practical option within the limits of a one-volume edition (as opposed to printing two different texts of Jeremiah, for example).” This approach was also advocated in my *TCHB*, 348–50.

⁶⁵ This term is explained as follows: “This term indicates that a reading represents a discrete literary tradition (i.e., one of two or more surviving editions for a book) that should not itself be used to correct another text coming from a different literary tradition (i.e., another edition) represented in the reading of another witness. Samuel and Jeremiah, for example, each offer a number of such cases.”

for such a recension⁶⁶ be described in the same way,⁶⁷ with the exception of variants created in the course of scribal transmission?

The application of the principle of “lit,” although heralding a novel and positive approach, is admittedly subjective and by definition can never be applied consistently. For some features in the LXX of a book may be considered by its *BHQ* editor to be literary differences, while similar features in another book are not considered literary by the *BHQ* editor of that book. This issue can be examined in the published fascicle of *BHQ* that includes the book of Esther. For in this book the LXX and LXX^{AT68} texts are considered by several scholars to reflect a different, even superior, Hebrew text.⁶⁹ In the *BHQ* fascicle, however, the major deviations of these two Greek texts, if adduced at all, are never described as “lit(erary).” The only elements that are described as “lit” in the apparatus are details from the so-called Additions to Esther, also described as the noncanonical parts of the LXX (see, e.g., the notes in *BHQ* to Esth 1:1, 3:13, 4:17). However, these Additions cannot be detached from the main Greek texts on the basis of their style, vocabulary, or subject matter,⁷⁰ and therefore at least some of the other major discrepancies of the LXX or LXX^{AT} could or should have been denoted as “lit.” The practice of *BHQ* in Esther is not wrong, as the editor probably espoused a different view. But the editor’s view is problematical in some instances in which the Greek deviations are based clearly on Semitic variants constituting a different literary edition of the book.⁷¹

⁶⁶ That *BHQ* intends to limit remarks of this type to a few details in a literary edition rather than to all or most of them, is clear from the definition on p. XCII of “lit” where the the following sentence is included: “Samuel and Jeremiah, for example, each offer a *number* <my italics, E.T.> of such cases.”

⁶⁷ I refer to the various types of editorial changes mentioned in my paper “Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah,” in *Le livre de Jérémie, le prophète et son milieu, les oracles et leur transmission* (ed. P.-M. Bogaert; BETL 54; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1981; rev. ed. 1997 [1998]) 145–67, 430. Revised version: *The Greek and Hebrew Bible—Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTSup 72; Leiden, Boston and Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1999), 363–84.

⁶⁸ Also called the Lucianic version.

⁶⁹ See the description of these views in my *TCU*, 255.

⁷⁰ See my study “The ‘Lucianic’ Text of the Canonical and the Apocryphal Sections of Esther: A Rewritten Biblical Book,” *Textus* 10 (1982): 1–25. Revised version: *The Greek and Hebrew Bible* (1999), 535–48.

⁷¹ Note, for example, pluses in the AT text in 3:5, 6:4 (2), 6:5 (3), 6:13 (10), and see my analysis in “The ‘Lucianic’ Text,” 8–9. Revised version: *The Greek and Hebrew Bible* (1999), 538–39.

On the other hand, perhaps the absence of the term “lit” in the apparatus is due merely to an editorial inconsistency, as Schenker, in the general edition to the book, p. XIII, states that “[v]ersional pluses that are longer than one verse and come from what amounts to a separate edition of the book in question (e.g., Esther) will be indicated (usually with the abbreviation “+ txt”), but not given in full, by reason of limitations of space.”⁷²

d. *Cautious evaluation.* *BHQ* presents reconstructed variants from the versions more cautiously than in the past, but stops short of making a direct link between a reconstructed reading, preferred by that edition, and the text of the version (this practice is carried over from *BHS*; see above, 2). The reconstruction (mentioned first) and the versional reading are linked by the reference “see,” which leaves room for much uncertainty and does not reflect the real relation between the two elements. In an example given in the introductory material to *BHQ* as “Figure 1” (p. LXXIII), in Jer 23:17 MT *lim^ena’asay dibber YHWH* (to men who despise me <they say:> “The Lord has said”) where the LXX reads τοῖς ἀποθουμένοις τὸν λόγον κυρίου, reflecting *lim^ena’asê d^evar YHWH* (to those who despise the word of the Lord), the edition does *not* say “read *lim^ena’asê d^evar YHWH* with G” or the like. As in *BHS*, *BHQ* separates the two sets of information, suggesting that the reading which is actually reconstructed from the LXX is to be preferred to MT: “pref *lim^ena’asê d^evar YHWH* see G (S).” In this and many similar situations, *BHQ* presents the preferred reading almost as an emendation, since the reference to the LXX (phrased as “see”) does not clarify that the suggested reading is actually based on the LXX. Users who are not well versed in the ancient languages do not know the exact relation between the suggested reading and the ancient sources. More seriously, by presenting the evidence in this way, injustice is done to one of the basic procedures of textual criticism. It is probably accepted by most scholars that equal attention should be paid to the MT and LXX, and that both the MT and LXX could reflect an original reading. If this is the case, preferable readings from the LXX ought to be presented in the same way as preferable readings from MT, even if the difficulties

⁷² Schenker continues: “Similarly, lengthy readings that are judged to stand in a literary relation to the text represented in the base text (e.g., a parallel text) will be signaled (usually with the abbreviation “differ-txt”), but not given in full.”

inherent with the reconstruction complicate their presentation and evaluation.

e. *The manuscripts from the Judean Desert* are fully recorded in *BHQ*,⁷³ including both significant readings—possibly preferable to the readings of MT and/or the LXX—and secondary variants. The latter type of readings do not contribute towards the reconstruction of the original text of Hebrew Scripture, but merely illustrate the process of textual transmission. Thus, the full recording includes such misspellings in 4QCant^b as התנאה (MT Cant 2:13: ההתנאה), בשקתי (MT 3:1: (בקשתי), described in the apparatus as “metathesis,” אבאי (MT 4:8: (תבואי) described as “err-graph,” and Aramaic forms such as השללים (MT 2:17: (הצללים) and בשמין (MT 4:10: (בשמים). At the same time, differences in sense division in these scrolls receive no attention (not mentioned in the “General Introduction,” XIV),⁷⁴ while the same data from the Masoretic manuscripts are recorded in great detail.⁷⁵ On the whole, due to the extensive coverage of the scrolls in *BHQ*, this edition can be used profitably as a source of information for the scrolls. On the other hand, the reader is overwhelmed with the large amount of information on secondary readings in the scrolls. Since *BHQ* provides value judgements on these readings, that edition could have differentiated between the stratum of possibly valuable readings and that of clearly secondary readings. From reading the apparatus of Part 18, one gets the impression that the greater part of the readings belong to this second stratum.

The material from the Judean Desert is rightly recorded more fully than the medieval Hebrew evidence (below, f). At the same time, the apparatus will include all the material for the SP except

⁷³ The edition creates the impression that it records all variations, including orthographic and morphological differences, such as אקום in 4QCant^a for אקומה of MT in Cant 3:2; אהכם for אהכמה of MT in the same verse. Therefore, the reader would have expected to find in the apparatus הראי for הראי in 4QCant^b in Cant 2:14 and ירושלם for ירושלים in 4QCant^a in Cant 3:10.

⁷⁴ Cant 3:8 has a closed section in *BHQ*, but that edition does not contain a note about the lack of an interval in 4QCant^a; Cant 4:3 has an interval in 4QCant^b (open section), but this fact is not mentioned in *BHQ* which has no interval at that point (nor does 4QCant^a have an interval).

⁷⁵ *BHQ* includes only variants in sense divisions that are significant for “translation or exegesis” (see “General Introduction,” XIII). On the other hand, a complete table of such intervals in the collated Tiberian manuscripts is included in the introduction to each book.

for orthographic and linguistic variants, all the Cairo Genizah material prior to 1000, and select Tiberian manuscripts (see below).

f. *Medieval manuscripts*. Following the study of Goshen-Gottstein,⁷⁶ *BHQ* does not record the content of the individual manuscripts from the collections of medieval manuscripts by Kennicott and de Rossi.⁷⁷ On the other hand, eight early Masoretic manuscripts listed in the "General Introduction," XX–XXV are covered. The reduction in the number of medieval manuscripts covered is a distinct improvement.

g. *Textual commentary*. The publication of a detailed textual commentary (pp. 51*–150*) in which difficult readings are discussed, including an analysis of all readings preferred to MT, represents a great step forward from all other editions. The discussion describes all the relevant issues and is usually thorough and judicious. The readings discussed present textual problems, for all of which an opinion is expressed. One of the many advantages of this commentary is that it discusses conjectures such as those suggested for MT שֶׁמֶן חֶרֶק in Cant 1:3 regardless of their acceptance by the editors. In the reading quoted from Canticles, the difficulties of the MT wording are analyzed, but the editor (P.D. Dirksen) does not feel that any other reading is preferable to MT.

The strength of a commentary is in the relation between the generalizations and the remarks on details. Indeed, the authors of the commentary constantly deducted generalizations from details, and explained details according to what is known from comparable instances.

h. *Conservative approach to evaluations*. The textual evaluations in *BHQ* are very conservative when compared with earlier editions in the *BH* series. Thus, while in Canticles in *BHS*, 32 variants are preferred to MT,⁷⁸ the editor of *BHQ* makes only three⁷⁹ such suggestions (phrased as "pref").⁸⁰ In all other cases, the text of MT is

⁷⁶ M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," *Bib* 48 (1967): 243–90.

⁷⁷ Thus "General Introduction," XIV.

⁷⁸ Textual suggestions in *BHS* are phrased in different ways, sometimes in conjunction with question marks or words such as "probably." I counted 23 cases of "lege," one case of "prps," 2 cases of a gloss, two instances of "transpose," one case of "delete," two suggestions of additions, and one of an insertion.

⁷⁹ Cant 4:12; 7:7, 10. Preferences of *Ketiv* to *Qere* or vice versa are not included.

⁸⁰ In addition, in Cant 2:14, the apparatus mentions a conjecture in vocalization.

preferred.⁸¹ By the same token, in Ruth, compared with seven instances of a preference for a non-Masoretic reading in *BHS*, *BHQ* prefers only one, in 4:4;⁸² there are no conjectures in the apparatus. In *BHS* in Lamentations, 49 preferences⁸³ for readings other than MT are matched with only 7 similar preferences in *BHQ*. No conjectures are recorded in the latter apparatus.

j. *Retroversions*. The apparatus contains a rather full presentation of the textual evidence that is at variance with the main text, MT as represented by codex L. However, the presentation of this evidence in *BHQ* differs from that in all other critical editions⁸⁴ in that the versional evidence is presented mainly in the languages of the translations, Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin. All other editions retrovert many versional readings into Hebrew, while some of them are described as readings preferable to MT (such preferences are not expressed for readings in the *HUB*). However, in the past many such retroversions in the *BH* series were haphazard, imprecise, or unfounded. Probably for this reason, *BHQ* is sparing with retroversions, presenting only one type, as stated in the “General Introduction,” XIII: “[r]etroversion will be used only for a reading proposed as *preferable* [my italics, E.T.] to that found in the base text”. While these retroversions are thus reduced to a minimum, other types of retroversions are nevertheless found in the apparatus, although for the editors of *BHQ* they are not considered “retroversions”:

a. Versional readings that present a shorter text than MT are presented as “<” or “abbrev”. This is a form of retroversion, although in the case of an ancient translation the editor wisely does not tell us whether the shortening took place in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translation or in the translator’s mind.

b. Etymological renderings based on a certain Hebrew form (“via . . .”) which is reconstructed in the edition, but not named “reconstruction” in the *BHQ* system. For example, the rendering of

⁸¹ In the words of the editor, “The text of Canticles is well preserved,” p. 8*.

⁸² In the words of the editor (p. 5*): “The Masoretic Text in M^L has been very well preserved.” The author probably meant: The text of Ruth has been well preserved in MT according to codex L.

⁸³ I counted 19 cases of “*lege*,” 19 of “*pips*,” one instance of “transpose,” 7 cases of “delete,” one of “add,” and two of “insert.”

⁸⁴ That is, previous editions in the *BH* series, the *HUB*, and the *OHB*.

כתימרות in Aquila and La^{Ep} in Cant 3:6 as ὡς ὁμοίσις is explained in the apparatus as “via כתימונת.” Further, ἀπόστρεψον of the LXX in Cant 2:17 for MT סב is explained as “via שורב”. In other cases the decision between “an actual *Vorlage* (written in a manuscript) or a virtual *Vorlage* (in the mind of the translator or copyist)”⁸⁵ is very difficult: In Cant 1:10 בתרים (“with plaited wreaths”), the reading of the LXX (ὡς τρυγόνες) is presented as “via כהרים” (“like plaited wreaths”). In a similar case later in the verse, “via” is again reserved for an interchange כ/כ. While for the reader, “via” looks like any other retroversion in the apparatus, for *BHQ* it has a status different from that of a retroversion.⁸⁶

In their wish to record no retroversions other than those of preferred readings, *BHQ* may have gone a little too far, since the nature of the undertaking requires these retroversions. Thus, loyal to its principles, *BHQ* retroverts none of the many deviations of the Greek Esther from MT, not even when reflecting an obvious Semitism as in Esth 1:4 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, preceding the Greek translation of that verse.⁸⁷ However, *BHQ* accepts the idea of multiple textual and literary traditions in *Hebrew*, and therefore why should these traditions not be retroverted from time to time? *BHQ* records many secondary readings (above, § b), thus rendering it in line with its principles to record, in Hebrew, readings that have the potential of being primary literary parallel traditions. It seems to us that because of the lack of these reconstructions, the reader is often deprived of much valuable information.

⁸⁵ “General Introduction,” XCIV.

⁸⁶ “This term indicates the Hebrew form that is judged to have served as the stimulus for a particular extant reading. In so marking a form, no position is taken as to whether the reading was an actual *Vorlage* (written in a manuscript) or a virtual *Vorlage* (in the mind of the translator or copyist), or even whether one could properly label the form a *Vorlage*” (“General Introduction,” XCIV). It seems to me that the doubts whether a reading existed on parchment or only in the translator’s mind pertain not only to this category, but to many, if not most categories of reconstructed variants. See the discussion in my *TCU*, 88–89.

⁸⁷ We take issue with the principle, not with the subjective approach which is a necessary part of the enterprise. We also accept the view that the evidence of translations that are completely exegetical is excluded from the analysis: “. . . when the Targum for a book, taken as a whole, is made unreliable as a witness to the Hebrew text due to extensive paraphrase or haggadic expansion (e.g., the Targum to Canticles), it will not be cited constantly as a witness since to do so would overload the apparatus with matter that is not useful for the textual cases presented there” (p. XIV).

On the whole, *BHQ* is much richer in data, more mature, judicious and cautious than its predecessors. It heralds a very important step forward in the *BH* series. This advancement implies more complex notations which almost necessarily render this edition less user-friendly for the non-expert.⁸⁸

III. The *OHB* presents critical reconstructions of an original text that while imperfect, as editor-in-chief Hendel realizes, still represent the best option among the various possibilities.⁸⁹ The system chosen by the *OHB* editors can easily be examined in the editions mentioned in note 50, and is well covered by the explanations of Hendel, "Introduction." This introduction describes in detail the notes accompanying the readings in the apparatus as opposed to the "original" readings included in the text itself. It also describes at length the shortcomings of the other types of editions. However, what is lacking is a detailed description of the principles of the decision-making process relating to the very choice of these original readings.⁹⁰ Hendel's own critical edition of Gen 1–11 includes a discussion of "types of text-critical decisions" (pp. 6–10) as well as valuable discussions of the relations between the textual witnesses, contributing significantly to our understanding of this issue. However, these analyses do not elucidate why the author earmarked specific details as "original" in certain constellations. It would be useful to know whether any

⁸⁸ The juxtaposition in the apparatus of a wealth of exegetical readings and important variants as well as some of the complex explanations in the introduction will be grasped only by the sophisticated scholar. I do not think that *BHQ* can live up to its own ideal: "As was true for its predecessors, this edition of *Biblia Hebraica* is intended as a *Handausgabe* for use by scholars, clergy, translators, and students who are not necessarily specialists in textual criticism . . . specialists in textual criticism should also find the edition of use, even though it is not principally intended for them" ("General Introduction," p. VIII). The commentary and the introductions (see below) go a long way in bridging the gap for the non-specialists, but I do believe the specialist will grasp the finesses of the sophistication better than the non-specialist who will often be confused. Time will tell whether this assessment is correct.

⁸⁹ In Hendel's words, "The dream of a perfect text is unreal, counterfactual. The best we can do is to make a good critical text, one that takes account of the evidence we have and the acumen we can muster" ("Introduction," 16).

⁹⁰ Hendel merely offers an abstract description of the procedure: "As a *practical* <my italics, E.T.> matter, the textual decisions that constitute the critical texts of the *OHB* are a collection of arguments for the earliest inferable readings on the basis of the available evidence and the editors' text-critical skills and experience" ("Introduction," 5).

internal or external rules exist for composing the reconstructed original text, or whether everything is left to intuition. This also remains an open question in two similar studies: the reconstruction of the original text of 2 Chr 1–16 by Hognesius⁹¹ and that of Hosea by Borbone.⁹²

It seems to me that three theoretical problems make the preparation of eclectic editions a difficult or, according to some, impossible enterprise:

a. In his theoretical introduction, Hendel says: “The practical goal for the *OHB* is to approximate in its critical text the textual ‘archetype,’ by which I mean ‘the earliest inferable textual state’” (p. 3).⁹³ He further cautions:

The theory of an eclectic edition assumes that approximating the archetype is a step towards the “original text,” however that original is to be conceived. In the case of the Hebrew Bible it is difficult to define what the “original text” means, since each book is the product of a complicated and often unrecoverable history of composition and redaction. The “original text” that lies somewhere behind the archetype is usually not the product of a single author, but a collective production, sometimes constructed over centuries, perhaps comparable to the construction of a medieval cathedral or the composite walls of an old city.

It is a sign of good scholarship that Hendel constantly struggles with the question of the original text, as seen also in the continued analysis, in which he discusses my views. The same difficulties are recognized by Hognesius (pp. 28–9):

It is not the intention of the present author to claim that this edition presents *the* text of 2 Chronicles 1–16, but, rather, that it attempts to make a contribution to serious scholarly discussion on text-critical matters. If eventually, such serious discussion would lead to the publishing of critical editions of the text of the Old Testament, this would be for the benefit of all Old Testament scholars.

However, in spite of the problems encountered, the editors of the *OHB* believe that there *was* an original text (or in some cases two), since otherwise they would not have reconstructed such an entity. I

⁹¹ Hognesius, *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16*.

⁹² Borbone, *Il libro del profeta Osea*.

⁹³ For this statement, Hendel refers to E.J. Kenney, “Textual Criticism,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15th ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 18:191.

should therefore counter that now more than ever it seems to me that there never was an “archetype” or “original text” of most Scripture books. True, the composition and transmission history of some units in Scripture was simpler than that of others. As a result, in many individual Psalms, the textual evidence is probably very close to that of the poems created by the ancient poets, that is, they attest to a stage rather close to the original text. For most biblical books, however, scholars assume editorial changes over the course of many generations or even several centuries. If this assumption is correct, this development implies that there never was a single text which may be considered *the* original text; rather, we have to assume compositional stages, each of which was meant to be authoritative when completed. Each stage constituted an entity which may be named an “original text.” That text, considered final, may have been available in a single copy at first, but was probably duplicated and distributed in later times.

These compositional stages did not always take the form of a completely new edition of a biblical book, but may have involved the change of what is now a single chapter or an even smaller unit. On other occasions, I have dwelled at length on various aspects of this composition process,⁹⁴ and here we ought to ask ourselves which stage, if any, may be presented as original or archetypal in a modern edition.

The point of departure for the *OHB* is the assumption that there was one or, in some cases, two such editions that may be reconstructed. The *BH* series, and *BHQ* in particular, struggles with the same problems (see above), but in that enterprise the difficulties are fewer, since the edition itself always presents MT. In its apparatus, the *BH* series presents elements as original or archetypal, but it can always allow itself the luxury of not commenting on all details, while the *OHB* has to make decisions in all instances.

⁹⁴ “The Place of the Masoretic Text in Modern Text Editions of the Hebrew Bible: The Relevance of Canon,” in *The Canon Debate* (ed. L. McDonald and J.A. Sanders; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2002), 234–51; “The Nature of the Large-Scale Differences between the LXX and MT S T V, Compared with Similar Evidence in Other Sources,” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible. The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuaginta Reconsidered* (ed. A. Schenker; SCS 52; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 2003) 121–44; “Literary Analysis, the So-Called Original Text of Hebrew Scripture, and Textual Evaluation,” *Festschrift Shalom Paul*, 2005, forthcoming.

b. If the principle of reconstructing an original edition based on evidence and emendation is accepted, it remains difficult to decide which compositional level should be reconstructed. On a practical level, what is the scope of the changes one should allow himself to insert in MT? Small changes are definitely permissible, but why should one stop at verses? An editor of the *OHB* may also decide to exclude the secondarily added hymns of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10) and Jonah (Jonah 2). If all scholars agree that these psalms are secondary, I see no reason why an editor of *OHB* should not exclude them. I am only using this example to illustrate the problems involved; I do not think that an *OHB* editor would actually exclude these chapters (although according to the internal logic of the *OHB* they should, I think). However, I can imagine that someone would exclude Gen 12:6 “And the Canaanites were then in the land,” considered secondary by all critical scholars.

In short, innumerable difficulties present themselves in places where complex literary development took place. In fact, the evaluation of the two editions of Jeremiah (see below) seems to be a simple case in comparison with the very complex compositional and transmission stages visible elsewhere.

c. On a closely related matter, the *OHB* proposes implementing a different, more advanced, procedure for “multiple early editions” of biblical books than used in the past:⁹⁵

The *OHB* aims to produce critical texts of each ancient edition, which will be presented in parallel columns. The relationship among these editions will be discussed fully in an introductory chapter to each volume. In cases where one edition is not the textual ancestor of the other(s), a common ancestor to the extant editions will be reconstructed, to the extent possible (Hendel, “Introduction,” 2).

This is an important step forward, but so many problems will be encountered in the implementation of this procedure that the above description may be considered naive. How can complete editions such as reflected in the LXX be reconstructed? We know some details about the short edition of Jeremiah such as visible in 4QJer^{b,d} and the LXX, but in my view the full edition cannot be reconstructed due to our limited knowledge and evidence.

⁹⁵ Both *BHQ* and the *OHB* seem to develop along similar lines. For *BHQ*, see above.

The editors of these editions probably consider them no more than scholarly exercises representing the views of a scholar at a given time, with the understanding that the same scholar's view will be quite different by the following year. Necessarily, several different eclectic editions of the same biblical book are bound to appear. On whose edition, or whose Bible, will scholars focus their exegetical activity?

3. *Some Remarks on All Existing Editions*

1. *The Centrality of MT.* Despite statements to the contrary, all critical and non-critical editions of Hebrew Scripture revolve around MT, which is more central than ever in everyone's thinking.⁹⁶ Non-critical editions present MT, or more precisely TMT (see n. 21), while all critical texts present MT together with an apparatus. Furthest removed from MT is the OHB, but even that edition uses MT as its framework, occasionally changing the base text to what is now a variant reading in one of the versions. Even when versions disagree with MT on small details, and possibly reflect superior readings, these readings have not been altered.⁹⁷ Other critical editions (the BH series and the HUB) meticulously present the best Ben-Asher manuscripts, including their Masorah and open/closed sections. This precision is absolutely necessary for the study of Tiberian Hebrew and the history of MT, but somehow the readers' focus is moved away from the very important ancient material contained in the LXX and the Qumran Scrolls. Readings from these sources are mentioned—in a way, hidden—in an apparatus to the text of MT rather than appearing next to it. The decision to structure editions around MT is natural; after all, MT is the central text of Judaism, and it is much valued by scholars. Besides, the scrolls are fragmentary, and the LXX is in Greek, not in Hebrew. Notwithstanding, I see a conceptual problem in the focusing of all editions on MT. I am afraid that the editions we use, despite the fullness of data in the HUB

⁹⁶ See my paper "The Place of the Masoretic Text."

⁹⁷ According to the system of Hendel, it is not considered worthwhile to include anything but "significant variants," see Hendel, *Genesis 1–11*, 115 and the reaction of Weis, "BHQ," paragraph 34.

and BHQ apparatuses, perpetuate the perception that MT is the Bible. The systems employed in the present editions do not educate future generations towards an egalitarian approach to all the textual sources.

In a paper published in 2002 (“The Place of the Masoretic Text in Modern Text Editions” [see n. 94]), I tried to show in detail how the centrality of MT negatively influences research. Although critical scholars, as opposed to the public at large, know that MT does not constitute *the* Bible, they nevertheless often approach it in this way. They base many *critical* commentaries and introductions mainly on MT; occasional remarks on other textual witnesses merely pay lip service to the notion that other texts exist. Many critical scholars mainly practise exegesis on MT. I have given examples from Driver’s *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, Eissfeldt’s *Einleitung*, the commentaries of Gunkel, Dahood, Noth, Westermann, Milgrom, Levine, etc., showing that important remarks and theories by these scholars were based on MT only, although all of them are aware of the LXX.

Since the focus on MT does not advance literary analysis and exegesis, one wonders whether the approach behind these editions can ever be changed. We believe it can, as we think that an edition should be devised in which all textual witnesses obtain an equal status. Details from the LXX and the scrolls are currently lost in the mazes of apparatuses, but if they were to be presented more prominently, they would receive more attention. Under the present circumstances, scholars hold any one of the mentioned editions in their hands, and misleadingly call it “the Bible.” All scholars know that our editions do not contain *the* Bible, but merely one textual tradition, but we often mislead ourselves into thinking that it is *the* Bible. However, the text of the Bible is found in a wide group of sources, from MT, through the Dead Sea Scrolls, to the LXX and the Peshitta. Accordingly, the *Biblia Hebraica* is not a *Biblia Hebraica*, strictly speaking, but a *Biblia Masoretica*. So far there is no *Biblia Hebraica* in existence, unless one considers the details in the apparatus of the *BH* series to stand for the larger entities behind them.

2. *Explanations in an apparatus.* In the last half-century, critical editions have developed through constant interaction with one another, much in the direction of the *HUB* system, which has been known since the publication of the *Sample Edition* in 1965 (see n. 57). *BHQ* and

the *OHB* have been influenced by the *HUB* in including descriptions of types of readings in the apparatus itself, mainly in order to elucidate the *secondary* status of several Hebrew and versional variants. In *BHQ*, these explanations are even more extensive and diverse than those in the *HUB*, and they are juxtaposed with the evidence, while in the *HUB* most of them appear in an apparatus of notes under the text. The recording of admittedly secondary readings together with their explanations in the apparatus of *BHQ* itself is a novelty in biblical editions, and it may deter readers from using a critical edition rather than attract them to one. It should probably be noticed that in the extensive literature on the nature of editions and apparatuses, I have not found parallels for the listing of such notes in the critical apparatus *itself*.⁹⁸ In my view, these notes disturb the flow in an apparatus that serves as an objective source of information; rather, they should be relegated to a separate apparatus of notes, as in the *HUB*. I am afraid that with the attempt to explain these variants, the main purpose of the apparatus is lost, that of providing information about non-Masoretic traditions to *be used in biblical exegesis*. This leads to the next point:

3. *A Multi-column edition?* The existing editions of Hebrew Scripture present the following options:

- a. MT only: all extant non-critical editions of the Hebrew Bible.
- b. MT + variants (and emendations) in an *apparatus*: the *BH* series and the *HUB*.
- c. MT + variants and emendations in the *text*: eclectic editions.

In the preceding pages we described the advantages and disadvantages of these editions, and I wonder whether a different type of edition will ever be devised, in which all the evidence will be presented in an egalitarian way in parallel columns:

- d. A multi-column edition.

The purpose of a multi-column edition would be to educate the users toward an egalitarian approach to the textual witnesses which

⁹⁸ See the papers in *Editing Texts* mentioned in n. 48 and further: D.C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship—An Introduction* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1994), especially 384–417 (“Editing the Text: Scholarly Editing”); M. Mathijsen, *Naar de letter—Handboek editiewetenschap* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1995); *Scholarly Editing—A Guide to Research* (ed. D.C. Greetham; New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1995).

cannot be achieved with the present tools. Such an edition would present MT, LXX, the SP, and some Qumran texts, on an *equal* basis in parallel columns, with notes on the reconstructed parent text of the LXX, and perhaps with English translations of all the data. The presentation of the text in the parallel columns would graphically show the relation between the plus and minus elements.⁹⁹ Only by this means can future generations of scholars be expected to approach the textual data in an unbiased way, without MT forming the basis of their thinking. This equality is needed for literary analysis and exegesis, and less so for textual specialists.

The earliest example of such a multi-column edition, Origen's Hexapla, served a similar purpose when enabling a good comparison of the Jewish and Christian Bible. In modern times, scholars have prepared similar editions in areas other than the Hebrew Bible, when the complexity of the original shape of the composition makes other alternatives less viable.¹⁰⁰

However, a close parallel is available also in the area of Hebrew Scripture: The *Biblia Qumranica* records the complete texts found in the Judean Desert together with parallel columns containing other textual witnesses.¹⁰¹ The reader learns more quickly and easily than in all other editions about the differences between the texts from the Judean Desert and the other texts, including in matters of orthography. However, this specific edition provides only a fragmentary picture of the biblical text, as its coverage does not go beyond that of the contents of the scrolls and their counterparts in other witnesses. The use of this edition for the exegesis of the running biblical text is limited, but it does provide a paradigm for other editions.

It may well be that there are too many practical problems in preparing such an edition of the Hebrew Bible, but the discussion of this option helps us to better understand all other editions. The

⁹⁹ The edition described here would not be a merely formal presentation in parallel columns of blocks of (photographically reproduced) texts, as for example in the following edition of Ben Sira: F. Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico—Testo ebraico con apparato critico e versioni greca, latina e siriana* (Publicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica; Napoli: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1968).

¹⁰⁰ P. Schäfer and J. Becker, *Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1991); idem and others, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1981).

¹⁰¹ *Biblia Qumranica, Vol. 3B Minor Prophets* (ed. B. Ego, A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and K. De Troyer; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004).

purpose of this paper is not to promote the idea of a multi-column edition, but to review all existing options.

*Some Editions of Hebrew Scripture Arranged Chronologically*¹⁰²

Letteris

M.H. Letteris, תורה נביאים וכתובים (London 1852)

BH

Biblia Hebraica (1st and 2d eds.; ed. R. Kittel; Leipzig 1905, 1913; 3d ed.; ed. R. Kittel and P. Kahle; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1929–37)

Ginsburg

C.D. Ginsburg, תורה נביאים וכתובים, מדויק הישב על-פי המסורה ועל פי דפוסים ראשונים עם הלופים והנהרות מן כתבי יד עתיקים ותרנומים ישנים (London 1926; repr. Jerusalem 1970)

Cassuto

M.D. Cassuto, תנ"ך ירושלים (Jerusalem 1958)

Snaith

N.H. Snaith, ספר תורה נביאים וכתובים מדויק הישב על פי המסורה (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1958)

Koren

M. Koren, תורה נביאים וכתובים (Jerusalem: Koren, 1962)

BHS

Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (ed. W. Rudolph and K. Elliger; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967–77; last printing to date: 1997).

Adi

A. Dotan, תורה נביאים וכתובים מדויקים הישב על פי הניקוד השעמים (Tel Aviv: Adi, 1976)

Breuer

M. Breuer, תורה נביאים וכתובים, מונהגים על פי הנוסח והמסורה של כתר, ארם צובה וכתבי יד הקרובים לו (Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1977–82; 1 vol.: 1989; Jerusalem: Horev, 1993)

¹⁰² The first publication of each edition is followed by additional printings incorporating changes and corrections of misprints.

Hebrew University Bible (HUB)

M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Hebrew University Bible, The Book of Isaiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995)

C. Rabin, S. Talmon, E. Tov, *The Hebrew University Bible, The Book of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1997)

M.H. Goshen-Gottstein and S. Talmon, *The Hebrew University Bible, The Book of Ezekiel* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004)

Jerusalem Crown

Pentateuch, Prophets and Writings According to the Text and Masorah of the Aleppo Codex and Related Manuscripts, Following the Methods of Rabbi Mordechai Breuer (ed. Y. Ofer; Basle/Jerusalem: Karger Family/Ben Zvi, 2000)

Dotan 2001

A. Dotan, *Biblia Hebraica Leningradensia: Prepared according to the Vocalization, Accents, and Masora of Aaron ben Moses ben Asher in the Leningrad Codex* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2001)

BHQ

Biblia Hebraica Quinta (ed. A. Schenker et al.; Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004–), Part 18: *General Introduction and Megilloth* (ed. P.B. Dirksen et al.; 2004)

THE TEXTCRITICAL VALUE OF THE OLD LATIN IN
POSTQUMRANIC TEXTUAL CRITICISM
(1 KGS 18:26–29.36–37)

Julio Trebolle
Universidad Complutense

É. Puech has recently attempted to identify the totality of fragments of 1QJudges (1Q6), correcting reading errors in the *editio princeps* and showing that this manuscript preserves remains from the most part of the chapters of Judges. The proposed reconstruction gives an idea of column widths and of the layout of the text in the preserved sections. It especially allows to detect a number of variants, the absence of a word or expression and the presence or absence of *vacats* which often do not match those in the MT tradition.¹

Two variants identified by É. Puech in 1Q6 match the Old Latin (OL) readings. In Judg 9:29 (1Q6 frgs. 5 + 6 + 14 = Judg 9:28–33), Barthélemy had already pointed out the 1Q6 variant ויאמר, in plural, which coincides with the Latin Versions (OL and Vulgate), against the MT singular ויאמר. The name which follows in MT is translated by the pronominal πρὸς αὐτον in the B text, whereas the A and L texts, together with OL, offer the name Αβιμελεχ (*Abimelec*). In Judg 9:44 (1Q6 frgs. 7 + 8 + 12 = Judg 9:38–44), against MT ויאמר, 1Q6 reads אבִימֶלֶךְ, without the copula, in coincidence with the Greek manuscript l, of the Lucianic group, as well as with OL and the Sahidic Coptic text.² Also, in Judg 10:8, the reconstruction of

I would like to thank Dr. Andrés Piquer (University of California Berkeley) for the English translation of the Spanish original.

¹ É. Puech, “Les manuscrits 4QJuges^c (= 4Q50^a) et 1QJuges (= 1Q6),” in *Festschrift E. Ulrich* (forthcoming). He publishes at the same time the remains of a new Judges manuscript probably from Qumran Cave 4, which he gives the sigla 4QJuges^c (4Q50^a). Cf. D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, with contributions by R. de Vaux, G.M. Crowfoot, H.J. Penderleith, G.L. Harding, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 62–64 and Pl. XI.

² The coincidence between the OL and Coptic texts is especially meaningful, as A.V. Billen acknowledged, “The Old Latin Versions of Judges,” *JThS* 43 (1942): 140–49 (146); cf. B. Lindars, “Some Septuagint Readings in Judges,” *JThS* N.S. 22

lines in frgs. 11 + 20 (= Judg 10:7–9) allows to suppose that 1Q6 would not have included the expression בשנה דהוה , which is also ignored by the representative Greek manuscripts of the Lucianic text (glnow), and also partly by the Kennicott mss 4 and 70, as well as by the Syriac Milan Manuscript. The Lucianic text transmits a previous one which was the basis for OL.

These small coincidences between the Qumran text and OL give an idea of the importance of OL in the textual criticism of Judges and the other Historical books. They are not any less meaningful, given the scant materials of 1Q6 which have been preserved and the additional circumstance that a full OL manuscript of Judges has been preserved, the *Lugdunensis*.³ Were not for this circumstance, probably it would have been impossible to perceive these coincidences. Another Qumran manuscript of Judges, 4QJudg^a, preserves only nine incomplete lines of text corresponding to Judg 6:2–6.11–13. It shows clear points of contact with Greek proto-Lucianic and OL readings which preserve the oldest Greek textual tradition. In spite of the scarcity of preserved materials, 4QJudg^a presents three meaningful agreements with the OL text.

Judg 6:5 (4QJudg^a line 3): OL (*et tabernacula sua*) *et camelos* = LXX^L ($\text{και τας σκηνας αυτων}$) *και τας καμελους* = 4QJudg^a ונמליהם (ואהליהם) against MT, which ignores this reference to the Madianites' camels.

Judg 6:5 (4QJudg^a line 4): OL does not know, together with 4QJudg^a, the reading $\text{και τοις/ταις καμηλοις αυτων}$ = MT ולנמליהם .

Judg 6:11 (4QJudg^a line 6): OL *patris Esri* represents a slightly different reading from those attested in the Greek tradition: πατρος του εσδρει (manuscript groups B A K), αβιεζρι (group L), πατρος αβιεζρι (subgroup L'). The Lucianic reading corresponds with that of 4QJudg^a, האביעורי . Subgroup L' presents a double reading (BAK

(1971): 1–14. A remarkable example of coincidence between OL and the Sahidic Coptic is the reading “from Gilgal to Klauthmon and to Bethel” (Judg 2:1). A. Piquer studies the same coincidence in 1 Kgs 1:52 in “The Lord lives, if a hair of his head should fall”. An Old Greek Reading in the Sahidic Coptic version of 3 Kgdms 1:52 in the Light of fr. 6a of Kings in Kahle’s *Bala’izah*” (forthcoming).

³ U. Robert (ed.), *Heptateuchi partis posterioris versio latina antiquissima e codice Lugdunensi. Version latine de Deutéronome, de Josué et des Juges antérieure à saint Jérôme publiée d’après le Ms. De Lyon avec un fac-similé, des observations paléographiques et philologiques sur l’origine et la valeur de ce texte* (Lyon: Rey, 1900).

+ L). OL seems to correspond to BAK, although *Esri* reproduces more precise the Gk. εζρι in L/L'.⁴

After studying numerous OL readings in *Judges* (3:1; 6:19.21.26; 7:6.8.24; 11:8–9; 9:21; 15:9 and 18:7.24, among others), Billen stated that the OL text in *Judges* reflects a Greek which stands very close to the original of LXX and is at times superior to the Hebrew.⁵

In 1–2 Samuel, the coincidence of Hebrew readings of 4QSam^a with Greek Lucianic readings has provided a solid basis for the hypothesis of a proto-Lucianic text.⁶ Post-Qumran research on the text of LXX is ready to acknowledge the critical value of the textual tradition represented by LXX^L in the *kaige* sections (1 Sam 11:1–2:11 and 1 Kgs 22:1–2 Kgs 25:30) when it is supported by OL readings, the Greek text used by Josephus and the pre-Hexaplaric stratum of the Armenian version, as well as the parallel Hebrew text of Chronicles. In these *kaige* sections, the *Codex Vaticanus* (B), from the 4th c., and the rest of the Greek tradition, excepting the Hexaplaric one, reproduce the text of the proto-Theodotonic or *kaige* recension. In these sections the pre-Lucianic text (boc₂e₂), followed by the OL, is the only witness that preserves a text which is very close or substantially identical to that of the Old Greek (OG). The “Old Latin” occasionally preserves textual traces of the “Old Greek” that goes back to an “Old Hebrew” text.⁷

In 2 Kgs 18–20 // Isa 36–39, the proto-Lucianic stratum of *III Reges* proves to be the earliest attainable textual level, very close to 1QIsa^a and Old Greek *Isaiah*. In 2 Kgs 20:11 // Isa 38:8 it is possible to follow the evolution of the text from 1QIsa^a עליה אהז את השמש

⁴ J. Trebolle Barrera, “49. 4QJudg^a (Pl. XXXVI),” in *Qumran Cave 4, IX Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 161–64.

⁵ Billen, “The Old Latin Versions of Judges,” 147. I have examined the cases of Judg 1:19; 2:3; 6:32; 8:19; 18:22; 18:30 in the article “The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin and Antiochean Greek Texts in the Books of Judges and Joshua,” *Festschrift J. Lust* (forthcoming).

⁶ F.M. Cross, “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F.M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1975), 306–20, (315); E. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1978), 95f.; idem, “The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel, 1980 Proceedings IOSCS* (ed. E. Tov; Jerusalem: Academ, 1980), 121–65.

⁷ J. Trebolle Barrera, “From the Old Latin Through the Old Greek to the Old Hebrew (2 Kgs 10,25–28),” *Textus XI* (1984): 17–36.

and, progressively, through Old Greek *Isa του οικου του πατρος σου αποστρεψω τον ηλιον*, MT *Isa* *במעלות אהז בשמש*, OL 2 Kgs *in gradus et detenta est in sole*, LXX^B 2 Kgs *και επεστρεψεν η σκια*, until the form of MT 2 Kgs *במעלות אהז*.⁸ The textual tradition moved from the verbal form *אהז* = *αποστρεψω/επεστρεψεν* = *detenta est* (“the shadow stopped”) into the personal name “Ahaz” (“the dial of Ahaz”).

The purpose of this paper is to show that not only in the *kaige* sections, but also in the non-*kaige* section of *III Reges* (1 Kgs 2:12–1 Kgs 21:19) LXX^L and OL may represent the Old Greek text more faithfully than Codex B and the manuscripts which follow it. To this aim, some passages within the narrative of 1 Kings, belonging to this non-*kaige* section, will be analyzed. Textual criticism still has many things to say, both about the text of LXX *Reges* and about its Hebrew original and the forerunners of MT. Therefore it is necessary to pay more attention than usual to the testimony of OL, whose readings, at times less fragmentary than those from Qumran manuscripts, can be of an equal value, even if they belong to a secondary version.⁹

Beginning with the works of M. Noth, the study of the historical books has been focused on criticism of the Deuteronomistic redaction(s), with some neglect of textual criticism, accompanied of a certain discrediting of the LXX and the secondary versions. But the Qumran biblical manuscripts of the “Former Prophets” are among the best representatives of non-aligned texts as 4QJos^a and 4QJudg^a and of texts close to the presumed Hebrew source of LXX as 4QSam^a.¹⁰ The historical books together with the book of Jeremiah, which have undergone a similar process of Deuteronomistic redaction, are those which better match a model of editorial pluralism.¹¹

⁸ A. Catastini, *Isaia ed Ezechia. Studio di storia della tradizione di II Re 18–20 // Isaiah 36–39* (Rome: Università degli Studi “La Sapienza,” 1989), 251–55.

⁹ Cf. recently A. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (OBO 199; Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), esp. 134–46.

¹⁰ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press and Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001), 115–16.

¹¹ E. Ulrich, “Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the history of the Biblical Text,” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D.W. Parry and S.D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1996), 78–105.

1 Kgs 18:27

The narrative of the sacrifice on the Carmel is a literary piece of high stylistic value, as H. Gunkel already pointed out. It also supplies invaluable information for a right understanding of the religion of Ancient Israel in the monarchic period.¹²

The text of 1 Kgs 18:27 presents great textual and interpretative difficulties: "Surely he is a god; either he is meditating, or he has wandered away, or he is on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened" (NRSV). The correspondences between the different texts are as follows:¹³

¹² Without listing the commentaries of *Kings*, some specialized articles on 1 Kgs 18 will be listed, whose discussion cannot be carried out here: K. Galling, "Der Gott Karmel und die Ächtung der fremden Götter," in *Geschichte und Altes Testament* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 16; Tübingen, 1953), 105–26; A. Alt, "Das Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (ed. M. Noth; München: Beck, 1953), 2:135–49; H.H. Rowley, "Elijah on Mount Carmel," in *Men of God. Studies in Old Testament and Prophecy*, (London and Edinburgh: Nelson, 1963), 37–65, previously published in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 43 (1960–61): 190–219; R. de Vaux, "Les prophètes de Baal sur le mont Carmel," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 5 (1941): 7–20 = *Bible et Orient* (Cogitatio Fidei 24; Paris: Cerf, 1967), 485–97; E. Würthwein, "Die Erzählung vom Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel," *zThK* 70 (1973): 121–36; N.J. Tromp, "Water and Fire on Mount Carmel. A Conciliatory Suggestion," *Bib* 56 (1975): 480–502; C. Frevel, *Aschera und der Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch YHWHs. Beiträge zu literarischen, religionsgeschichtlichen und ikonographischen Aspektender Ascheradiskussion* (BBB 94 1/2, Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1995); M. Álvarez Barredo, *Las narraciones sobre Elías y Eliseo en los libros de los Reyes. Formación y teología* (Murcia, 1996); F. Crüsemann, *Elia—die Entdeckung der Einheit Gottes. Eine Lektüre der Erzählungen über Elia und seine Zeit (1Kön 17–2Kön 2)* (Gütersloh: Kaiser/Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997); M. White, *The Elijah Legends and Jehu's Coup* (BJSt 311; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997); E. Blum, "Der Prophet und das Verderben Israels: Eine ganzheitliche, historisch-kritische Lektüre von 1 Regum XVII–XIX," *VT* 47 (1997): 277–92; M. Beck, *Elia und die Monolatrie. Ein Beitrag zur religionsgeschichtlichen Rückfrage nach dem vorschriftprophetischen Jahwe-Glauben* (BZAW 281; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999); A.J. Hauser, "Yahweh versus Death—The Real Struggle in 1 Kings 17–19," in *From Carmel to Horeb. Elijah in Crisis* (ed. A.J. Hauser and R. Gregory; JSOTSS 85; Sheffield, Almond Press, 1999), 9–89; A.F. Campbell and M.A. O'Brien, *Unfolding the Deuteronomistic History. Origins, Upgrades, Present Text* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000); S. Otto, *Jehu, Elia und Elisa. Die Erzählung von der Jehu-Revolution und die Komposition der Elia-Elisa-Erzählung* (BWANT 152; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001); J. Keinänen, *Traditions in Collision. A Literary and Redaction-Critical Study on the Elijah Narratives 1 Kings 17–19* (SESJ 80; Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); J.J.M. Roberts, "A New Parallel to 1 Kings 18:28–29!," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.J.M. Roberts; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 102–103; B. Lehnart, *Prophet und König im Nordreich Israel. Studien zur sogenannten vorklassischen Prophetie im Nordreich Israel anhand der Samuel, Elia- und Elischa-Überlieferungen* (VTSup 96; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 177–357.

¹³ The OL text transmitted by Lucifer of Cagliari is taken from the treatise *De*

Lucifer	Vindobonensis	LXX ^L	LXX ^B	MT
			ὅτι θεός ἐστιν	כי אלהים הוא כי
		ἅμα μήποτε ἀδολεσχία τις αὐτῷ ἐστιν	ὅτι ἀδολεσχία αὐτῷ ἐστιν	כי ש וכי דרך לו
<i>pariter</i> <i>ne forte</i>	<i>ne forte</i>	καὶ ἅμα μή ποτε אולי	καὶ ἅμα μή ποτε אולי	וכי
<i>occupatus sit</i>	<i>sortes de[derit]</i>	χρηματίζει αὐτός	χρηματίζει αὐτός	וכי ש לו
<i>uel</i> <i>dormiat</i> <i>ipse</i>	<i>aut]</i> <i>dormiat</i>	ἢ πότε καθεύδει	ἢ μήποτε καθεύδει	אולי יש הוא
<i>et</i> <i>suscitabitur</i>	<i>et exc[itetur]</i> <i>et exsurget</i>	καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται	καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται	ויוקץ

The OL will allow to determine what the Old Greek text is and what the Hebrew underlying the LXX is. The transmitted LXX text closely follows MT, which adds לו דרך וכי. OL is considerably shorter. Both OL readings *occupatus sit* (Lucifer) and *sortes dederit* (*Palimps. Vindobonensis*) reflect the two meanings which the Greek verb *χρημα-*

Abrahamo I, xvii, 48–51, edited by G.F. Diercks, *Luciferi Calaritani Opera quae supersunt. Ad fidem duorum codicum qui adhuc extant necnon adhibitis editionibus veteribus* (CCSL 8; Turnholti: Brepols, 1978), 31. The text of the Vienna Palimpsest was edited in B. Fischer, “‘Palimpsestus Vindobonensis’. Manuscript 115 of the Books of Kingdoms,” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexthe* (ed. B. Fischer; *Vetus latina. Die Reste der atlalateinischen Bibel. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel* 12; Freiburg i. Br., Herder, 1986), 308–438. Without noticing the relationship between OL and LXX^L, Sabatier attributed the omission in the Latin text to Lucifer of Cagliari or to a scribe: *Quae vero hic superaddunt ut Graece, facile pretermitti potuerunt vel a Lucifero ipso, vel ab incauto scriba, vel forte typographi ipsius incuria, decepti nimirum vocum superiorum recursu ac similitudine*, P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu Vetus Italica* (Parisiis: apud Francicum Didot, 1751), 1:584.

τιζειν may have: “1. negotiate, have dealings . . . 4. of an oracle, give a response to those who consult it.”¹⁴ The particle *pariter* (Lucifer) corresponds to αμα in LXX^{BL}. This particle also appears before μηποτε χρηματιζει. The joint testimony of OL and LXX^{BL} indicates that the Old Greek ignored the text included between the two αμα μηποτε: (οτι) αδολεσχια(τις) εστιν αυτω και. The Old Greek did not know the expression οτι θεος εστιν either, which is omitted by the Antiochene text and the Ethiopian version, which, in general, faithfully follows the text of LXX^B.¹⁵

Consequently, the short Old Greek text seems to correspond with an also brief Old Hebrew. As a further step, it is possible to propose that in MT there is a convergence of two variant forms of the text. The first form, unknown to Old Greek/Old Hebrew and present only in MT, is characterized by a syntactic construction based on nominal clauses preceded by an emphatic כִּי (the third element, וכי דרך לו, is a later addition):

“Surely he is a god; he is meditating (or he is on a journey)”	כִּי אֱלֹהִים הוּא כִּי שִׁיחַ לוֹ (וְכִי דֶרֶךְ לוֹ)
--	---

The second form of the text, transmitted both by MT and LXX, shows a parallel structure, characterized by the repetition . . . אולי . . . הוא . . . אולי // הוא :

<i>pariter ne forte</i>	ἀμα μήποτε	אולי
<i>ocupatus sit / sortes dederit</i>	χρηματιζει αυτός	שׁוּן הוּא
<i>uel/ aut</i>	ἢ μήποτε	אולי
<i>dormit ipse</i>	καθεύδει αυτός (>αὐτὸς LXX ^L)	ישן הוּא
<i>et suscitabitur/ excitetur/ exsurget</i>	καὶ ἐξαναστήσεται	וְיִקָּץ

¹⁴ H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1968, *ad. loc.* The Syriac version also knows both translations.

¹⁵ It cannot be assumed, as Montgomery does, that LXX^L Aeth omitted “for he is a god” “to avoid such a confession,” J. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ed. H.S. Gehman; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1951), 310.

The fusion of these two forms of text in MT triggered the loss of the particle אִלֵּי (1st) and of the pronoun (1st). The particle אִלֵּי is faithfully reflected in the Greek μηποτε, which the Antiochene and Armenian text also present at the beginning of what was the original reading of the Old Greek. The pronoun הוּא, which follows שֵׁנִי,¹⁶ is also faithfully translated with αὐτος, present in all the Greek tradition. Other variants are not meaningful for criticism: αὐτος (1st) has no correspondence in OG; neither does αὐτος (2nd) in LXX^L, attested, nevertheless, in OL *ipse*.

Therefore, OG/Old Hebrew knew only the form of text which has also been transmitted to OL: “he may be negotiating, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened.” The testimony of OL is priceless, also in this non-*kaige* section, for the reconstruction of the pre-Lucianic Greek text, of Old Greek, and ultimately of the Hebrew text underlying the Septuagint, as an alternative text to the Masoretic Hebrew.

Both alternative forms of the text of Elijah’s mocking, which can be equally old, hint at clear allusions to the Canaanite myths of Baal. Following the first one, Elijah mocks Baal with these words: “Surely he is a god; he is meditating (or he is on a journey).” The idea of a traveling Baal is typical in Canaanite mythology. The second form of text, “he may be negotiating, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened,” seems to be alluding to the motif of dream-death and resurrection of Baal, perhaps in a later form than its portrayal in the Ugaritic myths and closer to Tyrian cults of Phoenician times. After Elijah’s mocking, the prophets of Baal “as their custom, cut themselves with swords and lances until the blood gushed out over them” (v. 28). These self-lesions, practiced here by the prophets of Baal, have been related to Syrian cults, in particular those of a goddess-consort of Baal, according to the testimonies of Apuleius and Lucian.¹⁷

¹⁶ The fusion of both forms of the text (כִּי שֵׁנִי הוּא—אִלֵּי שֵׁנִי הוּא) has yielded in MT שֵׁנִי לֹא כִּי שֵׁנִי וְכִי, and thereby the sequence שֵׁנִי לֹא is interrupted and the loss of the pronoun הוּא takes place; the repetition of the particle כִּי, feature of the first form of the text, into which the expression שֵׁנִי הוּא אִלֵּי is inserted (due to association שֵׁנִי—שֵׁנִי), displaces the particle אִלֵּי, a feature of the second form of text.

¹⁷ J. Gray, *I & II Kings. A Commentary* (2nd Fully Revised Edition: The Old Testament Library; London: SCM Press, 1970), 387 and 397–98; Montgomery, *Kings*, 302–303.

The shedding of blood could be interpreted as a symbolic way to induce Baal to send the desired rain.¹⁸

The self-lesion rites have here a mourning meaning, as they are related to the slumber of death of a god who does not attend the call of his prophets. Baal seems to be dead. In the Baal mythology, the news of the god's death are followed by mourning rites carried out by Ilu, consisting of cuts in cheeks, arms, chest and back ("The Combat of Ba^lu and Motu, KTU 1.5 VI 9–24, cf. also KTU 1.6 I 1–6):¹⁹

"Dead is Mightiest Baal,/Perished the Prince, Lord of the Earth."/Then Beneficent El the Benign/Descends from his seat, sits on the footstool,/ [And] from the footstool, sits on the earth./He pours dirt on his head for mourning,/Dust on his crown for lamenting;/For clothing he puts on sack-cloth./With a stone he scrapes his skin,/Double-slits with a blade./He cuts cheeks and chin,/Furrows the length of his arm./He plows his chest like a garden,/Like a valley he furrows the back./He raises his voice and cries:/ "Baal is dead! What of the peoples?/The Son of Dagan! What of the multitudes?/After Baal I will descend to Hell."

Also, in a mourning scene in the Aqhatu epic, "Those breaking their skin to his court. He weeps for Aqhat the hero (KTU 1.19 IV 11, cf. also line 22).²⁰ After Elijah's allusion to Baal's death-sleep, the lacerations of the Baalic prophets can mean more mourning than summoning. The mourning for Baal, "Baal is dead," contrast with the cry of triumph, "Yahweh is God." The summoning meaning is expressed openly in Elijah's own words, "cry aloud!", so that, if the god is asleep, perhaps he will awaken and arise, but, once the absolute inaction of the god is confirmed, tantamount to his death, the lacerations become a sign of mourning and lament.

¹⁸ J. Robinson, *The First Book of Kings* (The Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: University Press, 1972), 21.

¹⁹ "The Baal Cycle," Translated by Mark S. Smith, in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (ed. Simon B. Parker; SBL Writings from the Ancient World 9; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 87–180 (149).

²⁰ "Aqhat," Translated by Simon B. Parker, in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*, 49–80 (76).

2. 1 Kgs 18:36–37

The narrative of the sacrifice in the Carmel is characterized by a structure of successive contrasts. To the invocation of the prophets of Baal, “Oh, Baal, answer us!” (v. 26), Elijah’s invocation is opposed: “Answer me, Yahweh me” (v. 37). Whereas nothing is said about the contents of the invocation to Baal, the invocation directed towards Yahweh is extensively developed and has a very marked finality: “Yahweh, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, let it be known this day that you are God in Israel, that I am your servant, and that I have done all these things at your bidding. Answer me, Yahweh, answer me, so that this people may know that you, Yahweh, are God, and that you have turned their hearts back” (vv. 36–37). Integrated within the “acknowledgement formula” (“Erkenntnisausgabe”), there are two different expressions of the Yahwistic confession of faith: “you are God of/in Israel” and “you, Yahweh, are God.”²¹

Modern textual criticism has not found great difficulties in this passage. Generally speaking, it merely lists the variants of the Greek texts and favors MT.²²

OL	LXX ^A	LXX ^B	MT
<i>exaudi me, domine,</i> <i>exaudi me</i>	ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε ἐπάκουσόν μου	ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε ἐπάκουσόν μου	36
<i>hodie</i>	σήμερον	σήμερον	היום
<i>in igne</i>	ἐν πυρί	ἐν πυρί	
<i>ut sciant</i>	καὶ γνώτω	καὶ γνώτωσαν	ידעו
<i>omnis populus hic</i> <i>quoniam tu</i>	πᾶς ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὅτι σὺ	πᾶς ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὅτι σὺ	כי אתה
<i>es dominus</i> <i>deus Israel</i>	εἶ μόνος κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ	εἶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ	אתה יהוה בשם יישראל
<i>et ego servus tuus</i>	καὶ ἐγὼ δοῦλος σός	καὶ ἐγὼ δοῦλος σός	ואני עבדך

²¹ W. Zimmerli, “Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel,” *Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament* (GA 1; ThB 19; München: Kaiser, 1963), 41–119; H. Graf Reventlow, “Formeln, Liturgische I. Altes Testament,” *TRE* 11:252–56, cf. pp. 153s.: “Bekennnisformeln.”

²² Cf. *BHK*, *BHS*; also, Montgomery, *Kings*, 311.

OL	LXX ^L	LXX ^B	MT
<i>et propter te feci</i>	καὶ διὰ σὲ πεποίηκα	καὶ διὰ σὲ πεποίηκα	ובדברך עשיתי
<i>haec opera</i>	ταῦτα πάντα	τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα	כל הדברים האלה
37		ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε ἐπάκουσόν μου ἐν πυρί καὶ γνώτω ὁ λαός οὗτος ὅτι σὺ εἶ κύριος ὁ θεός	37 ענני יהוה ענני וידעו העם הזה כי אהת יהוה האלהים
<i>et tu uersasti cor populi huius</i>	καὶ σὺ ἐπέστρεψας τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ λαοῦ	καὶ σὺ ἔστρεψας τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ λαοῦ	ואתה הסבת את לבם
<i>retro</i>	τούτου ὀπίσω σου	τούτου ὀπίσω	אחריה

LXX^B presents a long text: in v. 36, it represents, together with LXX^L (OL), the OG; in v. 37 it follows a recensional text which reproduces MT. The text of v. 36a is very similar to v. 37a. The most remarkable difference is related to the formula of Yahwistic confession: “you are God (in Israel)” (v. 36)—“you, Yahweh, are God” (v. 37). The Hexaplaric text (A, N, Arm, Syr-Hex) offers a text which is closer to MT: σημερον γνωτωσαν οτι ει κυριος ο θεος (εν Sir.-hex.) *ישראל*. The Lucianic text (LXX^L) offers the same text than LXX^B in v. 36, but it omits the sentence of v. 37a.²³ The OL follows after its original pre-Lucianic Greek. The text of LXX^{BL} and OL in v. 36 correspond with that of the OG (BHS).²⁴

The duplicate of vv. 36 and 37 seems to derive from a problem of literary criticism.²⁵ Thus, according to Seebass, v. 36 is a repetition of v. 37, introduced in function of v. 24 (“the god who answers

²³ The reading *μονος* is a Lucianic addition, unknown to OL. It casts upon the passage a monotheistic connotation alien to the Hebrew text.

²⁴ According to Montgomery there are not enough reasons to abbreviate the text of this verse following LXX^L, Montgomery, *Kings*, 305.

²⁵ E. Würthwein, “Die Erzählung vom Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel,” *ZThK* 59 (1962): 131–44 (134).

by fire is indeed God”).²⁶ Smend supposes, on the other hand, that v. 37 is original and v. 36 is a secondary variant.²⁷ Hentschel considers that 36a^b-b is a redaction insertion.²⁸

In my opinion, both textual forms, that transmitted by MT (LXX^B in v. 37) and that represented by LXX^L (OL), have been shaped out of two variants of the confession of faith: “you are God” (כי אתה אלהים, v. 36)—“you, Yahweh, are God” (כי אתה יהוה האלהים, v. 37). The duplication of readings is related to the insertion of the reference to the prophet: “Answer me, Yahweh, answer me today in the fire, so that it be known this day that you are God in Israel, [that I am your servant, and that I have done all these things at your bidding]. Answer me, Yahweh, answer me, so that this people may know that you, Yahweh, are God, and that you have turned their hearts back.”

The oldest form of the text presented the uninterrupted sequence ואתה . . . ואתה . . . : “that *you*, Yahweh, are God and that *you* have turned their hearts back.” The insertion of the reference to the prophet broke this structure introducing a reference in 1st person: “that you . . . [that I am . . . and I have . . .] and you . . .” The insertion was made after the word אלהים, giving a new nuance to the confession of faith. The primitive formula was “you, Yahweh, are God” (האלהים, with article), to which the interpolation added “(God) of Israel” (אלהים ישראל without article). A further modification in MT changed the construct chain into the expression “God in (-ב) Israel.” The following table depicts the insertion which took place and the process followed, with the subsequent changes in meaning:

²⁶ H. Seebass, “Elia und Ahab auf dem Karmel,” *ZThK* 70 (1973): 121–36 (133).

²⁷ R. Smend, “Das Wort Jahwes an Elija—Erwägungen zu 1 Reg XVII–XIX,” *VT* 25 (1975): 237–42. S. Timm points out that in R. Smend’s analysis “die Textgeschichte der LXX ist dabei u.E. zu leicht genommen,” *Die Dynastie Omri. Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Israels im 9. Jahrhundert vor Christus* (FRLANT 124; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 81 n. 123.

²⁸ G. Hentschel, *Die Elija-Erzählungen. Zum Verhältnis von historischem Geschehen und geschichtlicher Erfahrung* (Erfurter Theologische Studien 33; Leipzig: St.-Benno-Verlag, 1977), 45ff.

ἐπάκουσόν μου, κύριε			ענני יהוה
ἐπάκουσόν μου			ענני
ἐν πυρί			באש
καὶ γνώτω πᾶς ὁ λαός			וידעו העם הוה
οὗτος			
ὅτι σὺ εἶ κύριος			כי אתה יהוה
ὁ θεός	ὁ θεός Ἰσραηλ	אלהים בישראל	האלהים
	καὶ ἐγὼ δοῦλος	ואני עבדך	
	σός		
	καὶ διὰ σὲ	ובדברך עשיתי	
	πεποίηκα		
	τάῦτα πάντα	את כל דברים	האלה
καὶ σὺ ἐπέστρεψας			ואתה הסבת
τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ λαοῦ			את לבם
τούτου ὀπίσω σου			אחרינית

Therefore, the oldest text which can be reconstructed with the preserved textual data is as follows: “Answer me, Yahweh, answer me in the fire, so that this people may know that you, Yahweh, are God, and that you have turned their hearts back.” This formula of the Yahwistic confession of faith, “(that) you, Yahweh, are God,” is pronounced and repeated by the people at the end of the story: “Yahweh is God” (יהוה האלהים, LXX κυριος εστιν ο θεος; MT adds twice יהוה הוא האלהים: הוא האלהים יהוה הוא האלהים, v. 39).²⁹ This formula seems to be a holy war-cry in a story which takes war-like hues on Yahweh’s side with the extermination of Baal’s prophets (18:19–20 and 40). The expression “God of/in Israel” answers to concerns alien to the original narrative. Its origin is to be found in the genre of stories of oracular consultation by a foreign character or before a foreign god (“Now I know that there is no God in all the earth except *in* Israel,” 2 Kgs 5:15; “Is it because there is no God *in* Israel that you are sending to inquire of Baal-zebul?”, 2 Kgs 1:3.6.16). It

²⁹ According to Zimmerli, “the prophetic expression of presentation of Yahweh’s self-presentation” seems to have its origin in the oldest prophecy, as 1 Kgs 20:13.28 indicates: “I will give it (this great multitude) into your hand today, and you shall know that I am Yahweh,” W. Zimmerli, “Das Wort des göttlichen Selbsterweises (Erweiswort), eine prophetische Gattung,” in *Mélanges Bibliques rédigés en l’honneur de André Robert* (Travaux de l’Institut catholique de Paris 4; Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1957), 154–64; idem, *Grundriss der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (Theologische Wissenschaft 3; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972), 15.

manifests a polemical intention against the gods and cults of neighboring countries. It seems to have been introduced by the “children of the prophets” together with the expression of acknowledgement of the prophet: “that I am your servant, and that I have done all these things at your bidding” (“That he may learn that there is a *prophet in Israel*, 2 Kgs 5:8); “Elisha, the *prophet in Israel*,” 2 Kgs 6:12; “If I am a man of God, let fire come down from heaven and consume you and your fifty,” 2 Kgs 1:10).

Regarding the textual history of the Greek version, the text of LXX^B in v.37a, which matches MT, would be a “*kaige*-like” recensional text which pursues the assimilation to MT. In this case, in non-*kaige* section, the text of LXX^L (OL) represents the OG more faithfully than LXX^B.

3. 1 Kgs 18:26.29

1 Kgs 18:26–29 narrates the fruitless attempts of Baal’s prophets to achieve a manifestation of the god which would prove his capacity as god of the rain.³⁰ The scene is divided into two parts or movements, from morning to noon and from noon to dusk: “(26) So they took the bull that was given them, prepared it, and called on the name of Baal from morning until noon . . . (27) At noon Elijah mocked them . . . (29) As midday passed, they raved on until the time of the offering of the oblation” (NRSV). Elijah’s mocking, at noon, separates both movements. Gunkel already pointed out the odd order in this passage: the prophets of Baal take the heifer, they prepare it and invoke their god from morning to noon and, after noticing the absence of any response, they start dancing around the altar which they had built. The reference to dance should feature before the invocation or together with it: the data on the construction of the altar would surely feel better place at the beginning and not at the end.³¹ Nevertheless, the difficulties of the text and the LXX variants are more numerous than what translations and commentaries reflect.

³⁰ D.R. Ap-Thomas, “Elijah on Mount Carmel,” *PEQ* 92 (1960): 146–55.

³¹ H. Gunkel, *Elias, Jahve und Baal* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1906), 17.

OL <i>Vindobonensis</i>	OL <i>Lucifer</i>	LXX	MT
<i>et acceperunt bouem</i>	<i>Et acceperunt vitulum</i>	καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν μόσχον	וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת הַפָּר אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לָהֶם
<i>et fecerunt sacrificium et inuocauerunt in nomine bahal</i>	<i>et fecerunt, et inuocabant in nomine Bahal a mane usque ad uesperum,</i>	καὶ ἐποίησαν καὶ ἐπεκαλοῦντο ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Βααλ ἐκ πρωΐθεν (> LXX ^L) ἕως μεσημβρίας (> id)	וַיַּעֲשׂוּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ בְשֵׁם הַבַּעַל מִזְבֵּחַ וְעַד הַצְּהָרִים
<i>et dixerunt exaudi nos bahal exaudi nos Et non erat uox et non erat exauditio</i>	<i>et dicebant: exaudi nos, Bahal, exaudi nos. Et non fuit istis uox neque auditio.</i>	καὶ διέτρεχον ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου οὐ ἐποίησαν καὶ ἐγένετο μεσημβρία καὶ ἐμυκτήρισεν αὐτοῦς	לֵאמֹר הַבַּעַל עֲנֵנִי וְאִין קוֹל אִין עֲנָה וַיִּפְסְחוּ עַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיְהִי בַצְּהָרִים וַיַּחֲתֵל בָּהֶם
27 <i>et addidit</i>	<i>Et apposuit</i>	καὶ ἐπροφήτευσον	וַיְהִי בַצְּהָרִים וַיַּחֲתֵל בָּהֶם
<i>helias thesbita dicens inuocate</i>	<i>helias Thesbites dicens: inuocate</i>	Ἡλίου ὁ Θεσβίτης καὶ ἐπροφήτευσον	אֱלִיהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר קְרֹאוּ
29 <i>et profetabant</i>	<i>et prophetabant</i>	καὶ ἐπροφήτευσον וַיִּנְבְּאוּ	וַיְהִי
<i>donec transit medius dies et cum hora esset ut ascenderet sacrificium</i>	<i>usque dum transiret meridies. Et factum est quomodo tempus erat ut ascenderet sacrificium,</i>	ἕως οὗ ἄσῃ εἶδεν παρήλθεν τὸ δειλινόν καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀναβῆναι τὴν θυσίαν [καὶ οὐκ ἦν φωνή] >	כִּי עָבַר הַצְּהָרִים וַיִּנְבְּאוּ עַד לְעֵלוֹת הַמִּנְחָה וְאִין קוֹל וְאִין עֲנָה וְאִין קֶשֶׁב
<i>dixit helias thesbita ad profetas offensionis dicens [. . .]</i>	<i>et locutus est Helias Thesbites ad prophetas dicens: discedite amodo et ego faciam holocaustomata. Et discesserunt et abierunt. 30 Et dixit Helias . . .</i>	καὶ ἐλάλησεν Ἡλίου ὁ θεσβίτης πρὸς τοὺς προφῆτας τῶν προσοχθισμάτων λέγων μετάστητε ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμά μου καὶ μετέστησαν καὶ ἀπῆλθον 30 καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλίου . . .	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלִיהוּ

In v. 26 LXX omits the relative clause “(the bull) that was given them” (אשר נתן להם), with Elijah as subject). The most meaningful variants are connected with temporal references. The Antiochene Greek text and also OL represented in *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* omit “from morning until noon,” which should correspond with an omission in the OG text.³² At the beginning of v. 29 MT supposes that, after noon, the prophets of Baal kept prophetizing until the hour of the evening oblation. It is followed in this by the A Greek text και εγενετο ως παρηλθεν το δειλινον και επροφητευον and also by the Syrohexaplar and Armenian versions. On the other hand, the OG text, represented by B and the rest of the manuscript tradition, invert the order of the sentence: they were prophetizing until noon (μεσημβρινον, voc_2e_2 ; *meridies*, VL) or evening (δειλινον, LXX^B) passed. OL omits the indication in v. 27 “when it was noon,” as well as the previous phrase in v. 26b, “and they hopped around the altar they had prepared,” a phrase dissociated from its context. The phrase of v. 26, “but there was no voice and no answer” is repeated in v. 29, with the addition of “and no response” (ואין ענה ואין קשב ואין קול). But the textual tradition of LXX ignores here the second and third elements, “no answer and no response” (ואין ענה ואין קשב) and also the first one, “there was no voice” (ואין קול), as *Codex Vaticanus* and the Lucianic manuscripts oe_2 , together with Aeth and OL, attest.

These omissions and variants in LXX determine a “shorter” text. The invocation by the prophets of Baal does not appear divided in two movements, but it is portrayed without interruptions in a single lapse of time, whose beginning is not marked and whose end is the “pass of noon” or the dusk. In this way, Elijah’s intervention does not interrupt the action of the prophets of Baal by marking a before and an after, as it is the case in MT. In LXX Elijah’s mocking accompanies the fruitless invocations and dances of his adversaries. The Antiochene text introduces Elijah’s mocking words with the expression και προσεθετο λεγων, which indicates a continuity and insistence in the jest; OL also offers the imperfect *illudebar*, which gives more of an idea of continuity than the aorist εμυκτηρισεν. No distinction is made of an *ante meridiem* where the lacerations and

³² The reading *a mane usque ad uesperum* in Lucifer’s text can represent an assimilation to the majority LXX text.

punctures take place, also fruitlessly. If there is a before and an after, it is merely in relationship to Elijah's mocking words. The temporal division is determined by the additions and changes introduced in MT and which have also made their way partially into the Greek textual tradition: "from morning to noon" (v. 26), "when it was noon" (v. 27), "as midday passed" (v. 29), and the parallelism between two movements established by the duplicated phrase at the end of each movement: "there was no voice, and no answer."

Considering v. 26b as an added gloss is justified by textual and literary reasons. The text is omitted in OL. Also, the placement of this sentence in such a context is unfortunate. The verb פָּסַח, which in Kings appears only in vv. 21 and 26 of this chapter, takes here a different meaning from v. 21, where Elijah accuses the Israelites of being jumping around, from Yahweh to Baal and back again. In v. 26 he accuses the prophets of Baal who jump and dance while the Israelites stand waiting. The reference to the construction of the altar is also out of place here. The MT reading עָשָׂה, in singular, has deserved the notice of the Committee of the Universal Biblical Alliance, in the collaborative work *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*. The Committee is right in "protecting" MT against the facilitating reading in plural, but has to suppose an impersonal subject. The singular עָשָׂה probably has to be put in relationship with the singular נָתַן also in v. 26. Both have Elijah as the most handy and closer subject, also in the first case it would contradict what has been said in v. 23; and in the second case the construction of the altar where the sacrifice to Baal is to be performed would be attributed to Elijah, which is somewhat strange. These are really difficult readings and it will be necessary to acknowledge their place in MT. What is not conceivable is that the great narrator of this story would commit fumbles such as contradicting himself or giving notice of the construction of the altar to Baal in an inadequate section of the story; the narrator knows how to initiate Elijah's sacrifice scene with a first allusion to the altar upon which the sacrifice is going to be offered (v. 32). The reference to the construction of an altar for the sacrifice to Baal has all the signs of being a late elaboration, the work of somebody concerned with minor details of the text, such as the exact division of the time of prayer of the prophets of Baal.

After these analyses, a continuous reading of the text which can be glimpsed from LXX and OL allows to notice new details which confirm the previous observations:

26 So they took the bull, prepared it, and called on the name of Baal, crying, "Answer us, O Baal, answer us"	ויקחו את הפר ויעשו ויקראו בשם הבעל לאמר הבעל עננו ואין קול ואין ענה
But there was no voice, and no answer. .....	.....
29 They prophesized until midday passed. And when it was the time of the offering of the oblation, then Elijah said . . .	ויתנבאו עד אשר עבר הצהרים ויהי כעת לעלות המנחה וידבר אליהו . . .

The three initial verbs (*wayyiqtol*) follow each other without the interruption caused by the relative clause MT אשר נתן להם. Also, the expression "and called on the name of Baal crying" (לאמר . . . ויקראו) is not interrupted by the parenthesis "from morning until noon." After confirming the absence of any response to the cuts of Baal's prophets, Elijah's mocking follows immediately. The invocation, dances and lacerations of the Baalites and at the same time Elijah's mocking continue until noon passes. This is the only temporal indication in the story, together with the following "when was the time of the offering of the oblation . . ." The Greek reproduces here a Hebrew idiom $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron \omega\varsigma \omicron \kappa\alpha\iota\pi\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon + \text{infinitive} = \text{ויהי כ . . . עד (MT)}$ (ויהי כ . . . עד MT). The sentence "there was no voice, and no answer" (ענה) makes complete sense right after the invocation "O Baal, answer us!". But its repetition in the context of MT v. 29 is not preceded by any invocation which justifies it nor the correlation of verbs "answer us"—"but there was no answer" is attested. The repetition of that phrase only makes sense when or after the invocation to Baal is divided in two parts. In the text reproduced by LXX that phrase is unnecessary, given that the withdrawal of the prophets of Baal is mentioned, and it would imply the acknowledgement of their failure and of the lack of an answer from Baal. Elijah commands the prophets of Baal to withdraw (סיר), because it is his turn to make the sacrifice. The prophets of Baal withdraw. In contrast, Elijah commands the people to approach (גש) immediately after, and they do. Therefore, two parallel command-fulfillment sequences are attested (imperative—*wayyiqtol*), with two verbs which express actions in contrast: the prophets of Baal withdraw, the people approaches.

The story knows a division in two movements, an "until" (עד, εως) and a "from" (מעהה, απο το νυν). The prophets of Baal have a set

time until the passing of noon (עד אשר עבר הצהרים according to LXX v. 29). Elijah's time begins from the moment of offering the oblation onwards (ומעתה . . . ויהי כעת לעלות המנחה). The contrast is double: morning and evening, the prophets of Baal and Elijah. The morning corresponds with the former, the evening with Elijah. The whole story follows a structure of contrast between the prophets and Elijah, between Baal and Yahweh. The structure of the narrative has no room for subdividing the time assigned to the prophets of Baal into an *ante* and a *post meridiem*. This subdivision is just the result of a secondary development in the proto-Masoretic textual tradition. The original text did not know the repetitions and chronological precisions of the present Hebrew text, which could be qualified as a "Pedantic Timetabling":³³ "from morning until noon"—"when it was noon"—"as midday passed." The original narrative knew only the expression "(they prophetized) until midday passed." Together with it, the following expression "And when it was the time of the offering of the oblation . . ." constitutes a pair in opposition. MT falls again into a repetition, unknown in LXX, in v.36: "At the time of the offering of the oblation . . ." (ויהי בעלות המנחה . . .).³⁴

The purpose of this paper was to show that OL and its Greek *Vorlage*, a pre-Lucianic text, may represent the Old Greek text more faithfully than Codex B and the manuscripts which follow it not only in the *kaige* sections but also in the non-*kaige* section of *III Reges* (1 Kgs 2:12—1 Kgs 21:19). But it is, above all, the happy occasion to contribute to the homage to a friend and fellow for many years at l'École Biblique of Jerusalem, Professor É. Puech, to whom I once again thank for his generous help in so many occasions.

³³ Paraphrasing the title of an article by Gooding and the qualification which the same author gives to the text of LXX in other passages, D.W. Gooding, "Pedantic Timetabling in 3rd Book of Reigns," *VT* 15 (1965): 153–66.

³⁴ According to Klostermann, the data of the coincidence of Elijah's sacrifice with the time of the evening oblation is a secondary interpretation, A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (KK A/III; Nördlingen: Beck, 1887), 368. Nevertheless, these data appear both in MT and LXX. Timm criticizes Klostermann's proposal: "Denn mit dieser Zeitangabe gehören die beiden anderen zusammen, nach denen die Baalspropheten von Morgen bis Mittag Baal anrufen (V. 26) und (von Mittag) bis Abend in Raserei geraten (V. 29). Es geht nicht an, die dritte Zeitbestimmung als Korrektur eines Interpolators zu striche, die anderen beiden aber stehen zu lassen," Timm, *Die Dynastie Omri*, 77.

1 ENOCH 80 WITHIN THE BOOK OF THE LUMINARIES

James C. VanderKam
University of Notre Dame

1 En. 80 is an unusual section in the Book of the Luminaries (*1 En.* 72–82). Chapters 72–79 are filled with Uriel’s revelations to Enoch about the sun and moon and related phenomena. This section reaches its conclusion in ch. 79 where Enoch tells his son that he has shown him the entire law of the stars (v. 1) and, after summarizing those teachings, adds: “This is the appearance and the likeness of each luminary that Uriel, the great angel who is their leader, showed me.”¹ The passage could serve as the end of the composition, but chs. 80–82 follow. Of these remaining chapters, only 82 is astronomical in nature. *1 En.* 81:1–82:3 provides framework information in that it deals with the transmission of Enoch’s revealed knowledge to his offspring,² and only in 82:4–20 does the text revert to specifically astronomical topics. *1 En.* 80 stands apart from the chapters that precede and follow it through its emphasis on eschatological themes related to the luminaries.

The unique character of ch. 80 comes to expression not only through its focus on the future but also through the tone of its teaching. As the writer addresses eschatological themes he appears to contradict the introductory verse of the book and the consistent teachings found elsewhere in it. In *1 En.* 72:1 the writer opened the work by describing its contents: “The book about the motion of the heavenly luminaries, all as they are in their kinds, their jurisdiction, their time, their name, their origins, and their months, which Uriel, the holy angel who was with me (and) who is their leader, showed me. The entire book about them, as it is, he showed me and how every year of the world will be forever, until a new creation lasting forever is

¹ Translations of *1 Enoch* are from G. Nickelsburg and J. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004).

² On this section, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 22–24, 333–37. He does not consider it a part of the Book of the Luminaries.

made.” The latter part of this programmatic statement creates the strong impression that the patterns for the movements of the luminaries set forth in the book will remain in force until the new creation arrives (“how every year of the world will be forever, until a new creation . . .”). The point is also made early in the statement where the author twice says that Uriel’s revelations depict the way things really are.

The contents of chs. 72–79; 82:4–20 bear out the description in *1 En.* 72:1. They explain the law of the sun, moon, and stars and several related phenomena. All the sections presuppose unchanging patterns in nature.³

1 En. 80 contradicts all of this or so it seems. Like the rest of the Book of the Luminaries, it does present itself as a disclosure from Uriel to Enoch and the angel does mention the standard astronomical topics in v. 1 (“this sun and this moon and those who lead the stars of the sky and all those who turn them—their work, their times, and their emergences”); but with v. 2 a new subject arises: “in the days of the sinners the years will grow shorter . . . everything on the earth will change . . . the moon will change its order and will not appear at its (normal) time . . . many heads of the stars will stray from the command and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them” (vv. 2, 4, 6). How do these fundamental changes in nature during “the days of the sinners” comport with a supposedly unchanging set of laws for the luminaries?

The treatment of the question has two major parts leading to a conclusion. The first part is a survey of the history of scholarship on the passage, and the second offers a reading of the passage to discern its meaning and nuances. The conclusion to which the analysis leads is that ch. 80 probably did not belong to the original form of the Book of the Luminaries.

³ In 74:12, 17 the word *‘alam* is used in connection with the correct length of the year as determined by the positions of the luminaries when they move through the gates. It may mean *eternal* and thus indicate that these positions are unchanging although another possible translation is *world*. See also 72:1.

History of Scholarship

Since the text of *1 Enoch* became available to Western scholars in the early nineteenth century, the experts have reached different conclusions about ch. 80. In his commentary published in 1853, August Dillmann included it in what he regarded as the *Grundschrift* of *1 Enoch*—chs. 1–36, 72–105. He thought there were a few additions to that base text (e.g., 82:9–20), but *1 En.* 80 was not one of them.⁴ He was aware of the tension between 72:1 and 80:2–8 but he did not solve the problem by dismissing the latter as an addition to an original text. He correctly perceived that ch. 80 spoke about actual changes in nature, not just about human misunderstanding of matters such as the courses of the luminaries. Because humanity would become exceptionally sinful, God would punish them and that punishment would cause alterations in the course of nature. “Die Verfehlung der Berechnung and der Mangel an Verständniss der Natur- and Himmelsgesetze bei den Menschen ist dann erst die Folge jener realen Verkehrung.”⁵ The specific solution that Dillmann advocated was to understand 80:2–8 as the writer’s attempt to account for the irregularities in nature that did not fit his theories (in chs. 72–79): he understood them as the results of human depravity. What the writer could not explain he saw as the product of evil. Human sin was “die Ursache aller Unordnung in der Natur.”⁶ The moon was a good example: whatever about its course the writer could not clarify in the two laws he devoted to it he credited to people’s wickedness. So, 80:2–8 did not contradict 72:1 but dealt with anomalies in nature. Humanity’s transgressions explained the puzzling residue of lunar data.

The problem did not receive much attention in the decades after Dillmann’s commentary, but R.H. Charles addressed it in his first translation of and commentary on *1 Enoch*. Writing about *1 En.* 72–79 he said:

So far, then, we have to deal with a complete and purely scientific treatise, in which there is no breach of uniformity till the new creation. But the moment we have done with lxxix, we pass into a new

⁴ A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853), IX, L, 233.

⁵ Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 243.

⁶ Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 243.

atmosphere. The whole interest is *ethical and nothing else*: there is, indeed, such a thing as an order of nature, but, owing to the sin of men, this order is more conspicuous in its breach than in its observance, lxxx. 2–8, and even that infallible luminary the moon (lxxiv. 12) becomes a false guide and misleader of men, lxxx. 4.⁷

He termed the chapter an interpolation.⁸ Charles believed *1 En.* 80, functioned to “give an ethical turn to a purely scientific treatise, and so furnish it with some fitness for its present collocation.”⁹ For him, the “general tendencies” of 80:1–6 conflicted with 72–79, and “the only exact specification ventured on by the interpolator in lxxx. 5 is in glaring contradiction with lxxvi. 13.”¹⁰ He repeated these points in his second translation and commentary and appended a few other notes. For one, he thought the sun too went afoul its law in 80:5 by shining inordinately in the distant west when night arrived, but he suggested this verse could have been interpolated. Another new argument for the secondary character of ch. 80 was that it “consists of tristichs, and is thus different in form from the rest of 72–82.”¹¹

An approach more akin to that of Dillmann was adopted by G. Beer and F. Martin. Beer maintained that 72–75, 78–80, 82 are original to the Book of the Luminaries because they correspond with the contents promised in 72:1.¹² Martin drew similar inferences and made some interesting comments in doing so. He noted that chs. 72–82 were different than the other parts of *1 Enoch*. One way in which they differed was: “Le côté moral, qui prédomine dans le reste du livre, n’apparaît ici que dans LXXX et LXXXII.”¹³ Specifically about ch. 80 he explained that while the moral element was emphasized in the chapter, it was not denied elsewhere in the book; as a result one could not doubt the authenticity of the chapter on such grounds.¹⁴

⁷ R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), 187 (see also 32).

⁸ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 212.

⁹ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 188.

¹⁰ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 188.

¹¹ R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 148 (see also 147). For the question whether 80:5 deals with the sun, see below.

¹² G. Beer, “Das Buch Henoch,” in *APAT* 2:228–29. So Beer, with others, thought that chs. 76–77 contained material that did not correspond with 72:1.

¹³ F. Martin, *Le livre d’Hénoch* (Documents pour l’étude de la Bible, Les apocryphes de l’Ancien Testament; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1906), lxxxiii.

¹⁴ Martin, *Le livre d’Hénoch*, lxxxiv.

The debate about the authenticity of *1 En.* 80 as an original part of 72–82 has continued into more recent times. The negative position has been expressed by O. Neugebauer in his brief but invaluable commentary on *1 En.* 72–82. Neugebauer refers to 80:2–82:3 as “an intrusion of non-astronomical material: apocalyptic and again concluding words to Methuselah.”¹⁵ This conclusion flows from his general understanding of the booklet. He believed the present form of the Book of the Luminaries was “a conglomerate of closely related versions made by generations of scribes who assembled, to the best of their knowledge, the teaching current in their community about the structure and the laws of the cosmos.”¹⁶ Two major versions are in chs. 72–76 and 77:1–79:1, while bits of other versions are in 79:2–80:1. So he did not include 80:1 with the “intrusion of non-astronomical material.”

A much more positive approach to the question appeared in E. Rau’s 1974 dissertation. In addressing the alleged conflict between 72:1 and 80:2–8, he distinguished two elements in 72:1: 72:1a–f introduce the material in 72:2–79:6, with 82:4–20 (the astronomical-cosmological sections); 72:1g–i prepare for 80:1–8. The latter expressions in 72:1 (that is, the ones Rau designated g–i) read: “The entire book about them, as it is, he showed me and how every year of the world will be forever, until a new creation lasting forever is made.” This passage and 80:2–8 are the only ones that speak about a limit to the validity of the natural laws; the other parts of the book (introduced by 72:1a–f) assume they are eternally valid. On Rau’s reading, the resulting tension arose from differing viewpoints that influenced the book: a sapiential understanding of creation with its unaltered order, and prophetic, eschatological traditions about a future change.¹⁷ If one objected that 72:1 and 80:2–8, whatever their sources, do not simply stand in tension but contradict each other, Rau had a further explanation. The eschatological change, which is understood as

¹⁵ O. Neugebauer, *The ‘Astronomical’ Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72 to 82)* (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberne Selskab Matematisk-fysiske Meddelelser 40:10; København: Munksgaard, 1981), 31 (also p. 5). Neugebauer’s commentary was later published, with slight changes, in M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985).

¹⁶ Neugebauer, *The ‘Astronomical’ Chapters*, 3.

¹⁷ E. Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie and die Lehrautorität Henochs: Traditions- und formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum äth. Henochbuch and zu verwandten Schriften” (Ph.D. dissertation, Hamburg, 1974), 174–83, 301, 303.

cancelling the creation orders and eventuating in the destruction of everything, corresponds to the limit placed on the creation orders with the arrival of the “new work/creation” of 72:1. What is predicted for the sinners as destruction is seen as a saving renewal for the righteous.¹⁸ They are two sides of one coin. He found a similar picture in the Apocalypse of Weeks where there is a sequential connection between the great judgment, the removal of the old heavens, and the coming of the new.

In summarizing his position Rau wrote:

Da die Rahmenszene von 81,5–82,3 auf die Unterweisung über die astronomisch-kosmologischen Schöpfungsordnungen als etwas Abgeschlossenes zurückblickt und da der Visionsbericht von 72,1–79,6 mit dem eschatologischen Ausblick von 80,1–8 und dem Schlussabschnitt von 81,1–4 diese Rahmenszene voraussetzt, reicht der Umfang des astronomischen ‘Buchens’ im engeren Sinne von 72,1 bis 82,3.¹⁹

One is left wondering, after pondering Rau’s explanation, whether the breakdown in nature’s laws and the new creation are pictured as paired themes so that the validity of the laws until the new creation (72:1) and their decay in 80:2–8 are consistent with each other. It appears rather that the decay in the creation orders in ch. 80 characterizes the period *before* the new creation, and according to 72:1 nature’s laws were to last until that new creation, not to some time before it. Rau thought that parallels in other texts that predict the occurrence of signs show they would occur near the time of the judgment, the very situation he found here.²⁰ But a conflict remains.

S. Uhlig defends a cautious approach to the question.

Tatsächlich wirkt die Schrift zumindest von LXXIX 2 an uneinheitlich und weist mit ihren offensichtlich unvollständigen Passagen gegen Ende—aber z. B. auch in LXXIII and LXXIV—daraufhin, dass sie in der vorliegenden Form ein Fragment ist. Damit ist aber keinesfalls ausgeschlossen, dass einmal ein in sich geschlossener Traktat existierte.²¹

¹⁸ Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie and die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 301.

¹⁹ Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie and die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 432. He also includes 82:9–20 in the book. As this quotation shows, his conclusions about ch. 80 are part of his theory about the entire booklet and even some of the passages that follow it in *1 Enoch*.

²⁰ Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie and die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 303.

²¹ S. Uhlig, *Das Äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ V/6; Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 1984), 635.

He also offers some helpful comments about the difficulty in reconciling 80:1–82:8 with the earlier parts of the booklet. He grants that the section may have arisen from another text, but adds that it exhibits clear connections with Enochic astronomy and that the ethical failures of the sinners have their origin in their failure to recognize the order of the stars and God's power in arranging them and their courses.²²

In his *Enoch: A New Translation*, D. Olson adopts a positive view about ch. 80 as an original component of the Book of the Luminaries, but he argues that most of the chapter has been displaced from its proper position. The reader will find his rendering of 80:1 directly after 79:6 (its position in the manuscripts) but 80:2–8 at the end of the booklet, following 82:1–6.²³ Regarding 80:2–8 he writes:

With its report of chaos and cosmic rebellion, this passage has often been thought to contradict the rest of the 'Astronomy Book,' which describes creation as obedient and orderly. But if in fact these verses belong here after 82:1–6 . . . , they are clearly satiric. The universe is not collapsing; it only seems that way to fools who follow wrong calendars and lag behind the true reckoning of the seasons. They do their planting too late, resulting in disastrous food shortages. They marvel at the 'strange' behavior of the heavenly bodies, worshipping the stars as independent intelligences. But observe that all of the calamities mentioned here involve timing. No real meltdown in the natural order is described, such as we find, for example, in chapter 83.²⁴

²² Uhlig, *Das Äthiopische Henochbuch*, 636.

²³ D. Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation* (N. Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL, 2004), 173, 177–78. Olson moves the last section of the book (82:7–20) forward so that it follows 79:2.

²⁴ Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 176. Another way of looking at the passage was the defended in slightly different forms by K.G. Kuhn ("Zum essenischen Kalender," *ZNW* 52 [1961]: 65–73; "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften," *TLZ* 85 [1960]: 649–58 [especially for 80:2b, 3a]) and R. Beckwith ("The Modern Attempt to Reconcile the Qumran Calendar with the True Solar Year," *RevQ* 7/27 [1970]: 392–95). They think that 80:2–8 offers a theological rationale for the fact that after several decades in which no intercalation occurred it would become clear that a 364-day calendar, which its defenders insisted was correct, does not coincide with the true solar year. As a result, the rains would appear to be late and the luminaries would seem to shine at the wrong times (see also H. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* [WMANT 61; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1988], 73–76). But this explanation is implausible. As will be shown below, the text asserts that nature will in fact change from the laws prescribed for its different parts. For a detailed critique of these views, see M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch*

Olson devotes an appendix to defending his several rearrangements of sections in *1 En.* 72–82.²⁵ In general he maintains that the disorder in the sequence found in the manuscripts is responsible for the inconsistencies that appear, say, in connection with chs. 80 and 81. Both chapters are integral parts of the booklet. His arrangement at the end of the book is this: 78:1–16 + 79:3–5 + 78:17 + 79:1–2 + 82:7–20 + 79:6–80:1 + 81:1–82:6 + 80:2–8. He notes that some of this rearrangement finds support in 4QEnastr^b frg. 26 (79:3–5 + 78:17 + 79:1). Specifically with regard to 80:2–8, he writes:

Furthermore, even among those who would defend its originality, it cannot be denied that 80:2–8 is out of place in its current position. It must have originally come after chapter 81, for Enoch could not predict that people in the future will mistake stars for gods (80:7) if he had not first read the tablets of human destiny (81:1–2), and 80:2–8 reads very naturally following directly on 82:4–6.²⁶

Olson posits, though he admits it is guesswork, a distribution of the original text of chs. 78–82 over four pages, with two switches in the order of these pages to produce the present confused arrangement. The result of restoring this presumed pristine sequence is a logical progression in thought as Uriel turns from the orderly realm of nature to the disorderly one of humanity and its history (81:1–82:6; 80:2–8).

Without these chapters, which deal with human wickedness, the ‘Astronomy Book’ would lack the contrast between rebellious sinners and orderly nature featured in every one of the other booklets (chs 2–5; 41; 60; 83:10–84:6; 100:10–101:9). Chapters 80–81 are fundamentally and indispensably Enochic; without them it is unlikely there ever was anything like an astronomy book (as opposed to loose documents of pseudoscientific data). With them, and properly ordered, the booklet evidences a neat descending order: the sun, the moon, the winds, the earth (more moon: duplicate version?), the angelic overseers and the (mostly agricultural) seasons, and finally humanity—ending with disaster. On this reading, the ‘Astronomy Book’ is one long slide

(WMANT 68; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1994), 108–12; cf. Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 297.

²⁵ Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 273–76.

²⁶ Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 275. However, the error treated in 82:4–6 is failure to include the four special days in the correct reckoning of the year—a topic not treated in ch. 80.

from light into darkness, and there is no need to tag chapters 80–81 as intrusions.²⁷

There are fundamental flaws in Olson’s position—apart from the highly conjectural nature of some of his rearrangements. For one, it is false that 80:2–8 deals only with people’s mistaken understanding of time and the luminaries, as nature itself also changes. Because of this misreading, he fails to appreciate the force of the conflict with 72:1.

Exegesis of 1 En. 80

In order to test whether the chapter does conflict with the dominant teachings of the book it will be helpful to examine it more closely.

V. 1: “At that time Uriel the angel responded to me: ‘Enoch, I have now shown you everything, and I have revealed everything to you so that you may see this sun and this moon and those who lead the stars of the sky and all those who turn them—their work, their times, and their emergences.’”

The chapter begins with a sentence reiterating the framework of revelation familiar from the other parts of the booklet: a first-person report from Enoch about what Uriel told him. Yet, even within this repetition of the literary setting and subject matter, some unusual items appear. For one, here for the first time in the book, in one of the sentences that mentions Uriel’s revelations, the reader meets the words “At that time [literally: and in those days = *wa-ba-we’etu mawā’el*],” a phrase that is familiar from prophetic literature where it stands at the beginning of sections that address the future (but see 72:9; 81:10). Second, in contrast to chs. 72–79, Uriel actually speaks, and this is the first and only time the verb “respond” is used with him as the subject. He is, of course, the source of the revelations throughout the Book of the Luminaries, but in ch. 80, rather than having Enoch convey his words, he speaks them directly.²⁸ When

²⁷ Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 275–76. The issue is not whether ch. 80 is Enochic but whether it belongs with the other parts of the Book of the Luminaries.

²⁸ On the connections between 80:1 and chs. 72–79 and some differences, see Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie and die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 279.

Uriel appears in the text elsewhere, his name is part of the set phrase “Uriel . . . showed me” (72:1; 74:2; 75:3–4; 78:10; 79:6 [cf. v. 2]). The exception, apart from 80:1, is 82:7 where the standard expression is altered and expanded: “. . . he showed me, and Uriel . . . breathed on me.” As the text is now arranged, Uriel is the speaker in the remainder of ch. 80, and he speaks again in 81:1 where he orders Enoch to read the heavenly tablets.

Uriel lists for Enoch the items he had shown to him, and the list covers the topics treated in the astronomical portions of the Book of the Luminaries. The sun, moon, and leaders of the stars are frequent subjects, although the last named receive fuller treatment in ch. 82.²⁹ The words “those who turn them” do not occur,³⁰ but the notion of the luminaries’ revolving comes to expression in 82:8 (cf. 75:8). Two of the three nouns at the end of the verse—times, emergencies—receive frequent mention in chs. 72–79 (for time, see 72:1), but “their work” is both general and not otherwise used (cf. “the works of the sky” in 75:6).

Verses 2–8: While a number of experts have been willing to accept 80:1 as an original part of the book, the section that has seemed secondary to many is vv. 2–8. With v. 2 the eschatological section begins, as the future-tense verbs and the content suggest. Verses 2–8 deal with a future time of evil and show evidence of having been influenced by scriptural passages that threaten punishment on the disobedient. Typical of the practice elsewhere in the Book of the Luminaries, the writer here does not cite such sources but blends expressions found in them into his eschatological composition.

The author, in prophetic fashion, circumscribes the period about which he is writing with several temporal markers.

- v. 2 in the days of the sinners
- v. 3 at those times
- v. 5 at that time

The first of these markers, “in the days of the sinners,” is not attested in the Hebrew Scriptures but does figure in *1 En.* 22:12 and 102:5. In those passages the addressees are the souls of the dead who met their end unjustly. The days when they lived and suffered their fate

²⁹ See 72:3 (cf. v. 5); 75:1, 3; 82:4, 10–14, 18, 20.

³⁰ Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (1912), 170, n. to v. 1, believed these “turners” are the winds (see 72:5; 73:2).

are called the days of the sinners.³¹ These verses deal with times characterized by sin, the result of which will not be rectified until the great judgment; they seem to cover very long periods. The same may be the case in 80:2, although it is more clearly directed to the future than are the other two passages (but see 22:4; 103).

The future times of the sinners will witness fundamental disruptions in three areas:

Meteorology and agriculture (vv. 2–3)

Luminaries (vv. 4–6)

Human understanding (vv. 7–8).

The chapter makes abundantly clear that the calamities of the future will not be limited to misperceptions that people have about the seasons and the luminaries; rather, nature itself will suffer radical change. In fact, the section, by being dated to the days of the sinners, implies that sin is the cause for the departures of natural elements from their created patterns or laws. Such a thesis in part echoes scriptural teachings. As the Lord had complained to Jeremiah about his foolish, senseless contemporaries who did not fear the creator:

They do not say in their hearts,
 “Let us fear the Lord our God,
 who gives the rain in its season,
 the autumn rain and the spring rain,
 and keeps for us the weeks appointed for the harvest.”
 Your iniquities have turned these away,
 and your sins have deprived you of good. (Jer 5:24–25)

The paragraphs that follow below offer comments about vv. 2–8. The intent is not only to determine more exactly what these verses are saying but also to judge whether the contents fit in the Book of the Luminaries.

V. 2: In the days of the sinners the years will grow shorter,
 their seed will be late on their land and in their fields.
 Everything on the earth will change
 and will not appear at their times,
 the rain will be withheld,
 and the sky will stand still.

³¹ A Greek version is preserved for both passages. For the phrase in question, 22:12 reads ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν; 102:5 has αἱ ἡμέραι ὡς ἦτε ἡμέραι ἦσαν ἁμαρτωλῶν (cited from M. Black, ed., *Apocalypse of Henochi Graece* [PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970]).

The verses which treat the rains and agriculture (vv. 2–3) begin with a statement that has often been translated “the years will grow shorter” as above. The word “years” translates *kerāmāt* which is not the normal term for this stretch of time in the Book of the Luminaries. Elsewhere, *‘āmat(-āt)* is employed. W. Leslau lists these meanings for the singular form *keramt*: “rainy season, rains . . . winter, year.”³² Several commentators and/or translators have either considered the meaning “rainy season/winter” for *kerāmāt* in 80:2 or introduced it into their renderings.³³ This meaning makes better sense in the context than does “the years,” because the remainder of the unit (vv. 2c–3) centers on lack of rainfall and the ensuing agricultural woes. A short rainy season could have severe consequences for crops, as vv. 2–3 document.³⁴

The issue is not, therefore, how long the year actually is—a topic that is not explicit in ch. 80. It is worthwhile to underscore the point because it is crucial for interpreting the chapter. Rau and Albani have developed the suggestion in the commentaries that several verses in *1 En.* 80 relate directly to calendrical sections elsewhere in the booklet.³⁵ The verse under consideration is an example; for them it

³² W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 292. The word also occurs in *1 En.* 82:7, where it probably means “years,” and in 82:16 where it undoubtedly means “winter.”

³³ Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 50, mentioned it in a footnote, while E. Isaac (“the winter”) and A. Caquot (“les saisons pluvieuses”) have introduced it into their translations (Isaac, “1 [Ethiopic Apocalypse of] Enoch,” in *OTP* 1; Caquot, “I Hénoch,” in *La Bible: Écrits Intertestamentaires* [ed. A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko; Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris: Gallimard, 1987]).

³⁴ The notion of abbreviated future times is attested in other sources (e.g., Mark 13:20 // Matt 24:22), but the meaning is different. Whereas in *1 En.* 80, if the idea were present, the reduction would be considered a punishment, in the Synoptic Apocalypse it is a gracious providence that abbreviates the future times of tribulation. The Epistle of Barnabas even attributes the curtailment to a writing of Enoch: “The last stumblingblock is at hand, concerning which the Scriptures speak, as Enoch says. For the Master has cut short the times and the days [ὁ δεσπότης συντέτηκεν θεοῦ καιροῦς καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας] for this reason, that his beloved might make haste and come into his inheritance” (text and translation from M. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1999], 280–81). Wherever the writer may have found Enoch’s words, there is no reason to think the place was *1 En.* 80:2.

³⁵ For their treatments of the chapter, see Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 279–305; Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*, 108–34. The critical comments above are made with full appreciation for the contributions both have made to elucidating the chapter. Although Rau’s emphasis on the Day of the Lord as the tradition-historical home for the passage has some major weak-

concerns problems with the year of 364 days. They maintain that 80:4a (moon) has 74:12 as its background and has to do with issues regarding the length of the lunar year and that 80:6 (stars) is to be understood in light of the statements in 75:1-2; 82:4-7 about those who fail to add the extra four days to the 360-day year. In none of these cases is it justified from the text of ch. 80 to draw these connections, and, as shown above for v. 2 and below for vv. 4, 6, there are special problems with such inferences in each case. If 80:2, 4, and 6 did in fact connect with other parts of the Book of Luminaries as Rau and Albani hold, there would be strong reason to see the chapter as an integral part of the book, but their arguments are not convincing.

With the rainy season shorter than normal, everything that grows on the earth will be affected. The first prediction—their seed will be late on their land and in their fields—introduces the dominant motif in vv. 2-6: everything appears out of season, at the wrong time, a time not ordained for them. It may be that the word “seed” refers to the planting season (cf. Lev 26:5); it could, of course, be delayed by inadequate rains and the resulting dry soil. It is difficult to discern what the general word *gebr* might mean in the context. It can express the idea of “labor,”³⁶ but, as Dillmann’s “Dingen” (echoed by most translators) indicates, it could be used for anything done on the earth. The next line, which asserts that nothing on the earth will appear at the right time, favors a general understanding of *gebr* in the previous clause. One other reasonable possibility is that *gebr* means “product, produce,”³⁷ which would fit well in this agricultural context.

At the end of v. 2 are two clauses that highlight the basic problem: the rain will be withheld and the sky will stand (still). The first statement reverses the scriptural promise that God would send the rains in their season to those who obey him (Lev 26:3-4; Deut 11:14;

ness (as Albani has shown), he has found a wealth of comparable passages in the context of which to read the chapter. Albani aligns ch. 80 and other parts of the Book of the Luminaries with the author’s larger goal of opposing astral religion by relegating the stars to their proper, subordinate position.

³⁶ A. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicæ* (repr. Osnabrück: Biblio, 1970), 1163; it is the word used in the sabbath command in Eth. Exod 20:9.

³⁷ W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic): Ge'ez-English/English-Ge'ez with an index of the Semitic roots* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 178.

28:12; Ezek 34:26). When punishment would be the appropriate response, he would block the rains. So, for example, Jeremiah proclaims: “Therefore the showers have been withheld, and the spring rain has not come . . .” (3:3; cf. 5:25). Or, as the deity said through Amos: “And I also withheld the rain from you/When there were still three months to harvest . . . (4:7). Coupled with this ruinous threat of no rain comes the prediction that the sky will stand (still). The line seems to be saying in different words what was said in the previous clause: the heavens would allow no rain to pass through them. The idea may have been suggested by parallel passages from Leviticus and Deuteronomy. Among the many woes predicted in those chapters are these:

Lev 26:19

Deut 28:23

I will make your sky like iron
and your earth like copper.

The sky over your head shall be bronze,
and the earth under you iron.

The meaning of these texts is clear enough: there will be no rain coming through such a sky, and the earth will dry up and become hard as a result. The verb “stand (still) [*teqawwem*]” in the passage may reflect the language of Hag 1:10 where the MT reads: כָּל־אֶרֶץ שָׁמַיִם מִטֵּל. The Ethiopic version of this verse uses a form of the verb *qoma*: *tāqawwem zenāma samāy*.³⁸ The prophetic passage speaks of withholding not only the dew or rain but also the earth’s produce.

As Rau has observed, there are parallels between *1 En.* 80:2 and 80:3.³⁹ Both use a temporal marker, predict that crops will be late and that phenomena will appear at the wrong time, and say something will be withheld. The focus in v. 3 is, however, on the fruits of the earth and trees. The former will be late, not ripening at the accustomed time, while the latter will be withheld at the time expected for them. This verse, then, deals with the latter stages of the agricultural cycle and how they will be affected by the problems mentioned in v. 2 (see also 82:15–20).

1 En. 80:4–6 turn to the fate of the luminaries in the days of the sinners. While the sun, moon, and stars are the chief topic of

³⁸ The reading is cited from Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 453. While the older mss. of *1 En.* 80:2 use a G form of *qoma*, the β group reads a C form (*tāqawwem*) as in Hag 1:10. See also 1 Kgs 8:35; 17:1 (with Sir 48:3); Job 12:15; *1 En.* 100:11.

³⁹ Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 280.

the booklet, the language again contrasts strongly with what one meets elsewhere in the Book of the Luminaries. It may be that the section is arranged in the order moon–sun–stars; if so, it would be another difference from the present sequence of *1 En.* 72–82 in which the sun comes first. It is not even certain that the sun plays a role in this section (see below).

1 En. 80:4 The moon: In a remarkable statement, the moon is said to change its order. The verb for changing (*wallata*) is understandably rare in the Book of the Luminaries (only in 73:3 and 74:4 for the moon's altering its rising and setting each month or being in a different gate than the sun; negatively in 74:12 for the unchanging length of the year). The claim here is that in the days of the sinners the moon will alter the law or order that had been imposed upon it at creation. The word *šer'at* appears several times in the Book of the Luminaries, beginning in ch. 78, with other instances in 79, 80, and 82. It denotes what is fixed, stipulated, ordained⁴⁰ and is normally used in the booklet with regard to the stars. The only clear case in which the word occurs in connection with the moon is 78:10: "Uriel showed me another law [*šer'ata*]: (regarding) when the light is placed in the moon and from where it is placed (in the moon) from the sun" (cf. 79:2). In no passage other than ch. 80 is there a suggestion that the moon (or any other luminary) will alter its prescribed path.⁴¹

The second part of v. 4 parallels the first and explains the meaning of the moon's changing its prescribed pattern or law. Like the rain and crops in vv. 2–3, the moon will not appear at its ordained time. The results are not listed here, but there would be calendrical implications if the moon did not follow its normal course.

⁴⁰ Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary*, 533: "ordinance, ordering, order, arrangement, ordered rank, . . . rule, regulation, . . . precept, prescription, constitution, . . . decree, edict, statute, law, canon."

⁴¹ Jubilees, which draws calendrical teachings from an astronomical writing by Enoch, phrases the post-flood promise regarding nature's unceasing regularity as: *wa-'i-yewalleṭu šer'atomu* (6:4: "would not change their prescribed pattern"; cf. Gen 8:22). For the text and translation, see J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–11, Scriptores Aethiopici 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989). Albani thinks that *1 En.* 80:4 and Jub 6:36 reflect two stages in the process of eliminating the inconsistency between the solar and lunar years by commenting negatively on the lunar year (*Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*, 118–21), but nothing is said about this in *1 En.* 80:5. *1 En.* 80 never mentions the length of the lunar year (and probably the same is true of the solar year [see above on v. 2]).

1 En. 80:5 The sun? *1 En.* 80:5 has proved a problem in the history of scholarship on the Book of the Luminaries. Sandwiched between v. 4 which deals with the moon and v. 6 which deals with the stars, one would expect v. 5 to speak about the sun (it is mentioned with the others in v. 1). Yet the received forms of the text proceed as if the moon or the sky is the subject. The oldest manuscripts offer *ba-samāy*, so that the meaning would be: it (i.e. the moon) will appear in the sky; the other manuscripts lack the preposition so that the text says: the sky will appear. The latter seems unlikely considering the sequel which speaks of reaching/arriving at a certain point and shining more brightly than usual. Both expressions would be more appropriate for the moon than the sky. Dillmann, who had only the reading with *heaven* as subject of the verb, translated: “Und in jenen Tagen wird man an Himmel sehen, wie eine grosse Unfruchtbarkeit kommt,” adding in a footnote that the literal rendering was “wird der Himmel gesehen werden und es kommt eine grosse Unfruchtbarkeit.”⁴² In his comments he did not address the problem of what the heavens’ appearing might mean.

V. 5 was one of the passages in *1 Enoch* that Joseph Hallévi addressed in an essay in which he tried to demonstrate that the original language of the book was Hebrew.⁴³ He recognized that v. 5 was so confusing that something must be amiss and noted that one would expect a statement about the sun in it. Retroverting the Ethiopic text into Hebrew, he thought it would have begun: **וּבַיָּמִים הָהֵם יֵרָאֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיִּבֹא הָרֶעֶב**. The word **הַשָּׁמַיִם** he regarded as a mistake for **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ**, and **הָרֶעֶב** as the product of transposing consonants from an original **בְּעֶרֶב**. Once restored to its pristine form, the verse begins by saying “And in those days the sun will appear and will set . . .” The sense of the passage was that the sun would set at the end of the large western chariot, not in the gate prescribed for it at that particular time. For the large chariot he referred to 75:8: “I saw chariots in the sky traveling in the world above⁴⁴ those gates in which the stars that do not set revolve.” The sun would there-

⁴² Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 50.

⁴³ J. Hallévi, “Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d’Hénoch,” *Journal Asiatique* 9 (1867): 352–95. The section about 80:5 is on pp. 387–90.

⁴⁴ Some manuscripts add “and below.”

fore set “au-dessous de la porte . . . et il luira plus longtemps et plus fort qu’à l’ordinaire.”⁴⁵

Although Hallévi’s proposal has not won universal support, it does receive regular mention and has often been adopted. Charles did not yet accept it in his translation and commentary of 1893 (“And in those days there will be seen in the heaven a great unfruitfulness coming on the outermost chariot to the west . . .”), but he did mention that Hallévi had tried to show that the corrupt text had to do with the sun.⁴⁶ Charles at that time still preferred a different solution: he thought that the words from the beginning of the verse through “chariot to the west” were an interpolation into a chapter that was itself an interpolation.

If we omit these words the text runs smoothly and intelligibly: ‘The moon will alter her order and not appear at her (appointed) time, and will shine more brightly than accords with (her) order of light.’ The words were probably added to the text in connexion with some recent event. It is not possible to explain them consistently with the author’s scheme.⁴⁷

So for Charles the original form of v. 5 was a continuation of v. 4 with the moon as its subject.

G. Beer appears to have been the first to introduce Hallévi’s emendations into his rendering of the verse: “. . . wird man sehen, wie sich ‘die Sonne am Abend’ in den letzten grossen Wagen im Westen begiebt und mehr leuchtet . . .” In a note he explained that the meaning of the words was: “Die Sonne geht Abends nicht wie gewöhnlich in einem der Thore unter, sondern sich in ihren Reisewagen legend, leuchtet sie stärker als sonst.”⁴⁸

Charles adopted Hallévi’s approach in his 1912 translation and commentary. There he presents the verse in this way:

⁴⁵ Hallévi, “Recherches,” 389. His “au-dessous” reflects the reading “and below” in 75:8.

⁴⁶ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 213.

⁴⁷ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 213 n. to v. 5. His reference to some recent event reflects Dillmann’s suggestion about the meaning of greater light mentioned at the end of the verse (*Das Buch Henoch*, 244).

⁴⁸ Beer, “Das Buch Henoch,” 285 n. a. J. Flemming and L. Radermacher (*Das Buch Henoch* [GCS; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901], 102) and Martin (*Le livre d’Hénoch*, 185) mentioned Hallévi’s ideas but did not revise their translations in light of them.

[And in those days the **sun** shall be seen and he shall journey in the **evening** on the extremity of the great chariot in the west]
 And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.

That is, he continued to defend his theory that the first two lines (the ones bracketed above) were displaced and should be removed from this context so that the line "... shall shine more brightly ..." deals with the moon. But he entered Hallévi's two emendations into his translation, as the bold print indicates. While he acknowledged his debt to him, Charles thought one should subject the text to more extensive surgery. In his translation he had placed daggers around the words "on the extremity of the great chariot in." He suggested that "on the extremity," which is meaningless here, resulted when בְּצִיָּק was misread as בְּקִץ . As for the sun's being seen, he saw no point in reporting this; in addition, the line was too short and the next too long. To correct the imbalance, he proposed moving "in the evening" to the first clause, yielding "will be seen in the evening." Moreover, רִאֵה could be a corruption of original וְרָח , so that the original according to Charles said:

And in those days the sun shall rise in the evening,
 And his great chariot journey to the west, causing distress (as it goes).

He did add that all of his emendations, including those from Hallévi, were possible in Hebrew, not Aramaic.⁴⁹

Michael Knibb understood 80:5 as referring to the moon but thought *ʿabār* (famine/drought) was "a gloss on vv. 2f. which has come into the text at the wrong place by mistake." Since vv. 4–7 treat the moon and stars, he found mention of a drought/famine "quite impossible in this context, but would not be inappropriate as a gloss on vv. 2f." He then makes reference to Hallévi's suggested emendations.⁵⁰ D. Olson also thinks there has been some displacement. In his translation of ch. 80, he locates 5b ("and famine will reach the extremities of the Great Chariot in the West") directly after v. 2. *1 En.* 80:5a follows v. 4 with the moon as subject of the

⁴⁹ Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 173.

⁵⁰ M.A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:185–86. Neugebauer did not comment on this part of ch. 80 because he thought it was an addition to the astronomical text.

verb “to appear” and 5c (“shining too brightly for the proper order of light”) carries on the description of the moon.⁵¹

None of the Ethiopic manuscripts supports relocating words or clauses of 80:5, and none of the Aramaic copies contains text resembling ch. 80. As a result, textual decisions must be made on an inadequate basis and are conjectural. Hallévi offered his emendations on the assumption that Hebrew was the original language, but that is now known to be false—at least for those parts of the Book of the Luminaries that correspond with the cave 4 fragments. That fact does not, however, exclude the possibility that the word *sky* is a mistake for *sun*, as the confusion would be as likely in Aramaic as in Hebrew, both of which use the same words (both שמיא and שמשא are well attested in the Aramaic fragments). His proposed confusion between רעב and ערב is less likely, since the expected term for famine/drought in Aramaic is כפנא, although words related to the root רעב exist in Aramaic. We lack convincing evidence for changing the text, but if the שמיא/שמשא confusion did occur 80:5, a verse about the sun, would make good sense in its context. The reading in the older manuscripts (in the sky) could be explained then as a subsequent adjustment to make the mistaken text fit the wording of the verse.

Whichever of the two luminaries is under consideration,⁵² the verse conflicts with the clear teachings elsewhere in the booklet that neither changes its created patterns. There is no provision in other passages for their shining more brightly than normal. Even though drought/famine seems to make little sense in the verse, the Book of the Luminaries does make reference to such occurrences when speaking about the twelve gates from which winds emerge (76:5, 6, 13;

⁵¹ Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 177. In his note to the passage (176) he says that Great Chariot is an ancient name for Ursa Major.

⁵² Albani (*Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*, 119–21) maintains that the sun is not mentioned in v. 5 and that its absence is part of the author’s message: the sun and the four intercalary days belong to the “righteous” course of nature (a year of 364 days), while the moon and stars are the erring luminaries associated with years that are too short (354 days for the moon, 360 for the stars, without the intercalary days). Since none of this is explicit in the text, it is unlikely to be the correct explanation. The exceptional brightness of the moon, if the moon is intended, undermines Rau’s contention that the Day of the Lord tradition underlies this section, as darkness is a standard feature in that tradition (Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 285–88; see Albani, *ibid.*, 119).

cf. 82:19).⁵³ They are a regular part of the created order according to ch. 76; in 80:5, in contrast, a famine is predicted as a punishment. Chariots are mentioned in ch. 75, and v. 9 refers to a large one.

The section about disorder among the luminaries concludes with the stars (“Many heads of the stars . . .”) in v. 6. They too will violate created orders. Specifically, Enoch charges that they will “stray from the command [*te’zāz*],” “change their ways and actions,” and “will not appear at the times prescribed for them.” Some of these terms and expressions for the stars are found elsewhere in the Book of the Luminaries, some are not. The category “heads of stars” is frequent in ch. 82 (vv. 4, 11, 12, 17, 20; cf. 72:3; 75:1), but only in 80:6 will the heads of stars not follow the rules prescribed for them. The word for what they will violate is *te’zāz* which is used in some headings and summaries in the sense of *law* (72:2, 35; 73:1; 74:1; 76:14), but it is never employed specifically for the stars, although they are included in the general reference in 72:2.⁵⁴ The normal word used in connection with the stars is *šer’at* (78:10; 79:1, 2, 5; 82:9; see 80:7). Also, the verb for astral straying is used for them only here. The charge that they will alter their ways and actions is unique, with none of the terms appearing elsewhere in relation to the stars. Their failure to appear at the commanded times is also unparalleled, though there are several mentions of times for the stars (82:9, 10; see 72:1).

Having established that in the days of the sinners the luminaries will transgress their laws, the writer finally (and for the first time) turns to the condition of the sinners themselves at that time (vv. 7–8). Their ignorance of astronomy will lead them into the further error of idolatry. The reader does not learn who will cause this, but the law of the stars will “be closed” to sinners in the sense that they will not understand it. Here the expected word for the ordinance of the stars (*šer’at*) is used. As many heads of stars corrupt their prescribed path (v. 6), sinners will have a faulty understanding of their

⁵³ Dillmann (*Das Buch Henoch*, 243–44) had noted this, although he thought 80:5 looked to their increased severity.

⁵⁴ *I En.* 18:15; 21:5 speak of stars that transgressed the divine command; on these verses see K. Koblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: ‘No One Has Seen What I Have Seen’* (SJSJ 81; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 143–51.

ways.⁵⁵ It is difficult to know what the line “They will turn back from all their ways” means. Charles bracketed the line, explaining it is an “intrusion: possibly it is a dittograph of v. 6^b.”⁵⁶ The wording is similar, although the conjugation of the verb and form of the noun are different.

6b *yemayyetu fenāwihomu*

7c *yetmayyatū em-kwellsu fenāwātihomu*

It is also noteworthy that seemingly repetitious clauses with the verb *yesehhetu* surround the expression in v. 7, while one precedes it in v. 6. These facts suggest some textual irregularity regarding the clause in question.⁵⁷

The culminating point in the charge that sinners will misperceive astronomical data is that they will understand the stars to be gods.⁵⁸ Such idolatry would be in obvious violation of the scriptures which warn against worship of the stars and would also oppose the clear teaching of the Book of the Luminaries which subordinates Uriel, ruler of all luminaries, to God. The last verse in the chapter relates that both evil and punishment will increase leading to the destruction of everything or everyone. None of these topics is mentioned in any other passage in the Book of the Luminaries.⁵⁹

Conclusion

At a remove of many centuries and with inadequate textual resources it is difficult to be very sure whether *1 En.* 80 was an original

⁵⁵ Rau (“Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 295–96) and Albani (*Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*, 113, 119) think that this statement in v. 7 points to the mistake noted in 75:2; 82:4–6 that sinners will not include the four extra days in the year (the solar and sidereal years are the same). That is possible, but it seems a very narrow understanding of the “entire law of the stars.”

⁵⁶ Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (1912), 172 n. to v. 7.

⁵⁷ Albani (*Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*, 119–22) relates the passage to *1 En.* 82:4 and also to Jer 5:23 (with 10:2–3, 5b) and helpfully points out the connection between luminaries leaving their courses and sinners abandoning their way; but 80:7 does not address the problem of the four extra days and their place in the year, as he thinks.

⁵⁸ See Rau, “Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs,” 298–300; and Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube*, 122–29 for scriptural and other passages relevant to the topic.

⁵⁹ In 81:4, 8 there is reference to judgment and the death of sinners, but this chapter may also not be a part of the original Book of the Luminaries.

component of the Book of the Luminaries. The above survey has shown, nevertheless, that key items of vocabulary and basic features of content separate it from the astronomical portions of the book (72–79; 82:4–20). The chapter contradicts the astronomical sections by claiming that nature itself will change in the days of the sinners—a time that seems to precede the new creation mentioned in 72:1. Authors as well as editors can be inconsistent, but in this case the contradiction is so fundamental, so blatant that one wonders why an author would write both the astronomical portions (72–79; 82:4–20) and ch. 80. There may be a reason why an editor would add ch. 80.

Scholars have commented on the evidence of fragmentation at the end of *1 En.* 72–82 but have disagreed about how extensive it is. Mention has already been made of Nickelsburg's conclusion that 81:1–82:3 is an editorial link; chap. 80 may also fall into this category although in a different way. Charles wrote that its purpose was to "give an ethical turn to a purely scientific treatise, and so furnish it with some fitness for its present collocation."⁶⁰ This is a reasonable suggestion (even if "a purely scientific treatise" is not an accurate description of 72–79, 82) because the chapter contains some themes that connect it with other parts of *1 Enoch* and thus suggest it may somehow be related to them.

The idea that nature itself will change in the future is at home in the Enochic corpus. According to *1 En.* 2–5, the heavenly bodies and other parts of nature undeviatingly obey their creator's law for them (see also chs. 33–36; 83:11). However, that section belongs in a literary tradition in which nature's unchanging obedience is contrasted with humanity's disobedience to the creator's will.⁶¹ The Book of the Luminaries agrees with the natural side of the comparison, but the astronomical sections in it draw no contrast between natural obedience and human depravity. *1 En.* 80 speaks of human depravity but in a novel way: human depravity will lead to nature's disobedience to the creator's laws. Natural disobedience of this kind is briefly noted in the Book of the Watchers which knows of stars that transgressed the Lord's command and are being punished for it (*1 En.* 18:15; 21:6). Those verses constitute a parallel; a more sub-

⁶⁰ *The Book of Enoch* (1893), 188 = *The Book of Enoch* (1912), 147.

⁶¹ See the surveys in Rau, "Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs," 68–81; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 152–55.

stantial set of resemblances relates ch. 80 to parts of the Epistle of Enoch (*1 En.* 91–105).

The deviations in nature listed in ch. 80 are dated to the future days of the sinners. The Book of the Luminaries mentions sinners in other passages but their fault is failure to count the four extra days in a full year (75:1–3 [“People err . . .” [v. 3]; 82:4–8 [sinners appear in v. 1]). As noted above, *1 En.* 80:7–8 gives no indication that the sinners it envisages were guilty of this particular miscalculation. Sinners are a concern in 81:8–9, but they become a major interest in the Epistle of Enoch, with references to them peppered throughout chs. 94–104. Also, the judgment, a theme in every other booklet in *1 Enoch*, is a decidedly central one in the Epistle (e.g., 97:1, 3, 5; 98:8, 10; 99:9; 100:4; 103:8; 104:5). As we have seen, one of the two references to the “days of the sinners” also occurs in this section (102:5), and twice in the context one finds predictions of withholding rain from the sinners (100:11–12; 101:2).

The Epistle may also provide the nearest parallels to the idea that in the eschatological days of the sinners there will be changes in nature. The key passages are found in *1 En.* 101–102. There one learns that the rain will be withheld because of human evil (101:1–2) and that at the judgment the heavens and luminaries will be shaken, the earth too will be shaken and thrown into confusion, and the sinners will be cursed forever (102:2–3). The notion of shaking the heavens and the earth is a reflection of a motif in the Day of the Lord tradition in the scriptural prophecies (Isa 13:9–13; 34:2–8; Joel 2:10, 30–31; 3:14–16) that trembling, shaking, rolling up, etc. will strike the heavens and/or the earth. Rau has identified the Day of the Lord tradition as the background of aspects of ch. 80 but has had to deal with the problem that darkening of the luminaries is also a motif in it—the opposite of *1 En.* 80:5. Clearly, only a part of the Day of the Lord tradition has been laid under contribution in *1 En.* 80.

If many of the concerns in *1 En.* 80 that conflict with the remaining parts of the original Book of the Luminaries or appear very unusual compared to them find close analogues in the Epistle of Enoch, it is reasonable to propose that ch. 80 was added when the Epistle was combined with the other three parts of the book (the Book of the Watchers, the Book of Dreams, and the Book of the Luminaries). As Charles suggested, ch. 80 brought the astronomical revelations in 72–79, 82 into closer agreement with the teachings found elsewhere in the composite work.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ÉMILE PUECH

BOOKS

1. J. Briend, J.B. Humbert assistés de É. Puech, *Tell Keisân (1971–1976). Une cité phénicienne en Galilée* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series archaeologica I; Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Paris: Gabalda, 1980 (“niveaux 9c à 11,” 216–34 et Pl. 67 à 80, 130 et 132; “mise à jour du catalogue des monnaies,” 235–41 et Pl. 133; “timbre amphorique,” 254–55 et Pl. 87 et 135; “glyptique: sceaux inscrits et tessons gravés,” 296–99, voir 286, note 1, et Pl. 89–90 et 136; “inscriptions et incisions, poids,” 301–310 et Pl. 91–94, 136–37; “ivoires,” 327–29 et Pl. 101).
2. F. García Martínez – Émile Puech (ed.), *Mémorial Jean Camignac. Etudes Qumrâniennes* (*RevQ* 13/49–52; Paris: Gabalda, 1988).
3. M. Pearlman, *Les rouleaux de la mer Morte dans la Maison du Livre*, traduit de l'anglais et mis à jour par É. Puech, Jérusalem, 1990.
4. Émile Puech – F. García Martínez, *Mémorial Jean Starcky. Textes et Etudes Qumrâniennes I* (*RevQ* 15/57–58; Paris: Gabalda, 1991).
5. Émile Puech – F. García Martínez, *Mémorial Jean Starcky. Textes et Etudes Qumrâniennes II* (*RevQ* 15/59; Paris: Gabalda, 1992).
6. Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: Immortalité, Résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien*. Tome I—*La résurrection des morts et le contexte scripturaire*. Tome II—*Les données qumrâniennes et classiques* (Études Bibliques Nouvelle Série n°s 21–22; Paris: Gabalda, 1992).
7. Émile Puech, *Les manuscrits de la mer Morte. Aux origines du Christianisme* (Dijon: Lafon, 1994).
8. J. Briend, R. Lebrun, É. Puech, *Tratados y Juramentos en el Antiquo Oriente próximo* (Documentos en torno a la Biblia 23; Estella: Verbo divino, 1995).
9. G. Brooke, J. Collins, T. Elgvin, P. Flint, J. Greenfield, E. Larson, C. Newsom, É. Puech, L.H. Schiffman, M. Stone, J. Trebolle Barrera, *Qumran Cave 4 · XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*. (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
10. F. García Martínez – É. Puech (ed.), *Hommage à Józef Tadeusz Milik* (*RevQ* 17/65–68; Paris: Gabalda, 1996).
11. Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 · XVIII. Manuscrits hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
12. Émile Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4 · XXII. Textes araméens première partie (4Q529–4Q549)* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).
13. F. Mébarki – É. Puech, *Les manuscrits de la mer Morte*, avec la participation de G.J. Brooke, M. Broshi, F. García Martínez, A. Steudel et E.C. Ulrich (Rodez: Les Éditions du Rouergue, 2002).
14. F. Mébarki – É. Puech, *Les manuscrits de la mer Morte*, avec la participation de G.J. Brooke, M. Broshi, F. García Martínez, A. Steudel et E.C. Ulrich (Rodez: Les Éditions du Rouergue, 2003) Nouvelle édition corrigée et augmentée.
15. F. Mébarki – É. Puech, *I manoscritti del Mar Morto*, con testi di G.J. Brooke, M. Broshi, F. García Martínez, A. Steudel, E.C. Ulrich (edizione italiana a cura di G. Ravasi; Milano: Jaca Book, 2003).
16. Farah Mébarki – Émile Puech *Les Manuscrits de la mer Morte*, avec la participation de G. Brooke, M. Broshi, F. García Martínez, A. Steudel, E. Ulrich (Livre de Poche; Rodez: Editions du Rouergue; Paris: Hachette, 2004).

17. B. Bioul, *Qumrân et les manuscrits de la mer Morte. Les hypothèses, le débat*, avec la participation de M. Bélis, A. Caquot, P. Donceel-Voûte, H. Eshel, N. Golb, K. Galor, Y. Hirschfeld, J.-B. Humbert, É. Puech, J. VanderKam (Paris: De Guibert, 2004).

Articles

1971

1. "Sur la racine 'SLH' en hébreu et en araméen," *Semítica* 21 (1971): 5–19.

1973

2. Émile Puech – A. Rofé, "L'inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," *RB* 80 (1973): 531–46.

1974

3. "L'inscription du tunnel de Siloé," *RB* 81 (1974): 196–214.

1976

4. "Deux nouveaux sceaux ammonites," *RB* 83 (1976): 59–62.
 5. "Le rite d'offrande de cheveux d'après une inscription phénicienne de Kition, vers 800 avant notre ère," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 4 (1976): 11–21.
 6. "L'inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume* (Nashville 1976), *Inscriptions*, figure 2, 433.

1977

7. "Milkom, le dieu ammonite, en Amos I 15," *Vetus Testamentum* 27 (1977): 117–25.
 8. "Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," *Levant* 9 (1977): 11–20.
 9. "L'acte de vente d'une maison à Kafar Bébayu en 135 de notre ère," *RevQ* 9/34 (1977): 213–21.
 10. "L'inscription phénicienne du trône d'Astart à Séville," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 5 (1977): 85–92.

1978

11. Émile Puech – F. García Martínez, "Remarques sur la colonne XXXVIII de 11QTgJob," *RevQ* 9/35 (1978): 401–407.
 12. "Un ivoire de Bit – Gushi (Arpad) trouvé à Nimrud," *Syria* 55 (1978): 163–69.
 13. "Fragments du Psaume 122 dans un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte IV," *RevQ* 9/36 (1978): 547–54.
 14. "Les Esséniens et la vie future," *Le Monde de la Bible* 4 (1978): 38–40.

1979

15. "Remarques sur l'écriture de 1QS VII–VIII," *RevQ* 10/37 (1979): 35–43.
 16. "Remarques sur quelques inscriptions phéniciennes de Chypre," *Semítica* 29 (1979): 19–43.
 17. "Remarques sur quelques inscriptions christo-palestiniennes de Kh. es-Samra," *Liber Annuus* 29 (1979): 259–69.

1980

18. "Fragments d'un rouleau de la Genèse provenant du Désert de Juda (Gen 33,18–34,6)," *RevQ* 10/38 (1980): 163–66.
 19. "Abécédaire et liste de noms propres hébreux du début du II^e s. A.D.," *RB* 87 (1980): 118–26.
 20. "Une inscription éthiopienne ancienne au Sinaï (Wadi Hajjaj)," *RB* 87 (1980): 597–601.

1981

21. "Athalie, fille d'Achab, et la chronologie des rois d'Israël et de Juda," in *Escritos de Biblia y Oriente. Miscelanea conmemorativa del 25e aniversario del Instituto Biblico y Arqueológico (Casa de Santiago) de Jerusalén* (ed. R. Aguirre Monasterio and F. García López; Biblioteca Salmanticensis 28; Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca; Jerusalén, 1981), 117–36.
22. "Remarques sur quelques inscriptions phéniciennes de Byblos," *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 9 (1981): 153–68.
23. "L'ivoire inscrit d'Arslan Tash et les rois de Damas," *RB* 88 (1981): 544–62.

1982

24. "Note sur la particule accusative en Phénicien," *Semitica* 32 (1982): 51–55.
25. "Note d'épigraphie latine palestinienne. Le dieu *Turmasgada* à Césarée Maritime," *RB* 89 (1982): 210–21.
26. "Les nécropoles juives palestiniennes au tournant de notre ère," *Les Quatre Fleuves* 15–16 (1982): 35–55.
27. "Les inscriptions araméennes I et III de Sfiré: nouvelles lecture," *RB* 89 (1982): 576–87.
28. "Ossuaires inscrits d'une tombe du Mont des Oliviers," *Liber Annuus* 32 (1982): 355–72.
29. "Couvercle de jarre inscrit," *Estudios Bíblicos* 40 (1982): 347–52.

1983

30. "Quelques remarques sur l'alphabet au deuxième millénaire avant J. C.," *Atti del I congresso internazionale di studi fenici e punici—Roma, 5–10 Novembre 1979* (ed. S.F. Bondi; Collezione di Studi Fenici 16/2; Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1983), 563–81.
31. "Présence phénicienne dans les îles à la fin du II^e millénaire. A propos de deux coupes inscrites," *RB* 90 (1983): 365–95.
32. "Notes d'onomastique christo-palestinienne de Kh. es-Samra," *Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 43 (1983): 505–26.
33. "Inscriptions funéraires palestiniennes: tombeau de Jason et ossuaires," *RB* 90 (1983): 481–33.
34. "La racine *shyt—sh't* en araméen et en hébreu. A propos de Sfiré I A 24, 1QH^a III 30 et 36 (= XI 31 et 37) et Ezéchiel," *RevQ* 11/43 (1983): 367–78.

1984

35. "Les poids," in *Tell el-Far'ah I, L'âge du Fer* (A. Chambon; Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, Mémoire 31; Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 1984), 79–84, 242–43, pl. 67.
36. "Un emploi méconnu de *wl'* en araméen et en hébreu," *RB* 91 (1984): 88–101.
37. "La ' Crainte d'Isaac' en Gn 31,42 et 53," *Vetus Testamentum* 34 (1984): 356–61.
38. "Courtes inscriptions de la région de Qumrân," *RevQ* 11/44 (1984): 525–35.
39. "L'inscription christo-palestinienne d'Ayoum Mousa (Mont Nebo)," *Liber Annuus* 34 (1984): 319–28.
40. "L'inscription christo-palestinienne du monastère d'el-Quweismeh," *Liber Annuus* 34 (1984): 341–46.
41. "Los Esenios y la vida futura," *El mundo de la Biblia* 4 (1984): 38–40.

1985

42. "L'inscription sur plâtre de Tell Deir 'Alla," in *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem April 1984* (ed. J. Amitai; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 354–65.
43. "L'inscription de la statue d'Amman et la paléographie ammonite," *RB* 92 (1985): 5–24.

1986

44. "The Tell el-Fûl Jar Inscription and the *Netinim*," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 261 (1986): 69–72.
45. B. Couroyer, "'Ta droite assiste mon épée,' Note sur le Ps XVIII,36," Note paléographique, par É. Puech, *RB* 93 (1986): 38–51.
46. "Origine de l'alphabet. I—Documents en alphabets linéaire et cunéiforme du II^e millénaire," *RB* 93 (1986): 161–213.
47. "Les inscriptions phéniciennes d'Amrit et les dieux guérisseurs du sanctuaire," *Syria* 63/3–4 (1986): 327–42.
48. "Une inscription syriaque palestinienne," *Liber Annuus* 36 (1986): 309–16.
49. "In memoriam: l'Abbé Jean Carmignac," *RevQ* 12/47 (1986): 323–24.
50. "La stèle de Mésha: un roi de Moab proclame ses victoires sur Joram d'Israël," *Le Monde de la Bible* 46 (1986): 28–29.
51. "L'inscription de Deir 'Alla: Admonitions de Balaam, l'homme qui voit les dieux," *Le Monde de la Bible* 46 (1986): 36–39.
52. "Penuel – Jacob – Israël," *Le Monde de la Bible* 46 (1986): 40.
53. "Notes sur le manuscrit de 11QMelkisédeq," *RevQ* 12/48 (1986): 483–513.
54. "Notes sur le manuscrit des Cantiques du Sacrifice du Sabbat trouvé à Masada," *RevQ* 12/48 (1986): 575–83.
55. "In memoriam: Père Pierre Benoit," *RevQ* 12/48 (1986): I–II.

1987

56. "Le texte 'ammonite' de Deir 'Alla. Les admonitions de Balaam (première partie)," in *La vie de la Parole. De l'Ancien au Nouveau Testament. Etudes d'exégèse et d'hébraïque bibliques offertes à Pierre Grelot professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, sous la responsabilité du Département des Études Bibliques de l'Institut Catholique de Paris (Paris: Desclée, 1987), 13–30.
57. "The Canaanite Inscriptions of Lachish and Their Religious Background," *Tel Aviv* 13–14, 1986–87, 13–25.

1988

58. "Avant-propos," *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988): VII–IX.
59. "Biographie de Jean Carmignac," *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988): 1–7.
60. "Un Hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes. 1QH V 12–VI 18 (= col. XIII–XIV 7) et 4QBéat.," *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988): 59–88.
61. "Les Écoles dans l'Israël pré-exilique: données épigraphiques," in *Congress Volume* (ed. J. Emerton; Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 40; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 189–203.
62. "Quelques aspects de la restauration du rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 39 (1988): 38–55.
63. "Une inscription syriaque palestinienne. Note additionnelle," *Liber Annuus* 37 (1988): 349–52.
64. "Une inscription syriaque sur mosaïque," *Liber Annuus* 38 (1988): 267–70.
65. "Les inscriptions christo-palestiniennes de Khirbet el-Kursi—Amman," *Liber Annuus* 38 (1988): 383–89.
66. "Quarante ans de découvertes au Désert de Juda," *Procès verbaux des séances de la Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron*, XLV/2 (1988): 244–59.
67. "Les inscriptions d'Arad," *Le Monde de la Bible* 54 (1988): 38–40.
68. "Aux sources de la Prière du Seigneur," *Le Monde de la Bible* 55 (1988): 38–40.

1989

69. "Une inscription araméenne sur un couvercle de sarcophage," *Mémorial Yigael Yadin, Eretz Israel* 20 (1989): 161*–65*.
70. A. Malamat, "Hazor once again in new Mari Documents," *Addendum* par Émile

- Puech, in *Reflets des Deux Fleuves. Volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet* (ed. M. Lebeau and Ph. Talon; Akkadica, Supplementum VI; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 117–18.
71. “Notes en marge de 11QpaléoLévitique. Le fragment L, des fragments inédits et une jarre à manuscrits de la grotte 11,” *RB* 96 (1989): 161–83.
 72. “4QEz: note additionnelle,” *RevQ* 14/53 (1989): 107–108.
 73. “*In memoriam*: l’Abbé Jean Starcky,” *RevQ* 14/53 (1989): 3–6.
 74. “Nouvelle inscription en alphabet cunéiforme court à Sarepta,” *RB* 96 (1989): 338–44.
 75. “Une inscription sur jarre en christo-palestinien à Umm er-Rassas (Jordanie),” *Liber Annuus* 39 (1989): 268–70.
 76. “La synagogue judéo-chrétienne du Mont Sion,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 57 (1989): 18–19.
 77. “Abbé Jean Starcky (1909–1988). Le savant,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 58 (1989): 54.

1990

78. “Ben Sira 48,11 et la résurrection,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls. Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins, presented to John Strugnell on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday* (ed. H.W. Attridge, J.J. Collins and Th.H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1990), 81–90.
79. “Notes sur des inscriptions phéniciennes de Kition et Kato-Paphos,” *Hommages à Maurice Szymer II, Semitica* 39 (1990): 99–109.
80. “Qumrân,” in *L’Ancien Testament. Cent ans d’exégèse à l’Ecole Biblique* (ed. J.-L. Vesco; Cahiers de la RB 28; Paris: Gabalda, 1990), 199–214.
81. O. Keel, “La glyptique de Tell Keisan (1971–1976),” avec une contribution de É. Puech, in *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel, Band III—Die Frühe Eisenzeit. Ein Workshop* (ed. Othmar Keel, Menakhem Shuval and Christoph Uehlinger; Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 100; Freiburg-Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 1990), 163–260.
82. “11QPsAp^a: un rituel d’exorcismes. Essai de reconstruction,” *RevQ* 14/55 (1990): 377–408.
83. “Un culte lunaire?,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 65 (1990): 14.
84. “L’Ecole Biblique de Jérusalem a cent ans,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 66 (1990): 58–59.
85. “Le iscrizioni di Arad,” *Il Mondo della Bibbia*, 4/ag.-ott. (1990): 38–40.
86. “Alle sorgenti della preghiera del Signore,” *Il Mondo della Bibbia*, 5/nov.-dic. (1990): 38–40.

1991

87. “Jean Starcky 1909–1988,” *RevQ* 15/57–58 (1991): 1–9.
88. “Bibliographie de Jean Starcky,” *RevQ* 15/57–58 (1991): 11–20.
89. “Le Testament de Qahat en araméen de la grotte 4 (4QTestQah),” *RevQ* 15:57–58 (1991): 23–54.
90. “Giudaismo A. C.,—Qumrân,” in *Cent’anni di esegesi. I. L’antico Testamento, L’Ecole biblique di Gerusalemme* (ed. J.-L. Vesco; Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica 25; Associazione Biblica Italiana, 1991), 189–203.
91. “Approches paléographiques de l’inscription sur plâtre de Deir ‘Alla,” in *The Balaam Text from Deir ‘Alla Re-evaluated. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Leiden, 21–24 August 1989* (ed. J. Hofstijzer and G. van der Kooij; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 221–38.
92. “Les premières émissions byblites et les rois de Byblos à la fin du V^e siècle avant J. C.,” in *Atti del II congresso internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 9–14 Novembre 1987* (ed. E. Acquaro; Collezione di studi fenici 30; Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1991), 1:287–98.

93. "La tablette cunéiforme de Beth Shemesh, premier témoin de la séquence des lettres du Sud-Sémitique," in *Phoinikeia Grammata, Lire et écrire en Méditerranée. Actes du Colloque de Liège, 15-18 novembre 1989* (ed. Cl. Baurain, C. Bonnet and V. Krings; Studia Phoenicia XIII; Namur: Société des Études Classiques, 1991), 33-47.
94. "4Q525 et les péripopes des Béatitudes en Ben Sira et Matthieu," *RB* 98 (1991): 80-106.
95. "Les fragments non identifiés de 8KhXIIgr et le manuscrit grec des Douze Petits Prophètes," *RB* 98 (1991): 161-69.
96. "La sinagoga giudeo-cristiana del Monte Sion. In questo edificio di tipo sinagogale diversi elementi indicano un luogo di culto giudeo-cristiano," *Il Mondo della Bibbia* 7/mar.-apr. (1991): 18-19.
- 1992
97. "Les traités araméens de Sfiré," in *Traité et serments dans le Proche Orient ancien* (J. Briend avec la collaboration de R. Lebrun et É. Puech; Supplément aux Cahiers Evangile 81; Paris: Cerf, 1992), 88-107, 115.
98. "Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique. 4QTest Lévi^{c-d} (?) et 4QAJa.," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991*. (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11,2; Leiden: Brill; Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992), 2:449-501.
99. "Les deux derniers Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme 11QPsAp^a IV 4-V 14," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 64-89.
100. "Fear of Isaac," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 2:779-80.
101. "Palestinian Funerary Inscriptions," *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 5:126-35.
102. "Fragment d'une apocalypse en araméen (4Q246 = Pseudo-Dan^d) et le 'royaume de Dieu'," *RB* 99 (1992): 98-131.
103. "La stèle de Barhadad à Melqart et les rois d'Arpad," *RB* 99 (1992): 311-34.
104. "La Pierre de Sion et l'autel des holocaustes d'après un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte 4 (4Q522)," *RB* 99 (1992): 676-96.
105. "Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15/60 (1992): 477-524.
106. "Notes en marge de 8KhXIIgr," *RevQ* 15/60 (1992): 585-95.
- 1993
107. "The Collection of Beatitudes in Hebrew and in Greek (4Q525 1-4 and Mt 5,3-12)," in *Early Christianity in Context. Monuments and Documents. Essays in Honour of Emmanuel Testa* (ed. F. Manns and E. Alliata; Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 38; Jerusalem 1993), 353-68.
108. "Une nouvelle amulette samaritaine," in *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Ancient Israel in Honour of Moshe Dothan* (ed. M. Heltzer, A. Segal and D. Kaufman; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1993), 153-62.
109. "The École Biblique et Archéologique Française. The First Hundred Years," in *Biblical Archaeology Today. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990* (A. Biran and J. Aviram; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 9-12.
110. "Le vocable d' *'Athtart Hurri*—*'shrt hr* à Ugarit et en Phénicie," *Ugarit Forschungen* 25 (1993): 327-30.
111. "A-t-on redécouvert le tombeau du grand-prêtre Caïphe?," *Le Monde de la Bible* 80 (1993): 42-47.

1994

112. "Les Esséniens et le temple de Jérusalem," in "Où demeures-tu?" (*Jn 1,38*): la maison depuis le monde biblique. *En hommage au professeur Guy Couturier à l'occasion de ses soixante-cinq ans* (ed. J.-C. Petit avec la collaboration A. Charron et A. Myre; Montréal: Fides, 1994), 263–87.
113. "Un'iscrizione in cristo-palestinese," in *Umm al-Rasas—Mayfa'ah. I Gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano* (ed. M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata; Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior 28; Gerusalemme 1994), 289–90.
114. "Inscription de Deir 'Alla: Admonitions de Bala'am," in *Prophéties et oracles dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (ed. J. Asurmendi; Supplément au Cahier Évangile 88; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 92–95.
115. "Messianism, Resurrection and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant. The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.C. VanderKam and E. Ulrich; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 235–56.
116. "Un cratère phénicien inscrit: rites et croyance" (Pls. VI–XI), *Transeuphratène* 8 (1994): 47–73.
117. "La stèle araméenne de Dan: Bar Hadad II et la coalition des Omrides et de la Maison de David," *RB* 101 (1994): 215–41.
118. "Notes sur le fragment d'apocalypse 4Q246—'le fils de Dieu,'" *RB* 101 (1994): 533–58.
119. "Préséance sacerdotale et Messie—Roi dans la Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa ii 11–22)," *RevQ* 16/63 (1994): 351–65.
120. "L'image de l'arbre en 4QDeutéro-Ézéchiel (4Q385 2,9–10)," *RevQ* 16/63 (1994): 429–40.
121. "La 'Forteresse des Pieux' et Kh. Qumrân. A propos du papyrus Murabba'ât 45," *RevQ* 16/63 (1994): 463–71.
122. "Des esséno-zélotés chrétiens de Judée! Une position originale sur les manuscrits de la mer Morte," *Les manuscrits de la mer Morte. Aux origines du Christianisme, Les Dossiers d'archéologie* 189 (Janvier) (1994): 97–101.
123. "Déchiffreur de manuscrits," *Le Monde de la Bible* 86 (1994): 9–11.
124. "Les manuscrits de la mer Morte et le Nouveau Testament," *Le Monde de la Bible* 86 (1994): 34–40.
125. "Où il est question de crucifixion," *Le Monde de la Bible* 86 (1994): 41.
127. "Pétra et les manuscrits de la 'grotte aux lettres,'" *Le Monde de la Bible* 88 (1994): 10.
128. "Jean Baptiste était-il essénien? Le retour d'Élie," *Le Monde de la Bible* 89 (1994): 7–8.

1995

129. "Note de lexicographie hébraïque qumrânienne (*m-sw/yrwq, mhshbym, swt*)," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 181–89.
130. "A propos de la Jérusalem Nouvelle d'après les manuscrits de la mer Morte," *Semítica* 43–44 (1995): 87–102.
131. "Présence arabe dans les manuscrits de 'La grotte aux lettres' du Wadi Khabra," in *Présence arabe dans le Croissant fertile avant l'Hégire. Actes de la Table ronde internationale organisée par l'Unité de Recherche Associée 1062 du CNRS, Études sémitiques, au Collège de France, le 13 novembre 1993* (ed. H. Lozachmeur; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995), 37–46.
132. "Lel לל," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 950–56. Reprinted in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking

- and P.W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill; 2nd extensively rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill; Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1999), 508–11.
133. “Lioness לַיִשׁוֹן,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 981–83. Reprinted in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill; 2nd extensively rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill; Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1999), 524–25.
134. “Milcom מִלְכָּם,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 1076–1080. Reprinted in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill; 2nd extensively rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill; Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1999), 575–76.
135. “Restauration d’un texte hymnique à partir de trois manuscrits fragmentaires: 1QH^a xv 37–xvi 4 (vii 34–viii 3), 1Q35 (H^b) 1,9–14 et 4Q428 (H^b) 7,1–10,” *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 543–58.
136. “Un autre manuscrit de la Genèse récemment identifié dans les fragments de la grotte 4 (4QGn),” *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 637–40.
137. “Des fragments grecs de la Grotte 7 et le Nouveau Testament? 7Q4 et 7Q5, et le Papyrus Magdalen Grec 17 = P⁶⁴,” *RB* 102 (1995): 570–84.
138. “Surprenante révélation à Dan: Aram contre la maison de David,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 9 (1995): 38–40.
139. “L’attente des morts,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 91 (1995): 16.
- 1996
140. “4Q246,” in *Qumran Cave 4 · XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. Brooke, J. Collins, T. Elgvin, P. Flint, J. Greenfield, E. Larson, C. Newsom, E. Puech, L.H. Schiffman, M. Stone and J. Trebolle Barrera; Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 165–84.
141. “4QApocryphe de Daniel ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4 · XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (G. Brooke, J. Collins, T. Elgvin, P. Flint, J. Greenfield, E. Larson, C. Newsom, E. Puech, L.H. Schiffman, M. Stone and J. Trebolle Barrera, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 350–51, Pl. XI.
142. “Józef Tadeusz Milik,” in *Hommage à Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. F. García Martínez and E. Puech; *RevQ* 17/65–68; Paris: Gabalda, 1996), 5–10.
143. “Jonathan le Prêtre Impie et les débuts de la Communauté de Qumrân. 4QJonathan (4Q523) et 4QPsAp (4Q448),” in *Hommage à Józef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. F. García Martínez and E. Puech; *RevQ* 17/65–68; Paris: Gabalda, 1996), 241–70.
144. “La prière de Nabonide (4Q242),” in *Targumic and Cognate Studies. Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara* (ed. K.J. Cathcart and M. Maher; Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 230; Sheffield Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 208–27.
145. “Deux amulettes palestiniennes, une en grec et une bilingue grec—christo-palestinien,” in *Collectanea Orientalia. Histoire, arts de l’espace et industrie de la terre. Études offertes en hommage à Agnès Spycket* (ed. H. Gasche and B. Hrouda; Civilisations du Proche-Orient Série I. Archéologie et environnement 3; Neuchâtel, Paris: Recherches et publications, 1996), 299–310.
146. “Siloé (L’inscription du tunnel de),” in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Fasc. 71—Vol. XII (ed. J. Briand and E. Cothenet; Paris: Letouzey, 1996), 1341–52.
147. “Du bilinguisme à Qumrân?” in *Mosaïque de langues, mosaïque culturelle. Le bilinguisme au Proche Orient Ancien. Table ronde de l’URA 1062, Institut d’Études sémitiques, Collège de France, 18 nov. 1995* (ed. F. Briquel Châtonnet; Antiquités sémitiques 1; Paris: Maisonneuve, 1996), 171–89.

148. "Notes sur les fragments grecs du manuscrit 7Q4 = 1 Hénoch 103 et 105," *RB* 106 (1996): 592–600.
149. "Une conquête de Jérusalem, il y a trois mille ans," *Les 3000 ans de Jérusalem, Sources vives* 67 (1996): 25–32.
150. "Die Erwartung der Toten," *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel. Archäologie und Geschichte* 1/1 (1996): 16.
151. "Petra e i manoscritti della grotta delle lettere," *Il Mondo della Bibbia* 31/gen.-feb. (1996): 10.
152. "L'attesa dei morti," *Il Mondo della Bibbia*, 32/mar.-apr. (1996): 16.

1997

153. "I frammenti greci della grotta 7 e il Nuovo Testamento? 7Q4 e 7Q5, e il papiro Magdalen greco 17 = P⁶⁴," in *Ridattare i Vangeli?* (ed. F. Dalla Vecchia; *Giornale di Teologia* 247; Brescia: Queriniana, 1997), 127–47.
154. "Osservazioni sui frammenti greci del manoscritto 7Q4 = 1 *Enoc* 103 e 105," in *Ridattare i Vangeli?* (ed. F. Dalla Vecchia; *Giornale di Teologia* 247; Brescia: Queriniana, 1997), 149–61.
155. "Les manuscrits de la mer Morte et le Nouveau Testament," in *Qumrân et les manuscrits de la mer Morte, un Cinquantenaire*, (Collectif sous la direction de E.-M. Laperrousaz; Paris: Cerf, 1997), 253–313.
156. "Les Esséniens croyaient-ils à la résurrection?," in *Qumrân et les manuscrits de la mer Morte, un Cinquantenaire*, (Collectif sous la direction de E.-M. Laperrousaz; Paris: Cerf, 1997), 409–40.
157. "Les fragments du plus ancien exemplaire du Rouleau du Temple (4Q524)," 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* (M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; *STDJ* 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 19–64.
158. "Biographie intellectuelle du R.P.B. Couroyer," in *Études égyptologiques et bibliques à la mémoire du Père B. Couroyer, Jérusalem 7 mars 1994* (ed. M. Sigrist; *Cahiers de la RB* 36; Paris: Gabalda, 1997), 9–28.
159. "Notes sur 11Q19 LXIV 6–13 et 4Q524 14,2–4. À propos de la crucifixion dans le *Rouleau du Temple* et dans le Judaïsme ancien," *RevQ* 18/69 (1997): 109–24.
160. "Quelques résultats d'un nouvel examen du Rouleau de cuivre (3Q15)," *RevQ* 18/70 (1997): 163–90.
161. "Messianisme, eschatologie et résurrection dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte," *RevQ* 18/70 (1997): 255–98.
162. "Sept fragments grecs de la *Lettre d'Hénoch* (1 Hén 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (= 7QHéng),"
RevQ 18/70 (1997): 313–23.
163. "Les manuscrits de la mer Morte, cinquante ans après," *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche Français de Jérusalem* 1 (1997): 18–23.
164. "Les convictions d'un savant (entretien réalisé par F. Mébarki)," *Le Monde de la Bible* 107 (1997): 51–57.
165. "Des documents chrétiens à Qumrân?," *Le Monde de la Bible* 107 (1997): 58.
166. "Sauvetage et dernières révélations (en collaboration avec N. Lacoudre)," *Le Monde de la Bible* 107 (1997): 60–62.
167. "La crucifixion et la tradition juive ancienne," *Le Monde de la Bible* 107 (1997): 69–71.
168. "Les manuscrits de la mer Morte: 50 ans après," *Archéologia* 339 (1997): 6–7.
169. "Decifrare i manoscritti," *Il Mondo della Bibbia* 38/mag.-ag. (1997): 11–13.
170. "I manoscritti del Mar Morto e il Nuovo Testamento," *Il Mondo della Bibbia* 38/mag.-ag. (1997): 36–41.
171. "La questione della crocifissione," *Il Mondo della Bibbia* 38/mag.-ag. (1997): 43.

1998

172. A. Malamat, "Hazor Once Again in New Mari Documents," *Addendum* by E. Puech, in *Mari and the Bible* (A. Malamat; ed. B. Halpern and M.H.E. Weippert; Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East XII; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 41–44.
173. "Inscriptions araméennes du Golfe: Failaka, Qala'at al-Bahreïn et Mulayha (ÉAU)," in *Recherches pluridisciplinaires sur une province de l'empire achéménide. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Briand III, Transeuphratène* 16 (1998): 31–55.
174. "Les apparitions dans la littérature péritestamentaire," in *Actas do congresso internacional de Fátima. Fenomenologia e teologia das aparições (9–12 de outubro de 1997)* (ed. M.I. Alves; Fátima: Santuário de Fátima, 1998), 575–89.
174. "The necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân* and 'Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene belief in afterlife," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 312 (1998): 21–36.
175. "L'alphabet cryptique en 4QS^e (4Q259)," *RevQ* 18/71 (1998): 429–35.
176. "In memoriam: l'abbé Maurice Baillet," *RevQ* 18/71 (1998): 339–41.
177. "La thèse infondée du témoin oculaire," *Le Monde de la Bible* 109 (1998): 44–45.
178. "Esenios: en los márgenes del antiguo Israel," *Nueva Revista de política, cultura y arte* 57 (1998): 65–81.
179. "Textes de Qumrân," *Version Originale. Le trimestriel de réflexion* (édition française et américaine). *Moyen Orient: la paix est-elle possible?*, Cahier n° 7 (1998), 306–11.
180. "Überzeugungen eines Gelehrten, interview mit Emile Puech," *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel, Archäologie—Kunst—Geschichte* 9/3 (1998): 55–61.
181. "Christliche Schriften in Qumrân?," *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel, Archäologie—Kunst—Geschichte* 9/3 (1998): 62.
182. "Die Kupferrolle—Konservierung und neue Erkenntnisse (mit N. Lacoudre)," *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel, Archäologie—Kunst—Geschichte* 9/3 (1998): 64–66.
183. "Die Kreuzigung und die altjüdische Tradition," *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel, Archäologie—Kunst—Geschichte* 9/3 (1998): 73–75.
184. "Markus und Matthäus: Irrwege und falsche Datierungen?," *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel, Archäologie—Kunst—Geschichte* 10/3 (1998): 44–45.

1999

185. "Le grand prêtre Simon (III), fils d'Onias III, le Maître de Justice?," in *Antikes Judentum und Frühes Christentum. Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. B. Kollmann, W. Reinbold and A. Steudel; Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 97; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999), 137–58.
186. "Un anneau inscrit du Bronze Récent à Megiddo," in *Kī Baruch hu. Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. R. Chazan, W.W. Hallo and L.H. Schiffman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 51–61.
187. "Le 'fils de Dieu' en 4Q246," in *Frank Moore Cross Volume, (Erets Israel* 26; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 143*–152*, 236*.
188. "Le livre de Ben Sira et les manuscrits de Qumrân," in *Treasures of Wisdom. Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom. Festschrift M. Gilbert* (ed. N. Calduch, J. Vermeylen; Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 143; Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 411–26.
189. "Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 Texts and Qumran Messianism," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Technological Innovations, New Texts, and New and Reformulated Issues* (D.W. Parry and E.C. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 545–65.
190. "Qumran e il libro dei Proverbi," in *Libro dei Proverbi. Tradizione, redazione, teologia* (ed. G. Bellia and A. Passaro; Casale Monferrato: Edizione Piemme, 1999), 169–89.
191. "Mesianismo, escatología y resurrección en los manuscritos del Mar Muerto,"

- Paganos, judíos y cristianos en los textos de Qumrán* (ed. J. Trebelle Barrera; Biblioteca de ciencias bíblicas y orientales 5; Madrid: Trotta, 1999), 245–86.
192. “L’esprit saint à Qumrán,” *Liber Annuus* 49 (1999): 283–97.
193. “Inscripción de Deir ‘Alla: advertencias de Bala‘am,” in *Profecias y oráculos* (J.M. Asurmendi Ruiz; Estella: Verbo divino, 1999), 92–95.
194. “Les fragments 1 à 3 du *Livre des Géants* de la Grotte 6 (6Q8 1–3),” *RevQ* 19/74 (1999): 227–38.
195. “Un nouveau manuscrit de la Genèse de la grotte 4: 4Q483 = pap4QGenèse,” *RevQ* 19/74 (1999): 259–60.
196. “Une nouvelle copie du *Livre des Jubilés*: 4Q484 = pap4QJubilés,” *RevQ* 19/74 (1999): 261–64.
197. “Note sull’identificazione di 7Q5 con Mc 6,52–53,” *Ho Theólogos* 17 (1999): 73–84.
198. “Les langues de Palestine vues par les inscriptions,” *Dossiers d’Archéologie* 240 (1999): 150–53.

2000

197. “4Q522—Ps 122 in ‘4QProphecy of Josua’,” in *Qumran Cave 4 · XI. Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et alii; Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 169–70.
198. “Les manuscrits de la mer Morte et le Nouveau Testament,” in *Aux origines du christianisme* (ed. P. Geoltrain; Paris: Gallimard et Le Monde de la Bible, 2000), 157–67.
199. “Jean-Baptiste était-il essénien?,” in *Aux origines du christianisme* (ed. P. Geoltrain; Paris: Gallimard et Le Monde de la Bible, 2000), 171–76.
200. “Józef Tadeusz Milik, éditeur des manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *Józef Tadeusz Milik et Cinquantenaire de la découverte des manuscrits de la mer Morte de Qumrán* (ed. D. Dlugosz and H. Ratajczak; Varsovie: Centre scientifique de l’Académie Polonaise des Sciences à Paris, 2000), 31–36.
201. “Death,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. in chief J.C. VanderKam and L.H. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 183–86.
202. “Elect of God,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. in chief J.C. VanderKam and L.H. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 240–41.
203. “Hodayot,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. in chief J.C. VanderKam and L.H. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 365–69.
204. “Messianic Apocalypse,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. in chief J.C. VanderKam and L.H. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 543–44.
205. “Milik,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. in chief J.C. VanderKam and L.H. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 552–54.
206. “RevQ,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. in chief J.C. VanderKam and L.H. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 774–75.
207. “Rock of Sion,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. in chief J.C. VanderKam and L.H. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 783–84.
208. “Starcky,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. in chief J.C. VanderKam and L.H. Schiffman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 891–92.
209. “Abbé Maurice Baillet (1923–1998)” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumrán. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumrán Studies. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. D.F. Falk, F. García Martínez and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35, Leiden: Brill, 2000), ix–xiii.
210. “Bibliographie de Maurice Baillet,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumrán. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumrán Studies. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. D.F. Falk, F. García Martínez and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35, Leiden: Brill, 2000), xiv–xx.

211. "Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme (11Q11)," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumrân. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumrân Studies. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. D.F. Falk, F. García Martínez and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35, Leiden: Brill, 2000), 160–81.
212. "Qumrân et le texte de l'Ancien Testament," in *Congress Volume, Oslo 1998* (ed. A. Lemaire and M. Saebø; Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 80, Leiden: Brill, 2000), 437–64.
213. "Les langues et les écritures dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte," in *Des signes pictographiques à l'alphabet. La communication écrite en Méditerranée. Actes du Colloque, 14–15 mai 1996, Villa grecque Kérylos. Fondation Théodore Reinach* (ed. R. Viers; Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2000), 175–211, + figures 27–34b.
214. "Immortality and Life After Death," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Shrine of the Book, 2000), 512–20.
215. "Some Results of the Restoration of the Copper Scroll by ÉdF Mécénat," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Shrine of the Book, 2000), 889–94.
216. "Les pointes de flèches inscrites de la fin du II^e millénaire en Phénicie et Canaan," in *Actas del IV Congreso internacional de estudios fenicios y púnicos, Cádiz, 2 al 6 octubre 1995* (ed. M.-E. Aubet and M. Barthélemy; Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones, Universidad de Cádiz, 2000), 251–69.
217. "Une lampe byzantine inscrite de Dayr al-Qattar al-Byzanti (Jordanie)," *RB* 107 (2000): 558–60.
218. "Le livre de Qohélet à Qumrân," *Ho Theológos* 18 (2000): 109–14.
219. "Note additionnelle sur le fragment paléo-hébreu," *RevQ* 19/75 (2000): 449–51.
220. "Sur la dissimilation de l'interdentale δ en araméen qumranien. A propos d'un chaînon manquant," *RevQ* 19/76 (2000): 607–16.
221. "Un nouveau fragment du manuscrit^b de l'Éclésiaste (4QQohélet^b ou 4Q110)," *RevQ* 19/76 (2000): 617–21.
222. E. Puech – A. Steudel, "Un nouveau fragment du manuscrit 4QInstruction^c (XQ7 = 4Q417–4Q418)," *RevQ* 19/76 (2000): 623–27.
223. "Les songes des fils de Semihazah dans le Livre des Géants de Qumrân," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, janvier–mars (2000): 7–26.
224. "The Mysteries of the 'Copper Scroll,'" *Near Eastern Archaeology—The World of the Bible* 63 (2000): 152–53.
225. "The Convictions of a Scholar. Interview with Émile Puech," *Near Eastern Archaeology—The World of the Bible* 63 (2000): 160–63.
- 2001
226. "Qohélet a Qumran," in *Il Libro del Qohélet Tradizione, redazione, teologia* (ed. G. Bellia and A. Passaro; Cammini nello Spirito sez. Biblica 44; Milano: Paoline, 2001), 144–70.
227. "La crucifixion comme peine capitale dans le judaïsme ancien," in *Le Judéo-Christianisme dans tous ses états. Actes du colloque de Jérusalem, 6–10 juillet 1998* (ed. S. Mimouni; Lectio Divina; Paris: Cerf, 2001), 41–66.
228. "Essénisme et christianisme. Les manuscrits de la mer Morte et Jésus," *Œuvres & Critiques* XXVI,2 (2001): 153–73.
229. "Un nouvel autel à encens de Palmyre," in *The World of the Aramaeans II. Studies in History and Archaeology in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (ed. P.M.M. Daviau, J.W. Wewers and M. Weigl; Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 325, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 243–56.

230. "Notes d'épigraphie christo-palestinienne cisjordanienne," *RB* 108 (2001): 61–72.
 231. "Identification de nouveaux manuscrits bibliques: *Deutéronome* et *Proverbes* dans les débris de la grotte 4," *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 121–27.
 232. "Un autre fragment du Psaume 122 en 4Q522 (4Q522 26)," *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 129–32.
 233. "Dieu le Père dans les écrits péritestamentaires et les manuscrits de la mer Morte," *RevQ* 20/78 (2001): 287–310.

2002

234. "La escatología en el Antiguo Testamento y en el Judaísmo antiguo," in *Escatología y vida cristiana, XXII Simposio Internacional de Teología de la Universidad de Navarra (Pamplona, 25–27 de abril de 2001)* (ed. C. Izquierdo, J. Burgraff, J.L. Gutiérrez and E. Flandes; Simposios Internacionales de Teología 22; Pamplona, Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Navarra, 2002), 249–70.
 235. "Some Results of a New Examination of the Copper Scroll (3Q15)," in *Copper Scroll Studies* (ed. G.J. Brooke and Ph.R. Davies; Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 40; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 58–89.
 236. "Qumrân (Manuscritos de)," *Verbo. Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura*. Vol. 24 (Lisboa, São Paulo: Edição Século XXI, 2002), col. 665–73.
 237. "Notes sur quatre inscriptions proto-sinaïtiques," *RB* 109 (2002): 5–39
 238. "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen de la Geniza du Caire," *RevQ* 20/80 (2002): 511–56.
 239. "A propos de l'ossuaire de Jacques, le frère de Jésus," *The Polish Journal of Biblical Research* 2/1 (2002): 7–23.
 240. "I rotoli dei Figli della Luce. Intervista esclusiva a Emile Puech di Francesco Garufi," *Hera* 29, Maggio (2002): 26.
 241. "È l'ossario di Giacomo il Giusto! Intervista a Emile Puech e André Lemaire di Francesco Garufi," *Hera* 36 dicembre (2002): 38–45.

2003

242. "The Names of the Gates of the New Jerusalem (4Q554)," in *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Sh.M. Paul, R.A. Kraft, L.H. Schiffman and W.W. Fields; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 379–92.
 243. "L'inscription christo-palestinienne du Ouadi Rajib-Ajloun et de nouvelles inscriptions christo-palestiniennes de Jordanie," in *One Land—Many Cultures. Archaeological Studies in Honour of Stanislas Loffreda OFM* (G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and L.D. Chrupcala; Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Major 41; Gerusalemme 2003), 517–25.
 244. "Il Libro della Sapienza e i manoscritti del Mar Morto: un primo approccio," in *Il Libro della Sapienza. Tradizione, Redazione, Teologia* (G. Bellia, A. Passaro; Facoltà Teologica di Sicilia, Roma 2003), 131–55.
 245. "Apports des textes apocalyptiques et sapientiels à l'éschatologie du judaïsme ancien," *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 133–70.
 246. "(Dan) Surprenante révélation à Dan: Aram contre 'la Maison de David,'" in *La terre Sainte. Cinquante ans d'archéologie* (ed. J. Briend; Paris: Bayard, 2003), 103–105.
 247. "(Qumrân) Déchiffreur de manuscrits," in *La terre Sainte. Cinquante ans d'archéologie* (ed. J. Briend; Paris: Bayard, 2003), 442–46.
 248. "Sauvetage et dernières révélations," in *La terre Sainte. Cinquante ans d'archéologie* (ed. J. Briend; Paris: Bayard, 2003), 505–509.

249. "(Stèle de Moab) Un roi proclame ses victoires," in *La terre Sainte. Cinquante ans d'archéologie* (ed. J. Briand; Paris: Bayard, 2003), 629–31.
250. "(Jérusalem) A-t-on redécouvert le tombeau du Grand-Prêtre Caïphe?," in *La terre Sainte. Cinquante ans d'archéologie* (ed. J. Briand; Paris: Bayard, 2003), 1291–98.
251. "(Arad) Les inscriptions d'Arad," in *La terre Sainte. Cinquante ans d'archéologie* (ed. J. Briand; Paris: Bayard, 2003), 1720–24.
252. "La requête d'un moissonneur dans le sud-judéen à la fin du VII^e s. av. J.-C.," *RB* 110 (2003): 5–16.
253. É. Puech – J. Zias, "Le tombeau de Zacharie et Siméon au monument funéraire dit d'Absalom dans la Vallée de Josaphat," *RB* 110 (2003): 321–35.
254. "La conception de la vie future dans le Livre de la Sagesse et les manuscrits de la mer Morte: un aperçu," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 209–232.
255. "Notes sur le Testament de Lévi de la grotte 1 (1Q21)," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 297–310.
256. "Un autre manuscrit du Lévitique," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 311–13.
257. "Notes sur le manuscrit des Juges 4Q50^a," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 315–19.
258. "James the Just, or just James? The 'James Ossuary' on Trial," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 21 (2003): 45–53.
259. "L'eschatologie du judaïsme ancien et les textes de Qumrân: la croyance à la résurrection,—1^{ère} Partie," *Bulletin de l'Association Bible et Terre Sainte*, Numéro 6—Septembre (2003): 2–10.
260. "Quand on retrouve le Livre des Géants," *Le Monde de la Bible* 151 (2003): 25–27.
261. "James the Just, or Just James? The Epigrapher's Trail," *Minerva* January/February 14/1 (2003): 4–5.
263. "Czy znaleziono ossuarium Jakuba, brata Jezusa?" *Verbum Vitae* 3 (2003): 269–76.
264. "L'ossuaire de Jacques, le frère de Jésus?," *Képhas* 5 (2003): 41–46.
- 2004
265. "Apocalíptica esenia: la vida futura," in *Para comprender los manuscritos del Mar Muerto* (ed. J. Vázquez Allegue; Estella: Verbo divino, 2004), 85–102.
266. "El mesianismo," in *Para comprender los manuscritos del Mar Muerto* (ed. J. Vázquez Allegue; Estella: Verbo divino, 2004), 119–41.
266. "La croyance à la résurrection des justes dans un texte qumranien de sagesse: 4Q418 69 ii," in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume. Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (ed. Ch. Cohen, A. Hurvitz and Sh. Paul; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 427–44.
267. "La escatología del judaísmo antiguo y los textos de Qumrân: la creencia en la resurrección," in *Comer, beber y alegrarse. Estudios bíblicos en honor a Raúl Duarte Castillo* (R. López Rosas; Estudios Bíblicos Mexicanos 1; México: Coedición Qol y Departamento de Publicaciones de la Universidad Pontificia de México, 2004), 91–118.
268. "Le fils de Dieu, le fils du Très-Haut, messie roi en 4Q246," *Le jugement dans l'un et l'autre Testament. I Mélanges offerts à Raymond Kuntzmann* (ed. E. Bons; Lectio Divina 197; Paris: Cerf, 2004), 271–86.
269. "Morceaux de sagesse populaire en araméen: 4QProverbes araméens (= 4Q569)," *RevQ* 21/83 (2004): 379–86.
270. "Le fragment 2 de 4Q377, Pentateuque apocryphe B: l'exaltation de Moïse," *RevQ* 21/83 (2004): 469–75.
271. E. Puech – J. Zias, "Le tombeau de Siméon et Zacharie dans la Vallée de Josaphat," *RB* 111 (2004): 563–77 + Pl. II–VI.
272. "L'eschatologie du judaïsme ancien et les textes de Qumrân: la croyance à la résurrection," 2^{ème} partie, *Bulletin de l'Association Bible et Terre Sainte*, Numéro 7—Janvier (2004): 2–12.

273. "Les tombeaux de Zacharie et Syméon," *Le Monde de la Bible* 158 (2004): 55.

2005

274. "The Groningen Hypothesis revisited. The Essenes and Qumrân, the Teacher and the Wicked Priest, the Origins," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 298–302.
275. "Le Diable, homicide, menteur et père du mensonge en Jean 8,44," *RB* 112 (2005): 215–52.
276. "In memoriam André Caquot," *RevQ* 22/85 (2005): 3–5.
277. "Les fragments eschatologiques de 4QInstruction (4Q416 1 et 4Q418 69 ii, 81–81a et 127)," *RevQ* 22/85 (2005): 89–119.
278. (with E. Eshel and A. Kloner) "Aramaic Scribal Exercises of the Hellenistic Period from Maresha: Bowls A and B," *BASOR* 2005.

Forthcoming

- * "Le Rouleau de Cuivre de la grotte 3 de Qumrân (3Q15)," avec le Mécénat EDF (STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2006).
- * "Du cananéen au proto-canéen. Aux origines de l'alphabet," in *L'histoire de l'écriture* (ed. R. Mugnaioni and C. Herrens Schmidt; Paris: Gallimard).
- * "L'inscription en araméen christo-palestinien," in *Rapport archéologique des fouilles de Shlomi (Galilée)* (ed. Cl. Dauphin)
- * "Prophétie du devin Bala'am Bar Be'or. L'inscription sur plâtre de Deir 'Alla," in *Littératures Anciennes du Proche Orient*, Paris.
- * "Ostraca and Inscriptions of Maresha," by E. Eshel, A. Kloner, H. Korzakova, and É. Puech.
- * "Les manuscrits 4QJuges^c (= 4Q50^a) et 1QJuges (= 1Q6)," in *Mélanges Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P.W. Flint, E. Tov, J.C. VanderKam).
- * "Une nouvelle amulette en araméen christo-palestinien," in *Mélanges Moshe Bar-Asher*.
- * "Notes sur deux inscriptions proto-sinaïtiques," in *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Palermo—Marsala 2–8 ottobre 2000*.
- * "Résurrection: la Bible et Qumrân," in *Proceedings of the Princeton Congress 1997* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth).
- * "Jesus and resurrection faith in light of Jewish texts," in *Jesus and Archaeology, 7–10 August 2000, Jerusalem, Notre Dame of Jerusalem Center* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth).
- * "Les manuscrits de la mer Morte: les données et leur importance, un aperçu, Qumran," in *La più grande avventura biblica del XX secolo presentata dai suoi protagonisti, Corso dei Beni Culturali, Università degli Studi di Modena e Reggio Emilia, Modena 26–30 settembre 2001*.
- * "The Book of Wisdom and the Dead Sea Scrolls: an Overview," in *The Book of Wisdom, Palermo 22–23 March 2002* (ed. G. Bellia and A. Passaro; Sheffield).
- * "Ben Sira et Qumrân," in *Il Libro del Siracide. Tradizione Redazione, Teologia, IV^o Convegno di studi biblici, Palermo 2–3 Aprile 2004, Pontificia Facoltà Teologica di Sicilia "S. Giovanni Evangelista"*.
- * "Les identités en présence dans les scènes du jugement dernier de 4QInstruction (4Q416 1 et 4Q418 69 ii)," in *Defining Identities: Who is the Other? We, You, and the Others in the Dead Sea Scrolls, IOQS Vth Meeting, Groningen 27–28 July, 2004* (ed. F. Garcia Martínez).
- * "Apports des manuscrits de Qumrân à la croyance à la résurrection dans le judaïsme ancien," in *Qumrân et le Judaïsme du tournant de notre ère, Table ronde*

Collège de France—Société des Etudes juives, Paris 16 novembre 2004. *Actes de la Table ronde*.

- * “Calendriers, Qohélet, Qumrân, Résurrection, Satan/Bérial,” in *Dictionnaire de l’Antiquité*, sous la direction de J. Leclant et alii, PUF, Paris.
- * “The Tomb of Absalom Reconsidered,” (en collaboration avec J. Zias).
- * “Le mausolée de saint Etienne à Khirbet Jiljil—Beit Jimal,” *RB*.
- * “Bala‘am and Deir ‘Alla,” in *Proceedings TBN Conference Balaam and his Speaking Ass* (ed. G.H. van Kooten and J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten; TBN; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

Reviews

- 1975 J.B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, *RB* 82 (1975): 446–52; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, *RB* 82 (1976): 614–15.
- 1977 P.E. Dion, *La langue de Ya‘udi*, *RB* 84 (1977): 446–47; P.E. Dion, *La langue de Ya‘udi*, *Revue d’Assyriologie* 71 (1977): 183–85; *Encyclopaedia biblica. Thesaurus rerum biblicarum alphabetico ordine digestus*: VII, *Qaat ad Shelishia*, *RB* 84 (1977): 128–29.
- 1978 B. Jongeling, C.J. Labuschagne and A.S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran with Translations and Annotations*, *RevQ* 9/36 (1978): 589–91; J. Hofijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ‘Alla*, *RB* 85 (1978): 114–17.
- 1979 R. de Vaux and J.T. Milik, I *Archéologie*, II *Tefillim, Mezuzôt et Targums* (4Q128–4Q157), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* VI, *RB* 86 (1979): 275–77; J.B. Pritchard, *Recovering Sarepta. A Phoenician City*. Excavations at Sarafand, Lebanon, 1969–1974, *RB* 86 (1979): 279–81; J. Pouilly, *La règle de la communauté de Qumrân*, *RevQ* 10/37 (1979): 103–11.
- 1981 *Archaeology in the Levant. Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, *RB* 88 (1981): 93–96; F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*, *RB* 88 (1981): 96–98; R.S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*, *RB* 88 (1981): 99–101; S. Segert, *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic*, *RB* 88 (1981): 268–69; M. Kochavi, A.F. Rainey, I. Singer, R. Givon and A. Demsky, *Aphek—Antipatris 1974–1977: The Inscriptions*, *RB* 88 (1981): 269–70; M. Heltzer – M. Ohana, *The Extra-Biblical Tradition of Hebrew Personal Names, From the First Temple Period to the End of the Talmudic Period* (‘writ), *RB* 88 (1981): 270–72; E.Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, *RB* 88 (1981): 272–73; J.A. Fitzmyer and D.J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, *RB* 88 (1981): 273–74; G.R. Driver, *Semitic Writing. From Pictograph to Alphabet*, *RB* 88 (1981) 461.
- 1983 A. Abou Assaf, P. Bordreuil and A.R. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne*, *RB* 90 (1983): 594–96; J.A.L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint of the Pentateuch*, *RB* 90 (1983): 606.
- 1984 *Traductions hébraïques des Évangiles rassemblées par J. Carmignac*, *RB* 91 (1984): 124–25; M. Stone, *Scriptures, Sects and Visions*, *RevQ* 11/44 (1984): 591–93; J. Murphy O’Connor, *Guide archéologique de la Terre Sainte, Le Monde de la Bible* 32 (1984): 59–60.
- 1985 J.W. Betlyon, *The Coinage and Mints of Phoenicia. The Pre-Alexandrine Period*, *RB* 92 (1985): 285–89; K.P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age*, *RB* 92 (1985): 289–90; M.J. Fuentes Estañol, *Vocabulario fenicio*, *RB* 92 (1985): 290–93; A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller and J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary* (English-French-Arabic)—J. Copeland Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*, *RB* 92 (1985): 293–94; *La Biblia, versio dels textos originals i comentari pels monjos de Montserrat, XII, Saviesa*, *RB* 92 (1985): 307; R. McClive Good, *The Sheep of his Pasture. A Study of the Hebrew Noun ‘Am(m)*

- and its Semitic Cognates, *RB* 92 (1985): 307–308; E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIs^a)*. *Indices and Corrections*, *RB* 92 (1985): 308–309; H.W. Attridge and R.A. Oden, *Philo of Byblos. The Phoenician History*, *RB* 92 (1985): 312–13; Th. Fischer, *Silber aus der Grab Davids? Jüdisches und hellenistisches auf Münzen des Seleukidenkönigs Antiochos VII. 132–130 v. Chr.*, *RB* 92 (1985): 313–14; R.S. Hanson, *Tyrian Influence in the Upper Galilee*, *RB* 92 (1985): 314; V. Cottini, *La vita futura nel Libro dei Proverbi*, *RB* 92 (1985): 435–38; P. Figueras, *Decorated Jewish Ossuaries*, *RB* 92 (1985): 577–81.
- 1986 J.A. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir Alla*, *RB* 93 (1986): 285–87; *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, *RB* 93 (1986): 446.
- 1987 L. Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, *RB* 94 (1987): 440–42; A. Tal, *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch. A Critical Edition*, *RB* 94 (1987): 442–44; C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: a Critical Edition*, *RB* 94 (1987): 604–608; R. Weis, *The Aramaic Targum of Job* (‘*wrît*), *RB* 94 (1987): 633–34.
- 1988 H. Rouillard, *La péricope de Balaam (Nombres 22–24). La prose et les “Oracles”*, *Revue d’Histoire des Religions* 205/3 (1988): 299–301; C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia. Tradizioni giudaiche, cristiane e gnostiche*, *RB* 95 (1988): 113–14; G. Lüderitz, *Corpus Jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika*, *RB* 95 (1988): 140–41; M.A. Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine*, *RB* 95 (1988): 141–42; *Traductions hébraïques des Évangiles rassemblées par J. Carmignac* 4, *RB* 95 (1988): 145; M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4. III (4Q482–4Q520)*, *RB* 95 (1988): 404–11; D.A. Bertrand, *La Vie Grecque d’Adam et Ève*, *RB* 95 (1988): 584–85; J. Naveh and Sh. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, *RB* 95 (1988): 585–88; J.M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar*, *RB* 95 (1988), 588–592; N. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah. Remnants of a Burnt Archive*, *RB* 95 (1988): 592–94.
- 1989 G.E. Mendenhall, *The Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos*, *Orientalia* 58 (1989): 134–38; M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect*, *RevQ* 14/53 (1989): 147–48; Saul M. Olyan, *Asherah and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel*, *RB* 96 (1989): 584–88; P. Bordreuil, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du Musée du Louvre et du Musée Biblique de Bible et Terre Sainte*, *RB* 96 (1989): 588–92.
- 1991 S. Moscati (édit.), *Les Phéniciens*, *RB* 98 (1991): 436–39; R.S. Merrillees, *Alashia Revisited*, *RB* 98 (1991): 600–602; O. Keel/M. Shuval/Chr. Uehlinger, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel*, Band III, *RB* 98 (1991): 602–605.
- 1992 A. Kempinski, *Megiddo. A City-State and Royal Centre in North Israel*, *RB* 99 (1992): 753–55.
- 1993 R. Gonen, *Burial Patterns and Cultural Diversity in Late Bronze Age Canaan*, *RB* 100 (1993): 429–30; E. Bloch-Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*, *RB* 100 (1993): 430–34; P.W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, *RB* 100 (1993): 434–36.
- 1994 J.A. Fitzmyer and S.A. Kaufman, *An Aramaic Bibliography. Part I*, *RB* 101 (1994): 582–88; J.H. Charlesworth, with R.E. Whitaker, L.G. Hickerson, S.R.A. Starbuck, L.T. Stuckenbruck, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *RB* 101 (1994): 588–90; G. Vermes and M.D. Martin, *The Essenes According to Classical Sources*, *RB* 101 (1994): 590–93.
- 1998 L. Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence*, *RevQ* 18/71 (1998): 437–41, et *RB* 105 (1998): 281–85; J.H. Charlesworth with F.M. Cross, J. Milgrom, L.H. Schiffman, L.T. Stuckenbruck, and R.E. Whitaker, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume I: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, *RevQ* 18/71 (1998): 441–45; F. García Martínez & E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Volume I*, *RevQ* 18/71 (1998): 446–47; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, *RevQ* 18/71 (1998): 448–53.

- 2000 J.C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring time*, *RB* 107 (2000): 110–13; S.M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him. Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism*, *RevQ* 19/75 (2000): 457–59; L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran. Texts, Translation, and Commentary*, *RevQ* 19/76 (2000): 635–38; S. Enste, *Kein Markustext in Qumran. Eine Untersuchung der These: Qumran-Fragment 7Q5—Mk 6,52–53*, *RevQ* 19/76 (2000): 639–40.
- 2002 R. Deutsch and A. Lemaire, *Biblical Period Personal Seals in the Shlomo Moussaieff Collection*, *RB* 109 (2002): 426–28; J.H. Charlesworth (ed.) *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. II: *Damascus Document, War Scroll and Related Documents*, *RevQ* 20/80 (2002): 593–97; *Al kanefei Yonah. Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology*, *RevQ* 20/80 (2002): 597.
- 2003 Ch. R. Krahmalkov, *Phoenician—Punic Dictionary*, *RB* 110 (2003): 265–67; A. Pinnick, *The Orion Center Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1995–2000)*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 119; *Historical Perspectives from the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 120–21; A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 121–24; *Masada VI. Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 125–28; P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 128–129; E.D. Herbert, *Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Method Applied to the Reconstruction of 4QSam^a*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 129–32; A. Fincke, *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran. 4QSam^a restored and compared to the Septuagint and 4QSam^b*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 130–32; C. Körting, *Der Schall des Schoffar. Israels Feste im Herbst*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 132–33; J.K. Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll 3Q15: a Reevaluation*, *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 133–35; *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh*, by D.M. Gropp, and *Qumran Cave 4: Miscellanea, Part 2, Hebrew Study*, 44 (2003): 275–80; *Die Texte aus Qumran II. Hebräisch/Aramäisch und Deutsch mit masoretischer Punktuation*, *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 325–326.; G. Brin, *The Concept of Time in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 326–27; M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: a Methodological Study*, *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 328–29.
- 2004 O. Mulder: *Simon de hogepriester in Sirach 50—Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50*, *RB* 111 (2004): 90–92; M.J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 649–52; E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones*, *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 652–55; J. Un-Sok Ro, *Die sogenannte “Armenfrömmigkeit” im nachexilischen Israel*, *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 655–56.
- 2005 J.H. Charlesworth et alii, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Pseudepigraphic and Non-Massoretic Psalms*, *RevQ* 22/85 (2005): 131–34; J.H. Charlesworth et alii, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, *RevQ* 22/85 (2005): 134–36; J.H. Charlesworth et alii, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, *RevQ* 22/85 (2005): 136–39; J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Grand Rapids, 2002, *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, 2005.
- Forthcoming* U. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum. Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle 11QPs^a aus Qumran*, *RevQ* 22/86 (2005); C.H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam. Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *RevQ* 22/86 (2005); C.M. Murphy,

Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community, *RevQ* 22/86 (2005); T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. Part I—Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE*, *RevQ* 22/86 (2005); T. Muraoka – J.F. Elwolde (eds.), *Diggers at the Well. Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, *RevQ* 22/86 (2005); K.P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels. A Study of Relationship between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament*, *RevQ* 22/86 (2005).