

Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection

Publications of Museum of the Bible

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VOLUME 1

Semitic Texts

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The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/pmb

Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection

Edited by

Emanuel Tov
Kipp Davis
Robert Duke



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LEIDEN | BOSTON

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Tov, Emanuel, editor. | Davis, Kipp, editor. | Duke, Robert R., editor.

Title: Dead sea scrolls fragments in the Museum collection / edited by Emanuel Tov, Kipp Davis, Robert Duke.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2016] | Series: Publications of Museum of the Bible, ISSN 2214-2797 ; volume 1

Identifiers: LCCN 2016015778 (print) | LCCN 2016016485 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004321489 ((hardback) : alk. paper) | ISBN 9789004322868 (e-book)

Subjects: LCSH: Dead Sea scrolls.

Classification: LCC BM487 .D44957 2016 (print) | LCC BM487 (ebook) | DDC 296.1/55074753-dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016015778>

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

ISSN 2214-2797

ISBN 978-90-04-32148-9 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-32286-8 (e-book)

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Preface

Jerry A. Pattengale

The Genesis of Publications of the Museum of the Bible with Brill Publishers¹

The Formation of an Initiative to Mentor Students in Various Aspects of Text Studies

The Museum of the Bible Scholars Initiative (SI) began as the Green Scholars' Initiative (GSI) in the summer of 2010. Its founding and current purpose is to facilitate a large network of scholars in researching and producing scholarship on items in the Green Collection while mentoring students.² In January of 2016, due in large part to the expansion of the museum's holdings beyond the Green Collection, GSI was changed to its current name (SI).

This pedagogical model of the SI imbibes the mission of the Council on Undergraduate Research (CUR), "to support and promote high-quality undergraduate student-faculty collaborative research and scholarship." The SI model also reflects the five strategic pillars of CUR, but extends them throughout the participants' educational experience.³ The program is built around three levels

-
- 1 The Museum of the Bible is an organization with facilities in Washington, D.C., and in Oklahoma City, OK. The museum is scheduled to open in D.C. in November 2017. Around one hundred full-time employees support the museum's programs, with continued growth expected until the 2017 opening. Items not on exhibit in D.C., or in one of the museum's many traveling exhibits, will remain in the Oklahoma facilities with the curatorial and conservation teams.
 - 2 See Jerry A. Pattengale and Rory Crowley, "The Green Scholar's Initiative's Scholar-Mentor/Junior-Scholar Approach: Preliminary Results from a Working Pedagogical Case Study" (paper presented at the SOTL Commons Conference hosted by Georgia Southern University, Savannah, GA, 26 March 2015).
 - 3 These pillars are listed on the Council for Undergraduate Research website as: 1) Integrating and Building Undergraduate Research into Curriculum and Coursework; 2) Assessment of the Impact of Undergraduate Research; 3) Diversity and Inclusion in Undergraduate Research; 4) Innovation and Collaboration in Undergraduate Research. The latter is especially represented in the GSI model, meeting the expectations of CUR, "... expanding undergraduate research opportunities beyond academic institutions to research collaborations with business and non-profit organizations as well as between higher education institutions." And, 5) Internationalization and Undergraduate Research. The SI program has projects in at least

of participants: students (undergraduate through doctorate), their professors,⁴ and a SI Senior Scholar who consults on projects in his or her area of expertise. For this current volume, Emanuel Tov serves as the Senior Scholar for the contributing authors and as the volume's Senior Editor. The student co-authors of chapters were mentored by their professors, and both benefited from Dr. Tov overseeing their scholarship efforts throughout, a manifestation of all three of the SI levels. The SI structure also includes Regional Directors, who assist the Senior Scholars when appropriate and the professors on their local campuses, and Distinguished Scholars, who are established language specialists.⁵

Professors from more than sixty universities internationally are currently participating in the Scholars Initiative. A few hundred students participated in these research projects during the SI's first five years. One hundred and nineteen of these students also received awards for an intensive summer workshop. The inaugural event took place at Baylor University (2011) and the subsequent three events at Oxford University in conjunction with Scholarship and Christianity in Oxford and housed at Wycliffe Hall (2012–2014).⁶

A fortuitous relationship developed in our partnership with Bruce Zuckerman, Marilyn Lundberg, and the West Semitic Research Project (WSRP) at the University of Southern California when this SI project became the beta project of what Emanuel Tov is labeling the Zuckerman Reconstruction Method, itself employing a mentoring component.⁷ Even the publication co-authored by

seven countries. See "CUR Strategic Pillars," n.p. [cited 24 November 2015]. Online: http://www.cur.org/about_cur/strategicpillars/.

- 4 Professors involved in these SI research projects, who are not emeriti or otherwise distinguished through lifelong scholarship, are required to have full-time positions at an academic institution of higher learning (whether a university or a research institute), terminal degrees, and established competencies in the general area of research. This research model resonates with the Ernest Boyer's paradigm, expressed in Ernest L. Boyer et al., *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate* (San Francisco, CA: Wiley and Sons, 2015).
- 5 Although this multi-tiered research paradigm emphasizes mentoring, it also endorses Ernest L. Boyer's research mandates, addressed in John M. Braxton, William Luckey, and Patricia Helland, *Institutionalizing a Broader View of Scholarship through Boyer's Four Domains* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2002), 13–14. This challenge of mentoring amidst seminal research, especially in Boyer's Discovery domain, is well represented in Mark R. Schwehn, *Exiles from Eden: Religion and the Academic Vocation* (New York: Oxford Press), 5–40, 74.
- 6 For more information on the Scholars Initiatives, see: "Scholars Initiative," n.p. [cited 2 February 2016]. Online: <https://www.museumofthebible.org/scholars-initiative>. And for more information on the summer workshops (Logos Fellowship), see: "Logos Conference," n.p. [cited 2 February 2016]. Online: <http://www.scio-uk.org/logos-conference/>.
- 7 Dr. Zuckerman called it "The GSI Reconstruction Method" at our third annual workshop,

Bruce Zuckerman and his student Asher Levy, *An Introduction, Practical Guide, Manual and Toolbox for the Digital Reconstruction of the Dead Sea Scroll Fragmentary Remains and the Remains of Similar Ancient Documents*, which chronicles and synthesizes decades of these WSRP scholars' work, manifests an ongoing mentorship.⁸ The WSRP also helped mentor SI students in the Los Angeles area, including those at Pepperdine University.⁹

The First Series Planned

On August 1, 2012, the leadership of Brill publishing and the Museum of the Bible signed an agreement at Brill's Leiden offices to publish series from the research on the museum's holdings. The first was for the Papyrus Series, the second for the Semitic Texts, with additional series anticipated in Medieval, Cuneiform, and other areas of the MOTB holdings. Those present at the Brill offices were Executive Director of (then) GSI Jerry Pattengale, the COO of the Museum of the Bible Cary Summers, the museum's chairman of the board Steve Green, and Dirk Obbink of Christ Church, Oxford. Brill representatives included Senior Acquisitions Editor Suzanne Mekking and Editor Mattie Kuiper.¹⁰ Brill was selected due to its prominence among textual publications, especially of biblical importance. We thank Brill's team, including Liesbeth Hugenholtz, for its wonderful partnership in this endeavor.

attended by most authors of this volume (Marriott Marque, Atlanta, GA, 24 November 2015). However, Dr. Tov asked that this monumental task "... be referred to as the Zuckerman Reconstruction Method, implemented first through the Green Scholars Initiative." It is applicable to various languages and text material media.

- 8 The Zuckerman-Avery text is nearly complete at the time of this volume's publication, and is forthcoming.
- 9 These were students of professors Randy Chesnutt and Ronald Cox, with the GSI work featured in: Gareen Darakjian "Illuminated Manuscripts," *Pepperdine Magazine* (Summer 2013, feature article). Also, for similar news at Baylor University, see: Baylor Newsroom, "Baylor University Launches International Project Giving Undergrad Students Rare Chance for Hands-On Research on Ancient Manuscripts," n.p. [cited 24 November 2015]. Online: <http://www.newswise.com/articles/baylor-university-launches-international-project-giving-undergrad-students-rare-chance-for-hands-on-research-on-ancient-manuscripts>.
- 10 See "Brill to publish new papyrus series from the Green Collection," n.p. [cited 23 November 2015]. Online: <http://www.brill.com/news/brill-publish-new-papyrus-series-green-collection>.

The Emphasis of the Early Hebrew Series

The Natural Division of Semitic Texts

At the time of the planning of this volume, the museum's holdings contained twelve Dead Sea scroll fragments. A thirteenth fragment was acquired in 2015. The decision had already been made to concentrate the first volume on these Judean Desert texts, and Karl Kutz (Multnomah University, Oregon) and his research team were able to complete this final text with remarkable speed and precision. The MOTB holdings contain one of the largest number of medieval Jewish Bible and ceremonial scrolls (over 4,000), a major collection of Cairo Genizah documents, and other rare early Semitic texts, including the earliest known Jewish prayer book. The logical division between rabbinic and biblical texts influenced the parameters of volume 1, a decision manifest in its brevity. The other Semitic texts will be presented in additional volumes.

The Collaboration with MOTB Scholars

Among the first professors that joined the MOTB Initiative were several at Trinity Western University (Langley, British Columbia), home of the Dead Sea Scrolls Institute. The co-directors of this institute, both esteemed scholars in Semitic studies, have assisted with research contributing to this volume: Martin G. Abegg, Jr. (PhD, Hebrew Union College) and Peter Flint (PhD, Notre Dame University). The university is also home to the complementary center, The John William Wevers Institute for Septuagint Studies, with additional scholars involved with SI, including its director, Robert J.V. Hiebert (PhD, University of Toronto). Synergy among existing SI research scholars also came through ties with scholars at Azusa Pacific University (APU), owner of five Dead Sea Scroll fragments. Robert Duke, the principal investigator for APU's project, is also the West Coast Regional Director for SI and serves as a co-editor for volume 1.

The Resource Repository: The Museum of the Bible Holdings

Early Acquisitions

The Barbara and David Green family (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma) purchased their first biblical artifact in November 2009. Their collection has grown into one of the world's largest private collections of rare biblical texts, objects, and artifacts, now numbering over 40,000 items.¹¹ One of the first manuscripts

¹¹ See chapter 1, *Provenance* for further information on acquisitions.

acquired was the Codex Climaci Rescriptus (early fifth–ninth centuries), an important palimpsest sold by Westminster College, Cambridge through Sotheby's, New York. This became the cornerstone of research at Tyndale House, Cambridge, and is intended for publication in a future Brill series.¹²

Curation, Conservation, and Partnerships

The collection of artifacts range in date from cuneiform to rare printed Bibles, representing the need for a mélange of experts. The director of the MOTB Collection is David Trobisch, and Assistant Director is Seth Pollinger. In addition to other support staff, Francisco Rodriguez oversees conservation. Karen York serves as Head of the Curatorial Department, aided by six curators in specialty areas, four assistant curators, and various consultants. The team cares for the majority of the MOTB holdings in the museum's Oklahoma City facilities, where most of its nearly 100 employees have offices. Numerous items are either on loan or in exhibits, such as several manuscripts on long-term loan to the University of Cambridge Library. Research on the MOTB holdings is entrusted to the SI and other facets of the Museum of the Bible. Approximately 1,000 of these items have been exhibited through "Passages," which has traveled to five cities nationwide. The collection has also been featured internationally through significant traveling exhibits in Vatican City; Havana, Cuba; Buenos Aires, Argentina; and Jerusalem, Israel. A larger representation of this collection will be on display year-round when the Museum of the Bible opens its 430,000-square-foot nonprofit museum in Washington, D.C. (scheduled opening date is November, 2017).¹³

A Closer Look at the MOTB Pedagogical Philosophy in Practice

The Dead Sea Scroll Research Teams and the MOTB Scholars' Goals

One of the key standards of the SI model was to provide supervision for the research projects by leading scholars. The involvement of Emanuel Tov as the fulcrum of this volume is a manifestation of this commitment. Besides my own role as managing editor, the involvement of Kipp Davis as co-editor of volume 1,

12 Students were involved in the discovery of some of the earliest known astronomical drawings and texts in a section of Greek underwriting, discovered through Multi-Spectral Imaging. See: "Codex Climaci Rescriptus," n.p. [cited 24 November 2015]. Online: <http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/index.php?page=codex-climaci-rescriptus>.

13 A more informative and high-image representation of the Museum of the Bible is available online: <http://www.museumofthebible.org/>.

and assistance from such key figures as Bruce Zuckerman, Marilyn Lundberg, and Ada Yardeni accent this commitment. This additional support complements the expertise of the actual principal investigators. As Chart 1 shows, all these scholars have terminal degrees (the highest degrees on the academic track) in related fields from reputable institutions of higher learning.¹⁴ Another goal of the S1 is to make professors accessible to students at a wide range of institutions, including religious universities that often find able professors outside the seminal research opportunities. Given the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is not surprising that the eleven authors involved represent eight private institutions with active Biblical Hebrew courses. The latter are found in five states and two countries. Although the S1 projects include a majority of scholars with terminal degrees from non-religious institutions and involve professors at secular universities like Rice, Oklahoma, and Kent State, the majority are at religious institutions.

Another major S1 goal was the involvement of students in the research process. This project included 65 students directly involved in the research. Another program goal is to assist students in their pursuit of careers in related fields. Project involvement helped about a dozen students not only to establish valuable seminal research, but also to secure a key publication as contributing authors of the chapters (one, Michael Brooks Johnson, as lead author). Also, a majority of applicants to higher levels of education indicated the importance of S1 projects in gaining admission.

The projects averaged a little over two years, with the longest taking three years and the shortest one year. The three-year project, with Robert Duke, represents a longer gestation process as he was the first to have access given his co-editing role. The one-year project represents the late availability of one of the Leviticus texts and Karl Kutz's ability to commit time during the past year. The MOTB, joined by Brill staff, also hosted three workshops for participants in this project (2013, 2014, and 2015), organized by Amy Van Dyke (MOTB) and led by the volume's editors.

This project represents the first of the scholarly publications of the Museum of the Bible in its series with Brill.

Special thanks are due to Teranne Arentsen who skillfully copy-edited and stylized all the contributions included in this volume.

14 The actual total is 91% with terminal degrees since Michael Brooks Johnson is ABD ("All But Dissertation"), passing his exams with distinction. He has two related graduate degrees, and received mentoring throughout this project from the central editors and Dr. Peter Flint.

CHART 1 *Profile of professors serving as the principal investigators, and lead chapter authors*

| Text scholars | Terminal degree of primary author (institution) | Discipline area of terminal degree | Institution of scholar and students |
|-------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Elaine Bernius | Hebrew Union College | Judaic, Hebraic, and Cognate Studies | Indiana Wesleyan University (IN) |
| Karl Kutz | University of Wisconsin-Madison | Hebrew and Semitic Languages | Multnomah University (OR) |
| Marty Alan Michelson | University of Manchester, UK | Ancient Jewish History & Literature | Southern Nazarene University (OK) |
| Timothy Finlay | Claremont Graduate University | Biblical Form Criticism | Azusa Pacific University (CA) |
| Ishwaran Mudliar | Johns Hopkins University | Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitic Philology | Oklahoma Baptist University (OK) |
| Catherine McDowell | Harvard University | Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations | Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (NC) |
| Peter W. Flint | University of Notre Dame | Old Testament and Second Temple Judaism | Trinity Western University (BC) |
| Lisa Wolfe | Northwestern University (GTS) | Hebrew Bible | Oklahoma City University (OK) |
| Robert Duke | UCLA | Near Eastern Languages and Cultures | Azusa Pacific University (CA) |
| Martin G. Abegg, Jr. | Hebrew Union College | Texts and Versions of the Hebrew Bible | Trinity Western University (BC) |
| Michael Johnson ¹⁵ | McMaster University, ON (doc) | Early Judaism | Trinity Western University (BC) |
| TOTALS | 91% | 100% (in related areas) | 8 Private Institutions (5 States, 2 Countries) |

15 This author showed advanced knowledge and competency early on in the project, and his senior professor, in consultations with the project's editors, determined to give the PI role to the author (an MDiv., working on an additional MA in Biblical Studies, and he became a PhD student at McMaster University during the project [subject area: Religious Studies—Early Judaism] and has passed his comprehensive exams with distinction).

CHART 2 *Profile of the DSS projects students involved in the MOTB-DSS publication project (survey questions)*

| Text scholars | Elaine Bernius | Karl Kutz | Marty Alan Michelson | Timothy Finlay |
|--|----------------|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| Presence of students as (co)-author(s) | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Level of students when project was initiated | Undergrad | 2-Undergrad (Jeremiah) 1-undergrad (Exodus) 3-undergrad (Leviticus) 3-Masters (Jeremiah) 8-Masters (Exodus & Leviticus) 1-postdoc (Jeremiah; Exodus; Leviticus) | 2-Undergrad 1-Masters | Masters |
| Level of students when project was completed | Undergrad | 2-Undergrad (Jeremiah) 1-undergrad (Exodus) 3-undergrad (Leviticus) 3-Masters (Jeremiah) 8-masters (Exodus & Leviticus) 1-postdoc (Jeremiah; Exodus; Leviticus) | 2-Undergrad 1-Masters | Masters |
| Length of work on the project (years) | 3 | 2-Jeremiah 1 Exodus 0.66 Leviticus | 1 | 2.5 |
| Total number of students involved in the project | 2 | 6-Jeremiah 10-Exodus 12-Leviticus | 8 | 2 |
| Percentage of female students | 50% | 50% Jeremiah 40% Exodus 50% Leviticus | 37.5% | 0% |

| Ishwaran Mudliar | Catherine McDowell | Peter W. Flint | Lisa Wolfe | Robert Duke | Martin G. Abegg, Jr. | Michael Johnson ¹⁶ | TOTALS 11 |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | 91% |
| – | Masters | Masters | Undergrad | Undergrad | Masters | Masters | 11 Undergrad 17 Masters 1 postdoc |
| – | Masters | Masters | Undergrad | Undergrad | Masters | Doctorate | 11 Undergrad 16 Masters 1 Doctorate 1 postdoc |
| 2.5 | 2–2.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 2 | 3 | 2.13 per project (27.66/13 projects) |
| 600 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 665 ¹⁷ |
| 50% | 40% | 0% | 75% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 48% average |

16 Please see n. 15 for details with regard to this contributor (now ABD in a doctorate program as noted in Chart 1).

17 This number is skewed considerably due to the 600 in one professor's use of the material—but it accurately reflects his use of the research materials with large groups of students. Part of this decision was his determination that his Hebrew students were not in a place to work directly on the project, a determination left with each author.

CHART 2 *Profile of the DSS projects students involved in the MOTB-DSS publication project (survey questions) (cont.)*

| Text scholars | Elaine Bernius | Karl Kutz | Marty Alan Michelson | Timothy Finlay |
|---|------------------|---|----------------------|----------------|
| Number of students on the S1 research project | 2 | 6-Jeremiah 10-Exodus 12-Leviticus | 8 | 2 |
| Number of students whose S1 project helped in the successful application for a higher level of education | 0 (1 in process) | N/A-Jeremiah 0-Exodus N/A-Leviticus | 2 | 0 |
| Number of students in the project who have applied for, and received a response from, an institution at a higher level of education | 0 | 1-Jeremiah 3-Exodus N/A-Leviticus | 6 | 0 |

| Ishwaran Mudliar | Catherine McDowell | Peter W. Flint | Lisa Wolfe | Robert Duke | Martin G. Abegg, Jr. | Michael Johnson | TOTALS |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| – | 8 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 65 |
| – | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 11 |
| – | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 18 |

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- BHS* *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by W. Rudolph & K. Elliger. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967–1977.
- BHQ* *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*. Edited by A. Schenker. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004–.
- DJD* *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (of Jordan)*. Vols. 1–XL. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955–2010.
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*Introduction to the Museum Collection
of Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments*



Introduction, Text Editions, the Collection of the Museum of the Bible, Textual and Orthographic Character, Relation to Other Fragments from the Judaeen Desert¹

Emanuel Tov

Background

Purchase

The collection of ancient Jewish texts in the Museum of the Bible collection contains thirteen small fragments of scrolls from the Judaeen Desert, usually called Dead Sea Scrolls. These fragments were purchased on behalf of Mr. Steven Green in four lots from four private collectors at the following times and received in Oklahoma City shortly thereafter:

- I Four in November 2009: MOTB.SCR.000120 (Exodus), MOTB.SCR.000121 (Psalms), MOTB.SCR.000122 (Leviticus?), and MOTB.SCR.000123 (Instruction)
- II One in February 2010: MOTB.SCR.000124 (Genesis)
- III Seven in May 2010: MOTB.SCR.003170 (Daniel), MOTB.SCR.003171 (Jonah), MOTB.SCR.003172 (Jeremiah), MOTB.SCR.003173 (Numbers), MOTB.SCR.003174 (Ezekiel), MOTB.SCR.003175 (Nehemiah), and MOTB.SCR.003183 (Micah)
- IV One in October 2014 and received in Oklahoma City in June 2015: NCF.SCR.004742 (Leviticus)

Other Collections

The collection of Dead Sea Scroll fragments published in this volume joins several other collections and individual texts that have become known at the end of the twentieth century and in the beginning of the twenty-first

1 Thanks are due to the staff of the Museum of the Bible for help in providing the information for some of the opening paragraphs.

century. The history of these discoveries, not including the Museum of the Bible collection, has been reviewed in detail by H. Eshel in his posthumous contribution to the publication of *The Schoyen Collection*.² These other major private collections of Dead Sea Scroll fragments are *The Schoyen Collection*,³ the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary collection,⁴ and the Azusa Pacific University collection.

Storage

The twelve fragments from sources I, II, and III were donated to the Museum of the Bible in 2012 and 2013, while those from source IV currently belong to the Museum Collection. When they are not on display in the museum's domestic and international exhibits, they are kept in the Museum Collection's artifact storage facility in Oklahoma City.

Conservation

The fragments in the aforementioned group I came in folders which allowed only the inscribed side to be visible. Those in group III were housed in plexi-glass, surrounded by matboard cut to the shape of the fragment. None of the fragments have undergone conservation work on the spot, though all but one of the fragments in groups I and III were remounted between museum glass with Japanese tissue and some museum adhesive in a fashion that minimizes pressure. From group I only MOTB.SCR.000121 (a Psalms fragment with a sister piece at Ashland Theological Seminary) was pressure mounted between museum glass plates for imaging in March 2014; prior to remounting, several bits of the edges had broken off in its folder housing. By contrast, the fragment from source II (MOTB.SCR.000124) was stored between pressure mounted glass plates upon receipt from the previous owner. It continues to be mounted that way today.

Each fragment has its own entry in the museum's electronic cataloguing system TMS (The Museum System), indexed by accession number. Catalogue entries include fields for text content, date, material, dimensions, and other

2 H. Eshel, "The Fate of the Scrolls and Fragments: A Survey from 1946 to the Present," in Torleif Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from The Schoyen Collection* (Library of Second Temple Studies 71; London / New York: T&T Clark, 2016), 46–70 (59–63: "Recently Published Texts from Qumran").

3 See n. 2.

4 Gary & Stephanie Loveless *Present Dead Sea Scrolls & the Bible* (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary: Fort Worth, TX, 2012).

information, as well as photographs; all of these are periodically updated as the analysis progresses.

Imaging

Twelve of the thirteen fragments were imaged by the West Semitic Research Project with both RTI and professional high-resolution backlit photography, each including infrared photographs. Imaging took place in multiple sessions between June 2009 (prior to acquisition) and March/April 2014. West Semitic Research produced images of NCF.SCR.004742 independent of and prior to the Museum of the Bible acquisitions. See further below “A Methodology for the Digital Reconstruction of the Dead Sea Scroll Fragmentary Remains” by Bruce Zuckerman, Asher Levy, and Marilyn Lundberg.

Provenance

Some of these fragments must have come from Qumran, probably Cave 4, while the others may have derived from other sites in the Judaeen Desert. Unfortunately little is known about the provenance of these fragments because most sellers did not provide such information at the time of the sale. Those that were purchased from the antiquities dealer Kando came with the label “Qumran Cave 4,” but scholars often do not attach much value to that claim. As a rule, no certainty can be obtained with regard to any unprovenanced fragments. Fragments found in controlled excavations can of course be linked directly to sites and caves. It is more difficult to do so for the majority of the fragments that were brought to the market by Bedouin.

The fragments that were bought by Mr. Green and other collectors are the most difficult in this regard since they are not connected to either excavations or Bedouin, and several new collections of this type face the same problem. Carbon-14 and chemical examinations have been applied to several fragments found in the Judaeen Desert, but rarely in the case of tiny fragments since they provide too little surface for the examinations. In very few cases can an unprovenanced fragment be linked with a Qumran composition when its text overlaps with such a composition. This suggestion is considered for fragment 13, A Fragment of Instruction (MOTB.SCR.000123), but rejected. In another situation, fragments may be linked with orthographic practices that characterize several of the Qumran texts, but this pertains only to fragment 3, Leviticus 23:24–28 (NCF.SCR.004742). As a result, for the majority of the texts no firm statement can be made about their provenance.

The issue of the provenance has repercussions also for the nomenclature. In earlier times the names of the fragments exactly reflected the place of discovery. Thus 4Q175 denoted item 175 in the list of texts found in Cave 4 at Qumran,

also named 4QTestimonia. At that time the designation “xQ” was used for fragments probably deriving from Qumran when the exact cave was unknown, and “x” when it was unclear whether the text derived from Qumran or another site. However, that nomenclature may also be problematic, since the decision whether to use “xQ” or “x” is difficult, if the only source of information about the discovery is the antiquities dealer. Therefore in the 2010’s E. Tigchelaar devised an inventory system of general references to the unprovenanced fragments whereby each item is designated “DSS F” = “Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment,” e.g. DSS F.Exod6 (Exod 17:4–7).⁵ This system is followed here, and Tigchelaar provided the numbers that are used in this volume.

1. Genesis 31:23–25?, 32:3–6 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000124) = DSS F.191 (DSS F.Gen2)
2. Exodus 17:4–7 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000120) = DSS F.192 (DSS F.Exod6)
3. Leviticus 23:24–28 (Inv. NCF.SCR.004742) = DSS F.203 (DSS F.Lev6)
4. A Fragment of Leviticus? (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000122) = DSS F.193 (DSS F.Lev5)
5. Numbers 8:3–5 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003173) = DSS F.194 (DSS F.Num2)
6. Jeremiah 23:6–9 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003172) = DSS F.195 (DSS F.Jer2)
7. Ezekiel 28:22 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003174) = DSS F.196 (DSS F.Ezek1).
8. Jonah 4:2–5 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003171) = DSS F.197 (DSS F.Jon1)
9. Micah 1:4–6 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003183) = DSS F.198 (DSS F.Mic1)
10. Psalm 111:4 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000121) = DSS F.199 (DSS F.Ps3)
11. Daniel 10: 18–20 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003170) = DSS F.200 (DSS F.Dan1)
12. Nehemiah 2:13–16 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003175) = DSS F.201 (DSS F.Neh2)
13. A Fragment of Instruction (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000123) = DSS F.202 (DSS F.Instruction1)

Text Editions

The thirteen text editions in this volume follow the structure of the text editions in the official series of publications of the Dead Sea Scrolls, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (DJD)*.⁶ The editions of *DJD* as well as the present ones are comprised of these segments:

- a) *Physical Description*: a short description of the physical features of each fragment, focusing on such matters as the material (leather or papyrus

5 See E. Tigchelaar, “Notes on the Three Qumran-Type Yadin Fragments Leading to a Discussion of Identification, Attribution, Provenance, and Names,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 198–214 (209–214).

6 Oxford: Clarendon Press, volumes I–XL, 1955–2009.

[irrelevant in the case of the fragments included in this volume]) and its color, measures of the fragments, intervals between the lines and the columns, the sizes of the letters, presence and type of ruling of the lines, features of the ink, material damage, special features such as scribal signs in the margins or between the lines, presence of supralinear or infralinear letters, different types of scribal errors and their corrections, presence of word separators (spacing), writing on two sides of the material (irrelevant for the texts included in this volume), and writing in different scripts or languages (both irrelevant for the texts included in this volume).

- b) *Structural Assessment*: number of letter spaces per line, length of line, and size of column. These elements are needed as background information for the reconstruction of the fragmentary texts. For many of the fragments that are very small, this information has been included in the *Physical Description*.
- c) *Paleography*: paleographical description of all the details of the script together with an attempt at dating the script based on other Judaean Desert texts and external documents. The paleographical description refers also to the ductus, the regularity of the script, possible cramming of letters towards the ends of lines, etc. The paleographical sections in this publication are composed by Ada Yardeni and are summarized by Kipp Davis (“Paleographical and Physical Features of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Museum of the Bible Collection: A Synopsis”).
- d) *Transcription*: the transcription of the fragment includes the reconstruction of elements before, in, and after the preserved letters. The degree of certainty is indicated by a few diacritical signs explained below. The transcription attempts to represent as well as is reasonably possible the layout of the text, margins, column structure, and the exact position of the inscribed and unscribed surfaces within the texts together with all the scribal peculiarities, although the printed text can never succeed in giving an exact picture of the hand-written text.

The degrees of certainty regarding the identification of letters are based on each editor’s evaluation of the preserved remains of the letters. The following conventions are employed:

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ⌘ | certain letter |
| ⌘̇ | probable letter |
| ⌘̇̇ | possible letter |
| ○ (mid-line cirlet) | remnant of an undetermined letter |

- e) *Translation*: the editors provide their own translations, much influenced by modern translations such as *NRSV* and *NJPS*.
- f) *Notes on Readings*: this segment contains critical notes on the probability of the readings provided. These notes are very important in the case of fragmentary texts such as those published in this volume. These notes refer also to fragmentary remains of letters preserved without any context, that is, letters that cannot be reconstructed as parts of words. The notes constantly refer to the different sets of photographs that were at the disposal of the editors of the texts in this volume. These photographs provide different types of information under different conditions of light. Only a selection of these photographs are supplied in this volume. The notes refer to the various textual witnesses of the Scripture text, since the readings in the fragments usually agree with external ancient witnesses. The notes on readings often provide background material for the recognition of variants.
- g) *Variants*: the notion of variants pertains only to the Scripture texts, that is, twelve of the thirteen texts included in this volume. A variant is traditionally conceived of as any detail in the fragment that disagrees with the Masoretic Text (MT). This apparatus of remarks thus records the readings agreeing with each fragment of the Museum of the Bible Collection and those disagreeing with it and may be conceived of as “variants”. This apparatus thus refers to the relation between the various textual witnesses to the Scripture text. The sources are listed in this sequence: the lemma (the text quoted from the fragment in the Bible Museum Collection), other Hebrew texts from the Judaean Desert, MT, the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), the LXX (Greek Septuagint translation), the various Targumim (T),⁷ the Syriac Peshitta (S), and the Vulgate (V). In this apparatus variants are recorded and not evaluated, that is, no judgment is expressed on their comparative value.
- h) *Reconstructed Variants*: variants are either visible or assumed in the lacuna. In the latter case, usually the fragmentary text cannot be reconstructed according to MT because the lacuna is too small in order to contain the complete MT text, or conversely it may be too long for MT, and a longer text may have to be reconstructed. In these considerations scholars are often guided by a witness other than MT that does contain a longer or shorter text than MT. Such reconstructed variants are hypothetical, but they are often required by the context.

⁷ T^O, T^J, T^{Ps-J}, T^N, T^F.

- j) *Orthography and Morphology*: differences between the fragment and the other Hebrew sources, especially MT, in orthography (spelling) and morphology (linguistic forms of words) are listed separately because they need to be evaluated separately from the variants. Some of the fragments reflect an orthographical or morphological style that is also known from other sources.
- k) *Textual Character*: this section offers some reflections on the textual character of the fragment based on its extant and reconstructed variants. Fragments may be close to either MT, the LXX, a combination of these texts, or none at all (independent or non-aligned texts). The fragments are small and often do not provide much material for such an analysis. The textual status of the Museum of the Bible Collection is discussed below.
- l) *Plates*: the plates are significant, and readers are encouraged to examine them. They provide a high level of clarity for the editors' descriptions and interpretative decisions. The preparation of the editions is based on many photographs, only some of which are represented in the edition. Almost all the examinations of the fragments for the production of the editions was made using only the photographs, and by and large the editors did not conduct any on-site studies of the fragments themselves which are often difficult to study without special photographic techniques.
- m) *Reconstructions*: the computer-aided reconstructions prepared by Bruce Zuckerman and Marilyn Lundberg were an important component in the preparation of the present edition. The editors were often guided by these reconstructions that showed them the extent of the various lacunae in the line.

The Collection of the Museum of the Bible

The collection of the Museum of the Bible may be called a corpus or a collection, but it should be remembered that it is an artificial collection reflecting texts that were available on the antiquities market at a certain period. One should therefore not expect any features common to these texts. Each of the corpora of texts found in the various Judaeen Desert sites could be considered as reflecting a certain unity possibly reflecting the nature or logic of the people of Qumran, Masada, or Murabba'at who collected these texts. However, these collections are also coincidental as they reflect the written documents adduced to these sites from various places. Furthermore, they are haphazard because the contents of the collections is determined by what has been preserved coincidentally. This feature probably also characterizes the other col-

lections that were created in the twenty-first century, The Schøyen Collection⁸ and the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary Collection.⁹

While I cannot claim to have exhausted the analysis of the various groups of texts that surfaced in the end of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, some points should be made on their contents.

- a) The Museum of the Bible collection of thirteen fragments contains no Aramaic texts, which is not exceptional, considering that the Qumran caves contain only fourteen percent of such texts alongside a majority of Hebrew texts (86%).¹⁰ By comparison, the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary collection of eight texts contains one Aramaic text (Daniel),¹¹ and The Schøyen Collection of thirty-three texts contains at least two such texts. The other collections contain no Aramaic texts.
- b) The Museum of the Bible collection of thirteen fragments contains no paleo-Hebrew texts, which is not exceptional, considering that the Qumran caves contain only sixteen such texts in a corpus of 930 texts. By comparison, the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary collection of eight texts contains one paleo-Hebrew text (of Leviticus).¹² The other collections contain no paleo-Hebrew texts.
- c) The Museum of the Bible collection of thirteen fragments contains no papyrus texts, which is not exceptional, considering that the Qumran caves contain only fourteen percent such texts.¹³ By comparison, the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary collection of eight texts contains two papyrus texts (both of Daniel),¹⁴ and The Schøyen Collection contains three such texts.¹⁵ The other collections contain no papyrus texts.
- d) Although several factors make precise statements impossible,¹⁶ one can get an impression of the Scripture component of the recently surfaced collec-

8 Torleif Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*.

9 Gary & Stephanie Loveless *Present Dead Sea Scrolls & the Bible*.

10 See E. Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

11 Gary & Stephanie Loveless *Present Dead Sea Scrolls & the Bible*, 91.

12 Gary & Stephanie Loveless *Present Dead Sea Scrolls & the Bible*, 91.

13 The figures are based on data provided by Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 45 (2004). The figures for 2016 would not differ much.

14 Gary & Stephanie Loveless *Present Dead Sea Scrolls & the Bible*, 91.

15 MS 5234, MS 4612/6, and MS 4612/12. The first of these fragments purportedly contains text from Tobit, and the other two from *1 Enoch*.

16 The nature of several fragments is unclear; it can often not be decided whether a fragment contains a Scripture text, a reworked Bible composition, a quotation, or a *pesher*.

tions of manuscripts. The Museum of the Bible collection of thirteen fragments contains twelve Scripture texts (92%), which is exceptionally high, much higher than the percentage of Scripture texts at Qumran (23%).¹⁷ The percentage of Scripture texts in The Schøyen Collection is equally high as in the Museum of the Bible collection (27 fragments out of 33 texts or 82%), as are the Azusa Pacific University collection of four Scripture fragments¹⁸ and the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary collection (8 of the 9 fragments contain Scripture, or 90%, while the ninth one is unreadable). It is remarkable that in all instances where there is legible text, virtually every fragment in private collections has been identified with a previously known composition. The only exception may be Schøyen's 11Q(?) Eschatological Fragment ar (MS 4612/3), but since there is only one clearly readable word, it is impossible to say.¹⁹

Textual and Orthographic Character

The biblical texts as known from the combined textual witnesses, and especially from the Judaean Desert texts published before the publication of this volume, display textual variety. This variety is visible not only when well-preserved texts are analyzed, but also when fragmentary texts, such as published in this volume are scrutinized. Some of the texts published here are extremely fragmentary, but nevertheless some information can be gauged on their textual status. In the case of the scriptural fragments, this analysis refers to the question whether a certain fragment may be described as close to MT, the LXX, or the SP, or as independent of all these witnesses. Further, the fragment does provide some information on its style of orthography or morphology. Information of this kind is included in each of the editions in this volume and it is summarized in Table 1.1 relating to variants and Table 1.2 relating to orthography. The information available on these fragments should not be judged for all the fragments together, because the fragments do not constitute a corpus reflecting a common character. Each fragment should be understood separately from the others as reflecting a minute part of the complete composition of which it once was a part.

17 The percentage for Qumran is calculated on the basis of Tov, *TCHB*, 96–97 (2009). These percentages would not be much different today.

18 Lev 10:4–7; Deut 8:2–5; 27:4–6; Dan 5:13–16. Because the fifth one cannot be identified, the percentage of Scripture texts cannot be calculated.

19 Observation by K. Davis.

Summarizing the textual evidence of the fragments in the Museum of the Bible collection, I note that there are several remarkable variants, and also several remarkable agreements between the fragments and external witnesses, but at the same time there are no textbook examples of textual relationships. Referring now to the network of textual relations, in all instances the evidence does not suffice, in my view, to list these fragments as witnesses to either the pre-Samaritan, Masoretic, or LXX traditions or any other textual unit that has been described in the literature. In the Museum of the Bible fragments the best examples for a certain textual pattern are the following texts:

1. F.Num2: This fragment was characterized as pre-Samaritan by its editor (Timothy Finlay) on the basis of three readings.
2. F.Jer2: The textual witnesses of Jeremiah are divided into two textual families, that of MT together with 4QJer^{a,c} and that of the LXX, together with 4QJer^{b,d}, and according to the editor of F.Jer2, Karl Kutz, that fragment reflects an intermediary stage between these groups. Kutz notes that in one important detail, the fragment follows MT (“... lines 1 and 2 show that the sequence of verses represented by DSS F.Jer2 corresponds to MT, while the LXX places vv. 7 and 8 after v. 40 of MT”), while at the same time it reflects two LXX readings. It also reflects two independent readings.
- 3–4. F.Jon1 and F.Ps3: each of these two fragments reflects two independent readings.

Turning now to the collection as a whole, the following table summarizes the variants while referring to these data:

1. Name of the fragment
2. Scripture verse
3. Reading of the fragment in the Museum of the Bible collection together with the sources with which it agrees
4. Differing textual evidence
5. Summary of the sources agreeing with the Museum of the Bible fragment (the sign “–” indicates that no sources agree with the fragment).

TABLE 1.1 *Textual relations in the Museum of the Bible fragments*

| DSS | Scripture | Reading + agreements | Different readings | Summary |
|---------|--------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| F.Gen2 | 32:4 | אֲרָ[צִ]הָ MT | אֲרָץ SP | MT |
| | 32:6 | – MT SP | LXX Ησρα | MT SP |
| F.Exod6 | several reconstructed variants | | | MT SP LXX T S V |
| | F.Lev5 | no evidence | | |
| F.Num2 | 8:4 | יִרְכִּיחַ SP V SamT | יִרְכַּח MT LXX T ^O T ^J T ^N | SP V SamT |
| | 8:4 | וְעַד SP LXX T ^{J,N} V SamT | עַד MT T ^O | SP LXX T ^{J,N} V SamT |
| | 8:4 | פָּרַחֵיהָ SP LXX T ^J T ^N V | פָּרַחַה MT T ^O T ^N corr | SP LXX T ^J T ^N V |
| F.Jer2 | 23:8 | יְהוָה וְהָ אֲשֶׁר הִצֵּי[ן] אֵא | LXX κύριος ὁς στυγήσας; יהוה; אֲשֶׁר הָעֵלָה וְאֲשֶׁר הִבִּיא MT T S V | – |
| | 23:8 | כָּל זֶרַע] LXX | זֶרַע MT | LXX |
| | 23:8 | הִדִּינָה} חָם LXX | הַדַּחְתִּים MT | LXX |
| | 23:9 | בַּקְבִּי | בַּקְרָבִי MT LXX T S | – |
| F.Ezek1 | 28:22 | אִמַּר | אִמַּר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה MT S; λέγει κύριος LXX | – |
| | 28:22 | עֲלִיכָה T | עֲלִיךְ MT S | T |
| F.Jon1 | 4:5 | וַיֹּשֶׁב | וַיֹּשֶׁב MurXII 4QXII ⁸ MT LXX T S V | – |
| | 4:5 | וַיֹּשְׁבָ] וַיֹּשְׁבָ] | וַיֹּשֶׁב 4QXII ⁸ MT LXX T S V | – |
| F.Mic1 | 1:5 | וּבַחֲטָאוֹת MT MurXI (both: ובחטאות) | καὶ διὰ ἀμαρτίαν LXX (ובחטאת) 27 MT MurXII MSS Kenn) | – |
| | 1:5 | יְהוּדָה | יִשְׂרָאֵל MT MurXII LXX S | – |
| | 1:6 | possibly shorter text (there is no room for all of words 3–7 in the lacuna) | | – |
| F.Ps3 | 11:3 | יְהוָה הִרְסוּן הַשְּׁתוֹת | הַשְּׁתוֹת יְהוּרְסוֹן all other texts | – |
| | 11:4 | יְהוָה בְּהִכְלָ קֶדְ] שׁו | all other texts interchange this half-stich with יהוה בשמים כסאו | – |
| F.Dan1 | 10:19 | חֲזֹק] וְהִתְחַזַּק | חֲזֹק וְחֲזֹק MT | – |
| F.Neh2 | 2:13 | רִימִים] | הֵם פְּרוּצִים MT-Ketiv, מִרְיָם MT-Qere | – |

Orthography

Across the board too little information is known about the orthography of the fragments in the Museum of the Bible collection. While it would be overly simplistic to claim the orthography of the biblical fragments as belonging to either the style of MT or that of the Qumran Scribal Practice (QSP),²⁰ for the purposes of this publication it gives a general indication of the orthography style. Most fragments in the Museum of the Bible collection are written in the style of MT. The only cases that can be made in favor of the QSP among the biblical fragments are DSS F.Lev6 (one example, לְכַמֹּה in 23:24 offset against one defective spelling in 23:27 הַכַּפְרִיִּם) and F.Ezek1 (two examples offset against one defective spelling in Ezek 28:22 כַּה).

On the other hand, the only non-biblical fragment in this corpus, a clear sectarian text (F.Instruction1) with only two identifiable words, is written in the QSP.

Turning now to the collection as a whole, Table 1.2 summarizes the spellings while referring to these data:

1. Name of the fragment
2. Scripture verse
3. Spelling of the fragment in the Museum of the Bible collection together with the sources or practices with which it agrees
4. Differing spelling
5. Summary of the sources or practices agreeing with the Museum of the Bible fragment (the sign “–” indicates that no sources agree with the fragment)

The bottom line of this analysis is that there is no clear conclusion concerning either the textual or orthographic pattern of the thirteen fragments in this publication. The only possible exceptions could be the two fragments mentioned before Table 1.1: F.Num2 that may be pre-Samaritan and F.Jer2 that may reflect a mixture of agreements with the LXX and MT.

In his edition of F.Num2, Finlay adds an important general remark:

The results are difficult to summarize largely due to the paucity of surviving material from a few of the manuscripts, particularly those from Cave 2Q. There does appear to be some consistency in the circulation of MT from the early Hasmonean period until after the destruction of the

²⁰ See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 100–105.

TABLE 1.2 *Orthographic peculiarities in the Museum of the Bible fragments*

| DSS | Scripture | Spelling + agreements | Different spellings | Summary |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------|
| F.Gen2 | 32:4 | יְעֻקֵּב MT | | MT |
| | 32:5 | יְעֻקֵּב MT | | MT |
| | 32:6 | צֹאן MT | | MT |
| F.Exod6 | 17:5 | וּמִטְכָּה | ומטך MT | QSP? |
| F.Lev5 | No evidence | | | |
| F.Lev6 | 23:24 | לְכַמֶּה | לכם MT | QSP? |
| | 23:27 | הַכַּפְרִיִּים MT | | MT |
| F.Num2 | No evidence | | | |
| F.Jer2 | 23:8 | הַצֹּרִי א | – | |
| | 23:8 | כל | – | |
| F.Ezek1 | 28:22 | כה MT | | MT |
| | 28:22 | עליכה | עליך MT | QSP? |
| | 28:22 | ה [בכ] | בה MT | QSP? |
| F.Jom1 | 4:4 | ל [כה] | לך MT | QSP? |
| F.Mic1 | 1:5 | כול | כל MT | QSP? |
| | 1:5 | זאת MT | | MT |
| | 1:5 | ובחטות | ובחטאות MT | QSP? |
| | 1:5 | ירושלם MT | | MT |
| F.Ps3 | 11:1 | לדודי | לדוד MT | QSP? |
| F.Dan1 | No evidence | | | |
| F.Neh2 | No evidence | | | |
| F.Instruction1 | | עבודתכה | | QSP? |
| | | ומשמֶה | | QSP? |

Jerusalem temple. Moreover, the large concentration of proto-MT texts containing Numbers in the late/post-Herodian period also suggests an emerging hegemony of MT for this composition after the mid-first century C.E. The addition of the mid-Hasmonean fragment DSS F.Num2 provides stronger representation of the pre-Samaritan text in the Hasmonean and early Herodian period.

Relation to Other Fragments from the Judaean Desert

Due to the unprovenanced nature of the fragments published in this publication a comparison with known Judaean Desert scrolls and fragments that preserve text from the same biblical books may provide some additional information by allowing for an identification of the new fragments with previously discovered manuscripts. It would actually be logical that some of the new fragments would have been chipped off from one of the known scrolls. The possible link between these fragments and other texts among the Judaean Desert texts has been painstakingly researched by the editors of this volume on the basis of contents, color of the leather, scribal peculiarities, and especially paleographical features.

The possibility of a connection between a Museum of the Bible fragment and one of the Judaean Desert texts has been studied on the basis of a comparison with a large number of manuscripts:²¹

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Genesis: | 21 potential candidates |
| Exodus: | 30 potential candidates, including phylacteries and <i>mezuzot</i> |
| Leviticus DSS F.Lev6: | 22 |
| Numbers: | 13 |
| Jeremiah: | 7 |
| Ezekiel: | 7 |
| Jonah: | 8 |
| Micah: | 13 |
| Psalms: | 40 |
| Daniel: | 10 |
| Nehemiah: | 2 |
| Instruction: | 7–8 |

However, in only one instance has a case been made for identifying a fragment (DSS F.Ps3) with a text from the Judaean Desert. The editor for DSS F.Ps3, Lisa Wolfe, summarizes the evidence as follows:

²¹ For a general discussion of linking newly surfaced fragments with earlier published fragments, see the discussion of Tigchelaar, “Notes on the Three Qumran-Type Yadin Fragments,” 213.

The 2007 Eshel and Eshel article identified the Ashland Theological Seminary (ATS) fragment as belonging to the same scroll as DSS F.Ps3, assigning the two fragments to the same column. Beyond their publication no photographs are available. The ATS fragment includes nearby portions of Psalm 11:1–3 from the first three lines of DSS F.Ps3, and is separated from it to the left by two to four words. Future study of photographs of this fragment would provide further confirmation of its relation to DSS F.Ps3.

In two other instances such connections have been carefully weighed, but rejected:

F.Instr1 (on the basis of its script and content) contains only two identifiable words, but they clearly overlap with 4Q418 to which composition the fragment thus cannot have belonged. The editor, M. Johnson, notes in his conclusion:

In view of the peculiarity of the script and color of the leather, it is possible that DSS F.Instr1 is a hitherto unknown copy of Instruction. Although the fragment could fit with 4Q415, 4Q416, or 4Q417, there are some paleographic and material considerations that cast doubt upon any identification. 4Q415 is the most plausible of the three, but the limited sampling of letters and the concentration of peculiar forms prevent a firm identification. Consequently, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that DSS F.Instr1 belonged to another manuscript unknown to us. Especially in view of the fragment's uncertain provenance and its history of being mislabeled by scholars and collectors, it is prudent to consider DSS F.Instr1 as yet another copy of Instruction until more reliable evidence can be adduced.

Regarding DSS F.Neh2, editor Martin Abegg wonders:

What is the relationship of DSS F.Neh2 to the Schøyen Nehemiah fragment and 4QEzra edited by Eugene Ulrich?²² Is it possible to assign these fragments to the same manuscript? Three clues suggest a relationship of kinship. First, all three manuscripts are written in a smaller than normal script, with a letter height of just 2 mm. Second, the two Nehemiah fragments evidence virtually identical line lengths of about 50

22 Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 291–293.

letter spaces. Third, all three date to the middle of the first century B.C.E. This is, however, as far as the similarities go. 4QEzra has somewhat longer line lengths of 65–70 letter spaces.²³ And, whereas DSS F.Neh2 and the Schøyen Nehemiah fragment are proto-Masoretic texts, 4QEzra with its three textual variations as compared with MT (two with the LXX and one against the LXX) is best categorized as “mixed.” Most telling, it was clear to the present authors, as well as to Elgvin,²⁴ that each of the fragmentary remains evidences a different hand: 4QEzra is the most elegant of the three and DSS F.Neh2 is the crudest. In conclusion, although a slim possibility remains that there may be one manuscript with multiple scribes, it seems best to consider these fragments as representing three different scrolls, all copied in the mid-first century B.C.E.

The situation is different for The Schøyen Collection and for the collection of the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary as a handful of the new fragments in both have been ascribed to known manuscripts.²⁵

23 Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XI*, 291.

24 Personal communication with Torleif Elgvin.

25 Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*. Cf. e.g. MS 5439/1, which has been positively identified as belonging to 4QRP^b (4Q364), and designated frg. 8a.

Paleographical and Physical Features of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Museum of the Bible Collection: A Synopsis

Kipp Davis

Introduction

The Dead Sea Scroll fragments in the Museum of the Bible Collection were purportedly discovered by Bedouin in the Qumran Caves, most particularly in Cave 4. However, this claim cannot be established by any verifiable evidence and their provenance remains a mystery. In this way the collection as a whole differs in nature from the discoveries from Qumran or from several other Judean Desert manuscript finds, which provided occasion to examine material features of manuscript production and the scribal practices of the original owners. Thus, if taken collectively, the material features observed on the fragments of this publication form an artificial description of a group of texts that may actually have no common connection in antiquity. Nevertheless, these observations remain useful elements for identification and reconstruction. In what follows I will conduct a survey of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Museum Collection and will provide a synthesis of paleography and script and of the vagaries of physical appearance and manuscript production that are revealed in the numerous vLC and infrared photographs (IR), as well as the polynomial texture maps (PTM) produced by Bruce Zuckermann and his team from West Semitic Research at the University of Southern California (WSRP).

Paleographical Profile

Ada Yardeni conducted the paleographical analysis for every Dead Sea scroll fragment in the Museum Collection. In each of the editions she has provided excellent descriptions of the general character and appearance of the script in the fragment, important features for specific letters, and a suggested date of writing based on her meticulously derived comparative method for paleographical study. This method is most comprehensively documented in her *Text-*

TABLE 2.1 *Inventory of Dead Sea Scrolls fragments in the Museum Collection*

| Inv. | Designation | Lines | Line Spacing | Letter Height | Editors |
|-----------------|--------------------|------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| MOTB.SCR.000120 | DSS F.Exod6 | 5 (1 col.) | 7.0 mm | 2.5 mm | Kutz |
| MOTB.SCR.000121 | DSS F.Ps3 | 4 (1 col.) | 6.3 mm | 2.2 mm | Wolfe |
| MOTB.SCR.000122 | DSS F.Lev5 | 4 (1 col.) | 6.2 mm | +2 mm | Michelson |
| MOTB.SCR.000123 | DSS F.Instruction1 | 2 (1 col.) | 6.8 mm | 2.3 mm | Johnson |
| MOTB.SCR.000124 | DSS F.Gen2 | 8 (2 cols) | 7.7 mm | 2.5 mm | Bernius |
| MOTB.SCR.003170 | DSS F.Dan6 | 3 (1 col.) | 6 mm | 2.5 mm | Duke |
| MOTB.SCR.003171 | DSS F.Jon1 | 4 (1 col.) | 5.6–6 mm | 1.9 mm | McDowell and Hill |
| MOTB.SCR.003172 | DSS F.Jer2 | 7 (1 col.) | 6.8 mm | ± 2 mm | Kutz |
| MOTB.SCR.003173 | DSS F.Num2 | 4 (1 col.) | 7 mm | 2.5 mm | Finlay |
| MOTB.SCR.003174 | DSS F.Ezek1 | 2 (1 col.) | 7–8 mm | 1.9 mm | Mudlier |
| MOTB.SCR.003175 | DSS F.Neh2 | 4 (1 col.) | 5–6 mm | 2 mm | Abegg |
| MOTB.SCR.003183 | DSS F.Mic1 | 4 (1 col.) | 5.6 mm | 2.3 mm | Flint and Herbison |
| NCF.SCR.004742 | DSS F.Lev6 | 4 (1 col.) | 5.3 mm | 1.8 mm ² | Kutz |

*book of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material.*¹

The visible letters are more readily comparable in the following chart, where every identifiable letter has been isolated and set in alphabetic arrangement in vertical columns representing each fragment. In several instances only small spots of ink or parts of single strokes of ink have survived. The editors have commonly indicated these letters with the diacritical mark $\&$. Most of these cases provide little if any useful information about the appearance of their representative letters and have not been included in the comparative chart.

Several of the letters, which occur along the edges of the fragments, contain troubling anomalies. When grouped together as in the above arrangement, these anomalies become especially prominent. A number of these letters are unusually sized, oddly shaped, and contain pen strokes that are substantially out of character for the hand of their respective fragments. Most notably, this

1 See also Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script: History, Paleography, Script Styles, Calligraphy & Design* (London: The British Library, 2002).

2 From notes on the fragment provided by Ada Yardeni: “the distance between the tops of the letters in line 2 and the tops of the letters in line 3 is about 5 mm, which is about three times the average height of the letters.”

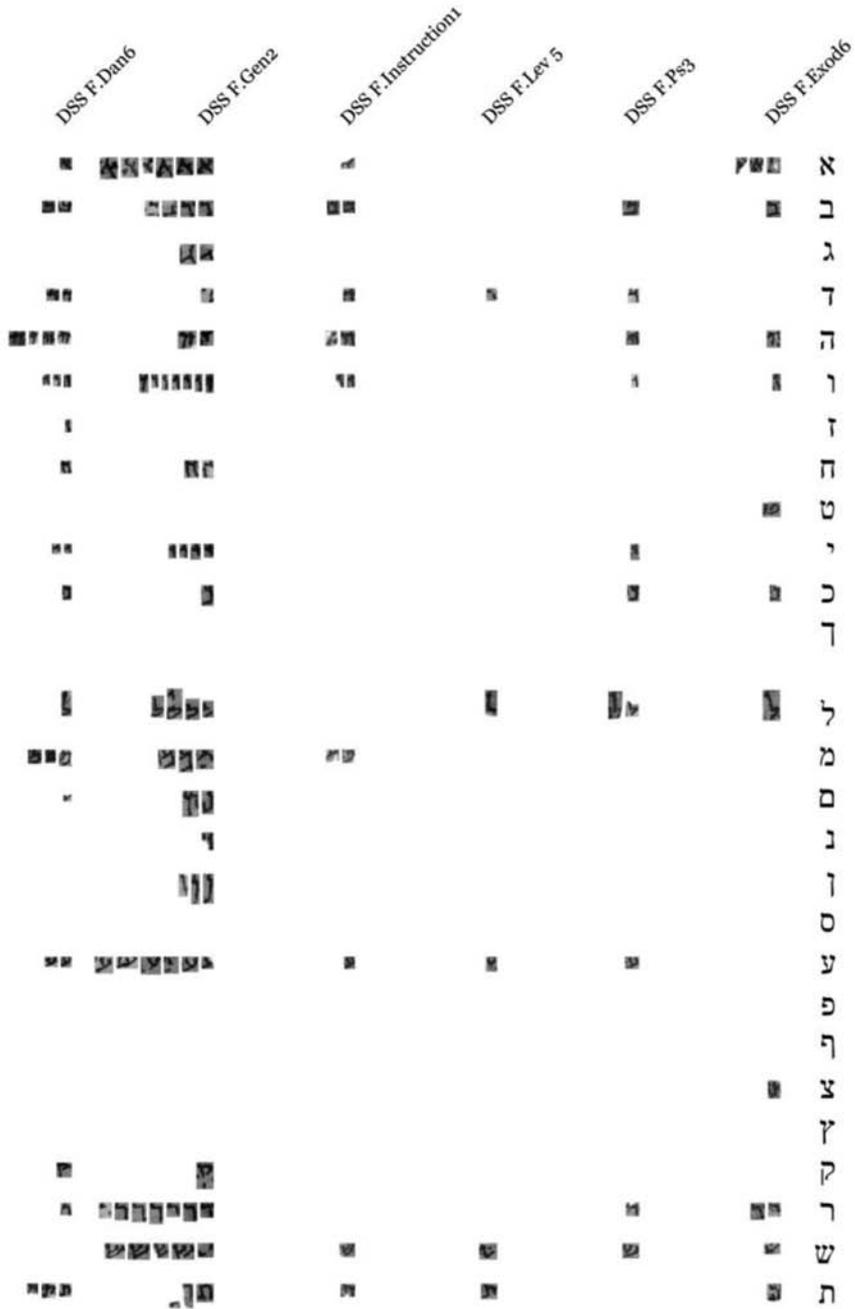


FIGURE 2.1 *Paleographical comparison of the Dead Sea Scrolls fragments in the Museum Collection*

| | DSS F. Lev6 | DSS F. Neh2 | DSS F. Ezek1 | DSS F. Num2 | DSS F. Jer2 | DSS F. Jonah1 |
|---|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| א | א | א | א | א | א | א |
| ב | | ב | ב | ב | ב | ב |
| ג | | | | | | |
| ד | | | ד | ד | ד | ד |
| ה | ה | ה | ה | ה | ה | ה |
| ו | ו | ו | ו | ו | ו | ו |
| ז | | | | | ז | ז |
| ח | | ח | | ח | ח | ח |
| ט | | | ט | | | |
| י | י | י | י | י | י | י |
| כ | כ | כ | כ | כ | כ | כ |
| ך | | ך | | | | |
| ל | ל | ל | ל | ל | ל | ל |
| מ | מ | מ | מ | מ | מ | מ |
| ם | ם | ם | ם | | ם | |
| נ | | | נ | | נ | נ |
| ן | ן | ן | | ן | | ן |
| ס | | | | | | |
| ע | | ע | ע | ע | | ע |
| פ | פ | | פ | פ | פ | |
| ף | | | | ף | | |
| צ | | | | צ | צ | צ |
| ץ | | | | | | |
| ק | | ק | ק | | ק | |
| ך | ך | ך | ך | ך | ך | ך |
| ש | ש | ש | ש | ש | ש | ש |
| ת | | | ת | ת | ת | ת |

FIGURE 2.1 (cont.)

is what we observe for F.Jon1, which shows virtually no consistency in the formation of *ayin*, and where one *shin*, the first visible letter of line 4, located at the right, bottom edge of the fragment, is demonstrably smaller than the other two examples and placed very high on the line. This last example is especially problematic since it seems to follow the contours of the fragment edge. A similar set of peculiarities appears in F.Jer2 where the letters in the last word at the left edge of the fragment on line 1 are very small and appear to follow the contour of the fragment edge. The *shin* and *bet* in *נשבר* on line 6 also prove problematic. On the *shin* the join formed by the center arm to the left downstroke is unusually high, straight, and at a much shallower angle than other examples of this letter. This letter also appears to conform to the damaged portion of the fragment. The *bet* has been partially obscured by a wormhole, but the ink on the crossbar appears as though written in two motions in an effort to avoid the hole. A related pattern of anomalies occurs in F.Num2, which contains a handful of oddly formed letters along its edges, most notably *shins* on lines 1 and 4, which appear much like the anomalous *shin* in F.Jer2 line 6, and the *mem* on line 3 that occurs at the left edge of the fragment. These disruptions in the patterns of letter formation for each manuscript are most clearly evident when set side-by-side for comparative purposes as they appear in the above chart. They raise suspicions about the authenticity of these fragments.

I provide brief summaries of Yardeni's analyses below. These include comparative assessments based on the above chart, which attempts to set the fragments into the Second Temple Jewish scribal realia. The fragments are presented according to their catalogue numbers, which reflect their date of acquisition. In an effort to reduce canonical prejudices for this comparative exercise, I chose to work blindly from only the catalogue numbers for each fragment apart from their textual identifications. The fragment designations were added only after completing the summaries based on the above chart and Yardeni's descriptions.

1. *DSS F.Exod6 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000120)*: Line spacing ranges between 6.8–7.3 mm for an average spacing of 7.0 mm, and letters are 2.5 mm in height. Letters are relatively uniform in height and exhibit a strong sense of a baseline. While the poor preservation of the fragment provides little useful information about the expertise of the scribe, I nevertheless suggest that the hand is relatively skilled and that the pen strokes are strong and of an average thickness. Some of the letters are forward leaning, but overall the script can be characterized as more-or-less erect. Yardeni tenuously dates the hand to the end of the first century B.C.E. or the beginning of the first century C.E.

2. *DSS F.Ps3 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000121)*: Line spacing is 6.3 mm, and letters measure 2.2 mm high. The script belongs to a highly skilled “Jewish” square, formal hand. It was written with a reed pen of medium thickness with a slightly worn nib, although not as worn as in other examples such as F.Jer2 and F.Num2. Letters lean very slightly forward, and the script is uniform, confident, and clear. The script is dated to the first half of the first century B.C.E.
3. *DSS F.Lev5 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000122)*: Line spacing is 6.2 mm, and letters appear to measure more than 2 mm, but the poor condition of the fragment removes any level of precision for this figure. Letters were written with a thin reed pen with a cut nib, producing calligraphic variation between strokes. Letters seem to be forward leaning, and their relatively equal height and “short form” has prompted Yardeni to suggest a dating in the late first century B.C.E.
4. *DSS F.Instruction1 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000123)*: Line spacing is an estimated 6.8 mm, and letters measure 2.3 mm high. Letters are written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand by a professional scribe with a reed pen of medium thickness and a slightly worn nib. The handwriting is fluid and confident, but letters lack ornamentation. Yardeni tenuously dates the script to the first half of the first century B.C.E., towards the mid-point.
5. *DSS F.Gen2 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000124)*: Line spacing is variable, but on average measures 7.7 mm, and letters are 2.5 mm high. Letters were written with a thin reed pen by a “Jewish” book hand, where the thickness of horizontal and vertical strokes is somewhat even. The letters are forward leaning and show a uniformity in rhythm and evidence of ornamentations and *keriaia* that testify to the presence of a skilled hand. Yardeni dates the script to the early second half of the first century B.C.E., but I suggest a later dating to the mid-first century C.E. on the basis of the appearance of several letters in combination with various other scribal features.
6. *DSS F.Dan6 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003170)*: Line spacing is consistently 6 mm, and letters measure 2.5 mm. Yardeni describes the script as a “Jewish” square, formal hand, written with a thin reed pen with a slightly worn nib. The posture of letters is inconsistent, with some letters leaning either forward or backward, while others stand erect. Yardeni suggests that this phenomenon could be a personal scribal trait or is otherwise caused by shrinkage and damage to the fragment over time. She further posits that variation within the shape and appearance of individual letters is a product of “negligence in writing,” which I understand to mean that the scribe possessed only the most rudimentary skills. The script is dated to the mid-first century B.C.E.

7. *DSS F.Joni (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003171)*: Line spacing is fairly consistent between 5.6–6.0 mm, and letters are about 1.9 mm in height. Letters were written with a thin reed pen that likely had a worn nib, and the script is characterized by Yardeni as a “‘Jewish’ square, formal hand with personal features.” However, I consider these features better described as inconsistencies that betray the scribe’s inexperience. Most letters are forward leaning, although there are isolated instances where some stand erect. The script is dated approximately to the second half of the first century B.C.E.
8. *DSS F.Jer2 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003172)*: Line spacing is between 5.9–7.4 mm, and about 6.8 mm on average. Letters measure around 2 mm in height, although they range between 1.3–2.9 mm. Letters are written with a reed pen of medium thickness by a “Jewish” square, formal hand. The letters vacillate in their posture between forward leaning and erect, and the basestrokes of several letters angle downward to the left. Yardeni dates the script to the mid-first century B.C.E., noting that while a number of letters show patterns of development consistent with the later part of the century, a handful of letters contain features that are consistently assigned to around 50 B.C.E.
9. *DSS F.Num2 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003173)*: Line spacing is approximately 7 mm, and letters measure around 2.5 mm. Yardeni characterizes the script as a “Jewish” square, formal hand, comparable to a book hand. Letters were written with a thin, reed pen, and the generally equal thickness in strokes suggests that the nib may have been worn. Letters vary in height and width, and show an inconsistent pattern between erect appearance and forward and backward lean. Yardeni dates the script to approximately the mid-first century B.C.E.
10. *DSS F.Ezek1 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.0003174)*: Line spacing is between 7–8 mm, and letters range considerably in height between 1.5–2.2 mm, measuring 1.9 mm on average. The script is characterized as a “Jewish” square, formal hand, written with a reed pen of medium thickness. The near equal thickness between horizontal and vertical strokes suggests that the nib was somewhat worn. Yardeni characterizes the handwriting as “professional,” although the ornamentations on the letters are not as pronounced as in a fragment like F.Gen2. The script portrays a mixture of elements from the mid–late first century B.C.E., and is dated to the second half of the first century B.C.E.
11. *DSS F.Neh2 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003175)*: Line spacing varies between 5–6 mm, and letters measure 2 mm in height on average. Letters are written by a “Jewish” square, formal hand belonging to an emerging scribe still learning his craft, with a reed pen of medium thickness and a slightly worn

nib. Most of the letters lean slightly forward and are of unequal height. While the script contains some archaic forms, it is tenuously dated to the mid-first century B.C.E.

12. *DSS FMic1 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003183)*: Line spacing is about 5.6 mm, and the letters measure about 2.3 mm high. The scribe exhibits an inexperienced “Jewish” square, formal hand, similarly distinguished by what Yardeni calls “idiosyncratic personal features” like F.Jon1. Letters were written by thin reed pen with a slightly worn nib, although the variation in thickness of the strokes is likely exacerbated by the scribe’s lack of skill. Letters are predominantly forward leaning and of slightly unequal height. The script is tenuously dated to the late first century B.C.E.
13. *DSS F.Lev6 (Inv. NCF.SCR.004727)*: The line spacing is about 5 mm, and letters measure approximately 1.8 mm. The script is characterized as belonging to a “Jewish” square, formal hand. The letters are predominantly damaged, but the preserved portions show the writing of a fairly strong hand, holding a reed pen with a cut nib that was somewhat worn. Most of the letters are slightly forward leaning, and the accumulation of evidence suggests that the script dates to the late first century B.C.E.

Using Yardeni’s descriptions in conversation with a handful of physical and scribal features observed by the fragment editors, I organized the information diachronically in the following table in an effort to provide a synopsis of this material from the Museum Collection. Instances where I disagree with Yardeni regarding the date of the script or where I supply a description of the scribe, I have indicated with “KD.” The descriptions of the scribe in the third column fall into one of three categories of scribal skills from highest to lowest: (1) “Scribal hand” belongs to a highly trained, professional scribe. (2) “Practiced hand” belongs to a literate person possessing intermediate scribal skills. This could be either a professional scribe learning his craft or a highly literate person with an above average level of scribal training and practice. (3) An “unpracticed hand” belongs to a novice. This could be a person near the beginning of his scribal training or one who has acquired only a modicum of instruction at a level near or just above what is often called “signature literacy.” These categories correspond to the three levels of scribal skill above signature literacy as described by Michael O. Wise.³ In all instances, except for the very badly damaged text of F.Lev5, the scripts have been designated as “book hands,” as opposed to “cursive

3 Michael O. Wise, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judea: A Study of the Bar Kokhba Documents* (AYBRL; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 59–61.

TABLE 2.2 *Diachronic list of fragments based on their paleographical dating*

| DSS | Date | Scribe | Stylus | Remarks |
|----------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| F.Ps3 | 100–50 B.C.E. | Scribal book hand | Thin/slightly worn | |
| F.Instruction1 | (towards 50) | Scribal book hand | Thin/slightly worn | Possibly preserved margin ruling Sectional structure |
| F.Dan6 | 75–25 B.C.E. | Unpracticed book hand | Thin/slightly worn | |
| F.Num2 | | Scribal book hand | Thin/worn | Visible rulings |
| F.Jer2 | | Scribal book hand | Thin/worn | |
| F.Neh2 | | Practiced book hand (KD) | Thin/slightly worn | Unusual notation?* |
| F.Gen2 | 75–25 B.C.E. (25–75 C.E., KD) | Scribal book hand | Thin/worn | Narrow columns Sectional structure |
| F.Lev5 | 50–1 B.C.E. | Scribal hand (KD) | Thin cut reed | |
| F.Ezek1 | | Practiced book hand | Medium thickness/ worn | Visible margins |
| F.Jon1 | | Unpracticed book hand | Thin/worn | |
| F.Mic1 | | Unpracticed book hand | Thin/slightly worn | Visible rulings and margin |
| F.Lev6 | | Scribal book hand | Medium thickness/ slightly worn | |
| F.Exod6 | 25 B.C.E.–25 C.E. | Practiced book hand (KD) | Average thickness/ new (KD) | |

* The editors have transcribed ink traces on line 3 at the right-edge of the fragment as a *vav*-consecutive, וַיְבָרֶךְ . But the trace of the first *vav* bears a suspicious resemblance to an annotation—a superscripted Greek letter α —that appears in the printed text of Kittel’s third edition of *Biblia Hebraica* (BHK).

hands.” These designations correspond to Yardeni’s identification of “Jewish’ square, formal” scripts.

Fragments in the Museum Collection are thus dated within a 125–175 year period between 100 B.C.E.–25/75 C.E., depending upon how one dates F.Gen2 (MOTB.SCR.000124). The vast majority of fragments are assigned to the mid-to late first century B.C.E., which fairly reflects the situation of texts from Caves 1Q and 4Q; the former produces an average scroll age (ASA) of 33 B.C.E. and the latter of 43 B.C.E.⁴ The only slight outlier from the inventory is F.Ps3

4 This situation differs from the other major Qumran cave, Cave 11Q, which has an ASA of 7 C.E. The complete analysis of the diachronic distribution of manuscripts in the Qumran caves is

(MOTB.SCR.000121), a fragment from a text containing Psalm 11, which was written by a highly skilled scribe sometime in the first half of the first century B.C.E. If F.Gen2 is re-dated to the mid-late first century C.E. as I suggest, then this manuscript would also appear as an outlier from the inventory, which itself could also indicate a deposit either in one of the “young” caves from Qumran⁵ or in one of the other Judaean Desert sites. It should be noted that the assigned dates on their own are largely tentative owing to the paucity of preserved letters for comparative purposes; these dates do very little to confirm the provenance of any of the fragments. However, the range of dates do provide a maximally realistic or plausible scenario of deposit and discovery for the fragments in the Museum Collection. On the whole, the majority of these fragments can be classified as late Hasmonean or early Herodian, according to the distribution of dates for the Qumran scrolls that is recorded in B. Webster’s inventory.⁶

While the fairly close correspondence in the diachronic distribution of the fragments is noteworthy, the information concerning scribal quality and writing instrument is also important for making a more comprehensive comparative assessment. Ada Yardeni has provided excellent synopses of the script for all the fragments and has included insights behind their appearance which is eminently useful.

Most fragments belonging to the Museum Collection appear to have been penned by what I would identify as professional scribes. A handful of fragments are distinct from this majority, but are not likely to be associated with the hands of high-end, elite scribes (see below for a more detailed description in the *Excursus: A Note on Scribalism in Early Jewish Palestine*). Rather, these fragments, such as F.Mic1 and F.Jom1, with their uneven pen strokes, awkwardly formed letters, and erratic spacing, were probably written by individuals

provided by Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “Old Caves and Young Caves: A Statistical Re-evaluation of a Qumran Consensus,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 313–333.

- 5 Stökl Ben Ezra, “Old Caves and Young Caves,” 317–318, identifies Caves 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, and 11Q as “young” caves which housed manuscripts in overwhelmingly higher numbers from the common era period than did Caves 1Q and 4Q.
- 6 B. Webster, “Chronological Index of Texts from the Judaean Desert,” in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. Emanuel Tov; DJD XXXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 371–375. Webster would assign manuscripts the following designations according to their paleographic date ranges: DSS F.Ps3 is “mid- to late Hasmonaeon” (100–50 B.C.E.); fragments dated from 75–25 B.C.E. are “late Hasmonaeon,” or otherwise belong to the “transition to Herodian” period; fragments dated from 50–1 B.C.E. also belong to the “transition to Herodian” period, or are possibly “early Herodian”; DSS F.Exod6 from 25 B.C.E.–25 C.E. is “early to mid-Herodian.” If DSS F.Gen2 is from the mid-late first century C.E., it would receive a “late Herodian” designation.

still developing their own scribal skills, perhaps those who belonged to the parochial aristocracy (what the NT Gospels call οἰκοδεσπότης).⁷ Whether they survive from pedagogic exercises or were personal copies made by those with limited amounts of training, chances are that these fragments do not represent copies of entire books which depended upon the exceptional skill of elite professionals for their production. In other words, high quality scripts can indicate the possibility that they survive from large scrolls, but for a number of the fragments in the Museum Collection, the scripts are of a significantly lower quality. This lower quality suggests strongly that these fragments once belonged to smaller scrolls, written by those not in possession of the requisite training to produce or copy complete, large, literary works.

The fragments in the collection are small and have preserved so little that it is very difficult to speak intelligibly about larger questions regarding the manuscripts and works represented by these fragments. For eleven of the thirteen fragments, no preserved evidence exists for neighboring columns, which are an important feature for establishing some parameters of compositional content and limits on scroll size and structure. Nevertheless, one fragment does provide a small amount of additional information in this regard. With a fraction of material still extant from a preceding column of text on F.Gen2 (MOTB.SCR.000124), this fragment of Genesis appears to have once belonged to a large-sized scroll, one that contained some version of Genesis or perhaps multiple texts from the Torah. Aligning the texts with the first column from probably Gen 31:23–25 and in the second from 32:3–6 would require around 50 lines to reconstruct the intervening text. The hand is very strong and appears professional. The letters are around average size, but the line spacing is slightly larger than the 7 mm average in the Qumran scrolls. The reconstructed lines would measure approximately 9 cm, and the size of the intercolumnar between the preserved bits of letters at the end of col. i and the right-edge of col. ii is about 13 mm. All of these features resemble those appearing in larger manuscripts from the Judaean Desert discoveries, especially those from the post-Herodian period and the Bar Kokhba caves. For example, MasDeut and MasEzek from Masada contain columns that measured about 8–9 cm in width and comprised 42 lines of text. From Murabbaʿat, Mur1 (Gen-Exod, Num) contain columns that measured between 8 and 9 cm wide and were reconstructed to a height of 50 lines.⁸

7 Wise, *Language and Literacy*, 307–312; cf. Matt 10:25; 13:27, 52; 20:1, 11; 21:33; 24:43; Mark 14:14; Luke 12:39; 13:25; 14:21; 22:11.

8 Cf. Kipp Davis, “High Quality Scrolls from the Post-Herodian Period,” in Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*, 175–188.

Excursus: A Note on Scribalism in Early Jewish Palestine

My assessment of the script quality in Table 2.2 speaks directly to the perceived skill of the scribe who penned each manuscript. However, clear definitions of our terms must be added here in an effort to provide an accurate reflection of scribal culture in ancient Judea. It has been commonly assumed in the past that the most skilled scribes were also the most erudite scholars of the era. There is understandably some truth to this notion, in that it correctly posits a direct connection between pedagogy and literacy in Judaism and also between the presence of scribal schools and the power structures in the palace and the temple.⁹ However, studies of ancient pedagogics and scribal cultures also suggest that this is an oversimplification of the situation.¹⁰ We know that ancient Judea was largely illiterate. Nevertheless, economics required the existence of a documentary scribal guild even outside of the elite royal and temple circles. The massive finds of texts in the Judaean Desert beyond Qumran, including the Bar Kokhba refuge caves, attest to the existence of a parochial aristocracy not directly connected to the royal and priestly centers, which nevertheless supported a range of written production. Under these conditions, it is possible that most scribes were actually not highly trained scholars; rather, as members of a professional guild, they would have been commissioned to write and copy any number of texts from simple documents to expensive and exquisite literary works.¹¹ While these professional scribes could also have been scholars, this was not necessarily the case. One recognizes the hand of a scholar by its confident fluidity and efficiency, often in combination with its rather arcane

9 Studies of scribalism and literacy in early Judaism appear in David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007); and especially Catherine Heszer, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

10 For counter-points to the “high level” models of ancient scribalism that informs Heszer in particular, cf. the most recent exhaustive study by Michael O. Wise, *Language and Literacy in Roman Judea*.

11 This point is clear from the discovery of exquisitely crafted, “*deluxe*” literary scrolls in the same archives that consisted of large numbers of various documentary texts from the so-called “refuge caves.” This points convincingly to the supposition that it was relatively common for wealthy Jewish families to own high quality scrolls, likely as items of prestige: “One purpose of such luxurious books ... was to establish social distance between their owners and the everyman all around them. Owning books of this stamp was akin to driving a high-end Mercedes Benz today. It announced who one was, and lodged a public claim to elevated status.” Wise, *Language and Literacy*, 304.

content. These are not the scripts appearing in the expensive trophies of literature. They are rather the utilitarian and functional products of the research and study of those otherwise engaged in contemplative enterprises about the mysteries and wonders of the world. The writing of scholars in Greco-Roman manuscripts is easily identifiable as the expediently penned notations or “scribbles” which appear qualitatively different from the ornate script common to deluxe editions that housed large compositions. A helpful sampling of these Greek manuscripts which contain scholarly, marginal notations was published by E.G. Turner in his *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*.¹²

While the marginalia of the sort that we see in the manuscripts collected by Turner are not extant in the Judaean Desert Scrolls, there are a handful of analogous instances, such as the long insertion of Jer 7:29–8:3 that appears in the intercolumnar and bottom margin of 4QJer^a (4Q70) frgs 4 i–7.¹³ In this particular manuscript, the added text is penned by a highly skilled vocational hand and is probably not a scholarly notation like those that we see from Turner’s examples. However, there are a number of scrolls from the Qumran caves containing confidently wrought cursive scripts, or those that have been described as “semi-cursive,” and which could qualify as “scholar’s copies” of texts according to this model of classification. Several of these examples contain literary texts from Aramaic compositions such as *1 Enoch* in 4QEn^a ar (4Q201), a so-called “Aramaic Apocalypse” (4Q245), an “Apocryphon of Levi” (4Q540), a copy of the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542), and two copies of the *Visions of Amram* (4Q546, 4Q547). Among the Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran that fit this classification are copies of the *Community Rule* (4QpapS^a, 4QSG^{e, h}) and a copy of the *Damascus Document* (4QD^a).

12 E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (ed. P.J. Parsons; 2d ed.; Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin Supplement 46; London: University of London, 1987). In several manuscripts large intercolumnars and bottom margins are filled with commentary and scholarly notes in fluid, cursive scripts that are starkly distinguished from the formal script of the main text.

13 For detailed discussions of the long insertion in 4QJer^a cf. Joseph Riordan, “Sin of Omission or Commission: An Insertion in 4QJer^a?” in *Gottes Wort im Menschenwort: Festschrift für Georg Fischer SJ zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. Dominik Markl, Claudia Paganini, and Simone Paganini; OBS 43; Frankfurt: Peter Lange, 2014), 99–112; Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (VTSup 169; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 141–150; and most recently Kipp Davis, “Margins as Media: The Long Insertion of 4QJer^a (4Q70),” in *The Bible as Notepad Conference Proceedings Volume, December 2014* (ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Marilena Maniaci; Manuscripta Biblica; Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

Imaging and Editing Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection

The study of the Dead Sea Scrolls fragments in the Museum Collection that appear in this volume was undertaken by the editors almost entirely from high resolution photographs and polynomial texture maps (PTM; otherwise known as Reflective Transformation Images, or “RTI”) produced by West Semitic Research (WSRP).¹⁴ The use of color photographs for the publication of this collection introduces an improvement upon the earlier publication of Dead Sea Scrolls in the *Discoveries of the Judaean Desert* series (*DJD*). This was necessitated by the special conditions under which the editors have worked, in isolation from the artefacts that are permanently housed in the Museum of the Bible. The original *DJD* editors had the enviable benefit of frequent and very long-standing, direct contact with the Dead Sea Scrolls; the production of the VLC images and the PTMs have provided imperfect substitutes for this luxury. However, the exceptional detail of these images and their extrapolation within digital platforms have added new elements of study previously unavailable to the first editors by the limits of technology.

Size and Color

The following table records fragment dimensions derived from the descriptions by each of the editions, along with the editors’ descriptions of their fragment’s color. In addition to this basic information provided by the editors I have included a calculation for the scope of the fragments, as well as the average measurement of line spacing (col. 6) for each text.

Most of the fragments in the Museum Collection are similar in color and size. As the table illustrates, fragments are predominantly dark brown in color. This description actually belongs to 6 of 12 fragments, with another two fragments (F.Mic1 and F.Jer2) described as nearing black in color. Marty Alan Mitchelson and his team of co-editors have described F.Lev5 as “mottled,” and it shows gradations in color between light and medium brown. F.Exod6 also has a mottled appearance similar to F.Lev5, and its editor Karl Kutz describes the surface color as “golden brown.” The most recent acquisition by the Museum Collection, F.Lev6 (NCF.SCR.004742), was also described by Kutz as “a deep golden brown, mottled with light tan throughout.” For this fragment the lighter-colored portions appear to belong to deposits on the darker surface, although

14 See further in this volume “A Methodology for the Digital Reconstruction of the Dead Sea Scroll Fragmentary Remains” by Bruce Zuckerman, Asher Levy, and Marilyn Lundberg.

TABLE 2.3 *Size and color comparisons of the Dead Sea Scrolls fragments in the Museum Collection*

| DSS | Fig. (π = material join) | x-axis | y-axis | Area | Lines | Color |
|---------------------------------------|--|---------|---------|-----------------------|--------------|--|
| DSS F.Exod6 MOTB.SCR.000120 | | 3.05 cm | 3.27 cm | 5.29 cm ² | 5 = 7.0 mm | "golden brown" |
| DSS F.Ps3 MOTB.SCR.000121 | 2 frgs: 1.11 × 0.9 cm π 1.78 × 1.07 cm π | 1.38 cm | 2.3 cm | 1.87 cm ² | 4 = 6.3 mm | dark brown → black |
| DSS F.Lev5 MOTB.SCR.000122 | | 2.0 cm | 2.5 cm | 2.63 cm ² | 4 = 6.2 mm | "mottled brown" (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3) |
| DSS F.Instruction1 MOTB.SCR.000123 | | 4.65 cm | 1.56 cm | 4.18 cm ² | 2 = 6.8 mm | dark brown |
| DSS F.Gen2 MOTB.SCR.000124 | 3 frgs: 5.1 × 7.4 cm 1.95 × 2.1 cm π 1.95 × 1.75 cm π | 8.94 cm | 5.5 cm | 24.75 cm ² | 5 = 7.7 mm | medium-dark brown |
| DSS F.Dan6 MOTB.SCR.003170 | | 2.5 cm | 1.9 cm | 3.76 cm ² | 3 = 6 mm | dark brown |
| DSS F.Jon1 MOTB.SCR.003171 | | 3.8 cm | 2.3 cm | 5.16 cm ² | 4 = 5.6–6 mm | dark brown |
| DSS F.Jer2 MOTB.SCR.003172 | | 3.6 cm | 4.2 cm | 7.39 cm ² | 7 = 6.8 mm | dark brown → black |
| DSS F.Num2 MOTB.SCR.003173 | | 4.4 cm | 2.5 cm | 7.74 cm ² | 3 = 6 mm | medium-dark brown |
| DSS F.Ezek1 MOTB.SCR.003174 | 2 pieces: 2.1 × 2.94 cm π 1.8 × 2.24 cm π | 4.91 cm | 2.1 cm | 6.24 cm ² | 2 = 7–8 mm | dark brown |
| DSS F.Neh2 MOTB.SCR.003175 | 2 pieces: 1.91 × 1.54 cm π 1.8 × 1.68 cm π | 3.4 cm | 2.1 cm | 4.29 cm ² | 4 = 5–6 mm | dark brown |
| DSS F.Mic1 MOTB.SCR.003183 | | 6.1 cm | 2.9 cm | 13.58 cm ² | 4/5 = 5.6 mm | dark brown |
| DSS F.Lev6 MOTB.SCR.004727 | | 2.05 cm | 2.48 cm | 2.29 cm ² | 4 = 5.3 mm | golden brown, light tan mottling |

this is difficult to ascertain from the available images and PTMs. The largest fragment cluster, F.Gen2, is somewhat atypical of this group, as it appears considerably lighter in color, enough so that the script is very readable even in natural light.

All the fragments have been measured according to their terminal points on the x- and y-axes. There is a range in dimensions among them, but generally speaking it is fair to say that the fragments are quite small, measuring on average between 3–4 cm in height and width. The area calculations provided for each fragment in the above table have been derived from measurements of the digital images. On average, the fragments contain 7.24 cm² of visible surface area, but this number is greatly inflated by the much larger-than-average F.Gen2, which measures 24.75 cm². Most of the fragments appear to be between 4–8 cm² in surface area, with a handful of very small fragments (F.Ps3, F.Lev5, and F.Lev6) and two that are a fair bit larger (F.Mic1 and F.Gen2).

Surface Condition, Damage, and Wear

The PTMs used in conjunction with the VLC images have proved indispensable to the editors for gathering information about the current condition and appearance of the fragments and have also provided important clues as to the history of their decomposition. In addition to being very small, the majority of the fragments in the Museum Collection have also suffered considerable damage. Especially when compared to the enormous accumulation of manuscript discoveries in the Qumran Caves, the Museum Collection fragments appear particularly worn and torn. While their current condition does little to contribute to our knowledge about their relationship to the other Judean Desert manuscript discoveries, there are some interesting features of damage to a few of them that deserve some special attention. Two such fragments, F.Num2 (MOTB.SCR.003173) and F.Ezek1 (MOTB.SCR.003174), are discussed below.

According to the VLC photographs of these fragments, F.Num2 and F.Ezek1 are not altogether similar in color and condition. The editors Timothy D. Finlay and Ishwaran Mudliar and their teams have described the color of the fragments as medium-dark brown and dark brown respectively. The color of the former is more consistent on the surface, while the latter contains evidence of surface damage that is visible in the lighter color portions. These two fragments are fairly close in shape and overall size, falling within 1.5 cm² of one another's surface area. A careful study of the PTMs for both fragments reveals an interesting and unusual effect, whereby certain features of each appear "chalky" white under direct light, but are barely visible or invisible in both the VLC and the IR captures. In the case of both fragments, the appearance of what appear to be drylines and a marginal ruling, which are otherwise undetectable in the other

photographs, take on a white, luminescent appearance. In F.Num2 the letters are also illuminated and take on an oddly white veneer. This unusual feature shared by both fragments deserves some additional study. In consultation with Museum of the Bible curator of antiquities Heather N. Reichstadt, I suggest that the effect may be a reflection of the unusually high gloss of the ink on their surfaces. Reichstadt has posited that the effect is possibly a product of damage and coincident with other features of color and condition for F.Ezeki which could indicate that this fragment has at one time been in contact with fire.

Scribal Practices and Special Features

Because all the fragments are quite small, they reveal little about scribal practices and conventions of structure that were employed in the production of these manuscripts. Nevertheless, at least two of the texts, F.Instruction1 and F.Gen2, contain evidence of sectional arrangement into a paragraph structure. For most of the fragments editors have provided their best guesses with regards to column structures, since only a handful have preserved evidence of any margins, which are often necessary for determining the limits of line lengths.¹⁵ F.Instruction1 and F.Gen2 are two of four fragments which have preserved portions of column margins. F.Gen2 shows clear evidence of a paragraph structure where line 2 preserves empty space that corresponds to an open paragraph (פ) in MT Gen 32:3–4. The compatibility of the extant ink traces in the lines above and below the reconstruction of these verses provides sound confirmation of this practice and can reasonably be extrapolated as a scribal feature that likely occurred throughout the manuscript. In the other fragment, F.Instruction1, this evidence for text blocking is not as clear, although it appears in line 1, and it corresponds to a section in the overlapping text in 4QInstr^d (4Q418) 148 ii 4. Like this witness, the first line of F.Instruction1 opens with a *vacat* measuring approximately 1.7 cm. In the parallel text, this section opens with a *vacat* at the beginning of the line, measuring 1.2 cm. According to Tov, this type of break occurring at the beginning of the line indicates an open paragraph when there was no room for such a space at the end of the preceding line.¹⁶

15 The absence of material and the lack of terminal points on the lines of texts create situations whereby multiple options may exist for the layout of the reconstructed text. For the most part this does not produce any notable differences within the texts, but for F.Lev6 an alternative arrangement of the reconstructed text could suggest textual differences and sectional structuring.

16 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 146.

A Methodology for the Digital Reconstruction of Dead Sea Scroll Fragmentary Remains

Bruce Zuckerman, Asher Levy and Marilyn Lundberg

Introduction

As part of this publication of the MOTB Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) fragments, the West Semitic Research Project of the University of Southern California (WSRP)¹ was engaged in the task of imaging these fragments, digitally readjusting their physical layout and alignment, and finally reconstructing and restoring them digitally, to the extent possible, in line with the proposals made by the various editors of the fragments. The intention of the following discussion is to explain the underlying methodology that guides these reconstructions. The advantage of this reconstructive process is that it offers an unparalleled means for testing various proposals for how a given text was originally laid out with a degree of precision previously not possible. This includes clarifying unclear readings, testing proposals for filling out *lacunae* in the lines of a text, and establishing column widths and the number of lines within a column, as well as other important considerations. While it must be granted that a given reconstruction, even when it seems to fit the physical space and conforms to grammatical, syntactical, stylistic, and other expected norms, can never serve as a letter-by-letter confirmation of a given proposal, it is still an effective means to analyze rigorously each potential proposal and to measure its degree of credibility. Moreover, even if a particular reconstruction can never be affirmed to be absolutely correct, in a number of instances a proposed reconstruction can be decisively *excluded* for the simple but persuasive reason that the proposed reconstruction is incompatible with the available space.

1 See the home page of the West Semitic Research Project for more information. Online: <http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/wsrp/>.

Imaging Technology Employed for Documentation of the Fragments in This Edition

The actual documentation of the fragments was done by WSRP, taking advantage of recent advancements in digital photography, especially advancements in hardware and software applications. The progress of technology in the fields of digital imaging and image manipulation in recent years has led to a paradigm shift in the study and decipherment of ancient texts, in particular, the DSS. Although the DSS and similar manuscripts written on soft media (parchment or papyrus) ostensibly appear to be two-dimensional, new technologies, coupled with powerful imaging tools and programs, have allowed scholars to see, reclaim and reconstruct DSS in a dynamically heuristic fashion that adds, both literally and figuratively, a whole new dimension to the process. These new technologies are constantly evolving, allowing for an increasingly better understanding of these texts, based on far superior imagery than was previously available. Indeed, what is becoming progressively clear is that a single, conventional static image (usually in the near infrared spectrum [IR]), which has been routinely relied upon as the primary evidence in past DSS studies, should no longer be seen as entirely adequate for capturing and analyzing the full range of image data that can be recorded for the scrolls and other ancient manuscripts. Moreover, such an image is also seriously inadequate for documentation of the DSS for purposes of conservation evaluation.

It has long been recognized that a host of details that are inaccessible to the unaided eye become visible when imaged in discrete, narrow bandwidths of the near-IR spectrum. Such IR images are therefore crucial for understanding and reconstructing these texts, particularly given their highly fragmentary state. Yet on the other hand, visible light color (VLC) images, especially in the high-resolution versions available today, reveal crucial, but subtle information that is often masked in even the highest resolution IR image. While side-by-side comparisons of IR and VLC images offer some significant insight, the images are better compared and with far greater precision when paired and superimposed as discrete matched and stacked layers that can be added or subtracted with a mouse click in an image processing program such as Photoshop.

WSRP has developed most of the reconstructive tools and techniques presented below in order to further our primary goal, which has always been to couple scholarly knowledge of epigraphy (the study of the material evidence through which a given text's information is conveyed) with sophisticated photographic and computer imaging techniques to advance the study, reclamation, and analysis of a wide range of ancient texts and other artifacts.



FIGURE 3.1 *MOTB.SCR.003183 Micah obverse, visible light color (left) and infrared (right)*
 IMAGES BY BRUCE AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN AND MARILYN LUNDBERG,
 WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH

In order to capture a more comprehensive range of data from the DSS, the WSRP currently relies primarily upon three photographic techniques for the initial capture of primary image data which, in aggregate, constitute a major advance over what was previously available: conventional, high-resolution VLC digital photographs, high-resolution digital photographs in the near-IR bandwidths, and detailed images created through a process known as Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI), both in VLC and IR. This primary image data is captured with newly developed cameras that have significant, innovative capabilities. For example, as noted above, near-IR photographs are particularly critical for DSS analysis, since many scrolls are illegible to the unaided eye or in VLC images, primarily due to the lack of contrast between the carbon black ink of the script and the often blackened or darkened parchment or papyrus surfaces, upon which the scrolls were written. Due to the changing characteristics of reflectivity for DSS soft-media, as one moves through the spectrum, the near-IR photographs, with wavelengths measuring between 850 and 900 nanometers, usually provide maximum differentiation between the often blackened/darkened writing surfaces and the dark text (the former becoming more highly reflective and thus registering in a grayscale image as light gray or white, while the latter continues to absorb light and thus remains black), allowing for the decipherment and study of scrolls that would be otherwise unreadable (Figure 3.1).

The ability of IR to bring out details of DSS was quickly recognized not long after the scrolls were discovered. As a result, the vast majority of DSS images made in the twentieth century were done with IR-sensitive, chemical emulsions on plastic or glass based negatives. However, these films and plates were notoriously poor in resolution due to the coarse grain of the emulsions and often not in precise focus due to the difficulties inherent in focusing images

illuminated in IR bandwidths. This, in turn, seriously restricted researchers' abilities to use these images effectively. However, once high-resolution digital cameras became available, beginning around the turn of the twenty-first century, the IR images that could be digitally produced registered a vast improvement in resolution. Because the sharpest focal point in the IR is slightly different from that which can be seen in visible light by the unaided human eye, these advanced digital cameras preview the IR image using a "live view" feature, employing an embedded video sensor in the camera. This sensor captures a test video display that automatically converts IR into a visible image that can be seen on a computer screen and focused accordingly in real time with far greater precision than would otherwise be the case.

While nearly all commercially available digital cameras contain an internal IR-blocking filter, the cameras employed by WSRP have been custom-altered so that this filter has been removed. Filtration is then done using removable IR filters within the camera or in front of the lens or by employing newly available LED lights that emit illumination at the appropriate bandwidths. In this way one can create very closely matching images in both VLC and IR using the same camera and set-up for each. This is crucial to facilitating optimal matching of IR and VLC as stacked layers in a Photoshop image.² Although the two images will never precisely match pixel-for-pixel due to the fact, previously noted, that the IR focal point is slightly different from that of VLC images, the match is closer and the images more easily and precisely compared than was previously possible. To the eye, when viewed on a computer screen, the minute difference between matching, stacked VLC and IR layers in a Photoshop image is negligible.

One of the most valuable new technologies employed by the WSRP is RTI. Indeed, WSRP pioneered its use in combination with both VLC and IR for the imaging of DSS and other cultural heritage artifacts. This technology involves taking a series of pictures (typically 32 to 45 successive images) with a camera mounted in a fixed position, while a light source is moved more or less evenly around a target, either manually, making a virtual dome of lights, or with an

2 For an earlier discussion, see B. Zuckerman, "The Dynamics of Change in the Computer Imaging of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Inscriptions," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M. Grossman; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 69–88. A substantially revised and expanded electronic version of this article is available online at <http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/wsrp/information/DynamicsDSS>, with digital design by Tara Waugh, containing many interactive illustrations. All further page references to this article are in accordance with this latter, expanded electronic edition. In this case, see pp. 4–5.



FIGURE 3.2 *MOTB.SCR.000124 Genesis RTI derivatives: diffuse gain and specular enhancement adjusted to illustrate the texture of the skin surface*

IMAGES BY BRUCE AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN AND MARILYN LUNDBERG,
WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH

actual dome with an array of lights affixed into it. This allows for the creation of an image known as a texture map, created either with an algorithm called Polynomial Texture Mapping (PTM) or with Hemispherical Harmonics (HSH). This texture map, or RTI, is not actually a composite of the original images but is better described as having been mapped, as it were, drawing upon the aggregate data from the series of images. Once it has been processed, such an RTI allows the viewer to control a virtual light source (or a combination of two virtual light sources) that may be moved around the image using a computer mouse or similar tracking device in real time. As the mouse moves, so moves the light, thus revealing surface texture from any lighting perspective desired. Other transformations of RTI images can, for example, dramatically boost the reflectivity of a surface (specular enhancement, right; see Figure 3.2) or significantly sharpen and give more contrast to the image (diffuse gain, left; see Figure 3.2). This allows scholars to select interactively and dynamically a wide variety of information from an artifact or text in a manner that transcends the inherent limitations of static VLC or IR images.

While this remarkable technology is more obviously useful for illustrating objects with prominent, textured third-dimensions, such as bas-reliefs, incised inscriptions, and cuneiform tablets, it has also proven to be highly useful when dealing with the DSS, as the WSRP was the first to show convincingly. For one thing, since RTI allows viewers to distinguish and delineate the slightest variations in a targeted surface, this technology has proven to be invaluable for assessing the condition and deterioration of scroll pieces for purposes of conservation monitoring. Reviewing and closely comparing older images and RTI dynamic images allows for a more complete understanding of the nature and the process of damage incurred by a given scroll or fragment over time.

RTI can also serve a valuable function in scroll reconstruction. When patterns in surface damage, which can be visually enhanced, are viewed dynamically as an RTI image, they provide a potential means of linking related DSS fragments. Additionally, scribal guidelines (rulings) incised in the parchment or papyrus, which are often invisible to the unaided eye or in static images illuminated with diffuse light, can often be reclaimed and well delineated, especially with the aid of specular enhancement or diffuse gain, thus providing invaluable clues regarding the more precise placement of related fragments that share common guidelines.

One can also pay close attention to the hair follicle patterns on the skins used for DSS parchments—which an RTI image is particularly adept at illustrating. Not only does the demarcation of the follicle textures aid in identifying the type of animal skins employed, but the patterns are also as unique as fingerprints and thus can help one recognize what fragmentary pieces come from the same scroll—sometimes even when they are not contiguous.³ Finally, an RTI image can on occasion be so sensitive that it can delineate the thicknesses of ink strokes on a DSS surface and even show where and how given strokes overlap. Such information is invaluable for tracking the *ductus* (the order and direction of strokes forming each of the letters) of a given scribal hand or style (Figure 3.3).

Unfortunately, when working on reconstructions in a Photoshop environment, a scholar does not have the facility to access dynamic RTIs directly in their original form, since Photoshop and similar image processing programs do not yet accommodate RTI. This limitation can be overcome to a great extent, however, by employing various statically captured images taken from an RTI, scaled and matched to other images, and imported into Photoshop as part of the layered stack of images, along with conventional, static high resolution IR and VLC versions. While not directly relevant to the images and reconstructions found in this volume, it is worth noting that almost all the previous, chemically-based photographic images of the DSS, going back to the very first photographs taken in the 1940s, are generally available in digital form in one venue or another, and these images can also be employed as part of the available data for purposes of comparison. While all these older images are of significantly poorer quality than the high-resolution digital images that can be captured today, they nonetheless frequently preserve invaluable data that is no longer preserved due to the ongoing deterioration of the scrolls.

3 For further discussion see Zuckerman, "Dynamics," 27–29.

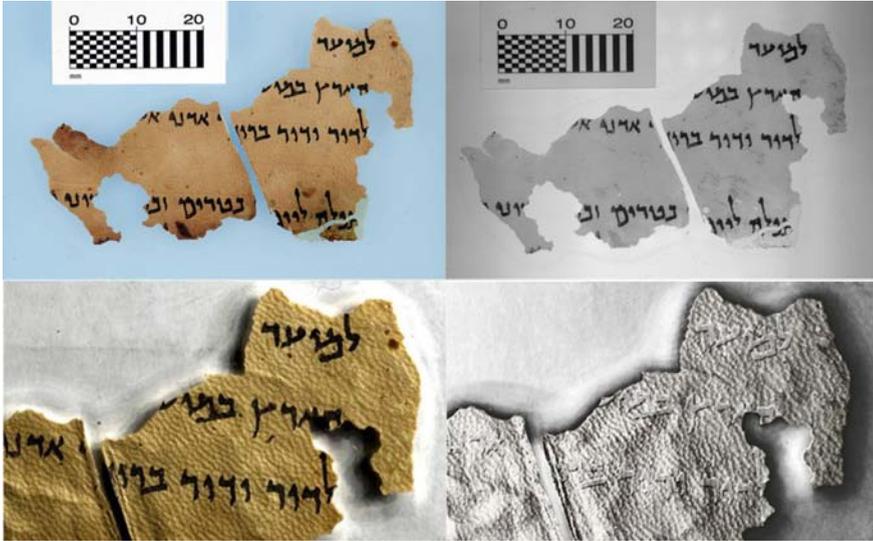


FIGURE 3.3 1Q34bis Liturgical Prayers b, Fragment D. Top left: high resolution static VLC image of a DSS fragment; top right: high resolution IR image; bottom left: RTI derived VLC image, showing hair follicle patterns and traces of horizontal rule lines (above the written text); bottom right: RTI derived image, detail with specular enhancement, showing ink thicknesses

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WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH, AND STEVEN FINE, YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

In summation, due to the significant increase in both the quality, quantity, and accessibility of the image data for DSS, the ability to reconstruct fragmentary texts has become far more feasible for a specialist in the study of DSS on his or her own without sophisticated knowledge of image processing and manipulation procedures. Most importantly, scholarly proposals as to how a text should be restored can—and, arguably, *must*—be tested with a precision never previously possible. Indeed, in case after case it has been demonstrated that without subjecting such proposals to the kind of rigorous testing that reconstructions demand, even the most experienced scholars can be misled into proposing restorations that can be completely disqualified through the reconstructive procedures presented below.

Basic Principles and Procedures Underlying Dead Sea Scroll Reconstructions

In this discussion of methodology, the focus will be on the best means for establishing a given DSS text depiction as a fully documented, complex and multilayered assemblage of images. This assemblage is meant to document and well illustrate in detail the aggregate opinion of the editors of this volume as to how the various texts should best be physically reconstructed. It should be noted that such a complex image cannot be printed and published conventionally as a static illustration on paper. Even multiple static images, displaying comparative layers (as was done in Figure 3.3, for example), do not supply sufficiently adequate image data for an independent observer to judge the validity of the various decisions that have led to a given set of reconstructions. Only when the images are viewed dynamically as a complex image file in a Photoshop or similar software environment can the data be best understood and independently evaluated. To be sure, the illustrations in this conventionally paper-printed chapter and the overall illustrations in this printed volume endeavor to give the reader/viewer a visual summation of the reconstructive process, but in order to access optimally and independently the reconstructions of the DSS in this volume, a scholar will need the following: access to the full Photoshop files, the necessary hardware and software adequate to employ and manage these files, and finally, the basic knowledge of the toolbox employed in Photoshop or a similar imaging program. In order to gain access to these files, appropriate permissions will need to be granted by the editors of this volume and the Museum of the Bible Collection. Methodological discussions below refer to how these files are built and the rationales for doing so.

Documentation and Transcription Protocols

Any digital reconstruction of DSS will inevitably involve building a complex, composite Photoshop (or similarly processed) image comprised of numerous layers embedded in collapsible groups and subgroups. Indeed, the key element in the reconstructive procedure is the ability to toggle on and off various stacked groups and layers for purposes of close, precise, yet easy-to-accomplish comparisons. Because of the complications that necessarily follow from the complexities of stacking layers and groups of layers, careful labeling and documentation of each layer is essential. Without keeping track of these parameters, one can easily lose the ability to recall the source of each element of a reconstruction. In order to accommodate most easily the transcriptions of Semitic (Hebrew and Aramaic) letters needed for referencing layers in a Pho-

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>Alef</i> | <i>Bet</i> | <i>Gimel</i> | <i>Dalet</i> | <i>He</i> | <i>Vav</i> | <i>Zayin</i> | <i>Ḥet</i> | <i>Ṭet</i> | <i>Yod</i> |
| א | ב | ג | ד | ה | ו | ז | ח | ט | י |
| ' | b | g | d | h | w | z | # | + | y |
| <i>Kaf</i> | <i>Lamed</i> | <i>Mem</i> | <i>Nun</i> | <i>Samek</i> | <i>Ayin</i> | <i>Pe</i> | <i>Tsade</i> | <i>Qof</i> | <i>Resh</i> |
| כ | ל | מ | נ | ס | ע | פ | צ | ק | ר |
| k | l | m | n | s | (| p | & | q | r |
| <i>Shin</i> | <i>Tav</i> | | | | | | | | |
| ש | ת | | | | | | | | |
| \$ | t | | | | | | | | |

FIGURE 3.4 “Photoshop” transcription system employed by WSRP

toshop environment, we have developed the transcription system recorded in Figure 3.4.

A Basic Operating Principle: Never Replace, Always Supplement

A major operating principle for this work involves the need to place stress on the inherently theoretical nature of the reconstructive process. No matter how “realistic” it may subliminally appear to the viewer, a reconstructed text should never be taken as an authoritative point of reference. Much like a scholar’s drawing or other graphic representation, a digital reconstruction only presents one hypothetical reconstruction of a text. Although a digitally reconstructed text may look visually more convincing than a hand drawing, substantively the two share the same purpose: to represent a given, informed scholarly opinion as to how a text originally appeared. Although it is possible with basic Photoshop skills to manipulate DSS fragments digitally in so convincing a fashion as to leave the impression that the resulting reconstructions are “correct” and thus authoritative, it is of great importance that scholars (including those who are reconstructing a text) view such reconstructions as nothing more than hypothetical models. Granted, the goal of a given reconstruction is to present to the observer a detailed picture of what the text might have originally looked like and, to the extent possible, all the textual information that it originally

might have possessed when it was in more pristine condition. Still, to reiterate: no matter how seemingly realistic they appear to be, digitally rendered reconstructions only reflect a given scholarly viewpoint based on informed scholarship—no more, no less.

As already preliminarily indicated in the discussion above on comparing matching IR and VLC images (that is, equivalent images with as close a pixel-for-pixel match as is possible), one of the most powerful functions of Photoshop is its ability to facilitate close comparisons through the “stacking” of discrete layers and groups of layers, all of which are as closely matched to the extent possible in content and scale for purposes of easy comparison, and which can be added or subtracted singly or in combination with the click of a control device (e.g., a computer mouse or trackpad). One of the most important underlying principles that guides the use of such stacked layers and groups of layers is that one never replaces a given layered image/group with another. Rather, one maintains a chain of evidence by superimposing layers/groups so that the starting point(s) can always be reexamined by deactivating the layers stacked above.⁴

Establishing a “Primary Layers” Group

Before initiating any subsequent reconstructions, one begins by establishing a group entitled “Primary Layers,” which constitutes a collection of the most useful original images of the targeted text fragment(s) with minimal manipulations, matched as closely as possible in terms of scale and resolution. The picture of reference for this group is usually a static, high resolution, digital near IR image (visually represented in grayscale), since it normally displays the maximum contrast between the writing surface (parchment or papyrus) and the written text (usually composed with a nibbed pen using carbon-based inks). If the data is available, this near IR master image is superimposed over a high-resolution, static VLC layer, which has been as closely matched as is possible. In order to facilitate these closely matched layers of IR superimposed over VLC, one ideally begins with sets of IR and VLC images that were made at the same time, with image documentation setups as identical as is possible. This was done for all the DSS fragments in this volume.

Occasionally, if the skin of a given DSS fragment has darkened to such an extent that the ink is impossible or very difficult to distinguish from the background in VLC, a third composite “VLC/IR” layer can be added to the Primary Layers group. This is a composite layer, in which a semi-transparent

4 See Zuckerman, “Dynamics,” 4.

IR layer is bonded (“flattened,” to use the appropriate Photoshop terminology) onto a VLC layer so that the text is legible but the color of the original surface is visible at the same time. Such a layer, which is then stacked between the VLC and the IR primary layers, often proves to be highly useful for allowing a researcher to keep track of where the inked text is located, when the primary concern is to see it in context with the VLC data (Figure 3.5).

When possible, it is often useful to add other layers to the stack in the Primary Layers group, for example, static images derived from RTI images. Also, although not applicable to the fragments in this volume, older images, even if they lack the kind of resolution that can be achieved today, can often be useful, especially if they contain information which has been lost due to the deterioration of a fragment in the intervening time. Beyond this, if available, it is sometimes useful to add images of the verso side of a scroll fragment (using a flipped mirror image so it will match the other layers). IR verso images can prove particularly valuable when there is some sort of interference on the recto’s surface. For example, a piece of skin (typically from a previous layer of the original scroll but now bonded to the surface and not easily removable) may block or obscure textual data on the writing surface in an image of the recto. Each of these various layers in the Primary Layers group is available for viewing separately or in combination. This not only facilitates comparisons (done by adding or subtracting given layers) but also allows the user to keep track of the data and know from which source the image data of each is derived.

“Primary Layers Aligned” Group

Once the Primary Layers group has been established as described above, the next concern is to bring a DSS fragment (or a set of related fragments) into approximate, overall horizontal alignment. This is done through superimposing a group labeled, “Primary Layers Aligned” over the “Primary Layers” group. The intent here is to bring the orientation of the stack of images for a given fragment or group of closely related fragments into proper alignment with one another and, beyond this, to orient this group in reference to the written lines of the text, roughly to a common, horizontal axis.

Because DSS are usually written on animal skins or papyri, these materials, especially if they are fragmentary, are highly susceptible to shifting in their mounts, wrinkling, warping, cracking, splitting, curling, shrinking, or expanding over time, especially along their edges. This makes precise horizontal orientation of *all* the text lines of a given fragment (or assemblage of fragments) frequently difficult to achieve. The aim of the “Primary Layers Aligned” group is simply to make a rough adjustment so that the reference line(s) are brought as close to horizontal alignment as possible.

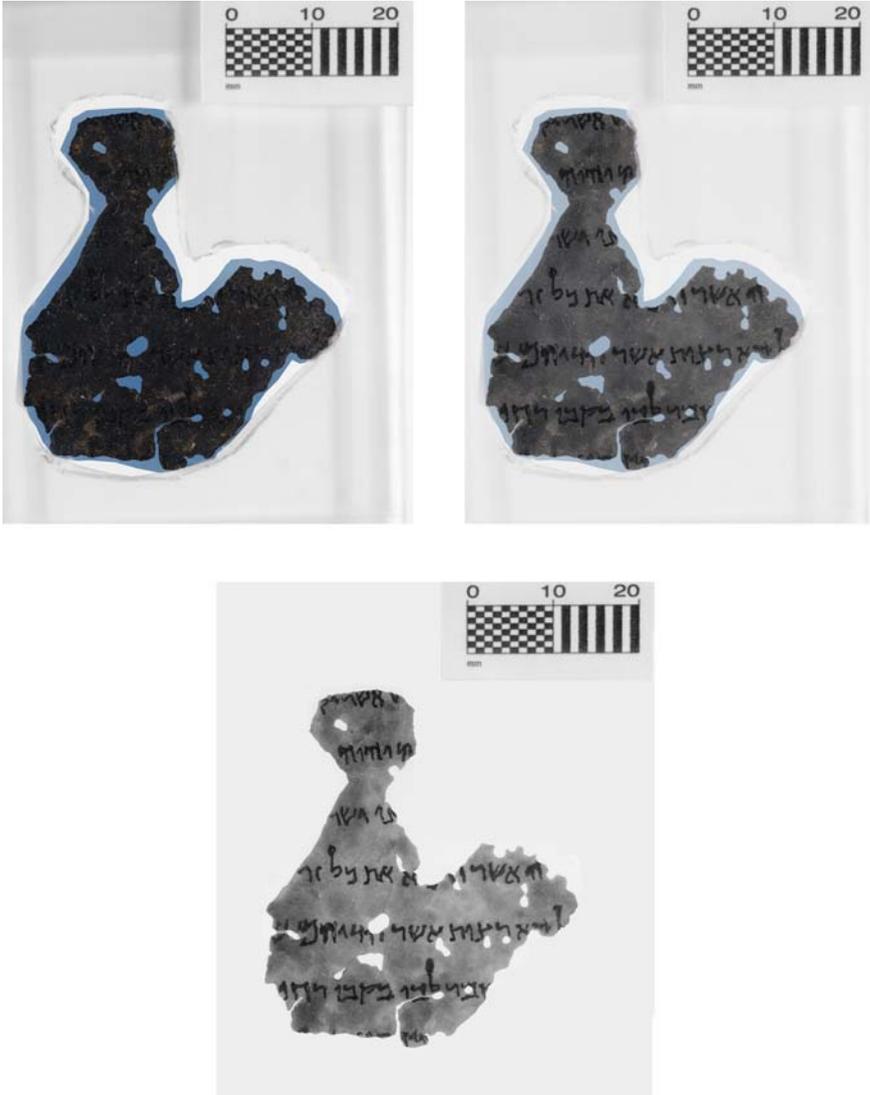


FIGURE 3.5 *MOTB.SCR.003172, Jeremiah. VLC (left); semi-transparent IR bonded to VLC (right); and IR images (below, center) can be matched and superimposed as discrete layers in an Adobe Photoshop environment*

IMAGES BY BRUCE AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN AND MARILYN LUNDBERG,
WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH



FIGURE 3.6 Detail of MOTB.SCR.00124 Genesis before (left) and after (right) “patching,” as shown by the reconstructed ruling of the scribe indicating the improved alignment of the text

Patches

One of the most useful means of reconstructing a fragment is a technique which we have elsewhere⁵ labeled as “patching.” Once created, such patches are stacked in a “Patches” group directly above the “Primary Layers Aligned” group. As noted above, the physical remains of a fragment are highly prone to various types of movement, all of which can distort the relative placement of letters and lines of letters, thereby inhibiting optimal reconstruction. This is a problem that cannot usually be solved “globally” by applying correctives (e.g., rotation) to the entire assemblage undergoing reconstruction. Rather, one can better fine-tune the needed corrections in each instance of distortion by individually “patching” the area under consideration (Figure 3.6). Since patching is a more invasive repair, it is particularly crucial for the sake of transparency that the “seams” in the repair remain visible, especially when the image is magnified. That is, no effort should be made to use the cloning or other smoothing functions in Photoshop to clean up a given patch. It should be emphasized that patches should be done as part of a supplementary group.

5 Cf. B. Zuckerman, “Every Dot and Tiddle: A Consideration of the Limitations of Computer Imaging for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Z. Garber and B. Zuckerman, *Double Takes: Thinking and Rethinking Issues of Modern Judaism in Ancient Contexts* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004), 183–196; cf. 189.

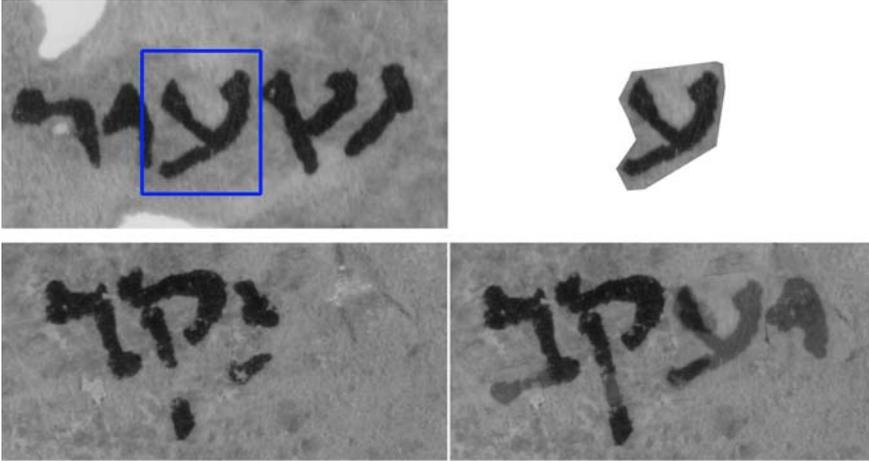


FIGURE 3.7 *MOTB.SCR.000124 Genesis. Steps in letter “cloning”: the letter ‘ayin in its original environment (top left); a “clone” of the letter (top right); a different word with traces of an ‘ayin (bottom left); and the cloned ‘ayin superimposed over the traces of an ‘ayin along with a preceding, cloned yod and a following cloned bet (bottom right). Note that the clones are made semi-transparent to facilitate the viewer comparing it to any actual ink traces remaining.*

That is, the observer should be able to toggle them (individually and by group) in order to be able to judge the extent to which the patch is judged to be appropriate.

Line Reconstructions and the Criteria for Letter Cloning

Once what appears to be the optimal alignment and patching of a given DSS fragment or assemblage of fragments has been established, one can proceed to letter, word, and line reconstructions. The primary means for doing such reconstructions is a technique which we have elsewhere characterized as “letter-cloning.”⁶ That is, when a text is fragmentary or partially missing and therefore the readings are uncertain or in need of complete restoration, one may “clone” letters or letter combinations, using clear (or clearer) letter examples from elsewhere in the text, copy them onto new layers and then superimpose them over ink traces of partial letters or areas where letters or words are completely missing (Figure 3.7). This serves the primary function of a reconstruction of the type described here, which is to test the validity of proposed reconstructions.

⁶ See Zuckerman, “Every Dot,” 193, and Zuckerman, “Dynamics,” 13–19.

There are several issues that can be tested through this letter-cloning process. For instance, if a given letter reconstruction has been proposed and a clone of that letter is spatially incongruent with the deteriorated but still visible ink traces over which it has been superimposed, it can be seriously questioned whether this is the correct reading. Conversely, if the cloned letter, when superimposed, well matches the existing letter traces, then it may be deemed a justifiable match. Further, if from a contextual standpoint several possible readings might be proposed where the text itself is visually unclear, one may test each potential reading to determine which best conforms to the existing space and traces by superimposing letter-clones in order to determine which of them can make a compatible, physical match. Also, if there is a lacuna in a given line for which a restoration (or restorations) may be proposed, one can then move letter-clones into the gap in order to determine whether they make a reasonable fit. If the letters overly crowd the lacuna (or simply cannot be squeezed in at all) or conversely, if there is too much space in the restoration to fill the lacuna adequately, such a restoration becomes open to challenge and will likely require adjustment. Most importantly, if the text breaks off across a number of lines so that either the right or left vertical column margin (or both) cannot be determined based on the physical evidence, one may use letter-clones to fill out potential words and lines in order to test whether a given reconstruction of the column width is supportable. Note that in such cases, not only must gaps be appropriately filled in, but the overall vertical orientation must be reasonably compatible as well. That is, when the right margins of all the restored lines are flush, then the left margin must reflect a relative evenness as well. If this does not prove to be the case, or, alternatively, if given letters are too crowded or the spaces between the letters too extensive when a given column width is assumed, then the reconstruction needs to be reexamined and probably readjusted.

There are several underlying methodological principles that should be followed in choosing the most appropriate examples for letter-cloning. First, when choosing which letter(s) to clone, three primary criteria need to be considered: letter position, letter environment and letter proximity.⁷ These criteria all speak to the underlying assumption that letters are never written in isolation and preferably should therefore not be restored individually. In regard to letter position, when choosing letters to clone, one should consider the let-

7 For earlier discussions, see B. Zuckerman and L. Dodd, "Pots and Alphabets: Refractions of Reflections on Typological Method," *Maarav* 10 (2003): 89–113; esp. 111–113 and Zuckerman, "Dynamics," 13–14.

ter's position in a word, phrase, or line (i.e., whether it is in initial, medial, or final position) since this will have an impact on the way letters are written. This is obviously so in the case of the so-called "final" Hebrew and Aramaic letter forms, namely, *kaf*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, and *tsade*, but close examination of other letters reveals that they too will display differing tendencies in a given scribe's hand, depending on their respective position in a word. For instance, often times, an initial letter in a given scribe's hand will be larger than a medial letter, and the same can sometimes prove to be the case for a letter in final position. In consideration of this, when a clone is needed to reconstruct a letter in word-initial position, one should clone an initial letter, if possible, in order to produce a more accurate reconstruction. This pertains to letters in medial and final position as well.

In regard to letter environment, it should be noted that letters also change shape, stance, or relative size depending on the immediate environment of the letters (or space) that precede and follow. For example, certain letters in a given scribe's practice will tend to be ligated (e.g., *nun* followed by *vav* or *yod*) and thus will tend to use less space. Due to considerations of letter environment, it is optimal, whenever possible, to clone letter combinations, in order to reflect more accurately and authentically the stylistic characteristics of a given scribe's hand.

The third criterion, that of letter proximity, is based on the assumption that the closer the letter chosen for cloning is to the area of text that is being reconstructed, the more accurate it is likely to be. This takes into account a tendency which we have elsewhere described as "scribal drift."⁸ This assumes that various factors, such as fatigue or even the progressive dulling or re-sharpening of the tip of a scribe's writing implement, can contribute to an increasing lack of consistency as a scribe moves from column to column. Therefore, as a general rule of thumb, the closer a letter is to the area of text being reconstructed the more accurately the reconstruction will likely reflect the scribal tendencies in the area of text in question. In general, letter-clones should be chosen according to these criteria in priority: letter position, first; letter environment, second; and letter proximity, third. However, one should show a degree of flexibility in regard to establishing these priorities. Moreover, since one can work with multiple layers, one can try out letter-clones that reflect some or all these alternative criteria.

Beyond these aforementioned methodological criteria, there are two other factors that should be considered in constructing and employing letter-clones.

⁸ Zuckerman, "Dynamics," 14.

First, one should resist the tendency to “cut out” cloned letters too closely, making them essentially no wider than the widths of the ink strokes of the scribal hand. Not only is it difficult and time consuming to make such cutouts, but this also introduces a degree of subjectivity, since the outside observer cannot as easily tell if the trimming has been done accurately. It is far better to leave a significant margin around the clone of a letter or letter combination.⁹ By using block-framed clones, it is far easier for the viewer to see where the cloned letters begin and the actual, evidentiary remains end.

The second factor involves cases in which letter-clones are superimposed over areas where some ink traces of a letter still remain. In such cases the letter-clone should be made semi-transparent so the viewer can look *through* the clone to see the underlying traces that the clone endeavors to match. This is also the best procedure even when the underlying skin is entirely blank. Thus the viewer can easily grasp the extent to which the reconstruction appears compatible with the physical evidence. In cases where letters are being restored in *lacunae* where no surface remains, clones can be kept at 100 % opacity.

Reconstructed Letters

In some cases, especially when the text being reconstructed is highly fragmentary, one may not have clear and complete letters to serve as clones since such complete versions of the letters do not occur in the extant text. In cases where some evidence, nonetheless, remains of a letter needed for cloning, one can develop and employ what may be labeled as “reconstructed” letters. For example, if the top of a *tav* remains in one line while the bottom of this same letter is preserved in another, one can combine these remains to reconstruct a complete *tav*. In such cases, the reconstructed additions are, once again, made semi-transparent so that the viewer can see more clearly how the reconstruction has been put together. In all instances, care should be taken not to use various available Photoshop tools to smooth things out so that the joins appear seamless (Figure 3.8).

Hypothetical Clones (“Frankenletters”)

When a letter needed for restoration on a given fragment or assemblage of fragments is missing or unclear and there are no other examples or even partial examples of that given letter available elsewhere, one can still create and restore hypothetical clones or what may be characterized as “Frankenletters,” that is, letters that are completely stitched together out of portions of other

⁹ For further discussion of “pixel editing,” see Zuckerman, “Dynamics,” 19–20.

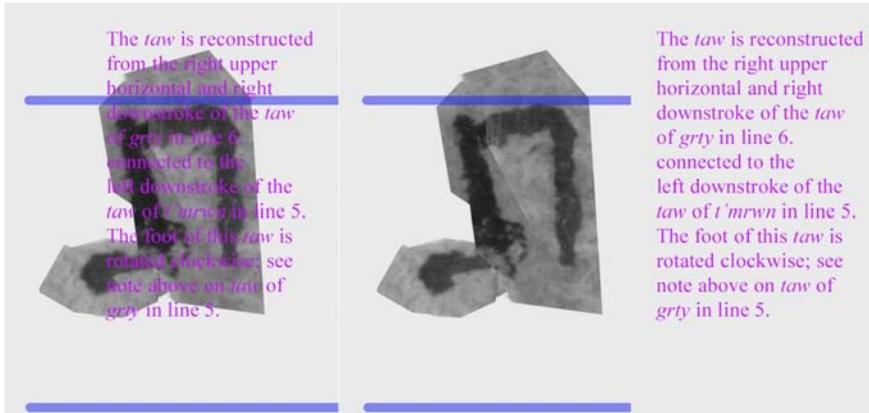


FIGURE 3.8 *MOTB.SCR.000124 Genesis*. A reconstructed *tav*, using parts of extant *tavs* within the fragment. On the far left is the reconstructed *tav* with detailed notes superimposed. The notes and the reconstructed forms can be toggled on and off to see the reconstructed letter by itself (middle) and the detailed notes by themselves (right).

letters. The rationale and justification for creating these “letter-monsters” are based on the principles of calligraphy and further assume that the trained scribes, who wrote most of the DSS, self-consciously followed calligraphic practices. Indeed, the general, implicit assumption, long followed by those who study and analyze DSS paleography and the development of scribal styles (usually broadly characterized as Hasmonean and Herodian scripts and variations thereof), only makes sense if one assumes that the scribes knowingly followed these fundamentals of calligraphy (Figures 3.9 and 3.10).

An ancient scribe trained in calligraphic practices does not think in terms of inscribing complete letters. Rather, he or she is trained to employ a specific repertoire of a given number of similarly styled, discrete strokes (i.e., school-figures) which are put together in various, precisely ordered combinations in order to form letters and letter combinations. Indeed, it is the shared characteristics of these strokes that give a script its specific look in stylistic terms.¹⁰ Hence, the underlying rationale for constructing Frankenletters is that one may therefore reverse this process by breaking letters down into the repertoire of calligraphic strokes out of which they were built, and then recombine them to

10 See, for example, A. Yardeni, *The Book of the Hebrew Script: History, Paleography, Script Styles, Calligraphy & Design* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1997), 294–300, and esp. fig. 245 on p. 295; also C. Marks, *The Handbook of Hebrew Calligraphy* (Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1990), esp. 38–61.



FIGURE 3.9 *MOTB.SCR.000124 Genesis. The “Frankenletter” tsade. The letter has been created from elements of other letters in the text, as noted in the detailed notes (right). The letter itself (middle) is shown with superimposed notes on the left.*



FIGURE 3.10 *Alphabet group from MOTB.SCR.000124 Genesis, with cloned letters, reconstructed letters, and “Frankenletters.” “Frankenletters” are marked with a reddish “flag” to indicate that they are completely reconstructed and should be viewed as inherently more speculative. Note that groups of letters or words that occur more than once in a text are also cloned for use in reconstruction.*

form other letters. This is obviously the most speculative and hypothetical procedure employed in letter-cloning in particular, and in DSS reconstruction in general, a point that should be made prominently clear to the viewer. Thus, one should take particular care to make the “scars,” that is, the demarcated areas between the strokes, prominently visible without any attempt to smooth the joins.

It need hardly be said that such a “monstrous” letter form should never be used as the basis for any serious paleographic analysis. On the other hand, a particular Frankenletter is likely to be fairly accurate in terms of filling the space in a given word, phrase, or line in order to approximate the physical layout of a reconstructed text better than might otherwise be the case (see Figure 3.11 for line reconstructions that use the principles of letter-cloning).



FIGURE 3.11 *Reconstruction of MOTB.SCR.00124 Genesis, col. ii, using the principles of letter-cloning and reconstruction outlined above*

IMAGE BY BRUCE AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN AND MARILYN LUNDBERG, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH

Establishing Alphabet and Strokes Groups

As one develops and deploys various letter-clones, including reconstructed forms and hypothetical or Frankenletters, it is advantageous to collect, organize, and document these clones for ease of further reference and additional use as the reconstruction of a given fragment continues to be developed. For this reason, an “Alphabet” Group (Figure 3.10) should be established where all letters used for reconstruction can be visually indexed in an intuitive manner and thus made available for further reference and use by both the constructor and ultimately by the user or observer (see also Figure 3.12). Letters that have been reconstructed at least in part should be labeled as “reconst.” in the Alphabet Group with a superimposed detailed note (see next paragraph)

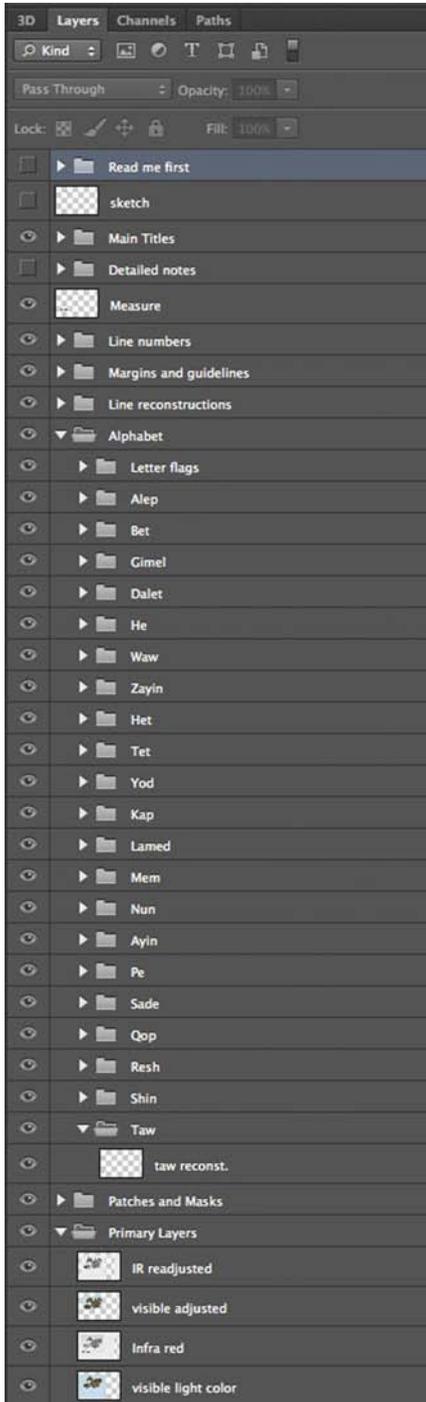


FIGURE 3.12

Alphabet group in the layers palette of Photoshop. Each letter of the alphabet has its own group with separate layers for each example.

that documents and explains the basis for the reconstruction. In the case of Frankenletters an even more detailed note should be superimposed over the letter, explaining precisely how individual strokes were stitched together to compose this hypothetical letter form. It is useful to indicate Frankenletters by superimposing over each of them in the Alphabet Group a semi-transparent rectangular patch colored red, as a means of making their hypothetical nature more easily identifiable to the viewer.

As one isolates individual strokes derived from certain letters, it is also useful to establish a “Strokes” Group where they can be easily accessed for use in the building of other partially reconstructed letters as Frankenletters.

Establishing a Detailed Notes Group

The use of detailed notes is essential in the reconstruction process. This procedure gives the constructor the necessary means through which to keep track of and document every decision that led to a given reconstruction. Further, such notes give the reader or observer the means by which to judge the rationales that guide each and every significant issue that is relevant to the reconstructive process. Fortunately, image processing and management programs such as Photoshop have highly flexible means through which to write detailed textual notes of this nature on separate text layers that can be grouped under the heading “Detailed Notes.” These notes can be physically located and superimposed directly over the part of a reconstructed image to which they are relevant and toggled on when one needs to consult them, and toggled off when one wants to get them out of the way (see Figures 3.8 and 3.9). It often proves useful to write a general introductory note on the reconstruction entitled “Read me first.”

Other Groups

Besides the basic working groups described above, other groups may be added to a reconstruction, usually toward the end of the process, whose aim is to supply visual cues for the reader or observer to facilitate navigation around the reconstructed text (Figure 3.12).

The most prominent of these is the “Titles” group. In this group can be listed those elements that identify and classify a fragment undergoing reconstruction, e.g., its official designation in accordance with the established protocols for DSS *sigla* or other conventional designations (e.g., catalogue designations for fragments in privately held collections), as well as a more common title, e.g., “11Q10 = 11tgJob: Targum of Job from Qumran Cave 11.” Column designations can also be added as appropriate and physically centered above each column as reconstructed. Likewise, a “Line Numbers” group can be established: thus “1” designating the first line, “2” designating the second line, and so on. Closely

related to this Line Numbers group is the “Rule Lines” group. Such a group may be divided into two subgroups: a “Ceiling Lines” subgroup that highlights and demarcates the horizontal ceiling rulings associated with each of the numbered lines and upon which all (or nearly all) letters for that line are hung. The second subgroup designates “Column Lines,” that is, the vertical rulings that a scribe employed to order a given scroll into columns of text. In both cases, the lines can be based on physical evidence visible on the surface of the scroll fragment itself, such as incised lines scored into an animal skin by the scribe. However, in many cases the surfaces are too deteriorated to show where these scored lines were likely to have been, in which case these ceiling and column lines are reconstructed in order to demonstrate where one thinks they ought to have been.

Finally, a “References” group may be added where appropriate. This allows the constructor to indicate text references that connect the text under reconstruction to other texts with which it shares a common set of references (e.g., biblical chapters and verses). The most obvious such usage is to note the relative position of chapter and verse references for biblical texts. Again, noting these references in an easy-to-see color serves to aid the reader in keeping track of where one is when the reconstructed text is compared to other texts with which it apparently shares a common tradition (Figure 3.11).

Conclusion

The aim of this discussion has been to offer an overview of the way in which West Semitic Research has approached the reconstruction of DSS texts, as illustrated by the text reconstructions in this volume, using approaches that can be transformative to the study of DSS and other ancient texts. We believe that newly available imaging technologies coupled with these methodologies offer the ability for a scholar to test proposed reconstructions of ancient texts with unparalleled precision and accuracy, thereby allowing them also to test various hypothetical proposals concerning the readings that may originally have appeared in what are now lacunae, as well as the position of the right and left margins of a given text's columns.

The Process and Goal of Research

Robert Duke

The history of Dead Sea Scrolls research is filled with stories of budding scholars and benefactors. During the early days of work on the Scrolls many of these scholars had embarked on one scholarly path, only to find themselves on another thanks to their interaction with fragments from the caves of Qumran.¹ The intersection of generous benefactors and budding scholars is also the story of this project.

This volume would never have been completed without the generous funding of the MOTB (Museum of the Bible) Scholars Initiative, funded by the Green family of Oklahoma City. It has been a pleasure for all of us working with the MOTB to help realize the vision of using the Museum Collection to mentor future scholars in the fields of biblical and textual studies.

The work for this volume first began in 2012 when Jerry Pattengale, executive director of the MOTB at the time, contacted Peter Flint and myself about being co-editors. In September 2012, I made a trip to Trinity Western University in Canada to work with Flint and to discuss the best way to publish these fragments with the goal of mentorship. After identifying potential scholar-mentors, we began contacting each of them and arranging to discuss the possibility of their involvement along with their students in this undertaking. Eventually, we identified a team of scholar-mentors, assigned fragments, and began a yearly gathering at the Society of Biblical Literature meeting in November. Unfortunately, health concerns forced Flint to withdraw from the editorial team in 2014, and his presence has been sorely missed. Subsequently, Kipp Davis graciously stepped in as an additional editor and has assisted all the scholar-mentors in the final stages of their work.

Senior scholar, Emanuel Tov, oversaw all of the scholarly work on the fragments, guiding Flint, Davis, and me in our work with the individual MOTB scholar-mentors and their students. Tov, a scholar who needs no introduction among those in the field, has been a wonderful guide and shepherd during

1 For a complete overview of the young scholars involved in the early days of Dead Sea Scrolls research and the benefactors that supported them, see John C. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Fleming H. Revell Company: Westwood, NJ, 1965) and Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1.56 ff., 154 ff., and 451 ff.

this entire process. The method of researching, with a senior scholar, scholar-mentors, and current undergraduate and graduate students, makes three generations of scholars working collaboratively. The MOTB Scholars Initiative can thus serve as a model for how future collaborative research in the humanities (something very common in the sciences) can be conducted.²

The scholar-mentors, some already known in the field of Qumran studies and others with requisite language skills, were chosen first and foremost for having a clear commitment to mentoring students. All of the scholar-mentors have Doctoral degrees in relevant disciplines and teach Hebrew courses. They come from a wide variety of schools and geographic locations. This volume was produced with contributors working in Canada, Israel, Norway, and the United States. Most of them included readings and research time in their syllabi to complete the research within an already listed semester course at their university or college. Others created special reading courses for a select group of students at their campuses. The collaborative design of this research project makes it fitting to mention the students together with their scholar-mentors for each chapter.

The distribution of the fragments among many professors, not equally expert in all requisite sub-disciplines, made it necessary to include additional experts to create digital reproductions and conduct paleographical analysis. For the former, Bruce Zuckerman and Marilyn Lundberg of the West Semitic Research Project (WSRP) provided the initial set of high-resolution images used by the teams. Additionally, WSRP worked with each team after completion of the final transcription to reconstruct the texts. This provided an internal check on the transcriptions, since the proposed transcriptions could be verified based on how actual reconstructed letters fit within column limits. I am grateful for the contribution of WSRP as these reconstructions are an added bonus for each of the chapters in this volume.

Ada Yardeni provided a paleographical analysis for each fragment, and each chapter contains a section written independently by Yardeni. Most scholars, even recognized Scrolls scholars, do not possess paleographical expertise. For the students involved in this research, the interaction they had with making their own paleographical assessments, which were either confirmed or not by Yardeni's analysis, provided a rare and invaluable experience. The scholar-mentors included readings on paleography from Yardeni and Frank Moore

2 In 2000–2001, I was awarded the Rotary Ambassadorial Scholarship to study at Hebrew University. I was able to take Professor Tov's class on the Septuagint. My students working on the Daniel fragment in this volume make three generations working together, a fact that I highlighted to my students.

Cross, Jr. as part of their background research.³ At one point, I had the opportunity to visit two of the teams during the research phase, one at Southern Nazarene University and the other at Oklahoma City University. I spent an afternoon with the students comparing paleographical charts with Dead Sea Scrolls fragments. It was exciting to see the students wrestle and argue amongst themselves about the characteristics of the letters and potential paleographical dates.

Turning our attention specifically to the students, all of those involved in this project are to be commended for the diligence and passion they brought to their work. On several occasions, I have interacted directly with students involved in the project. I loved hearing the excitement in their voices when they shared their experiences. They were most enthused that they were not only learning a biblical language, but were participating in actual research bringing new information to the scholarly world. The ability to work so directly with the fragments provided unique experiences that are continuing to shape the future of these student researchers, some of whom have continued studies to the Masters and Doctoral levels.

With teams of scholar-mentors and students working independently, one would assume a slow process, but in fact the opposite was true. Many of the students, facing deadlines for graduation, wanted to finish what they had started. Many of the scholar-mentors shared anecdotes with me of having to “kick” students out of their offices or let them know class had ended. The students became the catalyst that made this research progress well and to completion, and they brought an infectious energy to the scholar-mentors working with them. In the past several years, several collections and schools have added Dead Sea Scrolls fragments to their holdings, including the Museum of the Bible Collection, Azusa Pacific University, The Schøyen Collection, and Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Due to the diligence of the teams of MOTB Scholars, the research on the current fragments progressed rapidly relative to these other collections and is now published in a timely manner.

This volume of Dead Sea Scrolls fragments was made possible by generous benefactors, who believe that nurturing budding scholars holds great impor-

3 Especially helpful for students were Ada Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script: History, Palaeography, Script Styles, Calligraphy & Design* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1997); Frank Moore Cross, Jr., “Paleography,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.629–2.634; Frank Moore Cross, Jr., “The Development of the Jewish Scripts” in *Leaves from an Epigrapher’s Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 3–43.

tance for the future of biblical research. All the scholar-mentors in this volume would agree that they would have enjoyed a similar experience during their undergraduate or graduate studies. Bringing scholarly research in close proximity to the pedagogy in the classroom provides an important new direction for the field, and fulfills the goal of the MOTB Scholars Initiative to “bring together established and young scholars to pioneer groundbreaking research.”

Procedure Followed by the MOTB Scholars Teams: Manuscript Research as Pedagogy

Lisa M. Wolfe

Initially, my interest in the Museum of the Bible (MOTB) Scholars Initiative revolved around the chance to work with Dead Sea Scrolls. However, ultimately it was the unique prospect of research in partnership with my students that really intrigued me. This research involved not only scholarship of discovery, but also scholarship of teaching and learning. To that end, this essay describes and evaluates my pedagogical setting and process in analyzing and writing an article about a scroll fragment with students.¹

I am Professor of Hebrew Bible at Oklahoma City University (OCU), a United Methodist Liberal Arts institution with a heavy emphasis on teaching; our promotion and tenure requirements reflect that. The faculty in the OCU School of Religion put great effort into effectively preparing our students for graduate school, including seminary. Many of our undergraduates study biblical languages for two to three semesters, and all of them must take “Methods of Biblical Analysis,” in which they learn exegetical skills, including the basics of text criticism. Small class sizes allow students to become accustomed to seminar-style classes and collaborative projects. I found the exceptional opportunity to conduct original research on an ancient manuscript with students in this context very exciting from the start, and it remained an ongoing motivation to participate in the project. I have been continually grateful that the MOTB Scholars Initiative undertook this unique research partnership with students, for the sake of research, application, integration, and teaching, based on Ernest L. Boyer’s work.²

My class began with four undergraduate religion majors who had just taken two consecutive semesters of biblical Hebrew with me. While they were still in their second semester of biblical Hebrew, Bobby Duke of Azusa Pacific University (my Mentor/Supervisor on this project) visited the class to give them a taste of the research that would be involved should they choose to participate

1 See chapter 15 in this volume for our work: “Psalm 111–4” (Inv. MOTB.SCR.-000121).

2 See Jerry Pattengale’s words on this pedagogical approach in the preface to this volume.

in the Scholars Initiative. Four out of ten students in that class opted-in for a third semester of biblical Hebrew to undertake this project with me in the fall of 2013.

I spent the summer of 2013 researching the 2.3 by 1.38 cm fragment that Dr. Duke had assigned us: DSS F.Ps3, which contains Psalm 11:1–4 (catalogued as Inv. MOTB.SCR.000121). Dr. Duke provided assistance, as did Allison Bevers, one of the four student team members and a participant with me in the summer 2013 “Logos in Oxford” MOTB Scholars Initiative program. I intended to have the students do as much as possible on their own when the fall semester began. Other than allowing them to use my BibleWorks software, I planned to help them only when necessary. Following the model Dr. Duke had used in my spring class, I did not identify the fragment for them, so they had to struggle through that aspect of the research. The bibliography I provided on the initial syllabus included the basics of DSS research as a starting point, since they had little background on the Judaean Desert documents, much less knowledge of paleography or other aspects of manuscript research.³ I had them begin transcribing the fragment with the goal of identifying it. Once they determined that the fragment came from the Psalms, I gave them additional bibliography to help orient them to the specific material. Then they started moving into paleography, so we kept Cross and Yardeni’s charts handy.⁴ While they worked on that and the reading, I encouraged them to think about what other tasks we needed to accomplish and to prioritize them.

Leigh Smith attempted to calculate the distance between the main fragment and the flakes that had separated from it, before we all realized that those

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- 3 The bibliography included: <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-314640>; Martin Abegg Jr., Peter Flint, and Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 1999); George J. Brooke, “Dead Sea Scrolls,” *The New Interpreter’s Bible* (12 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1994–2004), 2:52–63; John J. Collins, “Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; 6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 2:85–101; Frank M. Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *Leaves from an Epigrapher’s Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 3–43; Frank M. Cross, “Paleography” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 629–634; Joseph A. Greene, “Dead Sea,” *NIB* 2:49–52; Ada Yardeni, “Chapter One: The Graphic Elements of the Hebrew Letter and the Basic Rules of Hebrew Palaeography,” in *The Book of Hebrew Script: History, Palaeography, Script Styles, Calligraphy and Design* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1997; repr., New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 129–162.
- 4 Frank M. Cross, “The Development,” 3–43; Ada Yardeni, “Chapter One: The Graphic Elements,” 129–162; Ada Yardeni, *Hebrew Scripts: A Carta Wall Chart* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007).

flakes had not been intentionally placed where they appeared, but were floating randomly in the glass encasement.⁵ That taught us something about the importance of preservation, and of carefully scrutinizing the various images. Katy Hirsch conceived the idea to determine the column width by attempting to reconstruct the rest of the Psalm by hand, according to the Masoretic Text. She invested much time in that reconstruction, but was eventually delighted when she saw that Marilyn Lundberg and Bruce Zuckerman had achieved this in a precise manner with the aid of *Photoshop*. In the end, Lundberg and Zuckerman's reconstruction, though tentative, turned out to be instrumental for our conclusions about the existence of presumed variants in the fragment and in the context and is included in our chapter.⁶ Katy's hypothesis had been right, that reconstructing the column width could tell us a great deal about the fragment.

Soon thereafter the students started to hypothesize about the date of the fragment based on paleography; they went through the charts of Cross and Yardeni letter by letter, comparing them to each time period. Using their highlighters to narrow down good matches, they made some nuanced connections, including ones I had missed. One student called out, "Look at that *lamed*!" and another, "What's up with that *yod*?!" We all felt quite rewarded when Ada Yardeni's paleographic work on MOTB.SCR.000121 concluded the same date range that we had proposed ourselves.⁷

The one-credit course required that we meet for one hour once a week, but we soon discovered how quickly an hour passes when engaged in this type of work. On several occasions we canceled one week's meeting in order to meet for a longer block of time another week. In the classroom, we would close the door and project the digital images on two large screens, dimming the lights to see more detail. From time to time a student would suddenly exclaim, "This is so cool!" They clearly understood the unique nature of this spectacular project, and their incredible fortune to be part of it. This was real life "Bible CSI!"⁸ We transformed our Oklahoma City classroom into our own little Dead Sea Scrolls laboratory, and even they, the "lowly" undergraduates, got to be researchers. That privilege was not lost on them, nor were the implications of their discoveries. Suddenly their academics came alive with a new kind of relevance. Thus Allison Bevers commented:

5 See Figure 15.2 on p. 198.

6 See Figure 15.4 on p. 199.

7 See the *Paleography and Date* section on pp. 192–193.

8 A play on the popular U.S. television shows that focus on various categories of forensic science, *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation*.

Working with [the Scholars Initiative] allowed me to practice the Biblical Hebrew that I had been memorizing in a very real and tangible way. I felt a connection between myself and the writer of our text, realizing that we were sharing an experience across hundreds of years. Seeing a manuscript of the biblical text that I have spent my whole life reading in Sunday school gave me a richer appreciation for the development of our Biblical texts and how much effort has been put forth to create it.

The opportunity for teacher and students to be able to share the excitement of “this is so cool” was a significant benefit of this collaborative model. In addition, our partnership with internationally prominent DSS scholars, as well as Allison’s two consecutive years of participation in the “*Logos in Oxford*” summer program, greatly enhanced that collaboration. Allison went on to say, “I gained a great deal of experience in working with other scholars as well. Many times in undergraduate work we might have one or two projects that involve multiple people, but they are usually smaller projects. This was a prolonged process that helped me gain insight into the academic process when scholars collaborate together to create new research.” Similarly, Katy Hirsch commented, “Working with the Dead Sea Scrolls was an incredible experience. The opportunity to come that close to such an important piece of history is something [for which] I am eternally grateful. It introduced me to new software and technology that I otherwise may not have encountered, and I met scholars and leaders in the field who challenged me in ways that I hadn’t experienced before.”

Mid-semester found us working genuinely and smoothly as a team, with individual students doing their own work and bringing reports back to the whole group. At one point, Ethan Watt came to class having pored over Yardeni’s descriptions of scribal stroke formation and described to us how the scribes had done their work.⁹ His insights from that reading positively influenced our debate about a particular letter we had been questioning. Allison Bevers discovered in her reading that the material in the Psalm 11:1–4 fragment also appeared in 4QCatenaA. So we submitted an Interlibrary Loan (ILL) request for Annette Steudel’s volume containing that fragment in order to compare it to ours. When we received the book, the students marveled that we now had to sort through not only Hebrew, but also German.¹⁰ We sub-

9 Ada Yardeni, “Part 2: Chapter Two: The Hand Movements and the Directions of the Strokes in Hebrew Writing,” in *The Book of Hebrew Script*, 157–162.

10 Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidr*

mitted many ILL requests that semester, and counted those books as precious contributions to our research. Ethan Watt became so enchanted with a particular volume of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* that he seriously considered asking for it as a graduation gift—until he saw how much it would cost!

Following my presentation on Psalm 11:1–4 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000121) at a MOTB Scholars Initiative meeting in 2013, another DSS researcher in the team, Michael Johnson, brought to my attention Esther and Hanan Eshel's prior work on this and a related fragment. Eshel and Eshel's 2007 article treats a small fragment from the same scroll, now owned by Ashland Theological Seminary.¹¹ Since none of us had previously been aware of this adjoining fragment, the students were rightly excited about this “game-changing” information, and the fact that the fragment had some previous research on it. “Our” fragment was no longer a wholly-unknown loner, and we had yet another colleague to thank for that discovery.

Living within easy driving distance of the actual fragment (it was housed in the MOTB archive in Oklahoma City at the time) allowed us the benefit of seeing it twice. This part of our class proved incredibly valuable to our research and understanding of the fragment. In particular, those “field trips” helped us sort through what we saw in the various photographs of the fragment that had been produced over the years. In addition, we gained some idea of what the archive and archivists were actually like, in contrast to what one usually sees in the refined display of a museum. During our visits to the fragment, the students took detailed descriptive notes, which provided the basis for the “Physical Description” section of our chapter.¹² I can still recognize some of the wording in that part of the chapter as having been suggested by one particular student or another as we sat huddled around the fragment. The student team members certainly noticed things I would have missed. In some cases I think they saw the fragment in unique ways precisely because they had so-called “untrained” eyes.

At the end of the fall semester 2013, we had a first draft of our chapter ready, and the students had most definitely contributed to it with their insights, anal-

Eschat^{a, b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und Traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena A”) Repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 71, 77.

11 Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, “A Preliminary Report on Seven New Fragments from Qumran,” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls V–VI* (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 220, 276–277.

12 See pp. 191–192 in this volume.

yses, and descriptions; they discovered and hypothesized in helpful ways that would not have occurred to me without their participation. Some of the students were eager, willing, and able to continue with the project, even though they had already earned their course credit. Some of the students helped prepare and participate in public presentations on Dead Sea Scrolls to a Rotary Club and a Sunday School class, among other settings, using the already published Genesis fragment from the Museum of the Bible Collection. In the summer of 2014, two of the students participated with me in a working session after Heather Reichstadt, former archivist at the Museum Collection, had taught me to use the RTI viewer for analyzing the manuscript.¹³ The students eagerly engaged this meticulous digital approach to manuscript research, and did so more easily than I with their generational knack for technology. We all appreciated how the PTM images and the RTI viewer helped us see, for instance, the difference between the edge of an ink stroke and faded ink, a question that had eluded us in the “plain” infrared photos. Additionally, having seen the fragment first-hand, in all its deterioration, we appreciated the digital images even more.

By the end of summer 2014, my students and I thought we had finished, but then came the editing process with the help of Emanuel Tov, Kipp Davis, Marilyn Lundberg, and Bruce Zuckerman, who brought innumerable corrections, insights, and improvements to the research. The students gained a new perspective on collaborative teaching and learning when they realized that someone else was “grading” their professor’s work. While previously they had only ever viewed me as “the grader,” now I, along with them, was among “the graded.” This drove home the point of collaborative learning. My students had heard me say in this and other classes that I view myself as a co-learner with them, but in this project, they truly saw that in action.

By the time we began editing the chapter, two of the students had graduated. Remarkably, and without receiving academic credit, the two remaining students, Leigh Smith and Katy Hirsch, periodically met with me to work on the ongoing editing. They sat in my office and helped me make revisions as we discussed the chapter. They did so because of their investment in the project, but also because of their amazement at the new developments that kept arising about the fragment in collaboration with the other scholars. Leigh Smith’s reflections on the project had much to do with these twists and turns of our research:

13 Reflectance Transformation Imaging, used with images created through Polynomial Texture Mapping (PTM).

The [MOTB] project changed the way I think about research. Research, I had thought, was cut-and-dried; it was a list of steps to work through, a beginning, middle, and end. What I found is that scholarship is dynamic and ongoing. Sometimes eliminating possibilities in the research process is just as important and rewarding as finding answers. Sometimes finding answers just leads to more questions. Sometimes, and I suspect most of the time, research doesn't end with a simple conclusion.

Leigh is referring to the fact that we had initially thought the fragment was from 11QP5^c (11Q7), based on Eshel and Eshel's 2007 publication. Through collaboration with our editors, however, and after further scrutiny of the fragment, we decided that was not the case. In the end we had to settle on the rather disappointing conclusion: "We have not identified any scroll from the Judaean Desert to which DSS F.Ps3 belongs other than the Ashland Theological Seminary fragment." Throughout that first semester of work the students kept hoping we would find a scroll with a piece missing just the shape of our fragment; of course, that didn't happen. As time went along they stopped expecting that, but we all had wanted a more conclusive outcome.

Leigh goes on to discuss the editorial process, as well as to make some final conclusions about the project as a whole:

The [MOTB] project was an enlightening look into what it takes to publish an academic article. What I thought would be a semester long project, maybe two semesters tops, turned out to be a three year project; most of that time was spent on writing, editing, and rewriting the article over and over. Writing an academic article takes commitment and the ability to accept and process criticism on something that you've worked really hard on. Given the chance, I would definitely participate in a similar project again. The experience not only gave me a deep appreciation for the incredible amount of work that has gone into Dead Sea Scroll research, but also for the process of academic research in general across all fields of study. I would recommend that anyone embarking on such a project do so with an open mind and with a good pencil.

From a pedagogical point of view, this project produced several outcomes. This inductive learning process resulted in greater understanding of the nature and history of biblical texts. The students' proficiency in Biblical Hebrew improved. Furthermore, they received a good introduction to Qumran Hebrew, as well as familiarity with Judaean Desert documents and a more detailed understanding of issues such as paleography, orthography, morphology, and the physical

characteristics of ancient manuscripts. Finally, the student members of the research team learned the process of academic collaboration, writing, and editing, which also helped them gain confidence in their own skills. It certainly did not hurt that they could put this project on their resumes and graduate school applications. Furthermore, it was clear that the students' educational setting had prepared them well for this project.

This student-faculty research project exemplifies a true partnership of original research and pedagogical application, with equally positive outcomes for both. While the ample learning outcomes helped motivate this research method, the students' insights, language, and analyses clearly contributed to the final product. Allison Bevers, Kathryn Hirsch, Leigh Smith, and Daniel Ethan Watt more than earned the right to have their names at the top of the chapter.

Publication of the Texts



Genesis 31:23–25?, 32:3–6 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000124)

Elaine Bernius with Cody Ingle and Emily Lumpkin Hines

Introduction

This Genesis text comprises three fragments which have been collectively assigned the designation DSS F.191 (F.Gen2) by Eibert Tigchelaar. The substantially extant column of text preserves portions of Gen 32:3–6 (English 32:2–5). Traces of a few letters from the previous column, possibly from Gen 31:23–25, appear in the uppermost right corner of the largest fragment.

Genesis 32 narrates the story of Jacob immediately after he has made a covenant with his father-in-law Laban and then departed from him. In this chapter, Jacob is sending his messengers to Esau who, in the following verses, is approaching with four hundred men. The chapter continues with the recounting of Jacob's wrestling match. The preserved fragments of DSS F.Gen2 contain Jacob's instructions to his messengers with his message to Esau, who resides in the region of Edom.

Physical Description

The medium dark brown leather of these fragments has light patches, which indicate considerable damage. The damage along the right margin of the main column (col. ii) may have been caused by the vertical ruling process,¹ though the lack of evidence for additional vertical or horizontal ruling on the fragments challenges this hypothesis.

At their widest points, the three irregularly-shaped fragments measure as follows: 7.4 by 5.1 cm for the largest fragment (frg. A), 2.1 by 1.95 cm for the middle fragment (frg. B), and 1.75 by 1.95 cm for the smallest fragment (frg. C). The fragments are numbered in this order from right to left. Five lines in col. ii (lines 3–7) preserve several complete and partial words and letters, while only

¹ This ruling process is discussed in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 58, where he indicates that damage may be done to a scroll by “so-called blind or dry-point ruling” which “was usually performed with a pointed instrument ..., probably a bone, which made a sharp crease in the leather, causing the leather to be easily split in two and even broken off.”

traces of letters are visible in lines 1 and 8. Traces from three or four letters at or near the left edge of col. i are visible in alignment with lines 2–4 in col. ii. In col. ii the space between the bottom of the letters of line 1 and the top of the letters of line 3 is vacant and measures approximately 1.1 cm. This indicates the presence of a full-line section break in line 2, which corresponds to the major division (פ) in MT between verses 32:3 and 4.² Sparse preservation of col. i makes it difficult to determine the precise ending point of each line and whether those points are variable or consistent from line to line. For a discussion of the intercolumnar margin, see the *Structural Assessment* below.

The majority of the letters are quite readable on the color image, MOTB.SCR.000124-obv2. Intervals between words consistently range between 1–2 mm. The line spacing generally measures between 7 and 8 mm, though the scribe's inconsistency produces variability in width throughout. The narrowest spacing is 6 mm at the right margin between lines 3 and 4 of col. ii, while the widest spacing is 8 mm at the left edge of frg. A between lines 5 and 6 of col. ii. No ruling lines are visible. The vertical alignment at the right margin of col. ii is fairly consistent. The full length of the lines in col. ii reaches approximately 7–7.5 cm (31–36 letter spaces), with lines of about 2.3–5.6 cm preserved.

Structural Assessment³

There are 31–36 letter spaces per line in col. ii, based on a reconstruction that aligns with MT. The column would be rather narrow, measuring approximately 7–7.5 cm, which is somewhat similar to a handful of Judean Desert manuscripts that date to the Herodian period, most as late as the late first to early second century C.E.⁴ The presence of three clear letters at the left edge of

² See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 146–147, for a discussion of this scribal method of marking a section break with a completely empty line. Frg. A may preserve either “a completely empty line,” indicating “a regular section division,” or “a space extending from the last word of the line to the end of the line (open section) followed by a completely empty line,” which may indicate “the greatest section division,” (147). For further discussion, see *Notes on Readings* (col. ii, line 1) below.

³ Thanks to Kipp Davis for his significant contribution to this structural assessment.

⁴ It should be noted that the dating of these fragments by Kipp Davis differs from that of Ada Yardeni, based upon a handful of features for several letters (i.e. *keraiā* on the *shins*, the backwards “tick” at the bottom of the left downstroke of *alef* and the tendency toward a two-stroke formation of this letter, the breadth of the hook of *lamed* and the flag atop the mast). The author would concur with a mid-first century C.E. dating of this text.

col. i provides a delimitation for reconstructing the corresponding text. However, this is also dependent upon whether or not the visible letters from col. i form the column edge, or if they are apportioned within words at the end of the line. The question is difficult to answer since the leather has been badly damaged in the intercolumnar, but it is possible to ascertain that the intercolumnar margin was a minimum of 14 mm, based on the clear, large unscribed portion of preserved leather that appears parallel to line 3. In attempting to more precisely define the intercolumnar width, there are small features on the right edge of the fragment that may help to bolster the supposition that the left edge of col. i is in view. First, while there is damage to the surface beside the clear *resh* in the first visible line, line 2, there are also enough surviving unscribed portions of the substrate in close enough proximity that should contain traces of ink if this were followed by another letter. Second, both the clear *resh* in line 2 and the clear *gimel* in line 4 are followed by spaces of unscribed surface, measuring 0.9 and 0.8 mm respectively. This number is significant in light of what is seen elsewhere on the fragment, where the next letter following *resh* in תאמרון in line 5 and in גרתני in line 6 is separated by only 0.4 mm, and where the *gimel* in the latter word joins the *resh*. In other words, if *resh* in line 2 and *gimel* in line 4 of col. i were in fact followed by additional letters, traces of these letters should be visible in the space of the surviving surface that follows.

If the traces in col. i represent the ends of lines 2–4, then the intercolumnar measures between 14–20 mm, producing an average width of 16.8 mm. This distance would seem somewhat large given the average size of margins between columns in the Qumran scrolls, which is around 10–15 mm.⁵ However, variations do exist. For example, among a grouping of late-post Herodian biblical scrolls from other Judaean Desert sites, this would actually seem to be closer to a standard size. The largest cache of these texts was discovered at *Murabba'at*. *MurGen-Exod* (Mur1) preserves intercolumnars measuring 17 mm, and the intercolumnars in *MurDeut* (Mur2) and the *Minor Prophets* scroll, *MurXII* (Mur88), measure 20 mm.⁶ Fragments from thirteen scrolls were discovered at Masada, four of which have preserved intercolumnars. The three margins in *MasLev^b* range between 17–30 mm, and the extant margin in *MasShirShab* measures 18 mm (but the intercolumnars in *MasDeut* measure 10 mm and those in *MasEzek* are around 15 mm).⁷ The Genesis scroll from

5 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 103.

6 P. Benoit et al., eds., *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD II; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 75, 78, 181.

7 The Masada texts are published in Shemaryahu Talmon and Yigael Yadin, *Masada vi: Yigael*

Wadi Sdeir, SdeirGen (Sdeir₁) contains a preserved margin measuring 18.5 mm.⁸ XH_{ev}/SeNum^b (XH_{ev}Se₂) preserves an “irregular intercolumnar” that measures between 14–25 mm.⁹ In addition to these, there are four similar unprovenanced texts from The Schøyen Collection, three of which have preserved intercolumnars: MS4611 (Lev 26:3–9, 33–37) preserves a margin measuring between 18–21 mm, and MS2713 (Josh 1:9–12; 2:3–5) is approximately 18 mm. MS2861 (Judg 4:5–6) would seem to be an outlier, with a smaller intercolumnar of approximately 13 mm.¹⁰ Other Genesis scrolls containing a larger intercolumnar width include 4QGen^b (20–25 mm) and 4QGen^c (15–20 mm).¹¹

With these observations clearly in view, it is possible to conclude that the preserved letters from col. i survive from the end of lines 2–4, and that the intercolumnar measured approximately 16.8 mm. The task at hand is then to identify these letters with text from Genesis, most likely from ch. 31. Fortunately, the process of elimination for viable options of reconstruction is fairly productive in this instance, especially since only a handful of words from Gen 31 end with a *gimel*.¹² Supplemental to this is the combination of a probable *he* and a clear *resh* that appears two lines above, which effectively suggests only two possibilities for reconstruction from the text of Genesis prior to ch. 32. Gen 31:23 and 25 (2×) both contain רְבִיר, and vv. 25 and 26 follow with verbs וְשָׁגַ

Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports (The Masada Reports; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society / The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999). A very well preserved copy of Ben Sira was also discovered at Masada, but has been omitted from this survey (along with MasPs^{a,b}) by virtue of its stichometric construction and its dating to the first century B.C.E.

- 8 Catherine Murphy, “1. SdeirGenesis (Pl. xx11),” in *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (ed. James Charlesworth et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD xxxviii; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 117.
- 9 Peter Flint, “2. XH_{ev}/SeNumbers^b (Pl. xx1x)” in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Miscellaneous Texts*, 173. But cf. also XH_{ev}/SeDeut (XH_{ev}Se₃) where the irregular margin is “at least 1 cm” (*ibid.*, 179).
- 10 The Dead Sea Scrolls from The Schøyen Collection are published in Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*. Cf. previous publications of MS2713 in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Miscellaneous Texts*, and MS2861 in D.M. Gropp, ed., *Wadi Daliyeh II and Qumran Miscellanea, Part 2*, in consultation with James C. VanderKam and Monica Brady (DJD xxviii; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).
- 11 Eugene Ulrich and Frank M. Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4 VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD xii; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 32 and 47, respectively.
- 12 The book of Genesis yields only eighteen such possibilities, כָּנָגַג (10:2); פָּלָג (10:25; 11:16–19 [4×]); וְשָׁרַג (11:20–23 [4×]); verbs הִרַג (4:15; 20:4; 37:26); יָצַג (30:38); נָהַג (31:8, 26); נָשַׁג (31:25); פָּוַג (45:26).

and וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ respectively.¹³ Reconstructing the end of Gen 31:23 in line 2 and the beginning of v. 25 in line 4 (see *Transcription* below) produces a column width for col. i wider than that of the very narrow second column (with col. i containing approximately 44 letter-spaces and measuring about 10 cm), and a column height close to fifty-four lines.¹⁴ This furthermore suggests a placement for the fragment very near the top of the manuscript. Most scrolls from the Qumran caves in which full-line section breaks appear seem to contain them within a range of four lines or more from the top of the document.¹⁵ However, the relatively intact scroll from the early second century C.E., MurXII, clearly shows that these full-line breaks can also appear at the tops of columns (cf. col. x 1, XIII 2). The cumulative result from the preceding analysis and discussion suggests that DSS F.Gen2 belonged to the top portion of a large scroll containing Genesis that was structured in columns consisting of about fifty-four lines. This would set this manuscript comfortably within the characteristic structural fea-

13 Reconstructing the text from Gen 31:25–26 in lines 2–4 of col. ii would result in a column height for this scroll of approximately sixty-three lines, comparable only to the longest known scroll (4QP^s, noted in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 89).

14 Dr. Zuckerman, who kindly and very helpfully provided the reconstruction included in Figure 6.2, noted a few problematic aspects of my reconstruction. (He himself would prefer to reconstruct the remains of col. i as portions of Gen 31:45–47, which would create a neat column of approximately 23 lines with a width of 31–36 letter spaces, nearly identical to that of col. ii. However, his reading of the extant letters is problematic, in my view, though I cannot enter into details here.) I am grateful to Dr. Zuckerman for pointing out the following problematic issues: (1) My reconstruction creates lines in col. i of approximately 39–48 letter spaces, which is, on average, approximately 33% larger than the width of col. ii. It should, however, be pointed out that columns of variable widths are possible both within the same scroll and even on the same sheet, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82. As an example, I would point to 4QGen^b, in Eugene Ulrich and Frank M. Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4 VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 31, which preserves columns with average widths variable by as much as approx. 20%. (2) Reconstructing according to MT, the space needed between the remains of col. i and those of col. ii creates a column length of approx. 54 lines, which would rank our document among the longest from the Judaean Desert. For scrolls of similar length, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 89. Quite interestingly, in fact, five of the seven scrolls of 50+ line columns cataloged by Tov are Torah scrolls, four of them containing portions of Genesis. In conclusion, though my reconstruction is not without problems, I contend it most accurately interprets the preserved letter traces.

15 Cf. Kipp Davis, *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions: Prophetic Persona and the Construction of Community Identity* (STDJ 111; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 133, also Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 145–149.

tures of a wide range of other Judaeen Desert Genesis scrolls, which frequently appear to have been large and structured into columns consisting of thirty or more lines.¹⁶

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This is a small fragment consisting of three pieces joined together, containing the remains of five lines written in a “Jewish” book-hand. The letters suspend on the lines and the distance between the tops of the letters in one line and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 7.7 mm. Small spaces serve as word dividers. The letters vary in their height and width. The average height of the letter *shin* is about 2.5 mm and its width about 3.5 mm.

About half of the letters are more or less damaged, but most may be safely restored. The letters were written with a thin reed pen. The almost equal thickness of horizontal and vertical strokes indicates a somewhat worn out nib of the reed pen. Most of the letters lean forward showing a uniform rhythm of writing. The gently drawn strokes and the regular ornamental additions testify to a skilled hand.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents¹⁷ enabled an approximate dating of the script of this fragment to the early second half of the first century B.C.E. Ornamental additions at the top of both “arms” of *ayin* and at the left and middle strokes of *shin*; the bent right “arm” of *shin*; the short stroke drawn upwards to the right at the bottom of the left, straight stroke of *alef*; and the pressed “body” of *lamed* with the long base show that the copyist was already familiar with a late Hasmonean phase in the formal evolution of the “Jewish” script typical to the second half of the first century B.C.E. Certain early features such as the narrow *kaf*, differing from the shorter and wider *bet*, and especially the final *nun* with the horizontal narrow “roof” may push back this handwriting to around the mid-first century B.C.E.

16 Cf. the data recorded in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 84–90, and his discussion which follows in pp. 90–93 as well as his description of so-called “*de luxe* editions” in pp. 125–129.

17 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

Transcription

Column i (Gen 31:23–25?)

23 ... בְּהָרִים] 2
 3 [הַגִּלְעָד וַיָּבֵא אֱלֹהִים אֶל לְבָן הָאֲרָמִי בַחֲלֹם הַלַּיְלָה וַיֹּאמֶר
 4 לְלוֹ הַשְׁמֵר לְךָ פֶּן תִּדְבַּר עִם יַעֲקֹב מִטוֹב עַד רָע וַיִּשְׁׁג

Column ii (Gen 32:3–6)

1 [הַמְקוֹם הַהוּא מַחְנִים] *vacat*] 1
 2 [] *vacat* [] 2
 3 [וַיִּשְׁלַח] יַעֲקֹב מַלְאָכִים לְפָנָיו אֶל עֶשָׂו אָחִיו
 4 אֲרָצָה שְׁעִיר שָׂדֵה אֲדָמָה וְיִצְחָק אָתָּם לֵאמֹר
 5 כֹּה תֹאמְרוּן לְאָדֹנָי לַעֲשׂו כִּי אָמַר עַבְדְּךָ
 6 [יַעֲקֹב עִם לְבָן גֵּרָתִי] וְאַחֲרָי עַד [עַתָּה יִהְיֶה לִּי
 7 שׂוֹר וְחִמּוֹר] צֹאן וְעֹבֵד וּשְׂפָחָה וְאִשׁ [לְחָה]
 8 לְהַגִּיד לְאָדֹנָי לְמִצְאָחִי בְּעֵינַי וַיִּשְׁׁבּוּ

Translation¹⁸

Column i

2 ²³[... in the hill coun]try
 3 [of Gilead. ²⁴ But God came to Laban the Aramean in a dream by night, and
 sai]d
 4 [to him, “Take heed that you say not a word to Jacob, either good or bad.”
 (Laban) overto]ok ...

Column ii

1 ³ [that place Maha]na[i]m. [*vacat*]
 2 *v[aca]t*
 3 ⁴ Then [J]acob sent messengers [before him to his brother Esau]
 4 toward the la[nd] of Seir, the co[untry] of E[d]om. ⁵ And he[instructed them
 saying,]

18 NRSV, adapted.

- 5 “Thus you shall say to [my] I[ord Esau: Thus says your servant]
 6 [J]acob, ‘With Laban [I] have lived as an alien and stayed until [now; ⁶ and I have]
 7 oxen, donke[ys, flo]cks, male and fema[le] slaves; and I ha[ve sent]
 8 to [tell my] I[ord, in order that I may find favor in your sight.’” Then (the messengers) returned]

Notes on Readings

Column i

See discussion in *Structural Assessment* above.

Column ii

- 1 מַחֲנִים (32:3) The minimal remains of the letters in this line challenge efforts to make a definitive identification. Most clear are the base and portions of both downstrokes of a final *mem*. Preceding the *mem* is a trace of ink that could well be the bottom tip of a *yod* along with another broader stroke that appears to be a letter base. Of the available options, it is most likely that the *yod* and the base of the *nun* in מַחֲנִים are preserved here. Though this verse (32:3) contains five final *mems*, four of those can be eliminated from consideration for the following reasons. 1) The position of רֵאשִׁית near the beginning of the verse leaves a portion of text too great to fit properly into the rest of that line and the damaged portion of the following line. Furthermore, the surviving trace of the letter preceding the final *mem* does not correspond to an *alef*. 2) The broader basestroke does not correspond either to the *heh* of אֱלֹהִים or to the base of the *shin* in שָׁם. 3) If the reading were הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה, the appearance of the fragment suggests that the tail of the *qof* would be evident. Thus, מַחֲנִים proves most likely on the basis of the letter traces. Additionally, a reconstruction of מַחֲנִים preceding הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה to the beginning of the line produces a highly compatible alignment with the column edge that is extant in the lines below.

This determination presents a section break in which line 1 ends with a *vacat* which is followed by an entire uninscribed line 2 before the beginning of the next section.¹⁹ As noted above, this partially reconstructed

¹⁹ As noted in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 147, this type of break marks “the greatest section division.” See list there for examples in other texts.

section break corresponds to a major division (Ⓛ) in MT, thereby indicating a significant contextual break between the pericopes detailing Jacob's separation from Laban and those recounting his reunion with Esau and encounter with God. 4QGen^e also displays this scribal practice in frg. 1 at the major division between Gen 36:43 and 37:1.²⁰ That particular scroll reflects some similarities in script with MOTB.SCR.000124, though certain letters betray a different hand (see the discussion below in Relation to Other Texts).

- 3 בְּעֵינַי וַיִּשְׁלַח (32:4) The damaged surface on either side of the lacuna in frg. A that bisects this line obscures the *het* at the end of וַיִּשְׁלַח and the *ayin* of יַעֲקֹב, though sufficient amounts of each remain for a confident identification. Only parts of the parallel downstrokes belonging to *het* have survived, while the preserved oblique stroke and the left arm of *ayin* are clearly visible. Also, although the *yod* of יַעֲקֹב is completely eliminated, sufficient space exists in the break to accommodate both a word division comparable to those throughout the document and the initial *yod*. The lack of ruling is quite apparent on this line, as it gradually slopes upward from right to left. Thus, for example, both the *shin* and *het* of וַיִּשְׁלַח are positioned lower than the trace of the end of the descender of the *qof* of יַעֲקֹב. Such irregularity seems somewhat characteristic of this scribe's hand, as sloping from right to left also occurs in line 5 (and line 6, to a lesser degree) which produces variable widths between the lines.
- 4 אֶרְצָא (32:4) The same lacuna and surrounding damage of frg. A that affected line 3 extends into the beginning of line 4 as well, eliminating any trace of the *tsade* and all but the left extension of the crossbar belonging to the *he*.
- 4 אֶרְצָא וַיִּשְׁלַח (32:4–5) Traces of ink belonging to several letters are preserved along the edges of a second large lacuna on the left side of frg. A, but these have been badly damaged by the deterioration in the substrate of

20 James R. Davila, "4QGen^e (Pl. x)," in Ulrich and Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4 VII*, 47–52. Davila notes that in the major division between 40:23 and 41:1, preserved in frg. 4 of 4QGen^e, only the line between the verses is left blank. Contextually, both of these instances in 4QGen^e mirror that found here in MOTB.SCR.000124 as the textual separations correspond to major divisions (Ⓛ) in MT, marking significant contextual breaks preceding the commencement of the Joseph narrative and the account of Pharaoh's dreams, respectively.

the fragment. The first four do not obviously correspond to any letters, but it does appear plausible to construe them as representative of three letters in אָדוּם: the first representing the join between the oblique stroke and the left downstroke of *alef*; the second, the head of *vav*; and the last two traces, the join between the downstroke and the crossbar as well as the ornamented left extension belonging to the final *mem*.

- 4, 5 The second large lacuna on the left side of frg. A obscures the vast majority of the end of line 4 after the *sin* of שָׁדָה, as well as the entirety of the end of line 5 after the partially preserved *alef* of לְאֲדוּנִי.
- 6 יְעֻקֵּב (32:5) Though the *yod* has been eradicated by damage, there is sufficient space for its reconstruction while still maintaining an acceptably consistent right column margin. The *ayin* is also badly damaged, but the left arm and a small part of the base of the oblique stroke provide for its positive identification.
- 6 The alignment of the three fragments as they appear on the photograph is not precise at two points, which is reflected in line 6. First, frg. B seems to contain the foot of the left leg of the *taw* of גִּרְתֵּי, which appears partially in frg. A line 5. However, there is possibly too large a gap left between frgs. A and B where they are aligned that makes the foot appear positioned too far from the right leg of the same letter on frg. A. Second, frg. C is probably positioned too high and artificially close to frg. B, which affects the appearance of the *resh* of וְאָחָר. A realignment of the fragments helps to create a match between the ink traces for this letter in frgs. B and C.
- 7 שׁוּר וְחִמּוּרָן [צֹאֵן] (32:6) Frg. A displays only the first word and portions of the second word of line 7. The head and part of the downstroke of *vav* remain visible as well as a trace of ink belonging to the *resh* in וְחִמּוּר. The head and most of the descender of a final *nun* are visible at the edge of frg. B, and a small trace of ink precedes the *nun* that matches the end of a left downstroke of *alef*. There is sufficient space between the fragments to reconstruct the rest of the *resh* of שׁוּר וְחִמּוּר along with the *tsade* and the rest of the *alef* of צֹאֵן (see discussion of this reconstruction in *Variants* below).
- 7 [לְחָה] וְשִׁפְחָה וְאֵשׁ (32:6) A small trace of the top of the *pe* is visible at the damaged edge of frg. B, and the left end of the crossbar of *het* on the right edge of frg. C. The substrate is damaged below the small surviving trace

of this letter, so as to obscure the left downstroke. An adjustment to the spacing of frg. C as suggested above (line 6) supplies sufficient space to reconstruct the missing portions of *pe* and *het* in the lacuna. The *vav* and *alef* of the following word are still clearly visible, along with a trace of the oblique stroke belonging to *shin* on the left edge of frg. C.

- 8 Only small portions of a few letters remain on line 8. At the beginning of the line, the flag of the *lamed* from לֶהֱגִיד is clear, followed by tiny traces of ink that possibly form a match with *he*, *gimel*, *yod*, and *dalet*. The next identifiable trace is the flag of the *lamed* from לֵאדֹנִי. After the sizeable separation between frgs. A and B, the head of the final *nun* from הֵן is visible, as well as the downstroke and joins with the crossbar and the base of the *bet* in בְּעֵינֶיךָ. The surface at the bottom edge of frg. B has flaked away, which obscures the presence of any of the surrounding letters. Finally, following the break between frgs. B and C appear the three most clearly distinguishable letters in this line: the *yod*, *nun*, and *yod* of בְּעֵינֶיךָ. The situation of the hypothetical left column margin suggests that וישבו was the last word in this line.

Variants

- 4 אַרְצָה (32:4) The reading agrees with MT. SP eliminates the locative *he*, reading אֶרֶץ rather than אֶרְצָה.²¹
- 7 וְצִאן (32:6) Masoretic manuscripts 223 and 419 of de Rossi read וְצִאן in verse 6,²² which is also the reading of SP. Unfortunately, this portion of the verse is missing in the text of this fragment. An argument based upon spacing is questionable due to the fact that this portion falls within a break between fragments, and uncertainty in the alignment of the fragments affects the ability to judge spacing here. Considering that the space needed

²¹ That this is not a consistent orthographic practice of SP is evidenced in 31:18 and 33:3 (among many other examples) in which the form is אֶרְצָה as in MT.

²² According to Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Veteris Testamenti. Ex Immensa Mss. Editorumque Codicum Congerie Haustae et ad Samar. Textum, ad Vetustiss. Versiones, ad Accuratiores Sacrae Criticae Fontes ac Leges Examinatae*, vol. 1, *Prolegomena, Clavis Codicum, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus* (Parma: Regius 1784–1788; repr. with 1798 Supplement, 5 vols. in 2; Amsterdam: Philo, 1969–1970), 29.

for the addition of a *vav* is minimal, any hypothesis regarding its inclusion or exclusion in this text will be debatable. While the SP reading remains possible, the reconstruction follows MT, in keeping with the nature of the remainder of the fragment.

- 8 וְאֵלֶיךָ מֵתָוֹסֶתֶת MT SP; LXX τῷ κυρίῳ μου Ησᾶυ (32:6) The reconstruction follows MT, though it is possible that enough space exists to reconstruct וְשָׁע in correspondence with the LXX. However, it remains uncertain in the absence of any clear idea how the shape of the fragments have been affected or distorted by their environment.
- 8 וְאֵלֶיךָ מֵתָוֹסֶתֶת MT; LXX εὐρηθὲς ὁ παῖς σου (32:6) LXX expands verse 6 by adjusting the verb מֵתָוֹסֶתֶת from an infinitive construct to a subjunctive (εὐρηθὲς), and by the addition of ὁ παῖς σου after the verb. The trace of the final *nun* and the current placement of the fragments suggest that the text corresponds to MT.

Orthography and Morphology

These fragments do not demonstrate any of the orthographic or morphological features characteristic of the Qumran Scribal Practice. MT is followed precisely throughout, both in the extant text and in the reconstruction.²³

Textual Character

The agreement with MT as well as the reconstructed portions suggest the agreement of this text with the medieval text. As this particular passage varies little between MT, SP, and LXX, this text can tentatively be classified as an “MT-like text.”²⁴ There are no preserved scribal corrections within this manuscript.

Relation to Other Judaean Desert Fragments

Due to the unprovenanced nature of this text, a comparison with available Judaean Desert manuscripts and fragments that preserve text from Genesis

²³ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 266–270.

²⁴ Tov, *TCHB*, 107–108.

may allow for an identification with a previously discovered manuscript. Clearly, the paleo-Hebrew script of 4Q11,²⁵ 4Q12,²⁶ and 6Q1²⁷ and the papyrus material of 4Q483²⁸ eliminate those as potential matches. Likewise, one text from Murabba'at (Mur 1²⁹) contains overlapping portions of the verses on these fragments, thereby eliminating it as well. The remaining scrolls that contain portions of Genesis include the following:³⁰

Genesis scrolls from Qumran:

- 1Q1 (1QGen), 19 fragments, containing portions of Genesis chapters 1, 3, and 22–24.³¹
- 2Q1 (2QGen), 2 fragments, containing portions of Gen 19:27–28, 36:6, and 36:35–37.³²
- 4Q1 (4QGen-Exod^a), 61 fragments, containing portions of Gen 22, 27, 34–37, 39, 45, and 47–49, as well as Exodus portions.³³
- 4Q2 (4QGen^b), 4 fragments, containing portions of Gen 1–2 and 4–5.³⁴
- 4Q3 (4QGen^c), contains portions of Gen 40:12–13, 18–41:1.³⁵
- 4Q4 (4QGen^d), contains portions of Gen 1:18–27.³⁶

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- 25 Patrick W. Skehan et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4 IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD IX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 17–50. The vast majority of this text contains portions of Exodus.
 - 26 Ibid., 51–52.
 - 27 Maurice Baillet et al., eds., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 105–106.
 - 28 Maurice Baillet, ed., *Qumran Grotte 4 III: 4Q482–4Q520* (DJD VII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 2.
 - 29 Benoit et al., eds., *Les Grottes de Murabba'at*, 75–77.
 - 30 For both this list from Qumran and the one that follows from other sites, see Emanuel Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden, Brill: 2010), 113–114, 126.
 - 31 Dominique Barthélemy and Joseph T. Milik, eds., *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 49–50. The authors are confident in their identifications of the larger five fragments, while suspecting that at least ten of the remaining fourteen have broken off from two of the larger fragments.
 - 32 Baillet et al., eds., *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran*, 48–49.
 - 33 Ulrich and Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4 VII*, 7–30.
 - 34 Ibid., 31–38.
 - 35 Ibid., 39–42.
 - 36 Ibid., 43–45.

- 4Q5 (4QGen^e), 10 fragments, containing portions of Gen 36–37, 40–43, and 49.³⁷
- 4Q6 (4QGen^f), contains portions of Gen 48:1–11.³⁸
- 4Q7 (4QGen^g), 3 fragments, containing portions of Gen 1:1–11, 13–22, and 2:6–7 or 18–19.³⁹
- 4Q8 and 4Q8a (4QGen^{h1}, ^{h2}), 2 fragments, containing portions of Gen 1:8–10 and 2:17–18.⁴⁰
- 4Q9 (4QGenⁱ), 13 fragments, containing portions of Gen 41–43 and 45.⁴¹
- 4Q10 (4QGen^k), 5 fragments, containing portions of Gen 1:9, 14–16, 27–28, 2:1–3, and 3:1–2.⁴²
- 4Q12a (4QGen^p), contains portions of Gen 50:15.⁴³
- 4Q158 (4QBibPar = 4QRP^a), of the 15 fragments, only the following 3 contain Genesis portions: fragments 1–2 with portions of Gen 32:25–32, and fragment 3 potentially with portions of Gen 32:31.⁴⁴
- 4Q364 (4QRP^b), 32+ fragments, containing portions of Gen 25–32, 34 (?), 35, 37–38, 44–45, and 48, as well as other Pentateuch portions.⁴⁵
- 4Q365 (4QRP^c), 38+ fragments, containing portions of Gen 21:9–10, as well as other Pentateuch portions.⁴⁶
- 4Q576 (4QGenⁿ), 2 fragments, containing portions of Gen 34:7–10 and 50:3.⁴⁷

37 Ibid., 47–52. The contents of one fragment remain unidentified.

38 Ibid., 53–55. The photographs show that there are at least three distinct pieces of this text.

39 Ibid., 57–60. Three pieces are combined to form Fragment 1.

40 Ibid., 61–64. There are two other fragments in this text (4QGen^{h-para} and 4QGen^{h-title}; 8b and c), the first containing a paraphrase of Gen 12:4–5 and the second, the manuscript title ברשית.

41 Ibid., 65–73.

42 Ibid., 75–78.

43 Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “Publication of PAM 43:398 (IAA #202) including New Fragments of 4Q269,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens in hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. Florentino García Martínez et al.; STDJ 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 271–272. This fragment, which appears as fragment 15 on the PAM43.398 plate, is also in PAM 42.050. According to the author, “It does not correspond to any of the Cave 4 *Genesis* or *Reworked Pentateuch* manuscripts.”

44 John M. Allegro, ed., *Qumran Cave 4 I: 4Q158–4Q186* (DJD v; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 1–6.

45 Emanuel Tov et al., eds., in consultation with J.C. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4 VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 197–254.

46 Ibid., 255–318.

47 Émile Puech, ed., *Qumran Grotte 4 XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD XXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 191–193.

8Q1 (8QGen), 4 fragments, containing portions of Gen 17:12–19 and 18:20–25.⁴⁸

Genesis scrolls from sites other than Qumran:

Sdeir 1 (SdeirGen), 3 fragments, containing portions of Gen 35:6–10, 26–29; 36:1–2, 5–17.⁴⁹

Mas 1 (MasGen), contains portions of Gen 46:7–11.⁵⁰

x9 (XGen^a), contains portions of Gen 33:18–34:3.⁵¹

x10 (XGen^b)

Of these, the vast majority can be excluded from consideration for identification with **MOTB.SCR.000124** due to various inconsistencies between manuscripts (e.g., script, letter size, line spacing, orthography, etc.). Of those that are dated paleographically in a similar range, the following are noteworthy:

1. 4Q5 (4QGen^e):⁵² This text contains a section break similar to the one noted above.⁵³ However, its script is clearly dissimilar (e.g., *alef*, *lamed*, and *ayin*), the letter size and line spacing are notably smaller, and its orthographic nature may vary slightly.
2. 4Q9 (4QGen^j):⁵⁴ These fragments, like DSS F.Gen¹, contain no evidence of ruling, though in the case of 4QGen^j, “the extreme regularity of the lines indicates” that ruling was “once there.”⁵⁵ In any case, the script is clearly different (particularly *alef*, *mem*, *nun*, and *shin*), which discounts it as a viable source.

From this analysis, it may be concluded that DSS F.Gen² did not derive from a scroll that is known from among the Judaean Desert finds.

48 M. Baillet et al., eds., *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumran*, 147–148.

49 James Charlesworth et al., eds., *Miscellaneous Texts*, 117–124.

50 Talmon and Yadin, *Masada VI: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965*, 31–35.

51 Émile Puech, “Fragment d’un Rouleau de la Genèse Provenant du Désert de Juda (Gen 33:18–34:3),” *RevQ* 10/2 (1979–1981): 163–166.

52 See note 37.

53 See *Notes on Readings* (col. ii, line 1).

54 See note 41.

55 Ulrich and Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4 VII*, 65.

Photographs



FIGURE 6.1 *DSS F.Gen2* (Genesis 31:23–25?, 32:3–6) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

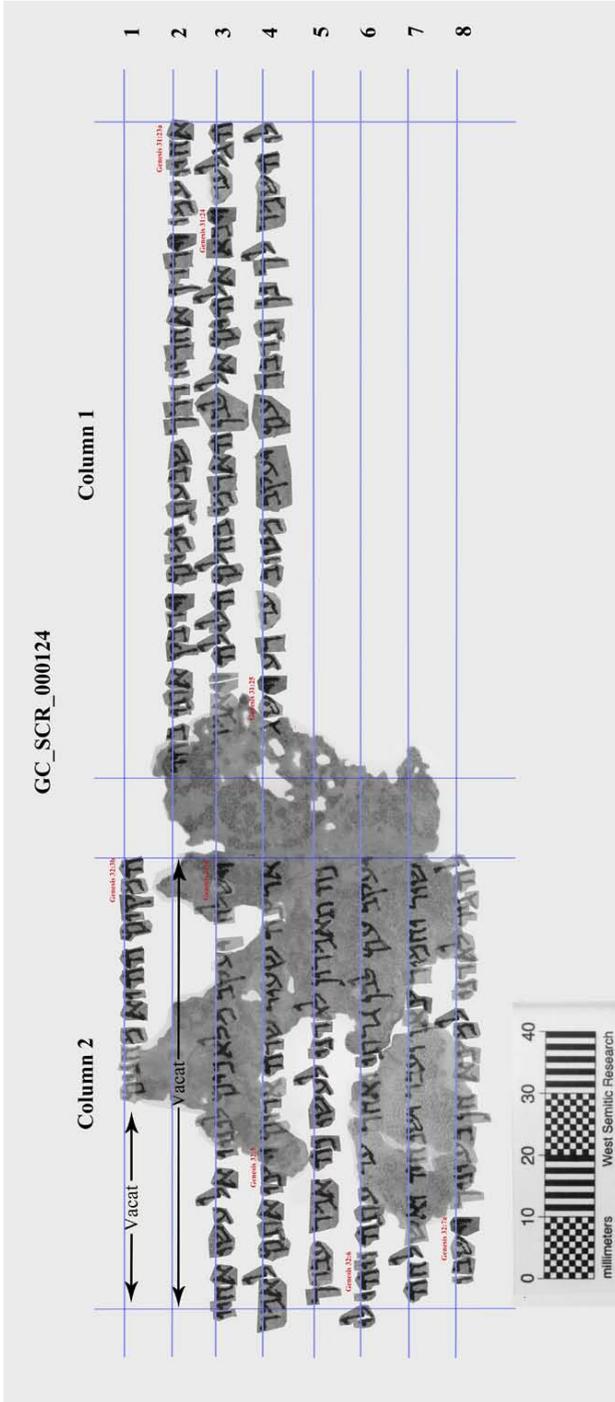


FIGURE 6.2 DSS F.Gen2 (Genesis 31:23-25?, 32:3-6) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters. The shapes of most letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.

RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Exodus 17:4–7 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000120)

Karl Kutz with Rebekah Josberger, Ruben Alvarado, Thomas Belcastro, Haley Kirkpatrick, Scott Lindsley, Rebecca McMartin, Jonathan Noble, Daniel Somboonsiri, Lynsey Stepan and David Tucker

A fragment containing five lines from the book of Exodus with the inventory number MOTB.SCR.000120 is now part of the Museum of the Bible Collection. This fragment (Exod 17:4–7) has been assigned the designation DSS F.192 (DSS F.Exod6) by Eibert Tigchelaar. While the association of this fragment with Exod 17:4–7 is based only on a few partial words and letters, this is the only passage in the biblical text or non-biblical texts from the Judaean Desert that provides a possible match. This identification receives some confirmation from a reconstruction of the lines posited by the position of the visible letters and traces relative to the biblical text.

This passage in Exodus recounts the crisis at Rephidim on the journey to Horeb when the Israelites found no water in the wilderness. The people grumbled against Moses and berated him for bringing them into the wilderness to die of thirst. The threat to Moses did not abate even after he pointed out that their complaint was actually a challenge against the Lord. As a result, Moses cried out to the Lord and asked what he should do in the face of these threats (Exod 17:1–4). This fragment contains remnants of the text that concludes that narrative (Exod 17:4–7). The Lord instructs Moses to strike the rock in order to bring forth water for the people. Because of the people's complaints against the Lord this place was given the name Massah and Meribah.

The text of this fragment is attested in all the primary textual witnesses (MT LXX SP S T V) and in four Qumran scrolls—4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ (4Q11), 4QExod^c (4Q14), 4QpaleoExod^m (4Q22), and 4QRP^c (4Q365).¹ Three of these

¹ See Patrick Skehan et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4, IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD IX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 39; 92–94; Harold Attridge et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 272–273; Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4, VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 120–123.

texts align closely with MT in this passage.² The fourth, 4QRP^c, offers two readings that are not found in any of the other witnesses. A reconstruction of DSS F.Exod6 demonstrates that this fragment contained at least one reading that corresponds to the *Vorlage* of the LXX, but this textual plus could have arisen independently. There are five different readings between MT and the LXX of Exod 17:4–7. Attempts to reconstruct DSS F.Exod6 show that a correspondence to either LXX or MT, with the single addition mentioned above, is equally plausible. For this reason, a definitive identification of this fragment's textual affiliation cannot be offered. On the one hand, this fragment could reflect a proto-Masoretic text with a single variant also found in the LXX. On the other hand, it could potentially be a mixed text or even an LXX text type containing all five LXX readings.³

Physical Description

The fragment measures 3.27 by 3.05 cm and preserves parts of five lines of text that are somewhat legible to the naked eye (see color photograph MOTB.SCR.000120_obverse_rs).⁴ The fragment is golden brown in color with small dark patches and five wormholes situated along line 2. The variation in color is caused by the places where the surface of the fragment has been worn to reveal the lighter-colored underlayer. The substrate is worn and uneven, especially on the top and bottom portions of the fragment. Further, a golden band that under specular enhancement has a smoother surface than the rest of the fragment spans the width of the fragment. This smooth band of leather appears to be associated with the distorted line spacing between lines 2–3. An unusually large word space and letter space on either side of the *alef* in line 2 were perhaps originally due to irregularities in the leather. However, considerable wear in these locations obscures any evidence that would account for these adjustments in spacing.

Letters appear on average to be close to 2.5 mm in height and range between 1.0–2.7 mm in width. Characters of medium width such as *alef*, *bet*, *he*, *resh*, and *tav* have an average width of 2.23 mm while narrower characters such as *kaf* and

2 4QpaleoExod^l and 4QpaleoExod^m are identical to MT. 4QExod^c matches MT apart from a missing prepositional phrase and an additional conjunction.

3 See *Figure 7.2* and *Figure 7.3* which present both reconstructions.

4 Photograph by Marilyn J. Lundberg, Bruce Zuckerman, and Kenneth Zuckerman, West Semitic Research.

tsade have an average width of 1.7 mm. The widest characters are *tet* and *shin*, which measure 2.7 mm in width, while the narrowest characters *vav* and *yod* measure only 1.0 mm in width.

The letter spacing in this fragment generally ranges from 0.4–0.7 mm. However, there are two examples that fall outside this range. The space between the *alef* and *tav* in line 5 measures only 0.2 mm and the overly large space between the *alef* and *shin* of $\aleph\aleph$ in line 2 measures as much as 1.5 mm (equivalent to a word space).⁵

The fragment provides only limited evidence regarding word spacing. The only clear word space appears in line 3 between the *resh* and *bet* (1.5 mm). All other word spaces require reconstruction based on the remaining traces.⁶ A reconstruction of the fragment suggests that the width of the column is approximately 13.2 cm (3.05 cm preserved) and has an average line length of 61–71 letter spaces.⁷

This fragment exhibits line spacing ranging from 6.8–7.3 mm, with no ruling lines or evidence of margins visible.⁸ While lines 3–5 appear somewhat parallel, the space between lines 2–3 significantly increases from right to left. At its narrowest the gap between lines 2–3 is approximately 6.1 mm, and 9.1 mm at its widest.⁹ Moreover, the fluctuation in these measurements occurs within the space of only three words. The widening gap between lines 2–3, in contrast to the parallel alignment of lines 1–2 and lines 3–5, suggests that the leather is distorted only along its horizontal axis.

5 This size could be smaller depending on the original position of the left leg of the *alef* and how much of the right oblique of the *shin* has been preserved.

6 These include a space of 2.6 mm (after the *he* in line 2) and 1.7 mm (after the *lamed* in line 4).

7 A reconstruction based on MT with a plus at the end of line 4 yields an average of 63, while a reconstruction based on the LXX results in an average of 64 (see *Figures 7.2* and *7.3*).

8 This range reflects measurements taken along a vertical axis from the *tet* in line 2 to the *tav* in line 5 where the fragment appears to be least affected by distortion. The measurements between lines 2–5 are 6.8 mm, 7.3 mm, and 7.0 mm respectively.

9 It is impossible to precisely determine the distance between these lines at the termination of line 2 where the gap is widest. However, an approximation of this dimension seems to provide a better description of the extent of distortion than measuring between these lines at the midpoint where the measurement is clearer. As a result, a top line was projected for each line using the traces at either end of the line (and adjusted to the alignment of the letters), thus providing a means for measurement at the widest point. The measurement along the right side of the fragment is complicated by the presence of traces rather than clear characters at the beginning of line 2.

Paleography and Date

Only a few lines preserve complete letters. The letters that are preserved suspend from the lines with an average line space of 7.6 mm. A small space has been left between words to mark the transition from one word to the next. The letters are relatively uniform in height, with all letters exhibiting a strong sense of a baseline. As a rule the height of the letters exceeds their width. The exceptions to this rule are the letters *tet* and *shin*.¹⁰ Certain letters, such as *he*, *vav*, *yod*, *kaf*, *nun*, and *resh* lean somewhat forward, while others stand more or less erect. Based on the traces in line 2, the same seems to be true of *alef*, although the example in line 4 leans backwards to accommodate the curve of the *lamed* that follows. The base lines of the *bet*, *kaf*, and *tsade* all slant gradually down and to the left, but not in the exaggerated sense that is predominant before the Herodian period.

The poor level of preservation on this fragment significantly limits the amount of script one can utilize for paleographic dating. Nevertheless, a comparison of the letters with other scrolls and documents permits a tentative dating of the fragment to the end of the first century B.C.E. or beginning of the first century C.E.¹¹ While a handful of letters reflect conservative Hasmonean features,¹² others are consistent with the Herodian book hand of the late first century B.C.E. and early first century C.E.¹³ However, it must be stressed that

-
- 10 The width of the *shin* (2.7 mm) is approximated based on the angles of the existing traces in line 2 and the dry line approximated from the surrounding characters.
 - 11 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.
 - 12 The *he* in line 2 utilizes a straight crossbar and exhibits a heavily shaded extension. Moreover, the ink traces indicate the extension of the right downstroke above the crossbar in a manner typical of early forms. The *lamed* in line 3 appears to be created in two strokes with the hook as a single stroke consistent with the Hasmonean Semi-Cursive. Lastly, the *shin* in line 2 exhibits a flatter lower arm typical of the Mixed Semi-Cursive Hasmonean script. See Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 170–173.
 - 13 The *alef* exhibits a straight left downstroke that begins at the top of the oblique and has an inward facing foot (line 4). This feature is distinct from the earlier Hasmonean scripts where the left downstroke of *alef* lacks this foot and intersects the oblique partway down. The *bet* in line 3 is formed in two strokes with an independent base that extends past the downstroke in a manner typical of the later Herodian script. The *tet* in line 2 is formed in two strokes using a single stroke for the arc followed by a downstroke consistent with the Mixed Semi-Cursive Hasmonean script. However, this *tet* is flat and wide along the baseline as in Herodian forms. See Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 174–177.

this suggestion is gleaned from a very small sample and that most letters are too poorly preserved from which to securely set the date of this text.

Transcription

The transcription below reflects one possible reconstruction of the fragment. The subsequent discussion will present other viable reconstructions of the text. In each case the reconstructions utilize a defective orthography for the text of the lacunae except for the second masculine singular suffixes, which are presented in a *plene* form consistent with line 2 of the fragment. The longer second masculine singular perfect has also been used in this reconstruction due to the predominant pairing of the longer suffix and longer perfect ending in the Qumran Scrolls. While additional *plene* spellings are also possible, the use of full orthography is not always consistent. Variations in orthography would naturally affect the reconstructed layout and its alignment with the textual witnesses.

Exodus 17:4–7

| | |
|--|------------|
| [ויצעק משה] |] 0 |
| [אל יהוה לאמר מה אעשה לעם הזה עוד מעט וס]ק[ל]ג ⁵ [ויאמר יהוה אל משה] | 1 |
| [עבר לפני העם וקח אתכה מזקני ישראל]וּמְטָכָה אֲשֶׁר [ה]כִּי־תָה בּוֹ אֶת הַיָּאֵר קַח] | 2 |
| [בידכה והלכתה ⁶ הנני עמד לפניכה שם על ה]צֹר בְּחֶרֶבּ וְ[הכיתה בצור ויצאו ממנו מים] | 3 |
| [ושתה העם ויעש כן משה לעיני זקני ישר]אל ⁷ י[ק]ר[א]שם המקום ההוא מסה] | 4 |
| [ומריבה על ריב בני ישראל ועל נסתם]אֲתָּ [יהוה לאמר היש יהוה בקרבנו] | 5 |
| [| 6 [אם אין] |

Translation¹⁴

- 0 [4So Moses cried out]
 1 [to the Lord, saying, “What shall I do with this people? They are almost ready to s]to[ne] me[.” ⁵The Lord said to Moses,]
 2 [“Go on ahead of the people and take with you some of the elders of Israel; take] the sta[ff with]which[you st]ruc[k the Nile]
 3 [in your hand and go. ⁶I will be standing in front of you there on the]rock at Horeb. [Strike the rock, and water will come out of it]

14 NRSV, adapted.

- 4 [so that the people may drink.” And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of
Isra]el. 7[He] cal[led that place Massah]
- 5 [and Meribah because the sons of Israel quarreled and tested] th[e Lord,
saying, “Is the Lord among us]
- 6 [or not?”]

Notes on Readings

Exod 17:4–7 is the only passage within the biblical corpus or the non-biblical texts discovered in the Judaean Desert that provides a positive match for the letter combinations on this fragment. While some of the ink traces are difficult to match with the corresponding letters in the biblical text, they do seem to be the best resolution of an otherwise unreadable text.

- 1 וַיִּקְרָא (17:4) The first line contains traces of two characters separated by a gap of 1.8 mm. The surface of the leather surrounding these traces has flaked away, eliminating any vestige of the remainder of the word. The first stroke appears to be the descender of a *qof* or a final *tsade*. A final *nun* typically has more curvature in the descender. Final *kaf* and final *pe* are unlikely because the upper strokes of these letters would extend into the gap to create a very small word space.

The second trace in line 1 has a horizontal base stroke that appears shorter than either the *bet* or *kaf* evident in this fragment (line 3 and line 2 respectively). The condition of the leather’s surface allows for a baseline that was once longer than presently seen. However, there is evidence of a ligature rising off the end of the base of this letter, probably belonging to a downstroke. This suggests that the current traces include the end of the baseline and that this stroke should be identified as either a *nun* or *tsade*.

The extant textual witnesses to Exod 17:4–7 all suggest that these traces correspond to MT וַיִּקְרָא, a reading that is consistent with an analysis of these traces. The surface between the two visible traces has flaked away, resulting in the loss of what the proposed reading anticipates as a *lamed*. The gap between these letters is only 1.8 mm wide. While this could accommodate a *lamed* of the same breadth as that appearing in line 4 (1.6 mm), it would require virtually no letter spacing. It seems likely that the *lamed* here was a bit narrower (compare the different widths of *lamed* in a fragment like 4QDeut^a [4Q28]).¹⁵

15 See Eugène Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4, IX* (DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), pl. 1.

- 2 וּמַטְּכָה (17:5) Line 2 begins with a group of ink traces followed by a few clearly identifiable letters. The first trace appears at the edge of the fragment near the projected top line. We have reconstructed this trace to correspond to the *vav* at the beginning of MT וּמַטְּכָה (“and your staff”) that is anticipated from an identification of the line with Exod 17:5.

The following letter is barely visible. A downstroke is partially preserved, and perhaps a small trace of a base. There are faint traces of ink 0.5 mm to the right of *tet* that appear to have been partially abraded, and are obscured by deposits visible in natural light (cf. MOTB.SCR.000120_Obverse_rs). A short irregular ‘tail’ extends vertically downwards from the top of the visible portion of the right downstroke. The extant traces, except the faint ‘tail’, are possibly consistent with the letter *mem* that is presupposed by MT וּמַטְּכָה. While the faint ‘tail’ and small sized *mem* required for this space present problems for a reading corresponding to MT, no alternative reconstruction presents itself. As a result, this reconstruction presupposes that the faint ‘tail’ is a smudge or slip of the pen.

The following three letters are clearly identified as *tet*, *kaf*, and *he*. The roof of the *he* and its right downstroke have suffered some deterioration. Nevertheless, the identity of this letter is unmistakable. These three letters are consistent with MT וּמַטְּכָה, though reflecting the fuller orthography (וּמַטְּכָה) found in many of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

- 2 וְשֵׁן (17:5) The second word in line 2 follows a word space that is larger than average (2.6 mm vs. 1.5 mm), perhaps caused by some defect in the leather’s surface that the scribe wished to avoid. While the alignment of lines 2 and 3 indicates the influence of vertical distortion of the leather, it is difficult to find any evidence of lateral distortion in the surrounding lines that could account for this larger than average word space. The space between the reconstructed *qof* and *nun* in line 1 is narrower than what one expects for *lamed* based on the specimen in line 4. This suggests that the spacing in line 1 is original, or perhaps even affected by a little shrinkage. A reconstruction of the traces in line 3 likewise provides no evidence of lateral distortion. As a result, it seems best to attribute the large spacing in line 2 to some sort of irregularity in the surface of the leather, even though there is no longer any evidence of this.

The word itself begins with a cluster of four ink traces that even at a cursory glance suggest an *alef*. These four traces are positioned at the four corners of the *alef*—the upper tip of the right arm, the two ends of the oblique, and the foot of the left leg. These four traces are then followed by a space of as much as 1.5 mm, but possibly smaller depending upon how

much of the oblique of the following *shin* has flaked off with the missing surface. This space is potentially large enough to be a word space, but is most likely a larger than normal letter space. Both the natural inclination to associate these four traces with the following *shin* and *resh* to form the relative pronoun **אשר** and the textual evidence from **MT אשר ומטך** support the interpretation of the first letter traces as remnants of an *alef*.

A close examination of the color and PTM images of the fragment suggests that the lower left trace is actually the foot of the leg, not the leg itself. The surface appears to have flaked off of the fragment at this locus, resulting in the loss of the leg. This would be fairly consistent with the Herodian type *alef* in line 4, which curves inward at the base to produce a foot.¹⁶ If the trace in line 2 is indeed a foot, then the leg itself would have been positioned further to the left, thus slightly reducing the gap between the *alef* and the next letter.

The character following the four traces can be confidently identified as *shin*. The right arm of the *shin* is almost entirely visible, as is the join to the left arm and most of the left arm itself. A trace of the center arm is also visible. The *shin* is followed by a *resh*, with the crossbar and upper portion of the downstroke intact. These letters are consistent with **MT אשר**.

- 2 **ה[כִּי]תה** (17:5) The final traces of line 2 are preceded by a large gap of 3.6 mm where the surface has been damaged. The first trace measures 0.8 mm wide and 1.0 mm high and can only be identified by comparison with the extant textual witnesses. The second stroke appears to be a *vav* or *yod*. The surface of the fragment has been abraded or has worn off altogether to the left of the trace belonging to the second letter.

Comparison with **MT אשר הכית** allows for a suitable reconstruction. The trace before the *yod* is consistent with the head of a *kaf* (cf. the *kaf* earlier in line 2). A *he* would then fit in front of the *kaf*. If one uses the measurements of *kaf* and *he* from their appearance together on the same line at the right edge of the fragment, this leaves a less than average sized word space (only 0.7 mm). While not ideal, there are plenty of examples in other texts from the Judean Desert where word spacing is smaller than average.¹⁷ This is also possibly caused by the distortion suffered by the fragment.

While the fragment provides no direct evidence that the longer perfect ending was used by this scribe, the presence of **וּמִטְכָּה** makes this likely. While

16 See chart 6 in Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 174–177, as well as the discussion of the *alef* in line 5.

17 E.g., 4QPs^g, fragment 1 (especially lines 2–3).

Qumran manuscripts containing both endings may fluctuate in the extent to which short and long forms are used, the longer pronominal suffix is almost always accompanied by the longer perfect ending.¹⁸

- 3 [והלכתה] (17:5) See the comments regarding longer orthography in the discussion of [ה]כי[תה] above.
- 3 [ה]צור (17:6) Three clearly identifiable letters, *tsade*, *vav*, and *resh*, appear at the right edge of the fragment on line 3 followed by a space. These letters are consistent with מצור. The right arm of the *tsade* is only partially visible on the fragment. Nevertheless, this letter can be restored with confidence.
- 3 בחרב (17:6) Following a word space, line 3 continues with a clear *bet* and ink traces belonging to several letters. It is impossible to reconstruct these letters without support from the extant textual witnesses that all read בחרב. Even then, the traces are not an ideal match for these letters. As a result, the reconstruction offered here is presented as the best tentative solution.

The first letter after the *bet* is preserved in three ink traces. The first stroke begins in the upper right corner at the dry line and descends 1.3 mm in what appears to be a slight curve to the left. It also exhibits some bleeding or remnants of a crossbar on the left side of this stroke. The second trace begins in the upper left corner at the dry line and angles sharply down to the right for 1.0 mm. This second trace also has some slight bleeding on either side of the stroke. The final trace appears as a small dot in the lower left corner. The most natural inclination is to join these traces together to form the letter *ayin*. However, an *ayin* produces no meaningful results when assessed in conjunction with the other evidence. Without some further assistance, it is nearly impossible to associate these traces with any other letter.

18 See the table of orthographic and morphological features in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 337–343. Seventy-three Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts contain evidence of both the second masculine singular suffix and the second masculine singular perfect. When these texts include one or more longer suffix ending, the long perfect ending appears exclusively (fifty-four times), as the primary form (five times), or with an equal number of short forms (one time). Of the three texts that utilize only the short perfect ending, 4QInstruction^c (4Q417) and 4QPersonal Prayer (4Q443) each contain only one relevant verb sample. 4QPhyl¹⁵ⁱ (4Q137), which similarly has only two relevant verb samples, has a comparable preference for the short suffix (80%). Given the predominance of the longer perfect ending in conjunction with the longer suffix, it seems justified to posit the presence of the longer perfect ending in this fragment.

The textual witnesses unanimously present *het* as the second letter. It is possible to interpret the upper traces as the horns of a *het* and the lower trace as the end of the left downstroke. While the letter *het* is not the most obvious choice for reconstructing these traces, it does seem to present the most workable solution.

All that remains of the third letter is a downstroke that curves to the left at the baseline as if preserving the trace of an elbow. Another stroke seems to descend sharply from the top of this downstroke to about the midpoint of the letter on the left side. The composite evidence of these strokes is not an ideal match for any letter. The extant witnesses indicate that this third letter is a *resh*. Reconstructing these traces as *resh* requires that one attribute the protrusion to bleeding (cf. the bleeding on the *qof* in line 4). While bleeding could perhaps account for the ‘elbow’ as well, examination under specular enhancement reveals flaking of the surface at the lower left of the downstroke. This makes it possible that the ‘elbow’ is merely an impression created by the loss of ink at the base of the downstroke. The space that follows the downstroke leaves sufficient room for the crossbar of a *resh*. While this reconstruction is not without difficulties, it aligns with all the textual witnesses and makes sense of traces that are otherwise nearly impossible to resolve.¹⁹

The final letter is preserved by three traces of ink. These most closely correspond to a *bet*, although it would appear unusually high relative to the preceding letters. Moreover, the trace on the left (0.7 mm high) is rather tall for a base when compared with the *bet* earlier in this line, but this could be explained by unintended blotting produced by the stylus. While the reading is not insurmountable given the variation in characters seen in various manuscripts, it does require that such a reconstruction be stated tentatively. In the absence of any other forthcoming reconstruction for this word, identifying these strokes with the *bet* attested in MT seems like the best option.

- 3 וְהִכִּיתָהּ (17:6) The final traces in line 3 are visible as two small dots positioned vertically 1.0 mm apart. These dots follow a space of 1.6 mm consistent with a word space. Based on the extant witnesses, these two dots belong to the upper and lower parts of the *vav* of MT וְהִכִּיתָהּ. The fragment surface is missing

19 A number of witnesses reflect a fuller orthography than MT (i.e., בְּחֹרֶב 4QpaleoExod^m SP T^o T^ps-J S). However, this downstroke should not be interpreted as a *vav* because this would not leave sufficient room for a *resh* in the remaining space before the next trace which has a better correlation with *bet* than *resh*.

between these traces and the right edge, forming a distance of 2.1 mm at the baseline and 5.1 mm at the top line. On the use of longer orthography in this reconstruction see the discussion of [ה]כִּי[תה] (line 2).

- 4 ל[שר]א (17:6) The first two letters on line 4 are clearly visible at the right side of the fragment.
- 4 א[י]קֹרָא (17:7) Most of the ink has been lost from the remainder of line 4. The visible ink traces consist of a small dot 1.7 mm from the end of the preceding word, a partially preserved descender 3.4 mm after the dot (where a small portion of ink has been lost in the center), and the remains of a downstroke immediately following the descender. There are some traces of bleeding from the left side of the descender. The 1.7 mm gap following ל[שר]א appears on the intact surface of the fragment, which confirms the presence of a word space. Although the remaining traces are sparse, they provide clues to guide a reconstruction. Since the descender is immediately followed by a downstroke and not a word space, this letter must be identified as a *qof*, not a final letter. The identification of the descender as a *qof* offers an ideal match for מַד וִיקְרָא and allows for reconstruction of the other traces. The downstroke following the *qof* is consistent with *resh*, though lacking the crossbar and elbow. The dot preceding the *qof* attests to the *vav* with sufficient room for the intervening *yod* and *qof*.
- 5 אֶת (17:7) The initial traces in line 5 are comprised of a single thin stroke (0.3 mm in width) rising vertically from the edge of the fragment to the top line and a thick oblique with the remnant of a downstroke attached on the right. These traces are best identified as the remnants of an *alef* and are generally consistent with the *alef* in line 4. The only difference is that the complete *alef* in line 4 is contoured to the *lamed* and thus inclines backwards to the right. The left leg and foot of the *alef* in line 5 have been lost due to wear and tearing at the edge of the fragment.

The *alef* is followed by a 0.2 mm letter space and two strokes, the proximity of which suggests they are the remnants of a single letter, namely a *tav*. The first stroke forms a tick, crossbar, and downstroke that are fully visible on the fragment. The second stroke consists of the end of a downstroke and a foot. The vertical trajectory of the second stroke indicates that it once met the tick of the first stroke, but has been broken by damage to the surface of the fragment. From these traces alone it appears as if the tick might have been formed as part of the crossbar, especially given the angles of the left leg and foot. However, the tick was probably created as an integral part of the

left leg, with the present slope of the tick created as the scribe looped downwards into the crossbar rather than drawing the crossbar straight out from the leg. The only correspondent in the extant witnesses for the reconstructed *alef* and *tav* is the particle **אָ**.²⁰

The *tav* is followed by a space that runs 2.4mm from the foot to the furthest edge of the fragment. Whatever letters may have been originally present have worn off just as in the preceding lines.

Variants

1 **אָ**[ל]ק[ס] = 4QpaleoExod^m MT SP LXX T S V] ויִסְקֹלוּנִי 4QRP^c (17:4)

Reconstructed Variants

When reconstructing portions of the text that are no longer preserved on the fragment, the only recourse is to rely upon line length for determining the readings that provide the most likely reconstruction. There are several alternative readings for this passage attested in the textual witnesses (primarily MT and the LXX). In this fragment only one correspondence to the *Vorlage* of the LXX can be posited with certainty, a plus at the end of line 4 that could possibly also have arisen independently. While the text can be reconstructed along the lines of MT with only this one reading from the LXX, it is also possible to achieve a solid reconstruction in complete agreement with all five LXX readings. However, without further evidence to verify the presence or absence of the LXX readings, it would be presumptuous to reconstruct this fragment as a representative of either the MT or LXX. In order to preserve the ambiguity surrounding a reconstruction of this fragment, the readings presented below appear without designating any correspondence to one of the known versions (indicated by “=”) except in cases where line length provides justification for doing so. Moreover, two separate reconstructions, one based on MT and one

²⁰ While it is tempting to see the first of these two strokes as a *resh* of MT **לֹאֲמַר**, several factors prohibit this identification: 1) The angular stroke on the baseline is incompatible with the letter *he* that follows **לֹאֲמַר** in the textual witnesses, 2) the positioning of these two strokes requires that they be taken as a single letter, and 3) the visible traces of the first letter in line 5 are consistent with the letter *alef* (cf. the specimen in line 4), but not a good match for the letter *mem*.

based on the LXX, are presented below as a means of maintaining ambiguity regarding the text type.

- 1 אַל משה = 4QpaleoExod^m 4QRP^c MT SP LXX S T V] > 4QExod^c (17:5) Considerations of line length favor the majority reading.
- 2 העם 4QpaleoExod^m 4QExod^c 4QRP^c MT SP S T V] הזה LXX (τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου) (17:5) The longer reading of the LXX is offset four words later by the shorter reading presented below. As a result, line length is indeterminate.
- 2 מִזְקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 4QpaleoExod^m MT SP S T^o T^{Ps-J} V] מִזְקְנֵי הָעָם 4QRP^c; מִזְקְנֵי הָעָם LXX (τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ); מִן חֲכִימֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל T^N (17:5) Tov and Crawford suggest that the appearance of the reading in 4QRP^c could possibly represent an early reading.²¹ The translation equivalent in T^N is used quite regularly for MT זְקֵנִים.²² As noted above, the shorter reading in the LXX is offset by the longer reading four words earlier.
- 4 העם 4QpaleoExod^m MT SP S T V] עִמִּי LXX (ὁ λαὸς μου) (17:6) Since these two readings occupy virtually the same amount of space, it is impossible to determine if this fragment follows MT or the LXX.
- 4 יִשְׂרָאֵל זְקֵנֵי 4QpaleoExod^m MT SP T^o T^{Ps-J} S^{ms} V] בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל LXX (τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραῆλ); חֲכִימֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל T^N; זְקֵנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל S (17:6)²³ On the reading in T^N see the discussion of מִזְקְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in line 2 above.
- 4 אַ] קָרָא] = 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l 4QpaleoExod^m MT SP LXX T V] + משה S (משה) (17:7) The reconstruction of line 4 adopted here does not include the plus found in s. See the comment below related to the reading המקום ההוא.
- 4 המקום ההוא = LXX (τοῦ τόπου ἐκεῖνου) T^{Ps-J} S V] המקום 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l MT SP T^o T^N (17:7) The identification of the traces in line 5 with the particle אַ

21 H.W. Attridge et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 192.

22 See the discussion of חֲכִימֵי א in T^N in Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Exodus* (AB 2; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1994), 20, n. 15.

23 4QpaleoExod^m only preserves זְקֵנֵי, and the general character of that text suggests that this reading matches MT. However, there is enough space in the line to accommodate the plus found in s. 4QpaleoExod^l preserves only יִשְׂרָאֵל].

requires a plus at the end of line 4 to bring the line to proper length. The textual witnesses offer two options for this plus, either the pronoun reflected in LXX T^{Ps-J} s v (המקום ההוא) or the plus of the proper name “Moses” reflected only in s (ויקרא משה = משה). The prominence of the LXX in the textual traditions and the number of witnesses to the pronoun make the LXX a more likely reading than that found only in the Peshitta.

4 ומריבה = 4QpaleoExod^m 4QExod^c (מ[שה]) MT SP LXX T S] > ומריבה v (*Temptatio propter iurgium ... et quia temptaverunt*) (17:7)²⁴ Line length requires the presence of the longer reading that corresponds to the majority of witnesses.

6 אַם MT SP LXX T S V] ואם 4QExod^c (17:7)

Orthography and Morphology

The brief portions of text from Exod 17:4–7 preserved in this fragment provide examples of both *plene* and defective orthography. The second masculine singular suffix in line 2 (וּמְטָכָה) exhibits a fuller orthography than MT (ומטך) = 4QpaleoExod^m SP). While this fuller spelling of the pronominal suffix is not unknown in MT,²⁵ it is more common in several texts discovered in the Judean Desert. Conversely, בהרב in line 3 reflects the defective orthography of MT rather than the *plene* orthography attested in the other textual witnesses (בחורב 4QpaleoExod^m SP T^o T^{Ps-J} S). The reconstructions assume a defective orthography for all the text in the lacunae except for the second masculine suffixes and second masculine singular perfect endings, but the presence of several additional instances of *plene* spelling in the original text of the manuscript cannot be discounted.

24 The correlation of v to MT מטה is demonstrated by the rest of the line, “*Temptatio propter iurgium ... et quia temptaverunt* (ועל נסתם).” 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ preserves only [טה].

25 See Gen 3:9; 10:9; 30; 13:10; 25:18; 27:7, 37; Exod 7:29; 13:16; 15:11; 29:35; Num 22:33; Deut 28:22, 27, 28, 35; 1 Sam 1:26; 2 Sam 2:22; 18:22; 22:30; 1 Kgs 18:10, 44, 46; 2 Kgs 7:2; Isa 3:6; 10:24; Jer 7:27; 29:25; 40:15; Ezek 40:4; Ps 121:6; 139:5; 141:8; 145:10; Prov 2:11; 24:10; Eccl 2:1.

Textual Character

The text preserved on this fragment agrees with all the textual witnesses (MT LXX T S V, cf. also 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l, 4QpaleoExod^m). The reconstructed text contains one reading that agrees with the *Vorlage* of the LXX, although it could have arisen independently (i.e., המקום ההוא in place of MT המקום in 17:7).²⁶ While it is possible that other variants in the lacunae would have agreed with the LXX, they cannot be verified.²⁷ The other LXX readings are either roughly the same length as the text of MT (e.g., MT העם vs. LXX עמי in 17:6) or result in approximately the same number of letter spaces when two reading alternatives appear in combination (e.g., MT מזקני ישראל ... העם = 14 letter spaces vs. LXX מזקני העם ... העם הזה = 16 letter spaces). Moreover, the certainty of several of the reconstructions in the lacunae is affected by the possibility of additional *plene* spellings. The limited data prevents classification of this fragment. Ultimately, it could be a proto-MT text with a single variant, a mixed text, or even a text that corresponds to the *Vorlage* of the LXX.

Relation to Other Judaean Desert Fragments

The discoveries from the Judaean Desert have unearthed a number of texts with portions from the book of Exodus. These include 4QRP^{a,c} (two so-called “Reworked Pentateuch” texts that contain extensive portions of Exodus), 4QDeut^j, and a number of phylacteries and *mezuzot* with portions from Exod 12:43–13:16 and Exod 20:7–12.²⁸ These witnesses to the text of Exodus are classified in the table below according to their agreement with MT, the LXX, and SP or their independent or mixed character. The manuscripts and fragments appear in diachronic order from the oldest to the most recent ones. While the texts within each group are not exclusive in their readings and exhibit variants found in other traditions, the majority of the readings characteristic of a particular tradition point to their textual affiliation.²⁹

26 The LXX reading is also attested in T^{Ps-J} S V.

27 The LXX is the source for almost all other textual variants in this passage. The only exceptions are the late substitution of חכימיא for MT זקני in T^S (17:5–6) and two pluses in 17:6–7 found only in the Peshitta (see the discussion of variants above).

28 Most of the phylacteries and *mezuzot*, together with 4QDeut^j, preserve some portion of Exod 12:43–13:16. One *mezuzah* text preserves Exod 20:7–12 (4QMez^a), and one phylactery contains Exod 12:43–13:16 and 20:11 (8QPhyl).

29 A number of fragments are too small for definitive classification—1QPhyl (1Q13), 2QExod^c

| Affinity with MT | Affinity with SP | Affinity with LXX | Independent / Mixed |
|---|---|--|---|
| | 1. <i>Archaic</i> 4QExod-Lev ^f (4Q17) ³⁰ | | |
| 2. <i>mid Hasmonean</i> 4QGen-Exod ^a (4Q1) 7QLXXExod (7Q1) | | | |
| 3. <i>mid-late Hasmonean</i> 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l (4Q11) | 3. <i>mid-late Hasmonean</i> 4QpaleoExod ^m (4Q22) | | |
| 4. <i>early Herodian</i> 1QExod (1Q2) ³¹ | 4. <i>early Herodian</i> 4QRP ^a (4Q158) ³² | | |
| | | 5. <i>early-mid Herodian</i> 4QExod ^b (4Q13) | |
| | | | 6. <i>Herodian</i> 2QExod ^a (2Q2) 2QExod ^b (2Q3) 4QExod ^c (4Q14) 4QRP ^c (4Q365) |

(2Q4), 4QExod^d (4Q15), 4QExod^e (4Q16), 4QExod^s (4Q18), 4QExod^h (4Q19), 4QExod^j (4Q20), 4QExod^k (4Q21), and 4QFlor (4Q174). Additionally, four fragments await publication. These include a fragment owned by the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and the three fragments in The Schøyen Collection.

30 4QExod-Lev^f is one of the earliest manuscripts found at Qumran with a script that Frank Moore Cross labels 'protocursive' in Attridge et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 134.

31 1QExod was not paleographically dated in its publication in D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, eds., *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 50–51, pl. VIII. Based on our examination of the photographs, the date for this text has tentatively been set as transitional between the Hasmonean and Herodian periods (mid-first century B.C.E.).

32 Of the twenty-two differences between 4QRP^a and the other textual witness to the book of Exodus, only one reading follows SP (attested also by LXX s), while eleven readings are unique to 4QRP^a. Nevertheless, the publication of 4QRP^a identifies it as pre-Samaritan (cf. Attridge et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 189–191) because it reflects the same harmonizing techniques as those that appear in SP. This is most prominently seen in the reorganization of the Decalogue to include material from Deut 5:28–31. See also Molly Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4Q Reworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 64–67, 172–174.

(cont.)

| Affinity with MT | Affinity with SP | Affinity with LXX | Independent / Mixed |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------|---|
| | | | 7. <i>late Herodian</i> 4QDeut ^j (4Q37) |
| 8. <i>post-Herodian</i> | | | |
| MurGen-Exod-Num ^a (Muri) | | | |
| <i>Phylacteries & Mezuzot</i> ³³ | <i>Phylacteries</i> | | <i>Phylacteries & Mezuzot</i> |
| 4QPhyl ^f (4Q133) | 4QPhyl ^e (4Q132) | | 4QPhyl ^a (4Q128) |
| 4QPhyl ^g (4Q134) | 4QPhyl ^h (4Q135) | | 4QPhyl ^b (4Q129) |
| 4QMez ^f (4Q154) | 4QPhyl ⁱ (4Q136) | | 4QPhyl ^c (4Q130) |
| 34 ŞePhyl | 4QPhyl ^l (4Q144) | | 4QPhyl ^m (4Q140) |
| MurPhyl (Mur4) | 4QPhyl ^r (4Q145) | | 4QMez ^a (4Q149) |
| | | | 4QMez ^g (4Q155) |
| | | | 8QPhyl (8Q3) ³⁴ |

Given the limited evidence regarding the textual character of F.Exod6, its relationship to the other texts from the Judaean Desert is uncertain. However, a few general observations can be made. First, an analysis of the script indicates that this fragment does not belong to the same scroll as any of the other texts containing portions from the book of Exodus.³⁵ Second, as mentioned above, the textual character of DSS F.Exod6 cannot be determined, and has the potential of being a proto-MT text, a mixed text, or a LXX text type (otherwise attested in Exodus only by 4QExod^b).

33 J.T. Milik observed that the very small size and often poor quality of the scripts in the phylacteries and *mezuzot* impedes the possibility to accurately assign paleographic dates to them. Cf. R. de Vaux and J.T. Milik, eds., *Qumran grotte 4, II: I. Archéologie, II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157)* (DJD VI; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 37.

34 This phylactery text, which consists of more than seventy fragments, has been arranged in four groups for reconstruction. The passage from Exod 13:1–16 in group 1 (frgs. 1–11) is very close to MT. However, the text of Exod 12:43–51; 20:11 in group 3 (frgs. 17–25) exhibits an independent text form. As a result, 8QPhyl has been listed here as an independent or mixed text. See Baillet, M. et al., eds., *Les “petites grottes” de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 149–157.

35 While it is theoretically possible that this fragment is the only surviving evidence of Exodus from a complete Torah scroll, such a scenario is extremely unlikely. As a result, the search for a match was limited to texts containing portions of the book of Exodus.

Photographs

A photograph of the fragment is presented below (*Figure 7.1*) along with two suggested reconstructions. The first reconstruction matches the word breaks in each line, considers all the attested readings, and reflects an alignment with MT. This reconstruction includes only one reading that differs from MT (the plus of הוהוא in line 4), which is implied by the line length (*Figure 7.2*). The second reconstruction likewise presents a reconstruction that matches the word breaks and considers all the attested readings, but this second reconstruction matches the LXX with all five of its readings (*Figure 7.3*). While both reconstructions fit the parameters defined by line length and share the plus in line 4, one cannot confirm the presence or absence of any additional agreement with the *Vorlage* of the LXX. Both reconstructions naturally require some latitude in word spacing to achieve a plumb left margin.



FIGURE 7.1 *DSS F.Exod6 (Exod 17:4-7) dating to the early first century B.C.E.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN

J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND
KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC
RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE
BIBLE.

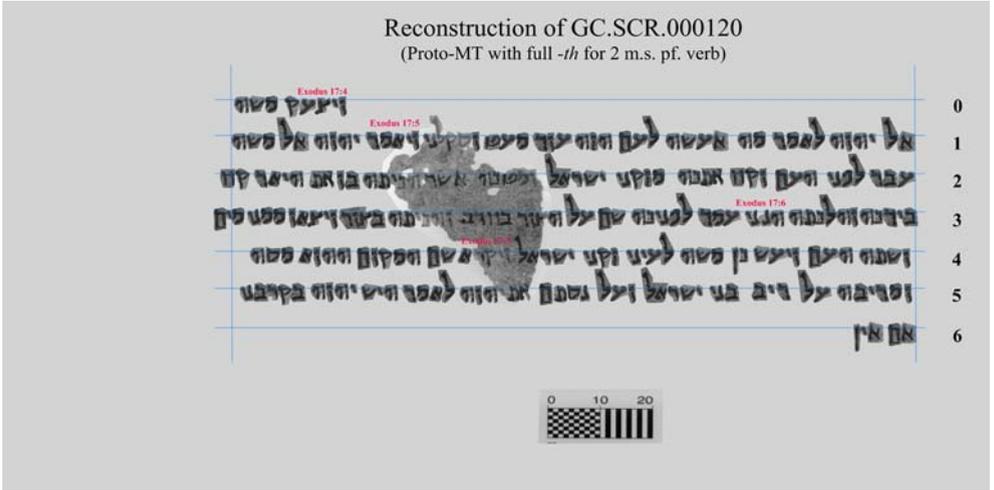


FIGURE 7.2 *Reconstruction of DSS F.Exod6 (Exod 17:4-7) based on MT. Whenever possible the shapes of the letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.*
 RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY BRUCE ZUCKERMAN FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

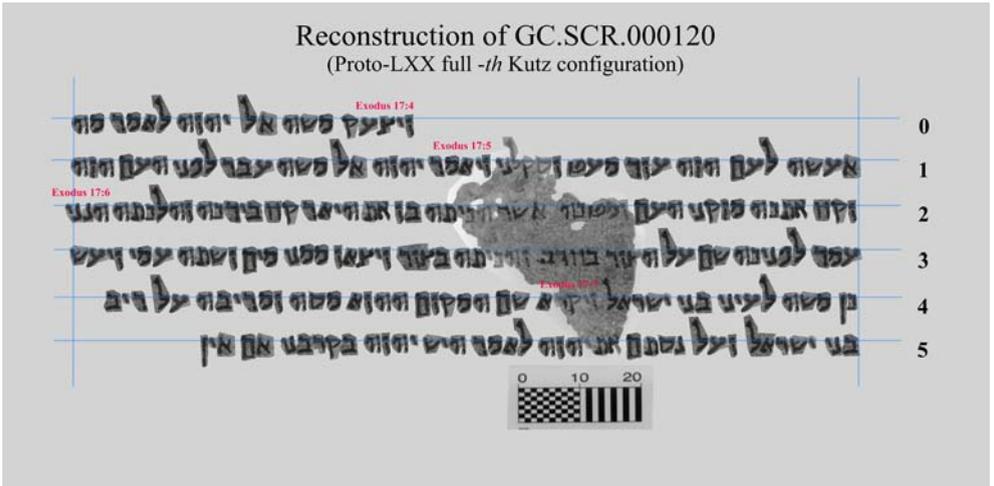


FIGURE 7.3 *Reconstruction of DSS F.Exod6 (Exod 17:4-7) based on the LXX. Whenever possible the shapes of the letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.*
 RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY BRUCE ZUCKERMAN FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Leviticus 23:24–28 (Inv. NCF.SCR.004742)

Karl Kutz with Rebekah Josberger, Ruben Alvarado, Trevor Grant, Haley Kirkpatrick, Rebecca McMartin, Zachary Munoz, Alexander O’Leary, Clara Schinderwolf, Alyssa Schmid, Daniel Somboonsiri, Lynsey Stepan, Chad Woodward

A Dead Sea Scroll fragment containing text from the book of Leviticus now belongs to the National Christian Foundation with inventory number NCF.SCR.004742. It has been assigned the designation DSS F.203 or DSS F.Lev6 (Lev 23:24–28) by Eibert Tigchelaar.

The fragment contains portions of four lines of text from Lev 23:24–28, part of a larger passage addressing the appointed festivals of Israel. The fragment corresponds to the section addressing the blowing of trumpets on the first day of the seventh month (Lev 23:24–25) and the beginning of the section related to the Day of Atonement (Lev 23:26–32).

The text of this fragment is attested by all the primary textual witnesses (MT LXX SP T S V), which exhibit very few variant readings. Lev 23:24–28 is also present in two Qumran scrolls: 4QLev^b (4Q24) and 11QpaleoLev^a (11Q1). While 4QLev^b contains fairly substantial portions from the book of Leviticus, for this passage it preserves only traces of a few letters.¹ On the other hand, the text of Lev 23:24–28 in 11QpaleoLev^a is almost entirely intact and exhibits a text identical to MT. The text of DSS F.Lev6 likewise presents a text close to MT. However, a reconstruction of the missing portions of the lines implies the presence of a variant most likely corresponding to that of the LXX and S.

Physical Description

The fragment measures 2.05 by 2.48 cm and preserves parts of four lines of text that are clearly legible to the naked eye (see color photograph NCF.SCR.

¹ See Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), plate XXXIII (fig. 20). Considerations of line length do suggest a match with MT.

004742_obverse_rs).² The ink has bled through so that the letters are also visible on the reverse side, although they are less distinct (see color photograph NCF.SCR.004742_reverse_rs). The fragment is a reddish brown, mottled with light tan throughout. The light tan coloration is most concentrated in the middle of the fragment, spanning the area between lines 2–4. In the PTM images the reddish brown color evident on both the surface and substrate of the fragment appears to be the color of the leather itself, while the light tan appears to be the result of deposits on the surface. Several small areas exhibit a darker, almost black, discoloration. This discoloration is particularly evident surrounding the traces at the top edge of the fragment near the center of line 1 and at the right edge of the fragment between lines 1–2 and lines 3–4.

Letters are fairly consistent in height, ranging from 1.2 mm (*yod*) to 2.1 mm (averaging 1.8 mm) and range between 0.8 and 1.8 mm in width. The letters *alef*, *he*, and *resh* average 1.6 mm in width. Medium characters such as *kaf*, *lamed*, and *pe* average 1.0 mm in width.³ The narrowest characters (*vav* and *yod*) average 0.8 mm in width. The letter spacing in this fragment remains relatively constant at 0.4 to 0.5 mm. However, the backward lean of the *alef* in line 4 results in letter spacing of about 0.2 mm. The infrared photograph also suggests that virtually no letter space exists between the remnants of *mem* and *he* in line 1. The fragment provides three clear examples of word spacing in lines 2–3 that range from 0.75 to 0.9 mm. A reconstruction of the fragment suggests that the width of the column was approximately 12.2 cm (2.48 cm preserved), and that the lines of the column ranged from 73–75 letter spaces in length. This fragment exhibits line spacing of about 5 mm, with no visible ruling lines or evidence of margins.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This small fragment contains the remains of 4 lines written in a 'Jewish' square book hand. Two words are intact in line 2, whereas the words in the other lines are all partly damaged. Ten letters of the Hebrew alphabet appear in this fragment: *alef*, *he*, *vav*, *yod*, *kaf*, *lamed*, final *mem*, *pe*, *resh*, and *shin* (except for *he*, the reading of the letters in line 1 is uncertain). A clear space of about 0.8 mm marks the word spacing whereas the letter spacing within the words

² Photographs by Bruce Zuckerman, Kenneth Zuckerman, and Marilyn J. Lundberg, West Semitic Research.

³ Measuring *kaf* and *pe* at the topline.

equals the average width of one stroke. The height of the relatively small *shin* (line 2) is about 1.5 mm and its width is about the same. The height of the mast of *lamed* is about 2 mm in both its occurrences (lines 2 and 4). The letters were written with a reed pen, the nib of which was cut but somewhat worn out. The average thickness of the strokes is almost 0.5 mm. The range of difference in the thickness of the strokes can be seen in the downstrokes of the five occurrences of the letter *he* (lines 1–3). Most of the letters lean slightly forward, except for *alef* (lines 2 and 4), which leans somewhat backward. The form of only a handful of letters can be traced with certainty. Arranged according to frequency, *he* (lines 1, 2, and 3) occurs five times; *alef* (lines 2 and 4), *kaf* (lines 3 and 4), *lamed* (lines 2 and 4), and final *mem* (line 3) all occur twice; and the letters *vav* and *yod* (line 2), *pe* (line 3), *resh* (line 3), and *shin* (line 2) all occur once. All other letters are partly damaged.

Several features are helpful for purposes of dating. The roof of *he* was made with two strokes, creating a thick appearance typical of the Herodian period. The short roof of *lamed*, the triangular top of *yod*, and the relatively short *kaf* and *pe* are all features attested in documents from the late first century B.C.E. and early first century C.E. The relatively narrow and long *kaf* (appearing in the damaged word מלאכה in line 4), which differs somewhat from the short *kaf* in line 3, could indicate a slightly earlier date. However, the long narrow *kaf* still appears in the late first century B.C.E. Moreover, the very short final *mem* (line 2) first appears in the late first century B.C.E. Consequently, the combination of paleographic features in this fragment seems to indicate a date in the late first century B.C.E.

Transcription

Leviticus 23:24–28

- 24 דבר אל בני ישראל לאמר בחדש השביעי] 0
 1 [באחד לחדש י] ה'יה ל'ממה [שבת] 25 כל מלאכת
 עבדה לא] 1
 2 [תעשו והקרבתמה] אשה ליהוה [vacat] 26 וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר 27 אך בעשור
 לחדש] 2
 3 [השביעי הזה יו] הכפרים ה' [וא מקרא קדש יהיה לכמה ועניתמה את נפשתיכמה
 והקרבתמה] 3
 4 [אשה ליהוה 28 וכל מ] לאכה [לא תעשו בעצם היום הזה כי יום כפרים הוא לכמה לכפר
 עליכמה] 4
 5 [לפני יהוה אלהיכמה] 5

Translation⁴

- 0 [24Speak to the people of Israel saying: In the seventh month,]
 1 [on the first day of the month,] you [shall] observe [a day of complete re]st.
 [You shall observe a holy convocation commemorated with trumpet blasts.
²⁵No work related to your occupations]
 2 [shall be done;⁵ and you shall present]an offering by fire to the Lord.
 [26The Lord spoke to Moses, saying: ²⁷Now, the tenth day of]
 3 [this seventh month] i[s the da]y of atonement; [it shall be a holy convoca-
 tion for you. You shall humble yourselves and present]
 4 [an offering by fire to the Lord. ²⁸You shall do no w]ork [during that entire
 day for it is a day of atonement for you, to make atonement on your behalf]
 5 [before the Lord your God.]

Notes on Readings

- 1 ה'י[י] (23:24) The lower portions of three downstrokes are visible at the right edge of line 1. The first two are 0.3mm apart and broader in appearance than the third. The first of these strokes includes a thin trace of ink, like a sharp hook curving from the lower right edge of the stroke downwards to the left. This curved trace evidences what was once the bottom of the stroke. This first stroke thus appears to have been originally flush with the same hypothetical baseline as the stroke that follows. The spacing of these two downstrokes is consistent with the five samples of *he* visible on this fragment (lines 1–3).

The third downstroke is narrower than the previous two. A trace of ink along the upper edge of the fragment extends further to the left than the downstroke itself. The thickness of the downstroke and the slight extension at the topline suggests a *vav* or *yod*. Although line 2 shows a fairly obvious *vav/yod* distinction, the length of this third downstroke in line 1 appears to fall somewhere between the height of *vav* and *yod* in line 2. The identification of this letter is thus dependent upon context.

The traces at the beginning of line 1 are followed by a clear *he*. Given the thickness of the roof of *he* in the samples of that letter in line 2, this *he*

4 *NRSV*, adapted.

5 The passive construction (instead of the active “You shall not do any work”) makes it easier to reflect the presence of the verb on the second line, but the verb is active in *MT*.

probably extended about 0.3 mm above the edge of the fragment. The strokes at the beginning of line 1 match יהיה attested by all the textual witnesses. The 0.7 mm space separating the *he* and the following trace is consistent with a word space.

- 1 לְכַמָּה (23:24) A small oblique trace appears 0.7 mm after the clear *he*. The remnant of this stroke measures 0.7 mm in length by 0.4 mm in width and angles downward to the left from the upper edge of the fragment. An examination of the surface under specular enhancement does not reveal any erosion at the lower end of this trace, indicating that the lower end of this trace is the original terminus of the stroke. This trace is consistent with the lower portion of the hook of *lamed* attested by all the textual witnesses (לכּם). The position of this trace in relation to the preceding *he* implies that this *lamed* would have been closer in shape to the example in line 4 than in line 2, having a tighter hook and extending only halfway to the baseline. This tighter hook also accommodates the anticipated word space following the *he*.

This small oblique trace is followed by a lacuna of 1.5 mm and a small dot (0.5 mm in diameter) at the baseline with remnants of a stroke extending backward to the edge of the lacuna. This horizontal stroke is consistent with a short baseline similar to that seen in the *kaf* of line 3.⁶ The spacing of the first two traces on either side of the lacuna provides room for the letters *lamed* and *kaf*.

Next, the fragment preserves the downstroke and sloping baseline of a third letter. An additional trace appears at the upper edge of the fragment directly above the tip of the baseline. The downward angle of this trace, together with the downstroke and baseline, suggests the letter *mem*.

Two additional downstrokes follow very closely after the *mem*, such that there is no letter space. The right downstroke appears to have been formed in two movements of the pen, a shorter stroke on the left and a longer stroke to the right. The length and proximity of this composite stroke to the downstroke that follows suggest the letter *he*. The relative length of these two downstrokes is comparable to those of the *he* earlier in line 1. Moreover, the samples of *he* in lines 2 and 3 demonstrate that the scribe frequently formed *he* with downstrokes of different length.

Taken together, the traces of text that follow the clear *he* in line 1 suggest לְכַמָּה, an orthographically long form of לכּם, a reading attested by all the

6 The letter *pe* in line 3 appears to have originally extended all the way to the bottom of the *resh*, presenting a much longer baseline than *kaf*.

textual witnesses. The *plene* spelling reflected in this reading is consistent with the longer suffix utilized in many of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Assuming that the scribe was consistent in his spelling of this suffix, the *plene* spelling of the pronominal suffixes has been employed throughout the reconstruction.⁷

- 1 [∞] [שבת] (23:24) A lacuna of 1 cm separates the *he* of לְבִמָּה and two strokes at the left edge of the fragment. The first stroke is a short vertical trace that descends 0.7 mm from the top edge of the fragment. The second stroke has a short vertical descent of 0.5 mm before veering sharply toward the right in an oblique stroke about 2 mm in length. The position and shape of these strokes suggest a match with the *vav* and final *nun* of the phrase יהיה לכם שבתון attested by all the textual witnesses. While most examples of *nun* from this period taper to a point as the scribe lifts his pen at the end of the stroke, this scribe creates his letters with a bold stroke, producing heavy lines with rounded tips. One potential objection to the identification of the longer stroke as final *nun* is its alignment. The angle of the oblique stroke is atypical of final *nun*. It is more common to see final *nun* drop into a vertical descent, or even curve toward the left. The narrow peninsula of leather containing these strokes appears to have been distorted by the environment so that these letters have rotated approximately 35 degrees from their original position. If these letters are rotated clockwise, the short stroke before the *nun* is positioned to form the chevron of *vav* rather than a downstroke,⁸ and the final *nun* takes on a more conventional form with a slight extension to the right at the top and a nearly vertical descender.

Repositioning the *vav* and *nun* in this manner also provides partial resolution to an overly large word space in line 1. The textual witnesses all contain the reading שבתון זכרון, offering two possible matches for a *vav* and final *nun*. Since the lacuna is insufficient to accommodate both words (שבתון זכרון),⁹

7 For example, see לכמה in lines 1, 3, and 4. See also the reconstruction of נפשתיכמה in place of MT עליכם (line 3), עליכם in place of MT עליכם (line 4), and אלהיכמה in place of MT אלהיכם (line 5).

8 Rotating these letters clockwise 35 degrees allows the short stroke to match the angle of the chevrons on the *yod* and *vav* in line 2.

9 A reconstruction as [∞] [שבתון זכרון] would overlap a portion of the *kaf* on the right side of the lacuna. These estimates are based on letter spacing of 0.4 mm, the *shin* in line 2 (1.5 mm), the reconstruction of a *tav* roughly the same width as *he* in line 3 (1.5 with its extension), and a *bet* that is slightly broader than the *kaf* in line 3 (perhaps 1.8 mm vs. 1.3 mm).

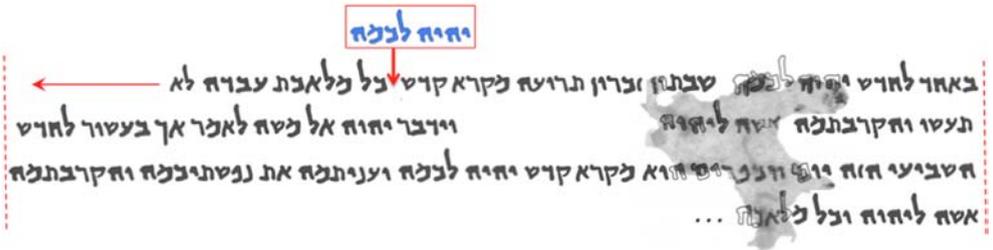
this *vav* and final *nun* are most likely part of the word שבתון. In the current condition of the text, a reconstruction with ון[שבת] leaves a larger than normal word space of approximately 3 mm. However, if the *vav* and *nun* are rotated back into position as described above, the word space is reduced to 2 mm, still twice as large as a typical word space.¹⁰ A variant reading of שבת ון שבתון in T^N and T^{GF} are equally unlikely because the remaining 2 mm will not accommodate the addition of the word שבת. In the absence of any other solution, it seems best to assume the presence of a defect in the leather that forced the scribe to move שבתון slightly further to the left.

- 1 [יהיה לכמה] (23:24) This reconstruction incorporates the longer suffix ending indicated by לְכִמָּה (line 1). The justification for including this plus is provided below in the section on *Reconstructed Variants*.
- 2 [והקרבתמה] (23:25) While this fragment provides no direct evidence that the scribe used the longer perfect ending (i.e., -תמה), Qumran manuscripts with longer pronominal suffixes like לְכִמָּה (line 1) almost always exhibit a longer form of the second person plural perfect. As a result, the longer verb form has been adopted for the reconstruction of this verb as well as וענייתמה and והקרבתמה in line 3.¹¹
- 2 [*vacat*] (23:26) The reconstruction presented below this paragraph (that forms the basis for Figure 8.2 at the end of this chapter) presupposes a closed section break before verse 26 (as in 11QpaleoLev^a MT SP) with some adjust-

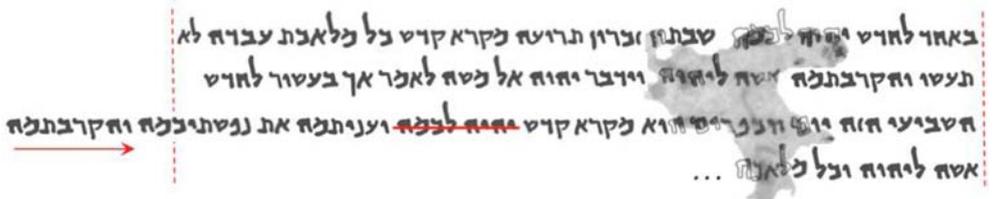
10 The word spacing in this fragment measures 0.8 mm (line 2), 0.75 mm and 0.9 mm (line 3).

11 See the table of orthographic and morphological features in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 337–343. There are thirty-two instances where the Dead Sea Scroll manuscripts contain both the second or third person plural suffix and the second person plural perfect. In six of these cases the scribe employs only the shorter endings. In the remaining cases, longer suffixes are almost always combined with some representation of the longer perfect ending. This is true regardless of whether the scribes used the longer ending exclusively (eight times), showed a preference for longer endings or shorter endings (seven times and eight times respectively), or adopted longer and shorter endings equally (three times). The only instances where the longer suffix does not appear with a corresponding longer perfect ending is in 4QM^a (4Q491) and 4QTan^h (4Q176), both of which contain only one relevant sample of the perfect. Given the predominant presence of the longer perfect ending together with longer plural suffixes, it seems justified to posit the presence of the longer perfect ending here in this fragment.

ment of the text. The use of a section break together with the text of MT results in line 1 being shorter than line 3.¹² Both the LXX and S attest to a Hebrew *Vorlage* with a plus of יהיה לכם in 23:25 that is both the appropriate length and in the proper location for justifying the margins in this reconstruction. This solution has the advantage of utilizing a section break consistent with all the Hebrew witnesses, adopting a reading that has solid attestation, and providing clean margins.



On the other hand, without a section break in line 2, a reconstruction based on MT (presented below this paragraph) results in parallel margins for lines 1 and 2, but not for line 3. Line 3 would be too long and would therefore require a shorter text somewhere towards the end of the line. The only possibility for such a short text is indicated by v which lacks an equivalent of MT יהיה לכם (23:27). While section breaks in the Dead Sea Scrolls do not always match those found in MT, this solution is less appealing for several reasons. First, it requires a reading that is not very well attested. Second, even if a shorter text were adopted, it would still leave line 3 slightly longer than the previous two lines.



12 Line 2 is not crucial in this analysis because the section break allows one to justify the end of line 2 at the left margin regardless of the column width.

- 3 ים [י] (23:27) The fragment preserves all but the upper right corner of a final *mem* at the beginning of line 3. This letter, together with the following word, evidences the phrase “the Day of Atonement” and allows for a confident reconstruction of the word יום that is present in all the textual witnesses.
- 3 הכפריים (23:27) The first four letters of this word are fully represented on the fragment. The *resh* leans considerably to the left, but this appearance is exaggerated by a loss of ink on the upper right of the downstroke. If the downstroke originally extended from the farthest right limit of the upper horizontal down to the baseline, then the angle of this downstroke would match that of the preceding *pe*, and the slope to the left would not have been as exaggerated as it now appears. While the downstroke of the *resh* also appears long, it is situated atop the baseline of the *pe*. Thus the downstroke of the *resh* is 2 mm long, consistent with the surrounding letters.
- The final two letters in this word are only partially visible. However, the chevron of the *yod*, its defining feature, and all but the bottom of the final *mem* are sufficient to confirm a match with מַתְּכַפְּרִים.
- 3 ה [ו] (23:27) A single trace appears at the left edge in line 3, which could be construed as a *yod*, *vav*, or the upper right corner of a crossbar and accompanying downstroke. The textual witnesses are unanimous in reading הוא at this point. Nevertheless, the angle of the presumed *he* is more acute than that seen in the other examples of *he* on this fragment even when accounting for the potential impact of the narrow tear above this letter. One alternative would be to identify these traces as evidence of the letter *mem* at the start of the following word מִקְרָא. However, the visible strokes are more suitable for *he* than *mem*.
- 3 [לכמה] (23:27) This reconstruction incorporates the longer suffix ending indicated by לְכֹמָה (line 1).
- 3 [ועניתמה] (23:27) See the comments regarding long orthography in the discussion of והקרבתמה (line 2).
- 3 [נפשתיכמה] (23:27) This reconstruction incorporates the longer suffix ending indicated by לְכֹמָה (line 1).
- 3 [והקרבתמה] (23:27) See the comments regarding long orthography in the discussion of והקרבתמה (line 2).

- 4 מלאכה [מ] (23:28) The final line on the fragment preserves the letters *lamed*, *alef*, and *kaf*, together with a trace of one additional character at the left edge of the fragment. The *lamed* is almost entirely preserved, lacking only the rightmost portion of the hook. The *kaf*, while longer than the sample in line 3, is plainly distinguished from *bet* by the absence of an extension at the baseline and the proximity of this letter to the one that follows. A trace 2mm in length at the edge of the fragment suggests the downstroke of another letter. This trace corresponds with the reading מלאכה attested by all the textual witnesses.
- 4 [לכמה] (23:28) This reconstruction incorporates the longer suffix ending indicated by לַכְּמָה (line 1).
- 4 [עליכמה] (23:28) This reconstruction incorporates the longer suffix ending indicated by לַעֲלֵיכְּמָה (line 1).
- 5 [אלהיכמה] (23:28) This reconstruction incorporates the longer suffix ending indicated by לַאֱלֹהֵיכְּמָה (line 1).

Variants

- 1 שבת [שבת] = 4QLev^b 11QpaleoLev^a MT SP LXX T^o T^{Ps-J} s v] שבת שבת T^N T^{GF} (23:24)¹³ The fact that T^N and T^{GF} retain a Hebrew phrase instead of providing a translation (like T^o T^{Ps-J}),¹⁴ suggests that the plus of שבת in these Targumim reflects a variant. This plus is understandable given the familiar expression שבת שבת and the parallels elsewhere in the book of Leviticus. Of the ten occurrences of שבתון in MT, six are in the phrase שבת שבתון (Exod 31:15; 35:2; Lev 16:31; 23:3, 32; 25:4). Moreover, שבת שבתון of T^N and T^{GF} is similar to three other passages in Leviticus: שבת שבתון הוא לכם (Lev 16:31; 23:32) and שבת שבתון יהיה לארץ (Lev 25:24).
- 3 הכפרים = 11QpaleoLev^a MT T s] כפרים SP LXX (23:27) The reading in the SP and LXX is probably influenced by the following verse where the expression is used to describe the function of this day (“a day of atonement”), rather than to identify the name of the day (“the Day of Atonement”).

13 M.L. Klein, *Geniza Manuscripts of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986).

14 The other Targumim translate with נִיחָא (T^o) and יומא טבא (T^{Ps-J}).

Reconstructed Variants

- 0 [לאמר] = 4QLev^b 11QpaleoLev^a MT SP LXX T S V] > V (23:24)
- 1 [יהיה לכמה] = LXX S] > 4QLev^b 11QpaleoLev^a MT SP T V (23:24) The reconstruction of line 1 requires a plus at the end of that line. The only available plus within the textual witnesses is the reading in the LXX and S that happens to be an appropriate length for the reconstruction. This longer reading is most likely a harmonization towards the fuller expression that appears in the surrounding verses (cf. מקרא קדש יהיה לכם in MT Lev 23:21, 27, 36).
- 2 [לאמר] = 11QpaleoLev^a MT SP LXX T V] + דבר אל בני ישראל לאמר S (23:26) The other textual witnesses do not contain the clause found in S, and considerations of line length rule out its presence in DSS F.Lev6. This plus is a later addition influenced by the clause דבר אל בני ישראל לאמר in Lev 23:24.
- 3 [יהיה לכמה] = 11QpaleoLev^a MT SP LXX S T] > V (23:27) The reconstruction is supported by the textual evidence as well as by considerations of line length.
- 4 [לכמה] = LXX] > 11QpaleoLev^a MT SP T S V (23:28) Nothing in the fragment or the demands of line length confirms the presence of this LXX reading in the reconstruction of line 4. However, this reading is closely related to the other LXX plus required for the reconstruction of line 1 (יהיה לכמה) and is thus tentatively included in the reconstruction.

Orthography and Morphology

The text preserved in this fragment is too sparse to make an assertion about general orthography. On the one hand, the traces in line 1 assume the presence of the longer second masculine plural suffix (לכמה). Evidence from the Dead Sea Scroll corpus likewise suggests that the longer suffix was paired with usage of the longer second plural perfect (i.e., תמה-). On the other hand, the defective spelling of הכפריים in line 3 reflects a more conservative orthography when compared to other texts from the Judean Desert.¹⁵ Thus, while the *plene*

15 The *plene* spelling כפורים is overwhelmingly attested in the non-biblical texts from the Judean Desert, and the defective orthography appears only once (PAM 43.686, frg. 40). See Dana M. Pike et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4. XXIII: Unidentified Fragments* (DJD XXXIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 202 and plate XXVI (frg. 40). The only clearly attested occurrence

spelling of לְכַמָּה¹⁶ might suggest the presence of full forms throughout this document, at the same time the evidence of the defective spelling of הכפריים argues against a broader tendency in that direction.

Textual Character

In all but one instance the words preserved on the fragment itself align with all the other textual witnesses (4QLev^b 11QpaleoLev^a MT SP LXX T S V).¹⁶ The sole exception is the reading כפריים of the SP and LXX, where this fragment and the other witnesses contain the definite article. Though DSS F.Lev6 differs from the LXX in this instance, this reconstruction suggests at least one plus that aligns with the LXX (line 1 יהיה לְכַמָּה, also attested in S). The potential of a second LXX plus in 23:28 (לְכַמָּה) allows for further alignment with the LXX. While this second plus has been included in the reconstruction as likely, it is unclear whether DSS F.Lev6 included this second reading. This evidence suggests that DSS F.Lev6 stands somewhere between MT and the LXX. However, in this passage all the witnesses are closely aligned with MT. As a result, this fragment should still be identified as proto-Masoretic.

Relation to Other Judaean Desert Fragments

Of the manuscripts found in the Judaean Desert, twenty-two contain portions from the book of Leviticus.¹⁷ Seven of these texts align closely with MT.¹⁸ Two

of this word in the biblical texts is the defective spelling in 11QpaleoLev^a (11, 7 הכפריים). However, the reconstructed long forms in 4QpaleoExod^m (xxxv, 3 [הכפריים]) and xxxv, 27 (הכפריים) are probably both warranted, given that the faint traces in the first example seem to suggest *vav* rather than *pe*. The defective spelling in the reconstruction of 4QLev-Num^a (11, 24 הכפריים) is uncertain since the position of this word at the end of line renders the *plene* and defective spelling equally viable.

16 4QLev^b 11, 25–26 does not provide much material for comparison since the lines at the bottom of this column are extremely fragmentary and offer only a handful of letters.

17 These include 1QpaleoLev-Num^a (1Q3, frgs. 1–7), 1QpaleoLev^b (1Q3, frg. 22), 2QpaleoLev (2Q5), 2QNum^d (2Q9 = Num 18:8–9 or possibly Lev 23:1–3), 4QExod-Lev^f (4Q17), 4QLev-Num^a (4Q23), 4QLev^b (4Q24), 4QLev^c (4Q25), 4QLev^d (4Q26), 4QLev^e (4Q26a), 4QLev^g (4Q26b), 4QLXXLev^a (4Q119), 4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120), 4QtgLev (4Q156), 4QRP^{c-e} (4Q365, 4Q366, 4Q367), 6QpaleoLev (6Q2), 11QpaleoLev^a (11Q1), 11QLev^b (11Q2), MasLev^a (Mas1a), MasLev^b (Mas1b), Mur/HēvLev (MS 4611 from The Schøyen Collection), and an unpublished fragment in the collection of Azusa Pacific University (Lev 10:4–7).

18 The texts aligning with MT are 1QpaleoLev-Num^a (1Q3, frgs. 1–7), 4QLXXLev^a (4Q119),

are identified as pre-Samaritan.¹⁹ Four fragments contain mixed readings that fall somewhere between MT and the SP or somewhere between MT and the LXX.²⁰ Three fragments with mixed readings have no clear textual affiliation.²¹ The six remaining fragments are either too small to permit an assessment of their character or are not yet available for analysis.²²

In addition to the twenty-two texts discussed above, four texts contain quotations, paraphrases, or allusions to the text of Leviticus in a manner that suggests some sort of halakhic discussion.²³ Due to the fragmentary state and

4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120), 4QtgLev (4Q156), MasLev^a (Masia), and MasLev^b (Masib). Apart from translational differences between 4QLXXLev^a and the LXX that do not imply variants in the translator's *Vorlage*, one finds only a handful of readings where 4QLXXLev^a departs from MT and none of these has affinity with the SP. The relatively lengthy text of 4QpapLXXLev^b is very close to MT, exhibiting only two variants that correspond to both the LXX and SP (4:6, 28). The editor of Mur/HevLev, Torleif Elgvin, has classified this text as "M-like," on the basis of three small variants, contra the earlier publication by Émile Puech, who described this text as thoroughly Masoretic. Cf. Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*, 223; see also Émile Puech, "Un autre manuscrit Lévitique," *RevQ* 21 (2003): 311–313.

- 19 The texts identified as pre-Samaritan are 4QExod-Lev^f (4Q17) and 4QRP^{c-e} (4Q365, 4Q366, 4Q367). The identification of 4QExod-Lev^f (4Q17) as pre-Samaritan is primarily based on the Exodus portions of the manuscript. Leviticus is represented by only eight lines of text with 1–2 words per line. These eight lines correspond to MT with the exception of a variant in 2:1 קרִבְנוּ; without the suffix in MT SP LXX T S V), a plus at the end of 2:1 ([הוֹאֵה] מִנְחָה = SP LXX; > 4QLev^b MT LXX^o T S V), and an unidentified reading in fragment 5 that does not appear in MT Lev.
- 20 The mixed texts that exhibit strong tendencies towards MT and the SP are 4QLev^c (4Q25), 4QLev^e (4Q26a), and 11QpaleoLev^a (11Q1). 11QLev^b (11Q2) is identified as falling somewhere between the LXX and MT. In three instances 11QLev^b contains LXX readings that are not present in MT or the SP. In another three cases it follows MT and the SP against the LXX. In two verses it has unique readings. Three times it has a definite article that is lacking in MT (2 times) and/or the SP (3 times).
- 21 The texts with no clear affiliation are 4QLev-Num^a (4Q23), 4QLev^b (4Q24), and 4QLev^d (4Q26).
- 22 The fragments that are too small for definitive classification include 1QpaleoLev^b (1Q3, fig. 22), 2QpaleoLev (2Q5), 2QNum^d (2Q9 = Num 18:8–9 or possibly Lev 23:1–3), 4QLev^g (4Q26b), 6QpaleoLev (6Q2), and a small fragment in the collection at Azusa Pacific University (Lev 10:4–7). For an image of the unpublished Azusa Pacific University fragment see "Leviticus 10:4–7 recto" n.p. [cited 7 February 2016]. Online: <http://cdm16657.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16657coll7/id/11>.
- 23 These include 4Qpap cryptA Midrash Sepher Moshe (4Q249), 4Qpap cryptA Lev^h (4Q249j), 4Qpap cryptA Text Quoting Lev A (4Q249k), and 4Qpap cryptA Text Quoting Lev

halakhic character of these texts, their relationship to the textual witnesses of Leviticus is difficult to assess.²⁴

DSS F.Lev6 appears to be the only surviving fragment of what was probably once a complete scroll. This fragment overlaps with 4QLev^b (4Q24) and therefore could not belong to that scroll. The Leviticus Targum (4Q156), Greek texts (4Q119, 4Q120), paleo-Hebrew texts (1Q3, 2Q5, 6Q2, 11Q1), texts utilizing paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton (11Q2), and texts using the cryptic script (4Q249) can likewise be eliminated from consideration on the basis of their language and script. An examination of the other Leviticus fragments from the Judean Desert likewise provides no match to the handwriting on DSS F.Lev6 that would suggest that this fragment belongs with any of the previously published scrolls.

Photographs

A photograph of the fragment is presented below (Figure 8.1) together with a reconstruction that seems to provide the best layout for justifying the margins of the column (Figure 8.2). As noted in *Orthography and Morphology*, the reconstruction uses the longer second masculine plural suffix throughout the passage in a manner consistent with לְכַמֶּיךָ in line 1.

B (4Q249l). See J. Baumgarten, et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4. xxv: Halakhic Texts* (DJD xxxv; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 1–24 and S.J. Pfann et al., eds., *Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1: Qumran Cave 4. xxvi* (DJD xxxvi; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 575–582.

24 The text of 4Q249, I, 5–14 (frgs. 1–2, 9a, 12) contains only 4–10 letters per line that seem to draw upon the discussion of leprosy in Lev 14. The two fragments of 4Q249j with the text of Lev 26:14–16 each preserve only a handful of letters from either end of the column for 4 lines. Fragment 4Q249k contains 5 lines of text with approximately 5–6 letters per line. The only correspondence to this combination of words and letters in biblical or non-biblical texts is Lev 26:16–17. A suitable reconstruction has been proposed based on MT, though it requires a transposition of לְרִיק from the middle of 26:16 to the end of the verse. Fragment 4Q249l contains 6 lines of text with 4–5 letters per line. The alignment of letters in the remnant of the first four lines suggests a connection with Lev 26:33–34.

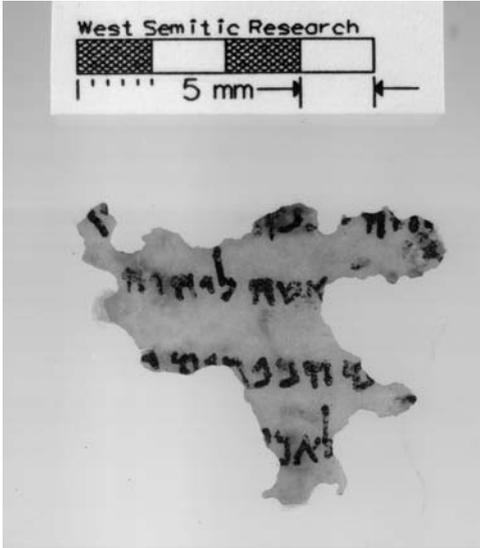


FIGURE 8.1

DSS F.Lev6 (Lev 23:24–28) dating to the late first century B.C.E.

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, AND MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

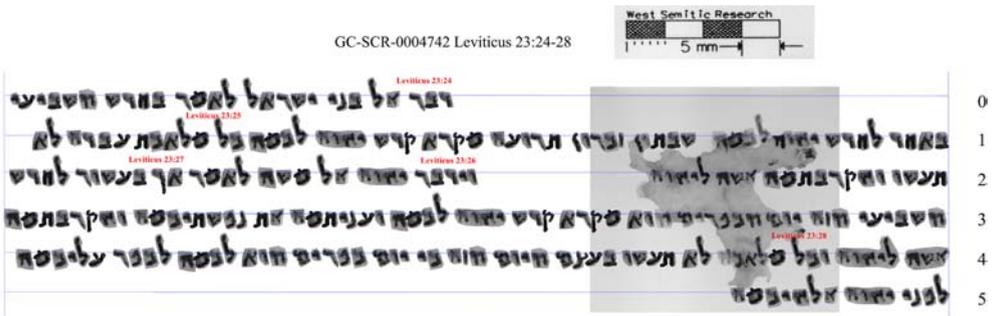


FIGURE 8.2 *Reconstruction of DSS F.Lev6 (Lev 23:24–28). Whenever possible the shapes of the letters have been copied from letters on the fragment.*

RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, AND MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

A Fragment of Leviticus? (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000122)

Marty Alan Michelson with Herschel Hepler, Austin Troyer and Gordon Lynn Vogel

A single fragment containing four lines of Hebrew or Aramaic text is now part of the Museum of the Bible Collection and inventoried as MOTB.SCR.000122. The fragment has been designated DSS F.193 (DSS F.Lev5) by Eibert Tigchelaar according to his new system for classifying texts from the Judaean Desert.

Physical Description

This fragment measures 2.5 by 2.0 cm and preserves the remnants of four lines of text containing sixteen potential letters.¹ Portions of the fragment are as narrow as 5 mm in width. The leather is darkened, but some text can still be seen under natural light. Traces of letters exist written in black ink, but only two of the four lines offer discernable letters. The surface is badly damaged and has flaked away in several places on the fragment, rendering the text almost entirely unreadable. There is ink missing from thirteen of the sixteen letters, and no completely legible word has been preserved. Additionally, distinct holes can be found beneath line 3 and just above line 4.

The distance between lines is 6 mm with no ruling lines or evidence of margins visible on the leather. The column width cannot be determined from the preserved material. In line 3, the distance between the *tav* appearing at the end of one word, and the first letter of the next word is 2 mm.

The recto appears to be abraded, mottled brown leather (Munsell 7.5YR 5/3). The verso is predominantly yellowish brown (Munsell 10YR 5/4).² There are signs of spacing between words in at least three instances, visible on both the recto and verso, which may affect identification, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

1 Photograph by Marilyn J. Lundberg, Bruce Zuckerman, and Kenneth Zuckerman, West Semitic Research.

2 Munsell Soil Color Chart (rev. ed.; New Windsor, NY, 1994).

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This small fragment contains the scant remains of four lines written in a “Jewish” square, book hand. The letters suspend on the lines and the distance between the tops of the letters in one line and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 6 mm. All words are partly damaged. A small space, such as is detectable, between two words in line 3 seems to have marked the word spacing. The height of the letter *shin* (line 3) is 2.1 mm and its width 2.3 mm. The letters were written with a thin reed pen, the nib of which was cut, thus enabling variations in the width of the strokes according to the angle in which the scribe held the writing implement. This may be seen at the left down stroke of *tav* (line 3) and at the right down stroke of *lamed* as well as at the relative thick “roof” of *lamed*. Most of the letters seem to lean slightly forward. The form of only two letters in this fragment can be traced with certainty. These are *tav* in line 3 and *lamed* in line 4. The other letters are all partly damaged. If the reading of the two last letters in line 3 as *yod* and (the right part of) medial *mem* is correct, *yod* seems unusually long and so is medial *mem*. The relatively equal height of the letters and their short form indicates a date in the late first century B.C.E.

Transcription

| | |
|-----------------|---|
|]°הָיָו[| 1 |
|]יָוָו[| 2 |
|]וִי תַשׁוּוּ[| 3 |
|]לָוּ וּוּוּוּ[| 4 |

Notes on Reading

- 1]°הָיָו[The length of the preserved traces of text on line 1 covers 6.6 mm with a maximal height of 2.7 mm. This line contains traces of four visible letters, the second and third of which might be identified as *dalet* and *he* respectively.

Only portions of the left downstroke belonging to the first letter have survived, making the letter unidentifiable. This letter may be a *vav*, *yod*, or *zayin*, but there is simply not enough information from the fragment to make an identification. The second letter consists of a right downstroke and crossbar with the head. This letter appears most likely to be a *dalet*, although

it could potentially be an abraded *bet* or *resh*. The third letter, identified as *he*, consists of portions of parallel downstrokes and a crossbar, but the bottom half of the letter is missing. The base of the fourth letter is visible, as well as a trace of ink on the right side that may survive from a straight or curved downstroke. As with the first letter there is not enough surviving information for an identification.

Approximately 3–4 mm of leather remains to the left of the final visible trace of ink, which may represent a word space. However, close inspections of the color photograph MOTB.SCR.000122 OBV V and PTM image GCSCR-000122obv 3426 show that the surface layer has also been heavily damaged, making it impossible to confirm this suggestion.

- 2]^o° [The length of the preserved traces of text on line 2 covers 6.1 mm with a maximal height of 2.2 mm. Line 2 has traces of ink most likely belonging to three letters, but the first two are unidentifiable. The first traces construed as part of the first letter form a left-descending oblique, and a spot of ink situated above the bottom point. To the left of this is a heavily shaded downstroke, part of a crossbar with a tick on the left end, and a spot of ink on the bottom left that potentially belongs to a foot. Traces of the third letter consist of a left-descending oblique with the left arm attached just below the midpoint. This letter appears to be *ayin*, although only the top half of the letter remains visible.
- 3]^o °^o [The length of the preserved traces of text on line 3 covers 11.1 mm with a maximal height of 3.3 mm. The text on this line consists of several ink traces belonging to five or six letters, with a clear word space separating the first three or four letters from the last two.

At the right edge of the fragment, a tiny trace of a crossbar, and then the top part of a downstroke joined to a left-extending crossbar have survived. These probably represent two letters, although the possibility cannot be ruled out that they belong to the same, single letter.

To the left of these traces there is a left-descending oblique joined to a left stroke with a small trace of a disconnected arm. This letter appears to be *shin*. Alternatively it may be an *ayin* joined to a *vav* by a ligature, though this reading is tentative based on the shape of the proposed *ayin*. The problem of identification here is the absence of the join between the trace of the arm and the rest of the strokes of ink, from which to determine whether the letter is a *shin* or an *ayin* joined to a *vav*. If it is read as a *shin*, the height of the center arm may be problematic. The lower height of this stroke suggests the alternate reading of *ayin-vav*.

The final letter in this word is a clear *tav*, followed by a word space. The first letter after the space is either a *yod* or a *vav*, but with no more information about either of these letters on the fragment, identification is uncertain. At the left edge of the fragment is a clear downstroke belonging to an unidentifiable letter.

- 4]ל° °°°ב[The length of the preserved traces of text on line 4 covers 13.8 mm with a maximal height of 3.3 mm. The line consists of several ink traces that belong to two words, but most of the letters are unidentifiable. At the right edge of the fragment are traces of three downstrokes all set on alternating oblique angles. There are parts of crossbars or ticks joined to the tops of at least the first two downstrokes. These first traces could belong to two or three letters; we suggest it is *tet*.

The last visible letter is a clearly formed *lamed*, measuring 4.4 mm. Subsequent letters between the suggested *tet* and *lamed* are unidentifiable. These consist of small traces of ink that could belong to three letters following the *tet*, then a word space. After the space and before the *lamed* there are traces of two points on the dryline, most likely belonging to the first letter of the second word. This letter is most likely an *alef* or an *ayin* forming a two-letter word or the first consonants of a longer word.

Tentative Reconstruction

Line 3 offers the best possible letters for reconstructing parts of whole words. Following the highly tenuous suggestion by Ada Yardeni, that the first two letters in the second word might be *yod* and medial *mem*, the entire line could be reconstructed to reflect the phrases *ששת ימים* or *שלושת ימים*, “three days” or “six days.”

Line 4 offers a highly conjectural *tet* followed by unidentifiable letters, a word space, traces of another letter, and then a *lamed*. All of the ink traces that precede the *lamed* are either highly problematic or too small to identify. Subsequently identifying this text from any of the known sources in the Hebrew Bible or Dead Sea Scrolls is not possible.

Though the fragment was acquired with the designation of belonging to Lev 23:4, it is very likely that this assignment is incorrect as no correlation can be found with any text in either Leviticus or any other part of the Hebrew Bible. It is also not possible to suggest an identifiable text type for this fragment due to the paucity of preserved text. The highly conjectural reading of line 3 as either “three days” or “six days” offers little help as it is frequently used in the Torah. If

this one potential reading of the fragment is correct, it might represent a non-biblical text like the *Community Rule* of the Essenes.

Photograph

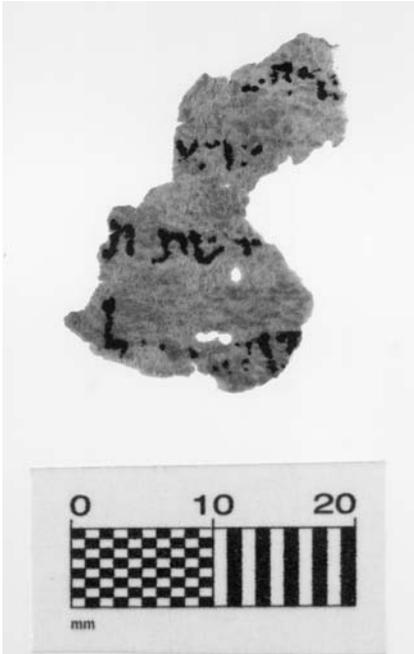


FIGURE 9.1

DSS F.193 dating to the late first century B.C.E.
PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG,
BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH
ZUCKERMAN OF WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH.
COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Numbers 8:3–5 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003173)

Timothy D. Finlay with Nathan McAleese and Andrew J. Zimmermann

A single fragment containing remnants of Num 8:3–5 now belongs to the Museum of the Bible Collection, with the inventory number MOTB.SCR.003173. The fragment (Num 8:3–5) has been assigned the designation DSS F.194 (DSS F.Num2) by Eibert Tigchelaar. These verses from Numbers contain the report of Aaron’s obedience to the Lord’s command concerning the lampstand, a description of the workmanship of the lampstand, and the speech introduction formula for the Lord’s command regarding the cleansing of the Levites. Though this text is attested by all ancient versions, it has not been preserved in any of the published Judean Desert scrolls.

Physical Description

This single fragment measures approximately 4.4 by 2.5 cm. The leather is consistently medium, dark brown in color with a handful of slightly lighter colored patches where the substrate has suffered wear and damage. Letters and full words belonging to four lines are visible in the natural light color photo, and the appearance of the ink is unusually sharp and dark. The PTM image of the fragment, MOTB.SCR.003173p, produces a strange effect in which the ink on the surface appears “chalky” white under direct light. This seems to be a result of reflection from the gloss on the ink, whereby the ink is bouncing “white” light back from an overhead source. No ruling of lines is visible in natural light, but dry lines for the right margin and for lines 2–4 are all clearly visible in the PTM image, visible because of the odd luminescent effect. The line spacing is 6 mm (cf. *Paleography and Date*). The measurement of the right intercolumnar margin is approximately 1.4 cm from the edge of the fragment. There are two small holes in the fragment, the smaller measuring 1 mm by 1 mm and the larger (shaped like a *gimel*) measuring 2 mm long and 2 mm wide at the base. The extant text of line 3 measures 2.8 cm in length, but both lines 2 and 3 can be reconstructed to 48 letter spaces long. According to this reconstruction a full column of text would have measured approximately 8.4 cm wide. Intervals of 1–2 mm are regularly left between words. The largest space between the

letters in a word is between the *yod* and *dalet* in וידבר on line 4 measuring 1mm.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This small fragment contains the remains of three lines written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand. The letters suspend on the lines and the distance between the tops of the letters in one line and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 7 mm. A small space has been left between most of the words except for the last two words in line 2 and the first two words in line 3, the reading of which depends on the context. The letters vary in their height and width. The average height of the letter *het* is about 2.5 mm and its width about 1.5 mm. Remains of damaged letters appear in line 1 and at the ends of lines 2 and 3, where the text has been restored. The almost equal thickness of horizontal and vertical strokes indicates that the letters were written with a thin reed pen with a somewhat worn out nib. There seems to be an unequal tilt of letters: some letters lean forward (e.g. *het*, *zayin*, *qof*, *vav*, *kaf*, and *resh* in line 2) while others stand erect (e.g. *tav*, *dalet*, *bet*, and *mem* in line 2) and still others lean backwards (e.g. *tav*, *lamed*, and *alef* in line 3). This may be a personal characteristic of the copyist’s handwriting or an impression caused by the shrinkage of the hide. This and the appearance of variant forms of the same letter (e.g. *he*, *mem*, and *tav*, each appearing in variant forms) indicate some negligence in writing. The base lines of *bet*, *kaf*, *mem*, and *tav* bend almost horizontally to the left.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents¹ enabled an approximate dating of the script of this fragment to the first half to the mid-first century B.C.E. Ornamental additions at the left end of the “roof” of *he* and at the left “arm” of *ayin*, show that the copyist was already familiar with a late Hasmonean phase in the formal evolution of the “Jewish” script appearing toward the mid-first century B.C.E. The lack of the “heel” at the base of *bet*, the long *kaf* extending below the imaginary base line, and the short “leg” of *qof* are characteristics which belong to an earlier phase in the development of the “Jewish” script, and therefore this hand writing can hardly be dated later than approximately the mid-first century B.C.E.

¹ According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

Transcription

Numbers 8:3–5

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| | [... ³ ויעש כן אהרן אל מול פני המנרה העלה נרתיה] | 0 |
| | [כא] שֶׁר צוֹה [יהוה את משה ⁴ וזוה מעשה המנורה מקשה זהב עד] | 1 |
| | [ירכיה ועד פרחי[ה מקשה היא כמראה אשר הראה יהוה את] | 2 |
| | [משה כן עשה את המ[נרה vacat] | 3 |
| | [וידבר יהוה אל מֹשֶׁה [לאמר ...] | 4 |

Translation

- 0 [...³ And Aaron made it thus: From the front face of the lampstand he brought up the lamps]
- 1 As [the Lord] commanded [Moses.⁴ And this is the workmanship of the lampstand, hammered work of gold; unto]
- 2 its bases and unto its flower[s, it was hammered work; according to the plan that the Lord had shown]
- 3 Moses, so he made the la[mpstand. *vacat*]
- 4 And the Lord spoke to Moses [saying ...]

Notes on Readings

- 1 כא] שֶׁר (8:3) The first visible letter appears as two trace strokes: the left edge of what seems to be a crossbar apparently unconnected to the trace that follows, which form most of an angular downstroke. The ink belonging to the crossbar seems to have bled along the contour of the fragment edge just below it. Context suggests that these traces are part of the left downstroke and center arm of a *shin*, but the center arm is positioned unusually high against the downstroke, especially compared to other clear examples in line 3. The odd formation of this letter suspiciously follows the contour of damage on the right edge of the fragment, and this raises questions about its authenticity. The available space in the right hand margin allows for potentially two letters before the preserved letters of *shin* and *resh*. The reading כא] שֶׁר in the reconstruction is contextually appropriate and is supported by MT, SP, and Sam T.

- 1 צוה׳ (8:3) All that remains of the last letter is a downstroke in close enough proximity to the preceding *vav* that it definitely represents the right edge of the letter. Context suggests that this is the right downstroke of a *he*, but it is somewhat peculiar that there is no surviving part of the parallel left downstroke on the remaining preserved surface of the fragment near the left edge.

- 2 פרחי׳ה (8:4) The *yod* is clearly visible at the left edge of the fragment. This form could represent the end of a word in the construct plural followed by a noun in the absolute. However, such a reading would probably be too long for the assumed width of this column, and furthermore, does not receive any textual support. Alternatively, the reading פרחי׳ה as reconstructed in line 2 has considerable textual support (see below) and fits the likely column width.

- 3 המ׳נרה (8:4) Only a right downstroke joined to a baseline remain for the last visible letter in line 3. The ink along the fragment edge at the top of the letter where the head would form a join with the downstroke has been smudged or has blotted. There may have been ink along the fragment edge that has fallen away from the surface layer. Though context suggests the letter is a *mem*, this sample differs greatly from the clear example of a *mem* at the beginning of the same line.

- 3 [vacat] (8:4–5) A reconstructed space follows the last word of v. 3 המ׳נרה to the end of the line with v. 4 beginning on the next line. The space indicates a section break, which corresponds to the open paragraph in MT, SP, and Sam T.

- 4 וידבר (8:5) All the letters here are indisputable, but the *dalet* contains an unusual feature. It appears to have been corrected from an attempt to write another letter, possibly a *bet*. The downstroke initially ended fairly high on the line in a similar place where it would join the base of a *bet*. In an effort to ensure the certainty of a *dalet*, it seems as though the scribe added to the downstroke, but the extension is not well aligned to the original pen stroke.

- 4 משה (8:5) The *mem* is formed differently than that which appears in line 3 above. It appears that the *serif*, the top of the letter, the right downstroke, and the elbow that joins to the base were made in one motion, giving the letter an unusual “rounded” appearance. The left descending oblique is written almost vertically as it begins with the *serif* and extends almost

straight downwards. It is difficult to account for the predominantly anomalous appearance of this letter, and the odd angle of the oblique, which seems to follow the contour of the fragment, raises questions about the authenticity of the fragment. Context alone ensures the intended representation of this letter as a *mem*. Only the tops of the remaining two letters survive along the bottom edge, but their identification from the preserved ink strokes is secure.

Variants

- 2 ירכיה = SP V Sam T] ירכה MT LXX (ὁ καυλὸς αὐτῆς) T (T^o שידה, T^{J,N} בסיס דידה) (8:4) Targum Onqelos consistently differs from Targum Neofiti and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan in the usage of שד to translate the Hebrew ירך in this context, where the other Targumim appear to prefer the more literal בסיס. Cf. also Exod 25:31; 37:17.
- 2 ועד = SP LXX T^{J,N} V Sam T] עד MT T^o (8:4)
- 2 פרחיה = SP LXX (τὰ κρίνα αὐτῆς) T^J (שושנייהא) T^N (שושניה) V (*calamorum*) Sam T (manuscript J)] פרהה MT T^o (שושנא) T^{N corr} (שושנה); פריחיה manuscripts D⁵ G² H I P of SP and manuscript A of Sam T (8:4) The MT reading פרהה is supported by שושנא in Targum Onqelos, and receives support from Targum Neofiti where שושנה appears as a marginal gloss to שושניה in the text.

Reconstructed Variants

There are no reconstructed variants. The textual character of this fragment appears to be related to SP (see below), and there are no differences between MT and SP in the portions of Numbers 8:3–5 not covered by the fragment.

Orthography and Morphology

There are no preserved instances where the fragment disagrees in either orthography or morphology from MT.

Reconstructed Orthography

In line 2 (8:4) the text is reconstructed as אִהָּיָה with SP. MT has אִהָּיָה meant as a feminine pronoun just as SP.

Textual Character

In all three places in the fragment where the witnesses differ, DSS F.Num2 agrees with SP and the Sam T against MT. The fragment also agrees in two of these instances with the LXX, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, and Targum Neofiti, so the reading is not peculiar to the Samaritan tradition. Because the fragment has one clear SP reading (namely יִרְכִּיֶה) and because it agrees with SP in the other two cases, it is tentatively characterized as a “pre-Samaritan” text.²

Relation to Other Judaeen Desert Fragments

Manuscripts from the Judaeen Desert that contain text from the book of Numbers are 1QpaleoLev-Num,³ 2QNum^{a-d},⁴ 4QLev-Num^a, 4QNum^b,⁵ 4QRP^{b,c,d},⁶ 5/6HevNum^a, and XHevNum^b,⁷ as well as a scroll from Murraba‘at (MurGen-Exod-Num).⁸ None of these contain any of the same text as the fragment featured here, which allows the possibility that DSS F.Num2 could belong to one of them. However, this does not seem to be the case, since features of the

² Tov, *TCHB*, 90–91.

³ D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, eds., *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 51–54, pls. VIII–IX. Cf. also Eugene C. Ulrich, “A Revised Edition of the 1QpaleoLev-Num^a and 1QpaleoLev^b? Fragments,” *RevQ* 22/3 (2006): 341–347.

⁴ P. Benoit et al., eds., *Le ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 1:57–60, pl. XII.

⁵ E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 153–176, 205–267, pls. XXIII–XXX, XXXVIII–XLIX.

⁶ H. Attridge et al., eds., in consultation with J. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 197–318, 335–344, pls. XIII–XXXII, XXXV.

⁷ J. Charlesworth et al., eds., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady, *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaeen Desert* (DJD XXXVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 137–140, 173–178, pls. XXIV, XXIX.

⁸ P. Benoit et al., eds., *Les grottes de Murabba‘at* (DJD II; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 1:75–77, pls. XIX–XXI.

script and the paleographic date assigned to the fragment set it at some scribal and chronological distance away from most of them. 1QpaleoLev-Num is ruled out because it was written in paleo-Hebrew script. 2QNum^{a,c}, 5/6HevNum^a, XHevNum^b, and MurGen-Exod-Num all belong to at least the second quarter of the first century C.E., and were thus written much later than this fragment. 4QLev-Num^a and 4QNum^b are reasonably closer in date, but 4QLev-Num^a is likely earlier and 4QNum^b probably later than DSS F.Num2. In any event, irreconcilable differences in the formation of letters in these two manuscripts disqualify them from identification with DSS F.Num2. Notice especially the differences in *lamed* and *tav* in 4QLev-Num^a, and *dalet*, *he*, and *lamed* in 4QNum^b. Finally, the image of 2QNum^d that appears on plate XII in *DJD* III is not clear enough to allow for evaluation of the script. The infrared photograph published online by the Leon Levy Digital Dead Sea Scrolls Library is of much higher quality,⁹ and while the fragment is small and badly damaged, this new image confirms that the script is too late and too elegant to sustain an identification with DSS F.Num2.

Three manuscripts from Cave 4Q, which were previously identified as “Re-worked Pentateuch” (RP), also contain text from Numbers. 4QRP^b contains text from Num 14:16–20; 33:31–49, 4QRP^c from Num 3:26–30; 4:47–49; 7:1, 78–80; 8:11–12; 9:15–10:4; 13:11–25, 28–30; 15:26–29; 17:20–24; 27:11; 36:1–2, and 4QRP^d from Num 29:14–25, 32–30:1. Perhaps significantly, both 4QRP^{b,c} have been text typologically classified as similar to SP,¹⁰ and both are also roughly contemporary with DSS F.Num2. While 4QRP^c is the better preserved of the two and contains more text from Numbers, there are key differences in the script which disqualify its identification with DSS F.Num2. In particular, the letters in 4QRP^c are generally slightly smaller, and the ductus is broader. Pronounced differences exist between the two scripts in the formation of *alef*, *kaf*, *mem*, *ayin*, and *tav*. The letters in 4QRP^c are more square and written with a stronger sense of the baseline than in DSS F.Num2. 4QRP^b may more closely correspond to the script in DSS F.Num2. The letters are of similar size, but the line spacing in 4QRP^b is generally greater. The letters exhibit some similarities in appearance and formation, especially in the case of *alef*, *he*, *lamed*, and *ayin*. However, the differences extant in letters such as *mem* and *shin*, the difference in line spacing, and the overall dissimilarity in the ductus of 4QRP^b also preclude the possibility of an identification of DSS F.Num2 with this manuscript. In summary, DSS

9 *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library*, 13th August, 2015, <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/2Q9-1>.

10 Attridge et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 193–196; cf. also Tov, *TCHB*, 91.

F.Num2 does not survive from a previously known Judaean Desert manuscript and is therefore considered a representative of an otherwise unidentified scroll.

The inclusion of DSS F.Num2 in the inventory of Judaean Desert scrolls that contained text from the book of Numbers provides additional information regarding the distribution of texts geographically, chronologically, and according to their text types. Relatively speaking, there is a high representation of the book of Numbers from Cave 2Q, which contained four copies from a total of around 26 manuscripts, accounting for 15 percent. On the other hand, from Cave 4Q, only five manuscripts containing texts from Numbers were discovered from a total volume of around 579 scrolls, and four of these contained text from other books of the Torah, 4QLev-Num^a, and 4QRP^{b, c, d}.¹¹ This accounts for well under 1 percent of accumulated manuscripts, and in turn suggests some significance to the book of Numbers for the Cave 2Q collection. The early date of the script in DSS F.Num2 suggests that it most likely did not come from the same collections of texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Murrabaʿat, all of which were written in the first century C.E.

The Judaean Desert witnesses to the text of Numbers are classified in the table below according to whether they align most closely with MT, the LXX, or SP, or reflect independent or mixed readings. The manuscripts and fragments appear in diachronic order from oldest to most recent.

| Affinity with MT | Affinity with SP | Affinity with LXX | Independent / Mixed or Undetermined |
|--|---|--|---|
| | 1QpaleoLev-Num (1Q3) | | 2QNum ^d (2Q9) |
| 2. <i>early-mid Hasmonean</i> 4QLev-Num ^a (4Q23) | | | |
| | 3. <i>mid-late Hasmonean</i> 4QRP ^b (4Q364) | | 3. <i>mid-late Hasmonean</i> 4QRP ^d (4Q367) |
| | 4. <i>early Herodian</i> 4QNum ^b (4Q27)(?) | 4. <i>early Herodian</i> 4QNum ^b (4Q27)(?) | |
| 6. <i>Herodian</i> 2QNum ^b (2Q7) | | | 6. <i>Herodian</i> 4QRP ^c (4Q365) |

¹¹ Significantly, with the inclusion of MurGen-Num, six of thirteen scrolls from the Judaean Desert that contain Numbers are comprised of multiple compositions from the Torah.

(cont.)

| Affinity with MT | Affinity with SP | Affinity with LXX | Independent / Mixed or Undetermined |
|---|------------------|-------------------|---|
| 7. <i>late Herodian</i> 2QNum ^a (2Q6) 5/6HevNum ^a XHevNum ^b | | | 7. <i>late Herodian</i> 2QNum ^c (2Q8) |
| 8. <i>post-Herodian</i> MurGen-Exod-Num ^a (Muri) | | | |

The results are difficult to summarize largely due to the paucity of surviving material from a few of the manuscripts, particularly those from Cave 2Q. There does appear to be some consistency in the circulation of MT from the early Hasmonean period until after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple. Moreover, the large concentration of proto-MT texts containing Numbers in the late/post-Herodian period also suggests an emerging hegemony of MT for this composition after the mid-first century C.E. The addition of the mid-Hasmonean fragment DSS F.Num2 provides stronger representation of the pre-Samaritan text in the Hasmonean and early Herodian period.

Photographs



FIGURE 10.1 *DSS F.Num2 (Num 8:3–5) dating from the first half to the mid-first century B.C.E.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

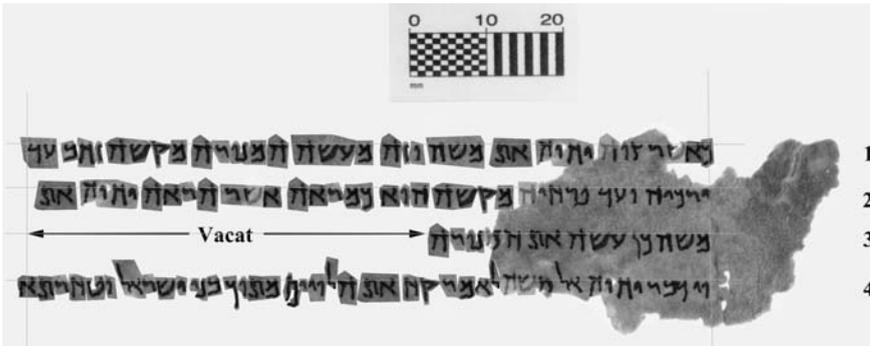


FIGURE 10.2 *DSS F.Num2 (Num 8:3–5) dating from the first half to the mid-first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters. The shapes of most letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.*

RECONSTRUCTION FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Jeremiah 23:6–9 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003172)

Karl Kutz with Rebekah Josberger, Thomas Belcastro, Haley Kirkpatrick, Rebecca McMartin, Quincy Robinson and Daniel Somboonsiri

A single fragment with text from the book of Jeremiah is now on display at the Museum of the Bible with the inventory number MOTB.SCR.003172. This fragment (Jer 23:6–9) has been assigned the designation DSS F.195 (DSS F.Jer2) by Eibert Tigchelaar.

The fragment contains a remnant of seven lines of text from Jer 23:6–9. This passage in Jeremiah follows God's judgment against the royal house of Judah for its lack of justice and righteousness (Jeremiah 22). God will replace these negligent shepherds of the people with the righteous Branch of David who will come to promote justice and righteousness and provide stability for his people once again (Jer 23:5–6). The fragment preserves the final clauses of this description of Israel's restoration and continues with the declaration that this future deliverance will rival what God did when he brought his people out of Egypt (Jer 23:7–8). The last line of the fragment contains the beginning of an oracle of Jeremiah in which he voices his grief over the sins of the religious institutions and leaders of the land (Jer 23:9 ff.).

This fragment contains the only attestation of these verses among the texts discovered in the Judaean Desert. Although all other ancient editions and versions include this text,¹ MT and the LXX exhibit significant differences in wording and arrangement. This fragment accords with the arrangement of this passage in MT, but in several places attests to the wording of the *Vorlage* of the LXX. It may be classified as an independent text and possibly points to an intermediary stage between the LXX and MT traditions.

¹ MT LXX T S V (although the LXX has a different arrangement of the verses, placing vv. 7–8 later in the chapter after v. 40).

Physical Description

The fragment measures 3.6 by 4.2 cm and preserves remnants of seven lines of text that are illegible to the naked eye on the darkened surface (see the color photograph, MOTB.SCR.003172_OBV_V).² The letters are fairly uniform in size. Most are close to 2 mm in height, although they range between 1.3 and 2.9 mm. *Yod* is consistently a small letter, yet there are one or two instances where it appears close to the average letter height (see lines 3, 6). Word spacing varies considerably between 0.6 and 1.1 mm. On average, word spaces measure 0.8 mm, and most appear between 0.7 and 0.9 mm. In at least one instance there is no apparent word space (see [יְקָרְאוּ] in line 1). The line spacing is between 5.9 and 7.4 mm, for an average of 6.8 mm, with no ruling lines or evidence of margins visible in the fragment.³ The width of the column is approximately 7 cm (3.4 cm preserved) or 38–46 letter spaces. This fragment does not reflect any of the paragraph divisions present in MT. The line length precludes any additional spacing at the end of v. 6 or v. 8 where MT contains closed section breaks.⁴

The leather is dark brown in color, almost black. There are places near the top and bottom of the fragment where the surface has worn slightly to reveal a lighter-colored underlayer. The substrate is warped and uneven, especially in the middle and bottom portions of the fragment, and the fragment contains several wormholes and breaks. The ink has bled through to the reverse side of the fragment. One or two letters in each line are clearly visible on the reverse side in the infrared photograph, but the fourth and fifth lines are particularly legible.

There are a few oddly shaped characters near damaged portions of the text (see the *shin*, *bet*, and *lamed* in the phrase [נ]שְׁבֵר לְבִי in line 6).⁵ The condition

2 Photograph by Marilyn J. Lundberg, Bruce Zuckerman, and Kenneth Zuckerman, West Semitic Research.

3 The line spacing between lines 6–7 is a full millimeter smaller than the average, and nearly 1.5 mm smaller than the spacing between lines 5–6. The line spacing at the end of line 7 measures only 5 mm, leaving a space of less than 3 mm between the bottom of the *het* in line 6 directly above it and the top of the traces that are apparent at the bottom of the fragment.

4 Note that 4QJer^a and 4QJer^c both have a handful of places where they lack a section break found in MT. Moreover, 4QJer^a has one place where it lacks any section break in a selection of verses where two section breaks appear in close proximity to one another in MT (col. XIV, Jer 22:10, 12). However, as a general rule these two scrolls include section breaks that are equal to or of greater value than those found in MT. In only a handful of instances is the opposite true.

5 Most of the Dead Sea scroll fragments were written on well-prepared manuscripts. However, 4Q364 (4QR^b), frg. 9 has several lines that are indented to avoid a large hole at the edge of the column.

of the manuscript may also be the root cause for several small-sized letters in line 1 and the smaller line spacing at the top and bottom of the fragment. While this could be taken as evidence that the text was written on an inferior or deteriorated piece of parchment, this is by no means the only conclusion. These features are discussed below in the notes relative to each reading.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

The text of this fragment is written in a 'Jewish' square, formal hand. The letters suspend from the lines and the distance between the tops of the letters in one line and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 7 mm. A small space has been left between the words to mark the transition from one word to the next. The letters are of unequal height, but as a rule their height exceeds their width. The exception to this rule is *shin*, where the height and width are almost equal (approximately 2.4 mm high and 2 mm wide). Some of the letters in all seven lines are damaged. The almost equal thickness of the horizontal and vertical strokes indicates the use of a reed pen of medium thickness with a somewhat worn-out nib. Certain letters, such as the *he*, *vav*, *het*, *kaf*, *nun*, *resh*, and *tav*, lean somewhat forward, while the others stand more or less erect. The baselines of the *kaf*, *nun*, and *tsade* slant somewhat down to the left, while those of the *bet* and of the *tav* (which appears only once in this text) are almost horizontal.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents⁶ enables an approximate dating of the script of this fragment to around the mid-first century B.C.E. Most of the letters show features typical of the second half of the first century B.C.E. Note, for example, the horizontal, independent base stroke of the *bet*, which seems to have been drawn from left to right; the *zayin* with the head bending backward; the emphasized independent short stroke attached to the left end of the roof of the *he*; the right arm of the *shin*, which begins with a vertical downstroke and bends to the left, creating a short, diagonal base; and the *tav*, the left downstroke of which has about the same length as the right downstroke and bends at its bottom horizontally to the left. On the other hand, a handful of letters exhibit forms typical of an earlier phase in the development of the script that can hardly be dated later than the middle of the first century B.C.E. Such letters include the *het* in הדיחם

6 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

with its convex bar, the short base strokes of the *kaf* and *tsade* slanting down to the left below the imaginary baseline, and the upper part of *pe* (only its upper part has survived). One ornamental addition to the almost horizontal right arm of *tsade* already appears in the first half of the first century B.C.E. Therefore, it seems that this text has been copied sometime around the mid-first century B.C.E.

Transcription

Jeremiah 23:6–9

] 1 [6 ... וזה ש[מ]ו אשר יק[ראו] יהוה צדקנו
] 2 [7לכן הנה ימים באים נא]ם יהוה [ולא יאמרו עוד]
] 3 [חי יהוה אשר העלה את ב[נ]י ישר[אל] מארץ מצרים]
] 4 [8כי אם חי יה[וה] אשר ה[צ]י[א] את כל זר[ע] ישראל מארץ
] 5 [צפונה ומכ[ל] הארצות אשר הדי[ה]ם ש[ם] וישבו(?) על]
] 6 [אדמתם⁹ לנבאים נ]שבר לבי בקבי רחפ[ו] כל עצמותי
] 7 [הייתי כגבר אשר עבר[ו] יי[ו] [בפנ[ו]י] ה[ו]ה[ו] ...]

Translation⁷

- 1 [6 ... And this is] his [nam]e by which he will be ca[l]led: “The Lord is our righteousnes[ss].”]
- 2 [7Therefore, the days are surely coming, say]s the Lord, [when it shall no longer be said,]
- 3 [“As the Lord lives who brought the peo]ple of Isra[el] up out of the land of Egypt,”]
- 4 [8but “As the Lor]d [lives] who br[ou]gh[t ou]t all the offspr[ing] of Israel out of the land of]
- 5 [the north and out of a]ll the lands where h[e] had driven them.” [Then they shall live in]
- 6 [their own land. ⁹Concerning the prophets:] My heart is [cr]ushed within me; [all my bones] shak[e.]
- 7 [I have become like one who is overcome wit]h wine, in the presence[of the]L[or]d[...]

⁷ NRSV, adapted.

Notes on Readings

The fragment does not perfectly align at the right margin unless slightly larger word spaces are posited in lines 2, 3, 5, and 7. Nevertheless, the reconstruction provided above most closely matches the word breaks in all the lines. The final line of the fragment is practically unreadable although traces can be seen of some letters.

- 1 מו[ש] (23:6) There are traces of apparently two letters on the right edge of the fragment. The context supplied by MT and the LXX suggests a *mem* followed by a *vav*. While matching these letters to the traces is not impossible, the angle of the first visible stroke does not appear to belong to a *mem*, given that it is nearly vertical. Based solely on the shape of these two strokes, one could possibly construe a *shin*. But this seems improbable in context. Further, the angle does not match the five clear instances of *shin* on the fragment which are formed by two strokes that join into a point at the base. In line 1 the right downstroke descends on a nearly vertical angle without entry onto the left downstroke from the right oblique as might be expected from the other examples. Despite the difficulties associated with the problematic angle of this trace, following the attested reading does seem like the best tentative solution.
- 1 אשך יק[ראו] (23:6) These letters align with the text in MT despite the lack of an apparent word space. It may also be significant that the *yod* and *qof* are small compared to the other letters on the line and on the fragment as a whole. The decrease in the size of the letters as one progresses from right to left in this line could possibly be explained as a product of shrinkage. The PTM images (MOTB.SCR.003172obv_2450 and MOTB.SCR.003172obvIRP_full-size) do not reveal any obvious distortion on the top edge, beyond what is visible in the surface of the fragment as a whole, which is generally quite warped.
- 2 מ[א] (23:7) The final *mem* is clearly evident from the sweeping appearance of the crossbar that begins with a long, vertical tick on the left side (see the final *mem* in line 5).
- 3 נ[ב] (23:7) This line begins with a *nun* and *yod* consistent with the word בני present in MT and the LXX. However, there is an anomalous downstroke at the right edge of the fragment that joins at the top to the *nun*. The descending oblique angle of this stroke is incongruent with the *bet* suggested by the

context. Moreover, a shin, which most closely matches this stroke, makes no sense in this context and this pen stroke does not have the characteristic curvature of the left arm in other samples of *shin* on the fragment (see lines 3–5). This odd appendage to the *nun* is perhaps an exaggerated example of the short initial stroke leading into the *nun* in the first century Herodian script.⁸ While considerably longer than a typical example of such a stroke, this seems like the best explanation for this odd appendage and it is unnecessary to take it as evidence of another letter.

- 3 יִשְׂרָאֵל (23:7) The final letter on this line varies from the other examples of *resh* on this fragment in that it is formed with two strokes, creating a slight projection in the upper right corner (see lines 1, 4–6). However, in keeping with the general tendency seen in other Herodian formal scripts from the same period, this *resh* is clearly distinguished from *dalet* (see line 5). The reconstruction corresponds to יִשְׂרָאֵל which is attested in all the textual witnesses.
- 4 הִיא (23:8) While the letter *he* appears to be the first letter on the line, a faint trace of ink belonging to a letter 0.6mm before the first full letter corresponds with *vav* in יהוה as found in MT-Jer 23:8.
- 4 אִיִּצְיָא (23:8) The letters in this word are partially obscured. However, the extant traces allow for a fairly confident reconstruction that is consistent with the message of the passage, even though the reading differs from MT and probably the LXX.

The beginning of this word is comprised of two downstrokes that reflect a single, two-legged letter, either *he* or *het*. The potential identification of these strokes as two separate characters, a *vav* followed by *yod*, is ruled out by the presence of the preceding relative pronoun. The conjunction would not follow אִשֶׁר. Given the fact that a Hiphil verb best fits the context (thus also MT), it is possible to posit a *he* with a fair degree of confidence.

A space of 1.4mm separates the left leg of the *he* and the next visible stroke. The top part of the letter is missing, leaving a thickly shaded baseline below the edge of the fragment. This baseline is most likely the remnant of a *tsade*, a letter that both fits the space after the *he* and provides a verb form that makes sense in the context. Other letters with baselines are ruled out for a variety of reasons. A *bet* is unlikely, given the consistently wider baseline on other samples of *bet* and given the lack of an extension to the right of

8 See chart for the Herodian scripts in Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part 11, 174–177.

the downstroke (see the four examples in line 6). A *nun* or *kaf* would also be unlikely given their inability to account for the gap following the *he* (in which there is no visible evidence of another character) and the fact that neither produces a viable verb. Further, the *nun* in line 3 has a noticeably wider baseline. The other *tsade* in this fragment displays a gradually declining baseline (see lines 5) that stands in contrast to the horizontal, or even slightly upwards slope, in this trace. Nevertheless, *tsade* seems like the best reconstruction for this stroke.

A gap measuring 1.3 mm exists between the *tsade* and the *alef*. Due to the shape of the lacuna, any trace of a potential letter would have been lost. However, the gap is sufficient to accommodate a small letter like yod (see line 2), yielding the verb הַצִּיא. While this reading is otherwise unattested, it lends itself well to the context of Jer 23:8 and seems like the most viable option despite the short orthography. Verbs like יִצֵּא appear most often with full orthography (e.g., הוֹצִיא). However, short orthography is attested throughout MT, including passages in Jeremiah.⁹

- 5 [ומכ]ל (23:8) The first letter on this line can be identified with confidence as *lamed* from the appearance of the ascender.
- 5 הארצות (23:8) The first letter is damaged, but can be confidently identified as *he*. Strangely, this example shows a stronger cursive influence than the others on the fragment and is similar to the letter *he* as it generally appears in Herodian cursive scripts.
- 5 הדריה{ה}ם (23:8) The first letter is clearly a *he* that has been damaged, but even still lacks the thickly shaded downward extension at the end of the crossbar that is characteristic of the letter *he* on the fragment (see lines 2, 4). The fourth letter appears to have been corrected from *he* to *het*. If this

9 A survey of just the Hiphil perfect reveals forms without initial *vav* with the verbs יָבֵשׁ (Jer 51:36; Joel 1:12; Zech 10:11); יָגַה (2 Sam 20:13); יָכַח (Gen 24:14, 44; 2 Sam 7:14); יָלַד (1 Chr 2:46; 4:2); יָסַף (2 Kgs 20:6; 24:7); יָצֵא (Judg 6:18; Jer 51:44; Job 10:18; 15:13); יָרָה (Job 30:19; Prov 4:11); יָרַשׁ (2 Chr 28:3); יָשַׁב (1 Kgs 21:12; Jer 32:37; Ezra 10:14, 17; Neh 13:23). The defective form of the Hiphil of יָצֵא in the Qumran scrolls appears only in the Phylacteries, cf. 4QPhyl C (4Q130) I, 7, 11, 15 (Exod 13:9, 14, 16); 4QPhyl R (4Q145) I, 16 (Exod 13:9); XHev/Se Phyl (XHev/Se 5) I, 4 (Exod 13:9); Roland de Vaux and J.T. Milik, eds., *Qumrân Grotte 4.II: I. Archéologie, II. Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157)* (DJD VI; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 53–55, 77–78; James Charlesworth et al., eds., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady, *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (DJD XXXVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 183–191.

is the case, then the correction was performed by secondarily shading the left downstroke in an effort to fill in the extension on the left of the crossbar. Additionally, a horn appears to have been added to the top left corner in an effort to more clearly distinguish this letter as a *het*.

- 5 [ש]ם (23:8) All but the upper left portion of the *shin* is clearly visible at the edge of the fragment. A small crack intersects the letter, expanding from the left side of the fragment to a hole in the preceding word space.
- 6 [נ]שׁבר (23:9) The first visible letter on the line is compatible with the *shin* that appears in the biblical text. The join to the center arm is notably high (even in comparison to the *shins* in lines 1, 3), and the straight trajectory of the downstroke is less curved than other *shins* on this fragment (see lines 1, 3, 5, but contrast with the straighter arm in line 4).

The *bet* is clear. However, this letter is noteworthy in the way the crossbar traverses the wormhole. As evident in the PTM image, this stroke seems to have been made in two motions, leaving the impression that it was either initially written this way in an effort to avoid an existing hole or later corrected to compensate for the deterioration of the crossbar due to the appearance of the hole.

- 6 לבי (23:9) While the first letter is clearly identified as a *lamed*, its shape deserves comment. It appears that the scribe slid his pen upwards as he transitioned into the hook so that the lower portion of the supralinear downstroke virtually closes the loop.¹⁰
- 6 בקבי (23:9) Relative to the *yod* at the end of the preceding word (see also lines, 1, 2, 5), the final character in this word looks more like a *vav*. The downstroke extends to meet the hypothetical baseline in a manner similar to the two elongated examples of *yod* in line 3 ([ב]ני ישׁר[אל]). The context in this case requires that one read this as poorly formed or erroneously copied *yod* (first person singular).
- 6 [ו]רחפ (23:9) The *pe* is plainly evident, though the left side of the bottom stroke has been lost at the edge of the fragment. The *het* that precedes it is

10 In the color photographs the supralinear downstroke appears as though it was written on the damaged surface, where the fragment is lighter in color (cf. MOTB.SCR.003172_OBV_V and MOTB.SCR.003172obv_2450) (Kipp Davis, personal communication). However, other letters on the fragment likewise include portions where the ink is less eroded.

Following the clear *yod* is a curved downstroke (or possible descender) that is consistent with a final *nun*. A thickly shaded trace to the left of the downstroke looks like it could be part of the crossbar of a wider letter (e.g., *he*, *het*, *tav*, or final *kaf*). A tear that extends up to the previous line interrupts the trace. It is difficult to tell how much this tear has impacted the gap in line 7. As it stands, the space at most allows for a letter 1.4 mm in width.¹² This distance is insufficient to accommodate the 2 mm of a typical *he*, *het*, or *tav* (see the samples in lines 2, 4–6) and weighs against the 1.3 mm required for a final *kaf* (see sample in line 4) unless there is no word space. Alternatively, the trace can be attributed to smudging¹³ and the curved stroke identified as final *nun*. Associating the initial strokes of this line with MT עברו יין provides the best resolution for traces that are otherwise too incomplete to be legible.

The rest of the line after the tear is fragmentary and sporadic, containing only portions from the tops of a few letters. The fragment preserves traces of what appear to be a crossbar, an irregularly shaped chevron, and a horn curving to the right. The crossbar is straighter than what is seen elsewhere in this fragment with only a slight tick on the left and a rounded elbow on the right. The chevron-like shape evidences a curvature at the bottom of the trace inconsistent with letters seen elsewhere. The horn offers very little to go on, but is consistent with a final *nun*, or perhaps even a medial nun given the *nun* in line 3 which has a noticeable, yet not so prominent, horn. Because identification of these letters is limited to such fragmentary traces, definitive identification is impossible without some recourse to the extant reading tradition (יהוה MT LXX T S).

The crossbar poses the greatest difficulty for reading מפני because it seems too long to be a *mem*. A possible alternative that would fit the shape and context is to posit that the crossbar reflects a *bet*, resulting in בפני (“in the presence of”). The remaining traces could potentially reflect the letter *pe* and *nun* of the attested reading with the *yod* lost at the edge of the fragment. There is enough space before the trace of the next word to accommodate the expected *yod*.

12 This figure is based on the 2 mm distance between the right side of this downstroke and the right side of the crossbar that follows minus the minimal 0.6 mm word spacing in this fragment (though this spacing ranges between 0.6–1.1 mm).

13 Kipp Davis contends that when viewed in certain light-angles, the thickly shaded crossbar appears to be more sharply distinguished from the downstroke than might be expected from an actual pen stroke (Kipp Davis, personal communication). However, the traces of ink here exhibit the same contrast seen in other letters on the fragment.

A gap of 2.4 mm is followed by the trace of a letter that comes to a sharp point. The sharp angle is apparently due to the loss of the right-hand portion of the letter. The trace follows the left-hand rim of a depression in the leather where the upper layer has been lost. Another gap of 2.5 mm is followed by what looks like portions of a crossbar and right downstroke. These two final traces might reflect the expected Tetragrammaton appearing in Jer 23:9. Comparison with the Tetragrammaton in line 2 reveals a difficulty. Either the suggested occurrence in line 7 is significantly narrower, or the final trace in this line is an uncharacteristically wide *vav* rather than a *he*. Alternatively, the Tetragrammaton can be positioned with virtually no space between the words **יהוה יהוה** as depicted in the reconstructed photograph.

All of line 7 is problematic and suggestions are tentative at best. This is not surprising given the paucity of the evidence and the potential distortion at the edge of the fragment. Reliance upon the other manuscript evidence allows for at least some measure of reconstruction.

Variants

- 4 MT יהוה יהוה אשר העלה ואשר הביא¹⁴ LXX κύριος δὲς στυήγγαγεν; א[יה] אשר הֲצִי א[י] s v (23:8) The reconstruction א[יה] הֲצִי best accounts for the ink traces on the

14 LXX δὲς στυήγγαγεν could correspond to MT אשר העלה or אשר הביא, but אשר הביא seems more likely. Elsewhere in the LXX the correspondence between *στυάγω* and the Hiphil of **בוא** is attested in Prov 31:14 (in 2 Kgs 19:25 read ἡγγαγον with the majority of witnesses instead of στυήγγαγον LXX^b), but a correspondence between *στυάγω* and the Hiphil of **עלה** occurs nowhere. The use of *στυάγαγε* (LXX^a) in Exod 8:5 [= MT 8:1 **והעל**] is an inner Greek corruption of the original reading *ἀνάγαγε* in LXX^b (Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990], 108). One should also note that *στυάγω* does fit a tendency in LXX-Jer to employ derivatives of *ἄγω* for the Hiphil of **בוא**—*ἄγω* (20:5; 24:1; 25:9; 38:8 [31:8]; 42:2 [35:2]; 30:2 [49:8]; 52:11), *εἰσάγω* (2:7; 3:14; 33:23 [26:23]; 24:11, 12 [27:11, 12]; 42:4 [35:4]; 44:14 [37:14]), and *ἐπάγω* (4:6; 5:15; 6:19; 11:11, 23; 15:8; 17:18; 18:22; 19:3, 15; 23:12; 25:13; 25:16–17 [49:36–37]; 28:64 [51:64]; 31:44 [48:44]; 39:42 [32:42]; 43:31 [36:31]; 49:17 [42:17]; 51:2 [44:2]; 51:35 [45:5]), with the remaining verses using *διέρχομαι* (13:1), *ἐπέρχομαι* (17:21), *εἰσφέρει* (17:24; 40:11 [33:11]; 48:5 [41:5]), and *φέρει* (17:26; 42:17 [35:17]; 46:16 [39:16]; 30:21, 27 [49:5, 32]). On the other hand, there is a tendency to translate the Hiphil of **עלה** with verbs that are compounded with *ἀνα*—*ἀναβιβάζω* (28:27 [51:27]), *ἀναβαίνω* (31:35 [48:35]), and *ἀνάγω* (2:6; 10:13; 16:14, 15; 23:7; 28:16 [51:16]; 37:17 [30:17]; 40:6 [33:6]; 45:10, 13 [38:10, 13]), with only two instances of *ἄγω* (52:9) and *προσφέρει* (14:12). The verb *ἐγείρω* in LXX-Jer 27:9 (MT 50:9 **מעיר ומעלה**) renders **עור**, not **עלה** (cf. Jer 6:2; 28:11 [51:11]). The LXX does have one place where *στυάγω* corresponds to the Hiphil of **צא** (2 Sam 10:16). However,

fragment despite the fact that it suggests an otherwise unattested reading for this passage. The column width of this fragment is insufficient to accommodate the two relative clauses found in MT. As a result, the *he* preceding א[י] אשר הַצֵּי should be identified with the final letter of the Tetragrammaton rather than the final letter of the relative clause אשר העלה found in MT. The absence of a conjunction before א[י] אשר הַצֵּי in this fragment likewise implies that there was only one relative clause in DSS F.Jer2.

- 4 [ע] זרע = כל זר [ע] = LXX (ἄπαν τὸ σπέρμα)] זרע MT; > S (23:8)
- 5 הַחִתִּים (he [scribal error] corrected to *het*) = LXX (ἐξῴσεν αὐτοὺς)] הַחִתִּים MT (23:8) The third person verb of F.Jer2 is more appropriate as an expression voiced by the people and is the reading present in the virtually identical passage in Jer 16:15 (MT הַחִתִּים, LXX in the passive: ἐξῴσθησαν). The first-person verb of MT could have crept in under the influence of Jer 23:3 (אשר שם) where it is contextually appropriate or could be due to familiarity with other passages where this expression appears with the first-person perfect.¹⁵
- 6 בקבִי (scribal error)] בקרבי MT LXX T S (23:9)

Reconstructed Variants

- 4 [ע] זרע ישראל = LXX (τὸ σπέρμα ἰσραηλ)] זרע בית ישראל MT (23:8) Considerations of line length suggest that F.Jer2 followed the reading found in the LXX. Moreover, the similarity between this fragment and the *Vorlage* of the LXX

it seems unlikely that the LXX reading in Jer 23:8 reflects the same variant proposed for this fragment. The verb יצא is translated in LXX-Jer by means of ἐξέρχονται (36 times), ἐξάγω (11 times), ἀπορεύομαι (5:6; 6:25; 17:19; 23:19; 45:2 [38:2]), ἐκφέρω (8:1; 17:22; 27:25 [50:25]; 28:10, 44 [51:10, 44]), ἀνάγω (7:22; 11:4), ἀνάπτω (21:12; 31:9 [48:9]), ἐξαίρει (41:13 [34:13]), ἔρχομαι (32:32 [25:32]), and δῖερχομαι (44:4 [37:4]). LXX-Jer either has no correspondent for the other occurrences of יצא (28:45 [51:45]; 31:45 [48:45]; 36:16 [29:16]; 46:4 [39:4]) or reflects a variant reading (καὶ τὰ πρόβατά μου = יצאני in place of MT יצאני in Jer 10:20).

- 15 This phrase appears eleven times in Jeremiah, mostly voiced by God. Six of these use the first-person perfect (אשר הדחתים שם 8:3; 29:18; 32:37; אשר הדחתי אתם שם 23:3; הדחתי אתכם שם 29:14; אשר הדחתך שמה 46:28), one uses the first-person imperfect (אשר הדחתים שם 24:9), and four are voiced by a third party (אשר הדחתי 16:15, 23:8*; אשר נדחו שם 40:12; 43:5).

orthography of these roots is fairly common (cf. Jer 32:37 וְהִשְׁבַּתִּים, Jer 51:36 וְהִבְשַׁתִּי, Jer 51:44 וְהִצַּאתִי). As a result, even this feature is consistent with MT orthography. Although the limited number of representative words makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions, the evidence from these two words and the other texts from the Judaean Desert would indicate a relatively high probability that DSS F.Jer2 followed a pattern of short orthography.¹⁹

Textual Character

The book of Jeremiah is preserved in two different literary traditions, one presented by MT (and two Qumran scrolls, 4QJer^{a, c}) and the other by the LXX (and 4QJer^{b, d}). These two traditions of the book—called “editions” by some²⁰—are distinguished by both length and arrangement. The LXX is approximately one-sixth shorter than MT because of developments in the transmission process that are generally characterized as LXX-minuses or MT-plususes throughout the book. These differences range from individual words and phrases to larger segments of material. Typically, the shorter readings are characteristic of the LXX tradition, although this is not always the case. The LXX and MT occasionally differ both in terms of verse order and in the arrangement of larger sections of material. For example, individual verses are transposed in passages like MT-Jer 10:5–12 (LXX = vv. 9, 5, 11, 12) and MT-Jer 23:1–40 (LXX = vv. 1–6, 9–40, 7, 8). Likewise, an entire section of prophecies against the nations surrounding

19 The orthography systems of 4QJer^a, 4QJer^b, 4QJer^c, and 4QJer^d are close to MT in contrast with 2QJer that contains *plene* spellings. For a brief but thorough discussion of orthography in the Dead Sea Scrolls cf. Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls: More than (Initially) Meets the Eye,” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. Maxine L. Grossman; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 48–68, 52–58. Abegg has observed a significantly lower propensity for *plene* forms in the “biblical” scrolls as compared to the “nonbiblical” Qumran manuscripts. Even from among the biblical scrolls themselves, he records only 7 out of 25 manuscripts that exhibit a mixed orthography containing defective forms of כָּל (pp. 54–55).

20 The term “literary edition” has been used most recently by Eugene Ulrich to describe the situation of textual plurality in the manuscript tradition for many biblical texts, including Jeremiah. Cf. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origin of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999); idem, *The Developmental Composition of the Bible* (VTSup 169, Leiden: Brill, 2015). Cf. also the discussion in Tov, *TCHB*, 161–169.

the kingdom of Judah appears in a different place in each edition. In MT these prophecies appear at the end of Jeremiah (chs. 46–51) but are placed earlier in the book in the LXX (after 25:13 of MT). Each tradition also presents a distinct arrangement of the individual prophecies within this unit.²¹

DSS F.Jer2 is a fascinating fragment because it preserves a text somewhere between these two traditions. The wording in this fragment corresponds to the text of the LXX against MT in three instances and once contains an independent reading closer to the LXX than MT. Yet lines 1 and 2 show that the sequence of verses represented by DSS F.Jer2 corresponds to MT, while the LXX places vv. 7 and 8 after v. 40 of MT. The difficulties associated with line 7 further complicate the process. While it has been tentatively reconstructed with an independent reading based along the lines of MT, it is possible that the last line of this fragment does not correspond to either MT or the LXX.

The intriguing blend of features in DSS F.Jer2 makes it an important witness to the development of the text of Jeremiah and underscores the complex nature of the formation of the book. One cannot assume that the differences in arrangement and length are part of the same stage of development. DSS F.Jer2 possibly attests to an intermediary stage between the LXX and MT for this part of Jeremiah, or perhaps is evidence for another edition altogether. In either case, it helps to confirm that the process of development in Jeremiah is complicated.

Relation to Other Judaeen Desert Fragments

DSS F.Jer2 is from a different text than the other fragments of Jeremiah found in the Judaeen Desert (2QJer, 4QJer^a, 4QJer^b, 4QJer^c, 4QJer^d and 4QJer^e).²² The color and condition of the leather could suggest a match with 4QJer^c.

21 MT: Egypt, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Elam, Babylon. LXX: Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistia, Edom, Ammon, Kedar, Damascus, Moab. For a fuller description and bibliography related to these two traditions see Tov, *TCHB*, 286–294.

22 One other Jeremiah fragment from the Judaeen Desert is part of The Schøyen Collection. DSS F.116 (DSS F.Jer1) preserves parts of the beginning of six lines of text from Jer 3:15–19, and has been characterized by its editors as an “independent text.” Cf. Torleif Elgvin and Kipp Davis, “MS 4612/9. 11Q(?) Jer (Jer. 3:15–19),” in Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*, 213–220. James H. Charlesworth published a small fragment that he identified as Jer 48:29–31. Cf. James H. Charlesworth, “Jeremiah 48:29–31a [Provisional Research Report],” n. p. [cited January 14, 2015]. Online: <https://foundationjudaismchristianorigins.org/ftp/dead-sea-scrolls/unpub/DSS-jeremiah.pdf>.

However, there are distinct differences in the script and line spacing that eliminate this possibility. While DSS F.Jer2 presents predominantly LXX readings within the arrangement of verses found in MT (not the LXX), most of the other Jeremiah fragments contain passages of a proto-Masoretic text form (2QJer, 4QJer^a, 4QJer^c, and perhaps also 4QJer^e).²³ The Schøyen Jeremiah fragment (DSS F.116) preserves a mix of MT and LXX readings together with some otherwise unattested variants. The two remaining fragments appear to have a greater textual affinity with the LXX. 4QJer^b is close to the *Vorlage* of the LXX in both wording and arrangement. 4QJer^d also follows the LXX primarily in its treatment of proper names, but does contain several MT readings not found in the LXX.²⁴

However, the provenance of this fragment is unknown and it contains some dubious features that raise doubts about its authenticity. There is possibly also evidence for a substantially different Jeremiah tradition altogether in the Qumran scrolls in the so-called “Apocryphon of Jeremiah” from Cave 4 (4QApocrJer A = 4Q383; 4QApocrJer B = 4Q384; 4QApocrJer C = 4Q385^a, 4Q387, 4Q388^a, 4Q389); cf. Devorah Dimant, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XXI Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

- 23 See Maurice Baillet et al., eds., *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 62–63, and Emanuel Tov, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.X The Prophets* (DJD XV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 151, 184, 203, 207. 2QJer accords most closely with MT in its readings and arrangement, though there are several variants that align with the LXX. 4QJer^a shows a general pattern of agreement with MT in wording and content (e.g., 8:11–12 are lacking in LXX and 10:9–11 follows MT arrangement), but includes occasional LXX readings within that arrangement. 4QJer^c contains several passages that are similarly lacking in the LXX (i.e., 27:1; 30:22; 33:16–20) though it occasionally sides with LXX against the MT. 4QJer^e is too small to be definitive, but the short fragment we possess has several MT readings that are lacking in the LXX.
- 24 In four instances the text of 4QJer^d follows the LXX in presenting the names of individuals without the secondary clarification found in MT. For example, 4QJer^d (line 5) reads נְבוֹזָרְדָן (= LXX) in place of MT רַב טַבַּחִים רַב and אַחִיקָם (= LXX) in place of MT בֶּן אַחִיקָם (Jer 43:6). However, 4QJer^d does contain several phrases or clauses from MT that are lacking in the LXX. See Tov, *Qumran Cave 4.X*, 204–205.

Photographs

A photograph of the fragment is presented below along with a projected reconstruction. Since there are only three words in MT separating זר[ע] (line 4) and ל[ומכ] (line 5), the latter must be one of the first four words in the line. This limits the number of options for the position of the fragment in the scroll. The reconstruction presented here is based on the alignment that best matches the word breaks in each line. Nevertheless, even this arrangement of the text assumes some latitude in word spacing in order to achieve a plumb right margin.



FIGURE 11.1 *DSS FJer2 (Jer 23:6–9) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN

J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND
KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC
RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE
BIBLE.

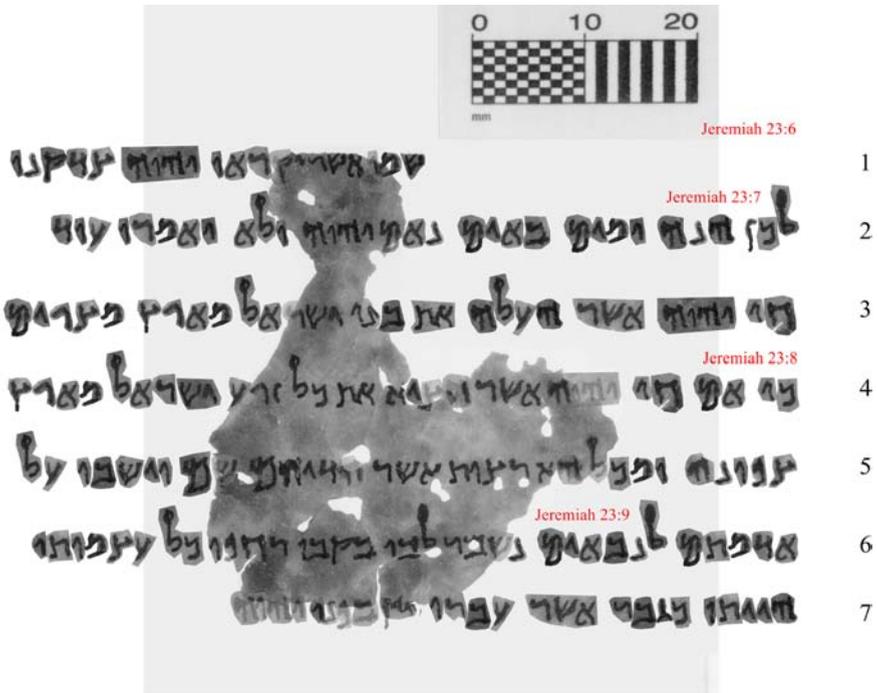


FIGURE 11.2 DSS FJer2 (Jer 23:6–9) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters. The shapes of most letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.

RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Ezekiel 28:22 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003174)

Ishwaran Mudliar

This very small fragment contains eleven words or parts thereof from Ezekiel 28:22. About half of the verse is extant and while the provenance of the fragment is unknown, it has been asserted to have come from Qumran Cave 4. Purchased by Mr. Steve Green, the fragment now belongs to the Museum of the Bible, catalogued with the inventory number MOTB.SCR.003174. Eibert Tigchelaar has assigned to the fragment (Ezek 28:22) the designation DSS F.196 (DSS F.Ezeki).

The first word of line 1 and most of line 2 help identify the passage as Ezekiel 28:22, which is part of a judgment oracle against Sidon (Ezek 28:20–24).¹ Ezekiel is preaching primarily against Tyre in chapters 26–28, and specifically the king of Tyre in chapter 28. However, this fragment includes parts of one verse out of five in an oracle devoted to the destruction of the neighboring northern city of Sidon, because of Sidon's afflictions against Israel.

Though the text of this fragment appears in all ancient versions, this fragment provides the only copy of this passage (and chapter) found at Qumran or any other Judaean Desert site. The preserved text neither agrees completely with MT nor with the LXX.

Physical Description

The fragment is rectangular in shape and almost broken in the middle. Its dimensions are 4.8 by 1.8 cm in the right section and 4.8 by 1.5 cm in the left section. The leather contains four holes, the largest of which measures 3 mm long and 2 mm wide, and nearly separates the two sections. The other holes are 2 mm long and wide and 1 mm long and wide.

¹ In MT this section (Ezek 28:20–24) has been structured as containing a single paragraph. Allen accepts the paragraph division of MT; Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48* (WBC 29; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1990), 97. Zimmerli ends the paragraph at verse 23; Walther Zimmerli, *A Commentary on Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25–48* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1983), 96. Cooke ends the paragraph at verse 26; G.A. Cooke, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1936), 321–322.

The fragment contains remnants of two lines of text with the right margin visible in both lines. The estimated length of the lines is 55–56 letter spaces, measuring about 7.6 cm. Part of the right intercolumnar is preserved, and measures 5.5 mm to the right edge of the fragment. Line 1 preserves about 25 letter spaces and line 2 about 26, which is approximately 2.8 cm of extant letters. It is virtually impossible to estimate anything about the scroll that contained this fragment beyond the width of this column. The ratios between column height and width ranges vary widely. Column widths can differ as much as 50 percent within scrolls.² Additionally, there is no certain way to know even how much of Ezekiel was included with this single verse. This fragment could also contain a quotation of Ezekiel in a non-biblical text.

Letters are square and with a clear sense of the baseline. They measure between 1.5–2.2 mm in height and 1.9 mm on average; 60 percent of visible letters fall between 1.7–2.0 mm. The distance between lines from the top of words is 7 mm, yet 8 mm between line 1 and the words וּנְקַדְשֵׁתִי and שְׁפֹטִים of line 2. Word spacing is inconsistent, and in a few instances appears very large. Between words, line 1 has intervals of about 1 mm in the right section, but there is an increase to nearly 2 mm between words in the left section. Line 2 has a space of almost 1 mm after יְהוּה and after הַ[בְּ], and hardly any space between וּנְקַדְשֵׁתִי and שְׁפֹטִים.

The obverse is mostly dark brown with light brown patches, and the letters are hardly readable in natural light. However, the infrared photograph provides very readable letters.³ About 50 percent of the reverse comprises light brown patches. No spots of ink or corrections are visible, nor does the leather show any ruling of lines or paragraph divisions.

While the ink is predominantly difficult to see in natural light, it does present a peculiarity under certain angles of light in the PTM images, where it appears with a white, “chalky” substance and texture. This feature may be the product of the unusually high degree of iridescence in the ink caused by use or abuse (in antiquity or modern history), storage, and/or deposition. The surface of the fragment also looks carbonized as if the fragment was burned, which may have chemically altered the ink.⁴

² Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82–83.

³ Photograph by Marilyn J. Lundberg, Bruce Zuckerman, and Kenneth Zuckerman of West Semitic Research.

⁴ Correspondence between Heather N. Reichstadt, Curator of Antiquities for the Museum of the Bible, and Kipp Davis, December 30, 2014.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This small fragment contains the beginnings of two lines written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand. The letters suspend on the lines and the distance between the (restored) tops of the letters in line 1 and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 7.8 mm. A space of about one letter width has been left between the words. The letters *gimel*, *zayin*, *het*, *samek*, and *tsade* (medial and final), as well as the final forms of *kaf*, *mem*, *nun*, and *pe* are not represented in this fragment. The height of *he* is about 2.2 mm and the width of its “roof” is about the same. The letters were written with a reed pen of medium thickness with a somewhat worn out nib, as indicated by the almost equal thickness of the horizontal and vertical strokes. Most downstrokes lean slightly forward. The handwriting looks clear and professional with indications of ornamental additions at the top of certain letters, which are typical of the early Herodian period.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other ancient scrolls and documents⁵ enabled an approximate dating of the script of this fragment to the second half of the first century B.C.E. The emphasized short stroke at the bottom of the left downstroke of *alef*; the additional short stroke above the left end of the “roof” of *he*, as well as the broad *tet* with what seems to be a horizontal base (only the left part of it survived) are typical of the Early Herodian period, i.e. the late-first century B.C.E. Certain letters look earlier, such as medial *mem* with its horizontal “roof” and a right downstroke beginning above its “roof” and *tav* with a wavy left downstroke and a high right shoulder, both letter styles already evidenced in the early first century B.C.E. The narrow *kaf* with its concave “roof” and horizontal base still differs significantly from the much shorter *bet* with a long horizontal basestroke. The horizontal “roof” of *he* and its two parallel downstrokes appear at about the mid-first century B.C.E. Overall, because of the later forms of certain letters, a date in the second half of the first century B.C.E. seems to fit this handwriting.

5 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

Transcription⁶

Ezekiel 28:22

1 ואמרת כה אמר הנני עליכה צ' [ידון ונכבדתי בתוככה וידעת כי אני]
 2 יהוה בעשותי [בכ]ה שפטים ונקדש [תי בכה ...]

Translation⁷

- 1 ²²and you shall say, “Thus He says, ‘Behold, I am against you, O S[idon, and I will be honored in the midst of you. Then you will know that I am]
 2 the Lord when I perform judgments [against yo]u, and [I] will be sanctified [in you.]”

Notes on Readings

- 1 אמר (28:22) There is no room for יהוה or אדני to be written in line 1 after the declaration formula. Because הנני starts a new clause, it is also impossible for יהוה or אדני to appear later in the line. See the *Variants* section for the testimony of the ancient witnesses.
- 1 הנני (28:22) Though the letters are clearly legible for this word, the crossbar of *he* has been broken by damage to the fragment. The break makes the right downstroke of *he* stand alone. A small trace of what is possibly ink joins the base of the first *nun* to the second, but this is probably not a ligature and was rather caused by blotting of the pen or a misstroke.
- 1 [ידון] צ' (28:22) The horizontal base and part of the vertical of *tsade* are visible, while the head is missing.
- 2 בעשותי (28:22) The heads of *vav*, *yod*, and part of the crossbar belonging to *tav* are visible enough in בעשותי to recognize the word. These last three

6 Since both lines show the right margin, it is possible to reconstruct the rest of line 1 according to MT. However, the longer ending of the second masculine singular suffix was used for reconstructions of orthography in both lines, contrary to MT, because of the likelihood of the reading proposed below in the *Notes on Readings* section for the third word of line 2.

7 Translation by the author.

letters of the word are written slightly higher than the first three letters. The inconsistent distances between the bottoms of words in line 1 and tops of words of line 2 might suggest an absence of ruling for this text, but it was more likely caused by damage to the fragment.

- 2 ה[בכ] (28:22) In the lacuna in the middle of the line, the reconstructed *bet* and *kaf* are easily possible with an interval of 1mm preceding the first letter. Line 2 contains less space between words than line 1, for which see the *Physical Description*. The form ה[בכ] was chosen for the lacuna because the text in line 1 clearly displays the second masculine singular suffix with medial *kaf* and the *he* for *mater lectionis*.

Variants

- 1 אִמְרַ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה [אמר] MT S (אִמְרַ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה); λέγει κύριος LXX; *dicit Dominus Deus* v; אִמְרַ יְיָ אֱלֹהִים T (28:22) DSS F.Ezek1 has the shortest reading, lacking a subject for the verb. The LXX has the shorter subject compared to MT, the Peshitta, Vulgate, and Targum. Enough of the line is preserved here to suggest that DSS F.Ezek1 did not include the divine name.⁸ See the *Notes on Readings* and the photograph.
- 1 אִמְרַ אֲדֹנָי [עֲלֶיךָ] T (עֲלֶיךָ) עֲלֶיךָ MT S (חֲלַמְ) (28:22) The fragment uses medial *kaf* and *he* as *mater lectionis* for the second masculine singular pronominal suffix of the preposition. The Targum agrees with the second masculine singular. However, MT points it as feminine singular here and for בְּתוֹכְךָ in the same line. The LXX (σέ) and Vulgate (*te*) have second person singular pronouns but with common gender. The Vulgate and Targum follow MT with the third person throughout the rest of the verse. The LXX presents the second person

8 J. Lust argues for the originality of the double name אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה in MT and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Old Greek (LXX); Johan Lust, “אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה in Ezekiel and Its Counterpart in the Old Greek,” *ETL* 72 (1996): 138–145. For the same view, see L.J. McGregor, *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of Its Homogeneity* (SBLSCS 18; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 75–93; Zimmerli, *A Commentary*, 96; and P.W. Skehan, “The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll and in the Septuagint,” *BIOCS* 13 (1980): 14–44. For the opposite view to delete אֲדֹנָי, see the textual apparatus of *BHS*. A discussion of the literary differences between MT and the LXX can be found in Tov, *TCHB*, 299–301 and Tov, “Recensional Differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Ezekiel,” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 397–410.

singular throughout the verse, even for the later verb $\alpha\lambda\iota\gamma\omega\sigma\eta$ where MT has the third person plural וידעו . MT and the Peshitta are identical in the use of pronouns throughout the verse.

Reconstructed Variants

- 1 [בתוככה וידעת] LXX ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \sigma\acute{o}\lambda\ \alpha\lambda\iota\gamma\omega\sigma\eta$) [בְּתוֹכְךָ וַיִּדְעוּ] MT S (**כַּחַ סְנַחֲסֵ**) V (*in medio tui et scient*) T (בְּגוֹיֶיךָ וַיִּדְעוּן) (28:22) The orthographically long form of the second masculine singular ending כה- was reconstructed based on the spacing in line 2 for ה[בכ]. For an explanation, see the note below on ה[בכ]. The Vulgate *tui* is either masculine or neuter second person singular and agrees with MT in that it is second person singular. The second masculine singular form of the verb [וידעת] was also reconstructed on the likelihood that the reading in line 2 is ה[בכ]. Yet, the second person plural וידעתם is also possible as in Ezek 37:14. If the second singular is the correct reconstruction for both suffix and verb, then this would reflect the LXX translation. The Peshitta, Vulgate, and Targum accord with MT's second person singular suffix and third person plural verb.
- 2 ה[בכ] LXX ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \sigma\acute{o}\lambda$)] בה MT S (**כַּחַ**) V (*in ea*) T (28:22) The form ה[בכ] was chosen for the lacuna because in line 1 the text clearly displays the suffix with medial *kaf* and *he* for the *mater lectionis*. The reading in MT corresponds to the Peshitta, Vulgate, and Targum. The reconstructed reading reflects the translation in the LXX, which consistently uses the second singular with reference to Sidon throughout the verse.
- 2 [בכה] $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \sigma\acute{o}\lambda$ LXX] בה MT S (**כַּחַ**) V (*in ea*) T (28:22) The second person singular reconstruction agrees with the translation in LXX, and was chosen in line with the observations made above for ה[בכ]. The third person feminine singular suffix appearing in MT is again reflected in the Peshitta, Vulgate, and Targum.

Orthography and Morphology

- 1 עליכה [עליך] MT (28:22)

Reconstructed Orthography and Morphology

1 [בתוככה] בתוכך MT (28:22)

2 ה[בכ] בה MT (28:22)

2 [בכה] בה MT (28:22)

The appearance of עליכה in line 1, and the evidence for the long orthographic reading ה[בכ] in line 2 suggest a fuller orthography than MT. This feature indicates that the text possibly reflects the Qumran scribal practice identified by Emanuel Tov.⁹

Textual Character

The brevity of this fragment prevents a complete analysis of its textual character. Nonetheless, if the reading of line 2 with ה[בכ] is correct and the subsequent reconstructions are justified, then this text agrees with the uniform usage of the second person in the LXX of Ezek 28:22. However, unlike the LXX, this fragment lacks a subject for the verb אָמַר in line 1, whereas the LXX has κύριος.

Relation to Other Judaean Desert Fragments

Six copies of text from Ezekiel were discovered in the Qumran caves (1QEzek [1Q9], 3QEzek [3Q1], 4QEzek^{a, b, c}, [4Q73–4Q75], and 11QEzek [11Q4]),¹⁰ and another copy at Masada (MasEzek).¹¹ The following letters from F.Ezek1 were used to compare its script with that of other texts:¹² *alef, dalet, he, vav, tet,*

⁹ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 261–273.

¹⁰ D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, eds., *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 69–70, pl. XI; M. Baillet et al., eds., *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 94, pl. XVII; Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (DJD XV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 209–214, pl. XXVIII, 215–218, pl. XXXIX, 219–220, pl. XXXIX; F. García-Martínez et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 11.2 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–31)* (DJD XXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 15–28, pls. II, LIV.

¹¹ S. Talmon and Y. Yadin, *Masada vi: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999).

¹² Patrick W. Skehan et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manu-*

kaf, *lamed*, *mem*, *ayin*, and *tav*. The results show that it is unlikely that F.Ezeki derives from any known scrolls or fragments examined in this study. While this passage is not preserved in any other Ezekiel manuscripts from the Judaean Desert, the dissimilarities of script with all these suggest that the fragment belonged to a different scroll altogether. Therefore, if this fragment comes from a manuscript of Ezekiel, rather than as a quotation in a non-biblical book, it provides evidence of an additional copy of Ezekiel.

The discoveries at Qumran also yielded a sizeable collection of non-biblical manuscripts that are closely related to scriptural Ezekiel. The four or five scrolls numbered 4Q385, 4Q385b, 4Q386, 4Q388, and 4Q391 were given the designation *Pseudo-Ezekiel* by their editors, Devorah Dimant and John Strugnell.¹³ The overlapping copies of this composition, 4QPseudo-Ezekiel^{a, b, d} (4Q385, 4Q386, 4Q388), contain a dramatically reworked version of Ezekiel's vision of the *Valley of Dry Bones* (Ezekiel 37), with a strong emphasis on the theme of resurrection, but constructed through an apocalyptic lens which included prophetic forecasts of the fates of Israel and her adversaries, Egypt and Babylon.¹⁴ While Dimant concluded that this composition was an exegetical supplement to specifically this section of scriptural Ezekiel, the possibility cannot be dismissed that these manuscripts otherwise attest to a dynamically alternative version of at least parts of Ezekiel, and should then be included in this list as additional copies of Ezekiel scrolls.

The inclusion of DSS F.Ezeki in the above group of scrolls containing text from Ezekiel raises the total number of Judaean Desert copies of Ezekiel from seven to eight. Its paleographical date would set it in line with three of the other copies, 4QEzek^{a, b}, and 11QEzek, in the early-mid Herodian period. The fragment is too small for a conclusion regarding its textual character, but if

scripts (DJD IX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992; repr. 2003); Eugene Ulrich & Frank M. Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994; repr. 1999); Eugene Ulrich & Frank M. Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995; repr. 1999); Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (DJD XV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

13 D. Dimant, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XXI. Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 7–89, pls. I–III; cf. esp. xiii and 7 for a description of Dimant's identification of these fragments based on the earlier work of John Strugnell. While 4Q391 is not unambiguously identified with the same *Pseudo-Ezekiel* composition in the other manuscripts, it is similar enough in style and scope to have also been given the same designation. M. Broshi et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XIV. Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 153–194, pls. XVII–XXV.

14 Dimant, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XXI*, 9–10.

it indeed shows a proclivity for readings in line with the LXX against MT (as in the reconstructed variants), then this Ezekiel text would be unusual. The preserved portions of all the 4Q copies agree largely with MT, as do MasEzek and the sparse traces in 1QEzek. 11QEzek also consistently agrees with MT and not the LXX, but this text may have been more mixed than the others.¹⁵ If DSS F.Ezek1 were to be aligned with another Judaean Desert manuscript, perhaps it would be 11QEzek.

Photographs



FIGURE 12.1 DSS F.Ezek1 (28:22) dating to the second half of the first century B.C.E.

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

15 Cf. the discussion in García-Martínez et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 11.2*, 22.

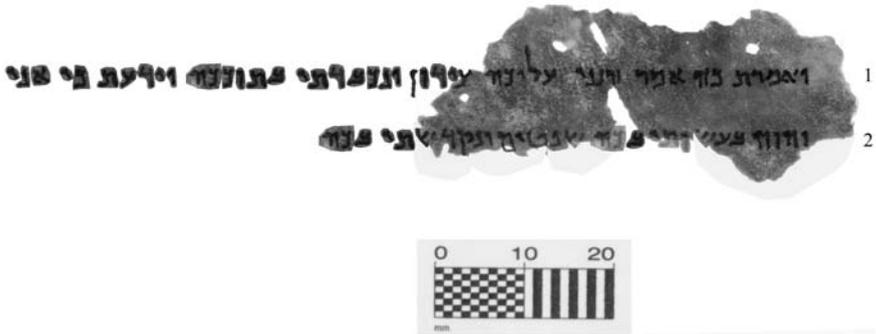


FIGURE 12.2 DSS *F.Ezeki* (28:22) dating to the second half of the first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters. The shapes of most letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.

RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Jonah 4:2–5 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003171)¹*Catherine McDowell and Thomas Hill*

This fragment preserves four incomplete lines of text that correspond to Jon 4:2–5. It has been designated DSS F.197 (DSS F.Jon1) by Eibert Tigchelaar. The fragment's inventory number is MOTB.SCR.003171.

The text of MT Jonah that is represented in DSS F.Jon1 records the prophet's angry response to God's mercy for the repentant Ninevites (3:6–10). Enraged, Jonah pleads for God to take his life (4:3). The Lord responds instead by questioning the appropriateness of Jonah's anger (4:4). Jonah then constructs a hut on the eastern outskirts of Nineveh from which he watches and awaits the city's fate (4:5). The first line of DSS F.Jon1 aligns with the final two words of Jon 4:2 (עַל הָרְעָה), and the last line of the fragment preserves the middle of v. 5 (בְּצֵל עַד אֲשֶׁר).

The text of this fragment, Jon 4:2–5, is attested in all of the ancient versions and MurXII 11:13–20. Jon 4:5 alone is extant in 4QX11^g (4Q82) 88–91. A witness to the LXX translation of Jon 4:2 and a remnant of Jon 4:5 are preserved in 8HevXIIgr.

Physical Description

The fragment is medium to dark brown in color. Its rough surface shows some signs of damage and shrinkage, evident from creases and cracks that appear notably lighter in color. The fragment measures 2.3 by 3.8 cm. Four lines are partially preserved and most of the surviving letters are clearly legible in natural light. Nevertheless, the traces of ink on line 1 are fairly difficult to discern for the darkness of the fragment at the top.² Line spacing ranges between 5.6–6.0 mm, but is inconsistent in the first and last lines. Traces of ink belonging to the first line slope on a slight, left-descending angle in line with the damaged top edge of the fragment. The last line similarly falls away to the left, but is most peculiar

1 The authors would like to thank Kipp Davis for his many insightful comments on previous drafts.

2 Photographs by Marilyn J. Lundberg, Bruce Zuckerman, and Kenneth Zuckerman, West Semitic Research.

at the right side, where small letters *yod* and *shin* appear about 0.6 mm above the hypothetical ruling line. Words are separated by spaces measuring about 0.7–0.8 mm, but there are three instances between ווישן and העיר on line 3, and תחתיה and בצל and בצל and עד on line 4 where spaces are nearly imperceptible. The lines are reconstructed to lengths ranging between 6.8 and 7.1 cm long, or about 47 letter spaces. The extant text measures as follows: line 1 is 1.8 cm, line 2 is 1.1 cm (followed by a *vacat* measuring 1.5 cm), line 3 is 3.5 cm, and line 4 is 3.2 cm, but includes a 1 cm lacuna. The fragment appears to preserve most of the column's left edge. There may be faint traces of ruling in lines 2–4.³ The margins have not been preserved.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This small fragment contains the remains of four lines written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand with personal features, mainly the irregularity of the tilting of the different letters and the variations in the letter forms, as well as the relation of width and height of the letters typical to this handwriting. Most of the letters lean forward, some (like *dalet*, *resh*, *he*, *vav*, *het*, and *yod*) more than the others, whereas *alef* leans somewhat backward (in line 3) and stands erect (in line 4). The letters suspend on the lines and the distance between the tops of the letters in one line and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 6 mm. Only about half of the letters of the alphabet are represented and they vary in their height and width. The height of *shin* is about 1.7 mm and its width is about 1.9 mm. The letters were written with a thin reed pen with a somewhat worn out nib, as evidenced by the almost equal thickness of horizontal and vertical strokes. A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents⁴ enabled an approximate dating of the script of this fragment to the late first century B.C.E. Several letters demonstrate early Herodian characteristics: the horizontal independent stroke above the left end of the “roof” of *he*, the large triangular addition at the top of the three final *yods* in line 2, and the base of *bet* clearly protruding to the right beyond its joining point with the downstroke. However, the long *tsadi*, which exceeds the imaginary baseline, belongs to an earlier phase of the formal evolution of the “Jewish” script, before the height of the letters of the alphabet in

3 Private correspondence with Marilyn Lundberg and Bruce Zuckerman, April 2014.

4 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

the “Jewish” book-hand became uniform in the Herodian period. Therefore, it seems reasonable to date this fragment to the late Hasmonean or the beginning of the Herodian period at the second half of the first century B.C.E.

Transcription

Jonah 4:2–5

1 [ארך אפים ורב חסד ונחם] על הָרַעָה^a וְעֵתָהּ³ [יהוה קח נא]
 2 [את נפשי ממני כי טוב מ]וְתִי מֵחַיִּי *va*[cat⁴ ויאמר]
 3 [יהוה ההיטב חרה ל]כֹּה וַיֵּצֵא יוֹנָה מִן הָעִיר וַיּוֹשֶׁבֶת [ב מקדם]
 4 [לעיר ויעש לו שם סוכה^b וי]וֹשֶׁבֶת [תחתיה] הָ בַצֵּל עַד אֲשֶׁר

^a Cf. Joel 2:13 MT 4QXII^c (= 4Q78).

^b Reconstructed with *plene* spelling, as in 4Q11^g. This word may have been written defectively as סכה, as in MT and MurXII (11:19).

Translation

- 1 [“slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love, and relenting] from disaster.
³And now, [O Lord, please take]
- 2 [my life from me, for it is better] for me to [d]ie than to live.”^c *va*[cat⁴ Said]
- 3 [the Lord, “Is it right for y]ou [to be angry?”] ⁵When Jonah had gone out^d
 from the city, he sat do[wn east]
- 4 [of the city. There he made for himself a hut and Jonah] sat [under i]t in the
 shade until ...

^c Literally, “my [d]eath (is) [better than] my life.”

^d It is not clear whether the action in Jon 4:5 is subsequent to the Lord's remarks in Jon 4:4, in which case וַיֵּצֵא should be translated as a simple preterite, “went out,” or if Jon 4:5 begins a flashback, in which case וַיֵּצֵא should be translated as a pluperfect, “had gone out.” See N. Lohfink, “Jona ging zur Stadt hinaus (Jon 4,5),” *BZ* 5 (1961): 185–203 and D. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah* (WBC 31; Waco, TX: Word, 1987), 489–499, 504, but also J. Sasson, *Jonah* (ed. W.F. Albright and D.N. Freedman; AB 24b; New York: Doubleday, 1990), 288.

Notes on Readings

- 1 על (4:2) Only a small portion of the *lamed's* hook remains, but its placement in relation to the *ayin*, well above the baseline, is consistent with the placement of the *lamed* in בצל in line 4. It is difficult to determine whether the trace of ink to the left belonging to *he* is also connected to the *lamed*. The size of the extant *lamed* on line 4 suggests that the letter is possibly ligatured here.
- 1 הָרַעָה (4:2) If the first letter in this word is indeed a *he*, its surviving left leg uncharacteristically curves to the left. This is somewhat peculiar compared to other examples on line 3, but perhaps more significantly it is problematic for how it follows the contour of the edge of the fragment. Compare the formation of this letter to the two large *hes* in line 3, in יונה and העיר, which appear to have been made with a crossbar that crudely loops into the left leg. The third *he* in לְכָה more closely resembles the present example in shape and form, but it also differs from it in the join between the shaded crossbar and the left downstroke. These differences may be explained as “personal features” of this particular scribe, as noted by Ada Yardeni (see *Paleography and Date*), which includes irregularities in the angle and forms of the letters. However, the variations in the angle and form of the letters are so dramatically pronounced that they suggest either the scribe was untrained, or that the text may not be authentic. The shape and size of the *ayin* is very odd compared to other examples in the fragment, especially compared to על in line 1 and העיר in line 3. The presence of a distinct elbow in this letter is peculiarly inconsistent with the other examples. In the second *he* only the bases of the downstrokes remain.
- 1 וְעָתָה (4:2) Only traces of the bottoms of the letters have survived. The remnant of the *ayin's* base curves to the left, similar to that of the first *ayin* in line 1 (על). If the third letter in this word is indeed a *tav*, its left leg loops backward at its base, which is characteristic of cursive forms for this letter. This is distinctly different from the appearance of the “formal” *tav* in line 2, in which the left downstroke ends in a well-established foot. The variations in the formation of these *tavs* may be due to the scribe's particular style or carelessness. However, the anomalous fluctuation between formal and cursive forms would be quite strange, and may raise some suspicions concerning the authenticity of the text on this fragment.

- 2 מ[והי (4:3) All the letters on this line appear unusually small, but this is especially so for the traces of the *vav*, the *tav*, and the first *yod*. The *tav* is only 1.8 mm high, whereas the average height of letters on the better preserved line 3 below is 2.2 mm.
- 2 The *vacat* in line 2 could extend to the end of the line, but the more likely reconstruction suggests that it is closed by ויאמר, as in MT. In MurXII 11:6–17, there is a major division represented by an open section followed by an empty line. Thus, the sense division between vv. 3 and 4 is indicated in different ways in the ancient and medieval sources.⁵
- 3 ל[כה (4:4) Traces of the head and base of the first letter indicate the presence of either a *kaf* or a *bet*, but the identification of the fragment implies that it is probably the former. The *he* seems to have been formed differently than the two examples on the same line in יונה and העיר. The shaded crossbar could have been made with a small, shaded loop into the left leg or with one horizontal stroke.
- 3 יונה מן העיר (4:5) Both the *hes* are formed differently from conventional *hes* for which the shaded crossbar is made as a single stroke that is subsequently joined to the downstrokes. These examples are otherwise formed by looping the crossbar into the downstroke of the left leg, resulting in a rectangular head. Their crude appearance suggests that they were made by an untrained scribe.
- 3 ויושב[ב (4:5) The clear presence of the second *vav* indicates that this represents the /o/ sound. The center arm of *shin* is unusual in how it is situated close to the join between the right oblique stroke and the left arm, but also because of its length and proximity to the top of the oblique. The center arm seems to follow the contour of the fragment edge, the appearance of which could perhaps be explained by the wrinkling or shrinkage of the fragment material.
- 4 וי[ושב[תחתיה (4:5) It is difficult to determine whether the first letter in this line is a *yod* or a *vav* due to the fragment's state of preservation as well as the irregularity with which the forms of these letters in the fragment were written. Further, the following *shin* is much smaller than the *shins* at the end

⁵ See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 151–159.

of lines 3 and 4, and it appears strangely situated about 0.7mm above the hypothetical rule line. This is rather peculiar in light of how the traces of the first three letters appear to correspond to the contours of the fragment edge. It is therefore less helpful than it might have been in identifying the previous letter by comparing their relative size, as can be done with some, but not all, of the *vavs* and *yods* in the text.⁶ Most of the *vavs* and *yods* in DSS F.Jom1 tend to lean forward and exhibit a triangular head. By contrast, the first letter in line 4 looks more like an inverted “v” and tilts slightly backwards. It resembles most closely the *yod* in יונה of line 3, although the letter in question leans further to the right and is lacking the initial horizontal stroke.⁷ There may be room in the line for a *holem waw*, identical to the spelling of this form at the end of line 3. MT employs defective spelling (וישב תחתיה), which is followed in the reconstruction of MurXII 11:19 [וישב תחתיה].

Variants

- 3 [וישב] MurXII 4QXII^g MT = LXX T S V (4:5); likewise: line 4 [וישב] (4:5), where the alternative reading is found in a similar list of sources: 4QXII^g MT = LXX T S V. The form וישב is unattested in the biblical DSS except where it has been reconstructed for Exod 10:8 (4Q14 III, 9; 4Q22 VII, 6) and Isa 9:8 (4Q57 XLIX, 7) as a Hophal imperfect 3ms with a *vav* consecutive (וישב). Although there are several possible vocalizations of this form,⁸ it is likely

6 For example, the *yod* in ויצא (line 3) is half the size of the *vav* that immediately precedes it, and the *yod* in [וישב] (line 3) stands between two *vavs* with much longer downstrokes. However, note the large *yods* in line 2, especially at the end of the line in גחיי, where they stand equal in size to the preceding *mem* and *het*.

7 If, however, the first letter of line 4 is *vav*, then it reflects the form of ישב that also appears at the end of line 3 (see *Variants*). There appears to be sufficient room between the *shin* and the remains of the upper left corner of the *he* to accommodate וישב.

8 This form could be vocalized as a Qal participle ms of ישב with *plene* spelling of the long /o/, and a *vav* conjunctive (וישב), a Qal passive ms of ישב with *plene* spelling of the long /u/ and a *vav* conjunctive (וישב), a Niphal imperfect 3ms of ישב with *vav* consecutive (וישב), a Hiphil jussive (3ms) of ישב with *vav* consecutive (וישב), or a Hophal imperfect 3ms of שוב + *vav* consecutive (וישב). Given the fact that the passive of שוב would make no sense in the context, as well as the overwhelming testimony of the ancient witnesses that this verb in Jon 4:4 is from the root ישב, the Hophal of שוב can be excluded from consideration. It could be a Qal passive or the Niphal imperfect 3ms of ישב, with the sense of “he was seated”

the Hiphil jussive (3ms) of יִשָּׁב, with a *vav* representing the long /o/,⁹ and a *vav* consecutive (וַיִּשָּׁב). Already in Classical Hebrew and apparently more so in Late Biblical Hebrew, Ben Sira, Qumran Hebrew, and Rabbinic Hebrew, the Hiphil was used alongside of and in place of the Qal.¹⁰

Orthography and Morphology

- 3 לְכָה [לְ] מ^T MurXII לְךָ (4:4) לְכָה is the majority spelling for the 2ms pronominal suffix in the DSS from Qumran.¹¹ This form is attested only three times in the MT (Gen 27:37, 2 Sam 18:22, and Isa 3:6).¹²
- 4 וַיִּשָּׁב [וַיִּשָּׁב] מ^T MurXII 4QXI18 M^T LXX V (4:5) See the discussion of this form in line 3 under *Variants*.

or “he seated himself,” but this would be somewhat of an anomaly, not supported by any of the ancient witnesses.

- 9 The *plene* spelling is typical of Qumran Hebrew orthography. See E. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 267–268 and Appendix 9.
- 10 Compare the Qal of פָּקַד (he visited) in Gen 21:1, 50:24–25, 1 Sam 2:21, Jer 15:15, 27:22, 32:5, and Ruth 1:6 to הִפְקִיד (he appointed) in Gen 39:5, 2 Kgs 7:17, Jer 40:11. Note that הִשְׁכִּים (for example, in Exod 8:20, 9:13, 1 Sam 19:10, 2 Sam 15:2, Job 1:5, Prov 27:14), הִשְׁלִיךְ (for example, in Exod 4:3, Lev 1:9, Num 19:6, 35:20, 22, Josh 10:11, 2 Kgs 13:23, 17:20, 23:12, Jer 41:9, 52:3, Joel 1:7, Amos 8:3, Zech 11:13, Eccl 3:5, Lam 2:1), and הִשְׁמִיד (for example, in Deut 1:27, 4:3, Josh 9:24, 2 Sam 14:16, Isa 10:7, Amos 9:8, Ps 106:23, Esth 3:13, 2 Chron 33:9) express simple action with their Hiphil forms. They do not occur in the Qal stem in BH. See P.A. Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (trans. and rev. T. Muraoka; Subsidia biblica 14/1; Rome, 1991), § 54 f. for additional examples of verbs in biblical Hebrew that express simple action with the Hiphil. See also E. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 192–194, E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 49, and M. Moreshet, “The Hiphil in Mishnaic Hebrew as Equivalent to the Qal” (Hebrew), *Bar-Ilan* 13 (1976): 253–257, as cited in Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 193, n. 144.
- 11 Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 1:332.
- 12 See also Gesenius’ *Hebrew Grammar* (ed. E. Kautzsch; trans. A.E. Cowley; 2d ed; Oxford, 1910), § 103 f.; and Joüon, § 103 f.

Reconstructed Orthography

4 [סוכה] = 4QX11^g] סכה MurXII MT (4:5)

Textual Character¹³

DSS F.Jon1 is too small to say anything meaningful about its textual character. The surviving fragment contains one certain, but minor textual variant that does not correspond to any known text. The possible mixture of long and short orthography may show some alignment with other texts from Qumran.

Relation to Other Texts: DSS F.Jon1 and Other Minor Prophets Scrolls

It is unknown whether DSS F.Jon1 was originally part of a scroll of the Twelve, a scroll containing some but not all of the Twelve, an individual Jonah scroll,¹⁴ a remnant of a hitherto unknown *peshet* in which Jon 4:2–5 was quoted for exegetical purposes, or a remnant of a scroll in which the text was cited for some other purpose. MurXII contains Jon 4:2–5 and 4QX11^g includes Jon 4:5, hence DSS F.Jon1 did not derive from either of these scrolls. DSS F.Amos1 and DSS F.Mic1 are eliminated as having a common identity on paleographical grounds,¹⁵ as are all the other surviving Minor Prophets scrolls from Qumran.¹⁶ In conclusion, the scroll to which DSS F.Jon1 belongs is currently unknown.

13 On the textual status of the Minor Prophets scrolls from Qumran, see E. Tov, “New Fragments of Amos,” *DSD* 21 (2014), n. 19.

14 H. von Weissenberg comments, “We cannot know with certainty whether all the manuscripts contained all twelve books of the Minor Prophets collection. The manuscript evidence shows signs of a developing collection of the Twelve; however, it cannot be excluded that the individual manuscripts nonetheless continued to be copied separately.” See H. von Weissenberg, “The Twelve Minor Prophets at Qumran and the Canonical Process: Amos as a ‘Case Study,’” in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. N. David et al.; FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 374.

15 A. Yardeni identifies the script of DSS F.Amos1 as Herodian, and dates it to the beginning of the first century C.E.; see E. Tov, “New Fragments of Amos,” *DSD* 21 (2014): 3–13, esp. pp. 4–5. She dates the Micah fragment to about the late first century B.C.E. or first century C.E. See pp. 178–179 in this volume.

16 4QX11^a (4Q76), 4QX11^b (4Q77), 4QX11^c (4Q78), 4QX11^d (4Q79), 4QX11^e (4Q80), 4QX11^f (4Q81), 5QAmos, and MS 4612/1 of The Schoyen Collection (Joel 4:1–4).

Photographs

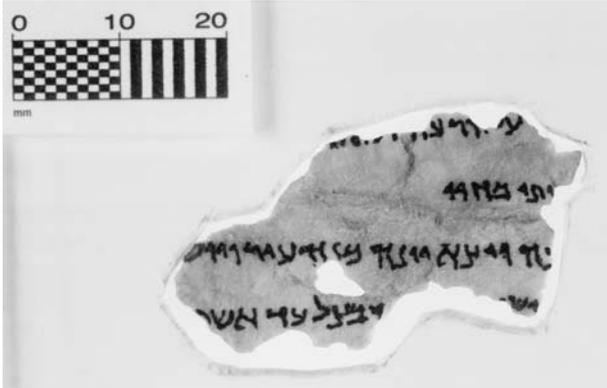


FIGURE 13.1 DSS FJon1 (Jon 4:2–5) dating to the latter half of the first century B.C.E.

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

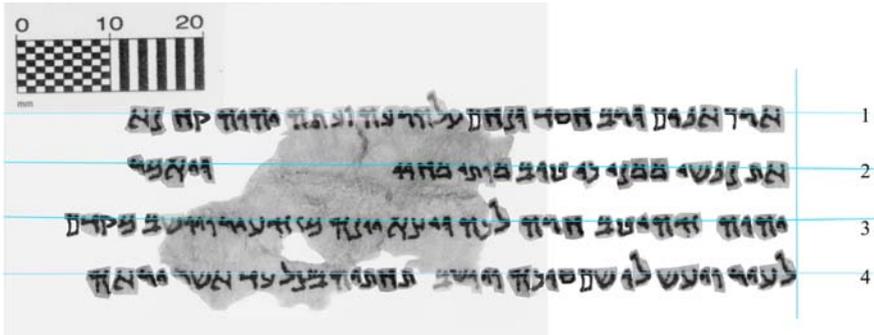


FIGURE 13.2 DSS FJon1 (Jon 4:2–5) dating to the latter half of the first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters. Most of the reconstructed letters have been copied from letters appearing elsewhere in the fragment.

RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG AND BRUCE ZUCKERMAN. PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Micah 1:4–6 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003183)

Peter W. Flint and David R. Herbison

This fragment (Micah 1:4–6) preserves a portion of the right margin and text from the first chapter of Micah. It has been given the designation DSS F.198 (DSS F.Mic1) by Eibert Tigchelaar in accordance with his new system for numbering Judean Desert manuscript fragments. Regarding provenance, the fragment possibly came from Cave 4 at Qumran, although this cannot be proven.

This passage preserves part of Micah's oracle against Samaria, and describes the coming of the Lord from heaven. The resulting melting of mountains and bursting open of valleys is a consequence of the transgression of Jacob and the sins of Judah.

Physical Description

The fragment measures 6.1 by 2.9 cm (based on photographs), with the inscribed portion measuring 1.9 cm high. The leather has an uneven surface, a condition existing at the time the text was written, as can be seen by multiple examples of ink bleeding into surface crevices of the leather. These moderately distributed abrasions and cracks on the surface are distinguishable as lighter colored spots of the exposed underlayer. The leather is now dark brown in color, with the recto significantly blackened, an effect that makes the text, written in black ink, somewhat difficult to make out. Text is only written on the recto, and there is no evidence of ink that has bled through to the verso (according to both the color and infrared photographs).

The right margin has been preserved, measuring 1.3 by 2.9 cm. There is more wear in the margin, including three wormholes, each measuring about 1 mm squared. The use of drylines for horizontal and vertical ruling is clear, though no *points jalons* are visible. The vertical ruling is visible down the right margin. Although only four lines of text are preserved, five horizontal drylines can be seen in the right margin, with the fifth belonging to another line of text which is no longer preserved. The second and third lines preserve the most text, both of which begin at the right margin and are cut off before reaching the left side of the column. The distance between lines is inconsistent, especially relative

between lines 1–3 and 3–5. From top to bottom, the line spacing is 5.3 mm, 5.7 mm, 4.75 mm, and 4.5 mm.¹ Words are generally separated by a space of about 0.8 mm, though there is no spacing before מ in line 2 and only minimal spacing before א הלוה in line 3. Moreover, there are instances in which some space exists between letters within words, such as between *vav*, *dalet*, and *he* in יהודה immediately preceding א הלוה in line 3. The reconstructed column width is approximately 7.6 cm (4.8 cm preserved).

The text preserved comes from Micah 1:4–6, though the portion of v. 4 is only extant in small traces of ink barely visible across the top of the fragment. The fragment does not contain any corrections. The blank leather preceding the column suggests that the fragment began a new sheet. The positive identification of the text with Micah 1 may suggest that this fragment preserves the beginning of the book of Micah on a new sheet. Whether this sheet was preceded by other text from one of the other Minor Prophets is unknown.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This is a small fragment containing the beginnings of two lines and part of another line, written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand with idiosyncratic personal features (ink dots from another line appear at the top of the fragment²). The letters suspend on the lines and the distance between the tops of the letters in one line and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 5.6 mm. A small space has been left between the words marking the end of one word and the beginning of the following one. The letters are of unequal height, but in general, their height is slightly larger than their width (except for *alef*, *bet*, *tet*, medial *mem*, and *shin*, the height and width of which are almost the same). The average height of *shin* is about 2.3 mm. The letters were written with a thin reed pen with a somewhat worn out nib, as indicated by the almost equal thickness of horizontal and vertical strokes. Most of the letters (except for *gimel* and *alef*) lean slightly forward, especially the “mast” of *lamed* which creates an angle of 70–76 degrees with the line. The base lines of *bet*, *mem*, *pe*, and *tav* somewhat slant down to the left.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents³ enabled an approximate dating of the script of this fragment

1 For variations of this kind, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 104–105.

2 This corresponds to line 1 of the transcription and reconstruction below.

3 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

to about the late first century B.C.E. or first century C.E. Most of the letters show features typical of the middle to late first century B.C.E. Most significantly, the left downstroke of the final *mem* begins above the center of its “roof,” slants down to the left, and continues vertically until it cuts the almost horizontal basestroke (the top of this downstroke later became a separate short stroke which was added above the “roof” of final *mem*). Also, the basestroke of *bet*, which was apparently drawn from left to right, exceeds its meeting point with the right downstroke and indicates a late phase in the development of this letter toward the Herodian period. The almost horizontal basestroke of *tet* is also typical of the late first century B.C.E. Various forms of *he*, in all of which both downstrokes begin above the “roof,” characterize this idiosyncratic handwriting. The single *het* hardly differs from one of these forms. The *ayin* in the word [פּשַׁע] is unusual with a vertical right downstroke and a diagonal left stroke. In this text early forms also appear, such as the *pe* and the small *yod* which are typical of the early first century B.C.E. However, the *bet*, the *tet*, and the final *mem* can hardly be dated earlier than the late first century B.C.E.

Transcription

Micah 1:4–6

1]°[]&°[]°[]°°[]°[1
 2 כול זאת ובחטות בית יהודה מי פשע] 2
 3 במות יהודה הלוא ירושלם ושמתי °] 3
 4] °] vacat [] לגי אבנ°] 4

Reconstruction

1 [יתב]ק°[עו כדו]גג°[מ]פ°[ני]הא°[ש כמים]מ°[גרים במורד]בפשע יעקב] 1
 2 כול זאת ובחטות בית יהודה מי פשע] יעקב הלוא שמרון ומי] 2
 3 במות יהודה הלוא ירושלם ושמתי ש°[מרון לעי השדה למטעי כרם והגרת?] 3
 4] °] vacat [] לגי אבנ°]ה ויסדיה אגלה ...] 4

Translation

- 1 [4(the valleys) will s]pl[it open, like w]ax[bef]or[e]the fi[re; like water
]p[oured down a slope. 5By the transgression of Jacob]

- 2 all of this is so, and by the sins of the house of Judah. What is the transgression [of Jacob? Is it not Samaria? And what are]
- 3 the high places of Judah? Are they not Jerusalem? ⁶Therefore I will make Sa[maria a heap of the field, for plantings of a vineyard. And I will pour (?)]
- 4 [her] stones into the valley [and lay bare her foundations ...]

Notes on Readings

- 1 יתב[ק]עו (1:4) Although this fragment does not provide a clear example of *qof*, the remaining trace of ink near the beginning of line 1 most likely belongs to the descender of the *qof* from יתבקעו. This is the only letter near this place on the line that would have a descender extending nearly straight down below the baseline. The spacing also supports this conclusion, with the *qof* being placed where expected if יתבקעו began at the right margin.
- 1 כדוּג [מ]פְּנִי (1:4) The *nun* and *gimel* from כדוּג are the most likely candidates for adjacent downward sloping strokes at this point in the line. While the word fits the lacuna without issue, the match of the second trace to *gimel* is not unproblematic. The stroke appears too thick and too long compared to the leg in the preserved example in לָגִי in line 4. Nevertheless, *gimel* remains the best choice for this letter. The next trace of remaining ink to the left probably belongs to the base of either the *mem* or *pe* in מְפִנִי (cf. the baseline of *pe* in פִּשַׁע in line 2 and *mem* in וּשְׁמַתִּי in line 3).
- 1 הָאֵלֶף (1:4) The *alef* is the most certain character identification of this line. This fragment provides two clear examples of *alef* (lines 2 and 4). The *alef* of line 2 has a relatively straight left downstroke with very little curve at all. The *alef* of line 4 does not have as pronounced a hook as in line 1, though the overall shape of the left downstroke is curved in the same direction, indicating that the scribe did, at times, use such a motion when writing *alef*. The context would indicate that the word is most likely reconstructed הָאֵלֶף. The spot of ink to the right of the *alef* is most likely from one of the downstrokes of the *he* from the same word. This suggests a somewhat large space separating the *he* from the *alef*, perhaps due to a longer than average “roof” extending to the left (cf. examples in lines 2 and 3). While the combination of these factors might account for the discrepancy, this still does not adequately explain the surplus of space. If the remaining trace of ink belongs to the right downstroke, then such wide letter spacing would not be necessary, though one would expect to also see the bottom of the

left downstroke. The preserved examples of *he* from lines 2 and 3 show that the scribe generally extended the right downstroke slightly lower than the left, which could explain the absence of ink from the left downstroke here given the contour of the top edge of this fragment (cf. photograph). However, this would still necessitate a greater differential between the lengths of the left and right downstrokes than what is seen elsewhere in the fragment. Nevertheless, it seems most likely that this ink trace belongs to one of the downstrokes of the *he*, even if it is uncertain which one. More puzzling is the lack of any ink traces to the left of *alef*, where one would expect to see at least a portion of *shin*. The photograph indicates no obvious damage to the surface to suggest the abrasion of a letter after *alef*, which is problematic.

- 1 מְגָרִים (1:4) The remaining dot of ink here belongs to either the base of the initial *mem* of מְגָרִים, or potentially the final *mem* of כְּמִים. The final *mem* was consistently a letter that extended quite low below the baseline (cf. the final *mem* in line 3 of this fragment). However, this reading produces a surplus of space between the *alef* of הָאֵשׁ and the following word, כְּמִים. Conversely, there is not enough space to suggest that this trace belonged to the final *mem* of מְגָרִים. It is somewhat surprising for the base of an initial *mem* to extend this low, though the three examples of initial/medial *mem* in this fragment do show that the scribe consistently wrote these bases with a downward angle. The medial *mem* in וְשִׁמְתִּי (line 3) does have a basestroke that ends somewhat below the letters surrounding it, though this letter does not extend nearly so low below the baseline. In short, while there are no good candidates in the passage which align to the preserved ink trace, the word is best reconstructed to reflect the initial *mem* of מְגָרִים.
- 3 שֵׁן מְרוֹן (1:6) Only part of the right oblique of *shin* is visible, with no space between it and the preceding word. The preserved portion still shows the curvature of the stroke, making the *shin* identification most likely. This stroke does not extend as high as expected when compared to the three other examples of *shin* in this fragment, not quite meeting the dryline.
- 4 *vacat* (1:6) See *Reconstructed Variants*.

Variants

- 2 מַתּוּרָא (both: וּבַחֲטָאוֹת) s (שִׁמְתִּי וְשִׁמְתִּי, plural, “sins”)] καὶ ὁδὸν ἀμαρτίαν LXX (27 MSS Kenn) (1:5) DSS F.Mic1 agrees with MT,

MurXII, and the Peshitta in reading the plural “sins,” only differing with MT and MurXII in that it presents a shortened form of the plural that lacks the *alef* (see below, *Orthography and Morphology*). The more substantive difference is that the LXX has the singular, “sin.” The LXX (ἁμαρτίαν οἴκου Ισραηλ ... ἁμαρτία οἴκου Ιουδα) presents a more perfect parallelism than does MT. This parallel structure of the LXX corresponds nicely to that in the preceding cola, בפשע יעקב ... מי פשע יעקב, thus yielding a neat A-B pattern:

- A All this is for the **impiety of Jacob**,
 B and for the *sin of the house* of Israel.
 A' What is the **impiety of Jacob**? Is it not Samaria?
 B' And what is the *sin of the house* of Judah? Surely it is Jerusalem?⁴

Line B uses the singular “sin” instead of MT’s “sins.” Furthermore, B’ reads “sin” (as opposed to “high places”) and adds “of the house” to match B. The Peshitta does not lend full support to either MT or the LXX. It supports MT in reading the plural “sins” in colon B, while preferring the singular “sin” in colon B’ (instead of “high places,” with the LXX), though without the second instance of “the house” (against the LXX). The LXX text reveals the expected signs of harmonizations to the immediate context, thus introducing an easier reading. While the LXX could be regarded as taking translational liberties, the impulse to strengthen the parallelism would have been operative for Hebrew scribes as well. In fact, several medieval Hebrew manuscripts also have the singular form “and for the *sin* of the house of Israel” (ויבחטאת; 27 MSS Kenn), and at least one reads “sin” (חטאת; Kenn MS 201, marg. 228) in place of “high places” (במות). Whether or not the difference arose in a Hebrew manuscript or as part of the LXX translation, it is difficult to imagine how such obvious parallelism would have been abandoned for a less appealing structure.

- 2 יהודה] ישראל MT MurXII LXX (Ισραηλ) s (ⲓⲣⲁⲏⲗ) (1:5) The scribe of DSS F.Mic wrote “Judah” where the other witnesses have “Israel,” which is no small difference. Of the Judaean Desert scrolls, MurXII, 1QpMic, and 8HevXIIgr also preserve portions of this verse.⁵ MurXII supports the MT reading of ישראל instead of יהודה. Both 8HevXIIgr and 1QpMic are missing

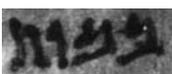
4 NETS translation, adapted.

5 The fragmentary 4Q168 (4QpMic?) does not preserve text that is relevant to this variant.

these words due to lacunae, and thus cannot support either reading (though the original editors of both scrolls printed “Israel” in their reconstruction). Therefore, the only other Judaeen Desert scroll that preserves text for this phrase (MurXII) supports MT in reading “Israel.”

One explanation for the DSS F.Mic₁ reading יהודה here is that the scribe’s eye skipped ahead by way of *vav-yod* transference, as the line directly below has a *vav-tav* ending followed by יהודה (vertical error). It is remarkable how similar בית that precedes the first occurrence of יהודה is to במות in the next line (before the second יהודה):

בית
(line 2) 

במות
(line 3) 

It is reasonable to imagine that in the scribe’s *Vorlage*, it would not have been difficult to mistake מות for בית in such close proximity, especially if that *Vorlage* had slightly narrower columns than this scroll, which could place בית directly above במות. It is possible that the scribe’s eye skipped ahead to the next line in the text that he was copying, writing down יהודה rather than ישראל. Such a contextual jump usually results in the omission of any intervening text, but there is no indication that any text has been lost here.

Therefore, three options are available to describe this textual variant: (1) the scribe accidentally replaced ישראל with יהודה by jumping ahead from the graphically similar words בית and במות, yet when returning to his *Vorlage* he continued with his text, thus not omitting any intervening text; (2) the scribe intentionally altered the reading from ישראל to יהודה; (3) the scribe’s *Vorlage* belonged to a manuscript tradition that contained יהודה in place of ישראל in MT. The change could have occurred in either direction, although the other witnesses strongly suggest that the reading in MT is the older of the two. Having בית יהודה here makes the parallelism of v. 5 stronger, with both Jacob and Judah mentioned twice in the verse. The tendency for scribes would most likely be to strengthen, rather than weaken, the parallelism.⁶

⁶ There may also be a rhetorical purpose for the broken parallelism of this verse; see Charles S. Shaw, *The Speeches of Micah: A Rhetorical-Historical Analysis* (JSOTSup 145; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 53–54; Leslie C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976), 271–272.

It should be noted that the *BHS* apparatus proposes that *בית ישראל* should read simply *יהודה*, referencing the parallel usage of *יהודה* in the latter half of the verse, without citing any manuscript evidence. *DSS F.Mic1* lends support to this conjecture, though it can only be considered partial support since *DSS F.Mic1* also preserves *בית*, which the *BHS* proposal omits altogether.⁷

Reconstructed Variants

- 3 [לעי השדה למטעי כרם והגרתִי?] (1:6) (shorter text?) The reconstruction of line 3 is particularly challenging, the direct result of what looks like a very large indentation (“*vacat*” in the transcription) at the beginning of line 4 preceding *לגי*. This indentation is problematic because it requires line 3 to be considerably longer than the first two reconstructed lines if it is to contain all of the text found in *MT*. It is therefore possible that line 3 was shorter than in *MT*.

A calculation of the length of line 3 goes back to that of lines 1 and 2. The length of line 2 can be reconstructed by filling in the portion between *פּשע* and *במות* with *MT*, thus yielding a line length of approximately 7.6 cm. When the indentation of line 4 is taken into account, the reconstructed portion of line 3 would need to have included *לעי השדה למטעי כרם והגרתִי* in order to incorporate the text from *MT*. Including all of this text would yield a reconstructed line length of approximately 9.5 cm, which is highly unlikely given the reconstruction of line 2. This suggests that some of the text from *MT* may not have been included on this line. As line 4 begins with *לגי אבניה*, it seems likely that the final word of line 3 was *והגרתִי*. Given the shortage of space, it is possible that either the phrase *לעי השדה* or *למטעי כרם* was not included in the portion of line 3 before *והגרתִי*. Either phrase would fit in the remaining space comfortably, while there is not enough room for both. Both Hebrew and versional evidence lend strong support for both phrases, making it difficult to posit the omission of either one specifically. Therefore, rather than propose an otherwise unknown reading, the above reconstruction includes all of the text from *MT*, but also indicates the uncertainty about this portion of line 3 with a question mark following the phrases in question. It thus leaves open the possibility of a shorter text.

⁷ However, the *BHK* apparatus only suggests the substitution of *יהודה* for *ישראל*, not including the omission of *בית* as part of the conjecture.

The indentation is not immediately apparent since line 4 is situated at the bottom edge of the fragment. The beginning of the line is broken by the bottom edge, but one would still expect to see at least the top portions of letters here, though none are preserved. A straight dryline can be seen for a portion of this *vacat*, making clear that the lack of ink here cannot be explained by distortion of the scroll itself (wrinkle, water damage, shrinkage, etc.). The presence of this dryline confirms the absence of letters from the beginning of the line. This portion of the line does not appear any more abraded than the rest of the fragment; therefore it is unlikely that text was once there but has since worn off. This indentation is approximately 2.5 cm (about one-third of the total line). The reconstructed text of lines 3 and 4 in *Figure 14.2* provides merely one possible reconstruction, although this is rejected in the analysis and reconstruction above.

Background of the *vacat*. In a great number of Judaean Desert manuscripts, major section breaks are represented by an open break at the end of a line, with the new section beginning at the right margin of the following line. If, however, there was not enough room at the end of the line to leave a space indicating the section break, a common practice was to indent the next line to signal that the last line should have ended with a space.⁸ This is not the case here, since this space occurs in the middle of a clause. Because of the lack of any contextual factors, the possibility is left of a fault in the leather itself (scar tissue, uneven surface, etc.), causing the scribe to skip over the defect before continuing with the writing.⁹ This seems to be the best explanation.

Orthography and Morphology

- 2 כול] כל MT (1:5) The use of כול in line 2 of this fragment presents a fuller orthography than MT. Note that both DSS F.Mic1 and MT agree in using the long form of לויא (line 3).
- 2 ובחטות] ובחטאות MT MurXII (1:5) The shortened plural form of ובחטות omits the expected *alef*, which is usually present in both the singular and plural (the plural being indicated by the addition of a *vav*). This shortened form of

8 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 145–146.

9 Many examples of such situations are given in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 122.

the plural noun occurs only once elsewhere in 4Q176 (4QJubilees?) 1–2 i 6, but with a pronominal suffix, חֲטֹוֹהִיָּהָא.¹⁰

Textual Character

It is difficult to make definite judgments as to a scroll's textual character when so little text is preserved, though some conclusions can be drawn. This fragment clearly does not represent the text behind the LXX (see discussion in *Variants*). The Israel/Judah variant is a significant departure from MT and therefore makes a proto-MT designation questionable. The one extant instance of long orthography could point towards a predilection for long orthography throughout the manuscript, but this is far from certain in light of the many cases of mixed orthography in Qumran scrolls. Long orthography is typical of Qumran Scribal Practice, though one would expect that the /o/ in זֹאֵת would be represented by a *va*¹¹ and יְרוּשָׁלַם would have had an added *yod*. Due to its differences from both the MT and LXX textual traditions, this fragment might be included in Tov's "non-aligned" group.¹² However, this is probably best considered an unresolved matter in the face of such a dearth of evidence drawn from this fragment for the text.

Relationship to Other Scrolls Containing Text from the Minor Prophets

The three verses preserved in this fragment have also survived in MurXII¹³ and 1QpMic,¹⁴ so this fragment cannot be a portion of either of these manuscripts. Neither could this Micah fragment have derived from 1QpHab or 1QpZeph since these *pesharim* cover only single books. There are eight or nine scrolls containing text from the Twelve Prophets from Qumran Cave 4, along with a handful of others from other caves and purportedly elsewhere in the Judean

10 Menahem Kister, "Newly Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees. Jub. 23:21–23, 30–31," *RevQ* 12 (1985–1987): 529–536.

11 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 268.

12 Tov, *TCHB*, 109–110.

13 J.T. Milik, "Rouleau des Douze Prophètes," in *Les grottes de Murrabba'ât* (ed. P. Benoit et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 181–205.

14 J.T. Milik, "Textes non bibliques," in *Qumran Cave 1* (ed. D. Barthélemy et al.; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 77–80.

Desert. However, several of these scrolls are eliminated from identification with DSS F.Mic1 by major discrepancies in dating and script: 4QX11^{a,b} were written as much as a hundred years earlier than this fragment,¹⁵ and 4QX11^d was penned in a cursive script.¹⁶ There is also a fragment containing text from Joel 4:1–4 in The Schøyen Collection, but identification with this fragment is also not possible since it belonged to a scroll written as much as a hundred years later or more.¹⁷ 4Q168 is a small fragment containing text from Micah that could be a *peshet*, but it is also disqualified from identification on the basis of its cursive script.¹⁸ Apart from these, DSS F.Mic1 could potentially be a portion of any of the following manuscripts:

- 4QX11^c, containing parts of Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Zephaniah¹⁹
- 4QX11^c, frg. 35 containing Mal 3:6–7 (?), and probably deriving from a scroll different from 4QX11^{c20}
- 4QX11^e, containing parts of Haggai and Zechariah²¹
- 4QX11^f, containing two fragments of Jonah²²
- 4QX11^g, containing parts of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zechariah²³
- 5QAmos (5QX11?), a small fragment of Amos²⁴
- Note further DSS F.Jon1 (Jon 4:2–5; included in this volume) and DSS F.Amos1 (Amos 7:17–8:1).²⁵

Comparison of the features of DSS F.Mic1 and these other scrolls does not indicate that DSS F.Mic1 was a part of another extant Minor Prophets scroll.

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- 15 R.E. Fuller, “4QX11^a,” and “4QX11^b,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD xv; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 221–232, 233–236.
 - 16 R.E. Fuller, “4QX11^d,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X*, 253–256.
 - 17 The Schøyen Collection, “12 Minor Prophets Dead Sea Scroll,” n.p. [cited 29 April 2015]. Online: <http://www.schoyencollection.com/dead-sea-scrolls-collection/biblical/12-minor-prophets-dead-sea-scroll-ms-1612-1>. The fragment was recently published in Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*, 221–230.
 - 18 J.M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD v; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 36.
 - 19 Fuller, “4QX11^c,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X*, 237–251.
 - 20 Fuller, “4QX11^c,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X*, 251.
 - 21 Fuller, “4QX11^e,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X*, 257–265.
 - 22 Fuller, “4QX11^f,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X*, 267–270.
 - 23 Fuller, “4QX11^g,” in *Qumran Cave 4.X*, 271–318.
 - 24 J.T. Milik, “Textes de la grotte 5Q,” in *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet et al.; DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 173–174.
 - 25 Emanuel Tov, “New Fragments of Amos,” *DSD* 21 (2014): 3–13.

4QXII^g may be the best candidate, showing several paleographic similarities with this fragment, especially between *alef*, *he*, *vav*, *lamed*, initial/medial *mem*, *resh*, and *tav*. However, there are some notable differences, namely distinct ways of writing final *mem* and *shin*. Furthermore, the average distance between lines in 4QXII^g is 8 mm, which is larger than DSS F.Mic1.²⁶ DSS F.Jom1 exhibits similar forms of *he*, *yod*, and *shin*, though with notable differences in *alef*, *lamed*, *ayin*, and *tav*. DSS F.Jom1 does have similar line spacing (5–6 mm), though its lines are not as consistently parallel as those of DSS F.Mic1. DSS F.Amos1 has lines that are closer together and narrower columns, as well as a several differences in letter forms when compared with DSS F.Mic1. Most significant are the differences in *alef*, *lamed*, and *shin*. Therefore, it is most likely that DSS F.Mic1 belonged to an otherwise unknown scroll of Micah or of the Minor Prophets, or at least a scroll that contained parts of Micah.

26 If DSS F.Mic1 is part of 4QXII^g, then fragment 92 of 4QXII^g would have originally been located just a few words to the left along line 4 of DSS F.Mic1, with its second line containing text from what would be line 5 of DSS F.Mic1. However, the 8 mm line spacing that is typical of 4QXII^g is supported by fragment 92, while the spacing between the fourth and fifth dry line in the margin of DSS F.Mic1 is about 4.5 mm. This difference makes it highly unlikely that DSS F.Mic1 was part of the same scroll as fragment 92 of 4QXII^g.

Photographs

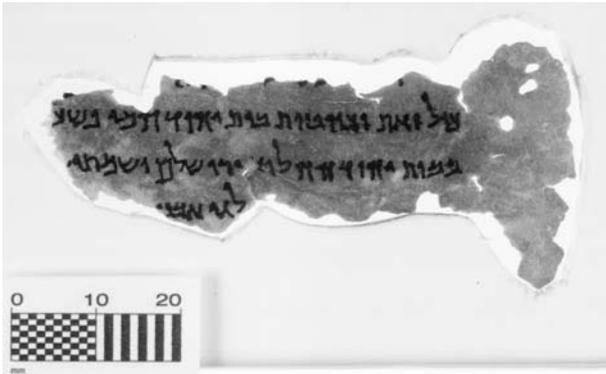


FIGURE 14.1 DSS *F.Mic* (Micah 1:4-6) dating to the late first century B.C.E.

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

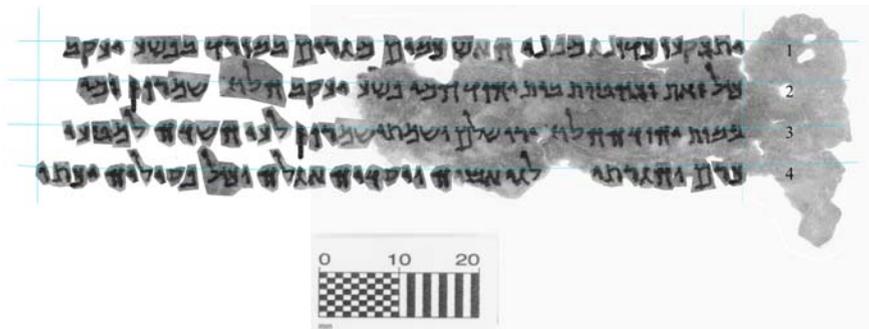


FIGURE 14.2 DSS *F.Mic* (Micah 1:4-6) dating to the late first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters. The shapes of most letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.

RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. FOR THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT OF LINE 4, SEE ABOVE, RECONSTRUCTED VARIANTS. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Psalm 11:1–4 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000121)

Lisa M. Wolfe with Allison Bevers, Kathryn Hirsch, Leigh Smith and Daniel Ethan Watt

This Museum of the Bible Collection acquisition (Ps 11:1–4), catalogued as MOTB.SCR.000121, has been assigned the designation DSS F.199 (DSS F.Ps3) by Eibert Tigchelaar, according to his revised numbering system for Judaean Desert scroll fragments. The fragment preserves four partial lines from Psalm 11, namely a small portion of the superscription and several words and letters from the following three verses. Psalm 11 expresses gratitude for the safety provided by the Lord. In the verse preserved here, the Psalmist rejects the view that the power of the “wicked” prevails over the “upright in heart” (vv. 2–3), proclaiming instead that the Lord on high oversees all from his “holy temple” (v. 4).

The fragment contains five words, two in full (לֵב כִּי, line 3), two in part, yet clearly visible (לְדוֹרָם and הַרְשָׁעִים, lines 1 and 2), and two only in traces (lines 3 and 4). The first word on this fragment probably uses *plene* spelling, and variants unknown elsewhere appear on lines 3 and 4. The text is not written stichometrically.

Another small fragment, owned by the Ashland Theological Seminary (ATS) in Ohio, has been identified as belonging to the same scroll as F.Ps3, but future study of photographs of this fragment would provide further confirmation of its relation to DSS F.Ps3. The ATS fragment adjoins to the left of DSS F.Ps3, aligning with lines 1, 2 and 3. Hanan and Esther Eshel published both of these Psalm 11 fragments in 2007. They identified them as belonging to 11QPsc (11Q7) and designated them as frgs. 3a and 3b¹ because they would appear between fig. 3

1 Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, “A Preliminary Report on Seven New Fragments from Qumran,” in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls v–vi* (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 220, 276–277. See exhibition guides with images of DSS F.Ps3 by Lee Biondi, *The Dead Sea Scrolls to the Bible in America: How God Preserved His Word* (Litchfield Park, AZ: Biblical Arts of Arizona, 2004), 2, 14, and *From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Bible in America: A Brief History of the Bible from Antiquity to Modern America Told Through Ancient Manuscripts and Early European and American Printed Bibles* (Camarillo, CA: Spire Resources, 2009), 4, 16.

(Ps 9:3–8) and frgs. 4–7 (Pss 12:5–14:6) in the published *DJD* edition.² However, the paleographic features in DSS F.Ps3 indicate that it pre-dates 11QPs^c. Based on paleography, DSS F.Ps3 can be dated to the early to middle part of the first century B.C.E., though its provenance remains unknown. The group formed by DSS F.Ps3 and the ATS fragment together with 4QCatenaA (4Q177) 5–6 (Ps 11:1a, 2) and 5/6 5HevPsalms 1 iii (Ps 11:1–5a) comprise the only four compositions that preserve parts of Psalm 11 from among the Judaean Desert scrolls.³

Physical Description

The fragment measures 2.3 by 1.38 cm. It comprises two pieces that remain tenuously attached below the substrate. The first measures 1.11 by 0.9 cm, and is connected to the top edge on the left side of the larger piece, measuring 1.78 by 1.07 cm. In natural light the leather appears dark brown and black with some lighter patches, fading from light grayish brown to black from the top to the bottom. While the fragment is dark in color, letters are still visible in natural light, although the contents in line 3 are only clearly legible in the infrared photographs. The surface is quite deteriorated, lumpy, and uneven, and the substrate has a thick layered look. It has a flaky appearance, especially at the top, left, and bottom edges, which are rough and curling slightly, most notably along the bottom edge. In contrast, the right side has a sharper edge. Cracks in the fragment creep toward the middle, and the fragment seems to have some distortion or shrinkage (particularly noticeable in the *he* and *resh* in line 2), so that the join between the two pieces is no longer reconcilable.

A historic appraisal of the photographs helps establish a chronology of deterioration starting with images produced in the summer of 2009 (infrared and color; see Figure 15.1). Additional images were produced in the summer of 2012 (infrared; see Figure 15.2) and the spring of 2014 (infrared and color in Polynomial Texture Map [PTM] files; see Figure 15.3).⁴ The 2009 images show

2 Florentino García Martínez et al, *Qumran Cave 11.II: (11Q2–18, 11Q20–31)* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 49–61 and pl. vi.

3 Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschata.b): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und Traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") Repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 71, 77; Peter Flint, "5/6HevPsalms (Pls. xxv–xxvii)," in *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al.; DJD XXXVIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 141–166, 150–151.

4 The West Semitic Research Project produced all the photographs. See Figures 15.1–3, below.

the main fragment with no flakes. By 2012 there are three visible flakes, all dark gray or black in color and containing no visible traces of writing in natural light. In the infrared spectrum one flake (measuring 1.61 mm wide) contains a downstroke that is positively identified with a supralinear downstroke of the *lamed* from line 1. On the right edge of another of these flakes (measuring 2.3 mm wide) there is a tiny trace of ink belonging to the same *lamed*. The flake has been turned about 125 degrees, so that in the 2012 infrared picture (2012 MOTB.SCR.000121 OBV IR) the ink trace appears like part of a linear stroke. This flake is joined to the left edge of the top part of the fragment on line 1 and the ink trace is clearly part of the end of the hook of *lamed*. The third flake (measuring 3.86 mm wide) is uninscribed and belongs to the right edge of the fragment just above the *he* in line 2. In the 2014 photographs the flakes have deteriorated into about twenty-four minute bits as well as some dust (not shown in Figure 15.3).

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This tiny fragment contains the remains of four lines written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand. The letters suspend on the lines and the distance between the tops of the letters in one line and the tops of the letters in the following line is 6.3 mm. A small space has been left between the words. Only eleven different letters of the alphabet are represented in full in this fragment. The height of the left downstroke of *shin* is 2.2 mm and its width is 2.8 mm. The letters were written with a reed pen of medium thickness with a somewhat worn out nib, as evidenced by the almost equal thickness of the horizontal and vertical strokes. The downstrokes are almost vertical, and only single letters very slightly lean forward (e.g., *dalet* and *vav* in line 1). The handwriting looks clear and professional.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents⁵ enables an approximate dating of the script of this fragment to the first half of the first century B.C.E. A thickening at the top of the left “arm” of *ayin* was perhaps made as an independent short stroke indicating the beginning of ornamental additions to the strokes of certain letters. Also the short vertical stroke at the right “arm” of *shin* shows that the copyist was already familiar with a late Hasmonean phase in the formal evolution of the “Jewish” script appearing toward the mid-first century B.C.E. The lack of the “heel” at

5 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

the base of *bet* and the long, narrow *kaf* with the concave base seem to belong to an earlier phase in the development of the “Jewish” script and therefore this hand writing can hardly be dated later than approximately the mid-first century B.C.E.

Transcription

Psalm 11:1-4

- 1 [למנצח] לדוֹיָד ביהוה חסיתי איך תאמרו לנפשי נודו הרכם צפור]
- 2 [כי הנה] הרשעיםִ ידרכון קשת כוננו חצם על יתר לירות במו אפל]
- 3 [לישרי] לבִי³ כיִ הרסון השתות צדיק מה פעלִ יהוה בשמים כסאו יהוה]
- 4 [בהיכל] קדִשו עיניו יחזו עפעפיו יבחנו בני אדם ...]

Translation

- 1 ¹[For the director;] for Davi[d. In the Lord I take refuge. How can you say to me, “Flee like a bird to your mountain?]
- 2 ²[For behold,] the wicked[bend the bow, they set their arrows upon the string to shoot in darkness]
- 3 [at the upright in] heart. ³If [the foundations] are br[ought down, what can the righteous do?” ⁴The Lord’s throne is in heaven, the Lord is]
- 4 [in his] ho[ly temple. His eyes examine; his stare tests the sons of humans ...].

Notes on Readings

- 1 דִּיִּד (11:1) The hook of the *lamed* is still clearly visible and the right-sloping downstroke of the *yod* has survived, but without the head. The *yod* is narrow and short (especially compared to the *yod* in כִּי in line 3), and its appearance confirms the *plene* spelling of “David,” לִדְוִיִּד. Like the thicker, more triangular shaped *yod* in כִּי on line 3, the downstroke of the *yod* in line 1 extends about half the length of the other letters. However, unlike the *yod* in line 3, the ductus of this one is quite thin. Comparison with the *yod* at the end of line 2 is also helpful, as it looks similar to what remains of the *yod* in line 1 and may explain its unusually narrow ductus. Careful analysis with infrared and RTI shows that the bottom point of the *yod* in line 1 is intact. That precludes

reading the letter as part of a *dalet* and confirms the *plene* spelling of the word. This contrasts with the Eshels' transcription of line 1, which is $\text{ך}[\text{ל}]\text{דו}$. However, they did not have access to the high quality images that were made available for the purpose of preparing this edition.

- 2 $\text{ם} \text{ה} \text{ר} \text{ש} \text{ע} \text{י} \text{ם}$ (11:2) The crossbar of the second letter is slightly damaged, but it is nevertheless almost certainly a *resh*. The *yod* shows more deterioration than the rest of the letters (see the discussion of line 1 above). At the left edge of the fragment a trace of a downstroke is visible that could belong to the uppermost right corner of the square final *mem*.
- 3 $\text{י} \text{ה} \text{ר} \text{ס} \text{ו} \text{ן}$ (11:2–3) The two visible words correspond to the last word of v. 2 and the first word of v. 3, and the absence of any section break here suggests that the text on the fragment was not written stichometrically. The *lamed* appears almost in its entirety, with an elongated “mast” and “flag” at the top. At the left edge of the fragment on line 3 there is a single, short ink stroke preserved that matches the length, placement, and angular descent of a downstroke that most plausibly belongs to a *yod*. In the light of the correspondence of the text in this fragment with Ps 11:1–4, one would expect it to continue with the noun $\text{ה} \text{ש} \text{ת} \text{ו} \text{ת}$ to begin the next verbal clause in v. 4. However, the incompatibility of the visible trace of ink with a *he* invalidates this possibility and strongly suggests the presence of an alternative reading here. The closest match of the ink to a *yod* could be explained by a transposition of the verb $\text{י} \text{ה} \text{ר} \text{ס} \text{ו} \text{ן}$ with the noun, which would reflect conventional Hebrew sentence structure.
- 4 $\text{ק} \text{ד} \text{ש} \text{ו}$ (11:4) The descender of *qof* is cut off by the bottom edge of the fragment. The top point of the right downstroke, probably belonging to a *dalet*, appears at the bottom left of the fragment. The appearance of $\text{ק} \text{ד} \text{ש} \text{ו}$ in vertical alignment with $\text{כ} \text{י}$ at the beginning of v. 3 in the previous line led to the hypothesis that the phrases in MT 11:4a α ($\text{י} \text{ה} \text{ו} \text{ה} \text{ב} \text{ה} \text{י} \text{כ} \text{ל} \text{ק} \text{ד} \text{ש} \text{ו}$) and 4a β ($\text{י} \text{ה} \text{ו} \text{ה} \text{ב} \text{ש} \text{מ} \text{י} \text{ם} \text{כ} \text{ס} \text{א} \text{ו}$) are reversed in this text. This proposal is represented in the transcription above, but it reflects the prior publication of this fragment and the ATS fragment by Eshel and Eshel. They reached their conclusion based on character count and spacing, which provides for a consistent length of line 3 based on comparison with the other extrapolated lines, and makes sense of the placement of $\text{ק} \text{ד} \text{ש} \text{ו}$ in line 4. See below for further discussion of this variant.

Orthography and Morphology

- 1 לְדָוִד (11:1) This *plene* spelling of “David” (דָּוִד) differs from the defective spelling (דוד) found in most of the MT Psalms, including Psalm 11.⁶ The *plene* spelling is standard in MT of later biblical literature, particularly Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. It is also found in biblical manuscripts including 5/6HevPs 11:1 (see below) and in the non-biblical DSS.⁷ Thus, the *plene* spelling of “David” in this fragment matches the manuscript evidence from the Judean Desert, further substantiating this orthographical preference in the DSS corpus and in LBH as a whole.

Variants

- 3 הַשְּׁתוֹת יִהְיֶה הַרְסוֹן (11:3) MT and all other sources read הַשְּׁתוֹת יִהְיֶה הַרְסוֹן (11:3) The line ends with a *yod* rather than a *he*, as would be expected based on MT. The transposition of the noun הַשְּׁתוֹת with the following verb הַרְסוֹן solves this problem and follows typical Hebrew verb-subject word order. This variant is otherwise unattested.
- 3–4 יְהוָה בְּשָׁמַיִם כִּסְאוֹ יְהוָה בְּהִיכָל קִדְשׁוֹ (11:4) The variant in the scroll reverses the sequence of the phrases in MT, which reads: יְהוָה בְּהִיכָל קִדְשׁוֹ (11:4a α) and יְהוָה בְּשָׁמַיִם כִּסְאוֹ (11:4a β). Eshel and Eshel first proposed this interchange, with MT 11:4a α placed at the beginning of line 4, based on the calculation of letter spaces in the lacuna between the extant words in lines 3 and 4 (see below). The hypothesis was to provide for an acceptably uniform column width, particularly on the left margin, in order to allow for the placement of קִדְשׁוֹ [שׁוֹ] seen on line 4 of DSS F.Ps3. If the clauses remain in MT order, then neither the left margin of line 3 nor the right margin of line 4 aligns with lines 1 and 2. The proposed transposition of clauses could have arisen because both begin with the Tetragrammaton. Furthermore, the phrases comprise a synonymous parallelism with analogous content. Thus the reversal could be attributed to phonological, graphic, or content similarity, or all of these. The variant does not seem to affect the meaning of the passage.

6 The only MT Psalms text that uses *plene* spelling is Ps 122:5.

7 The only defective spelling of this word among the DSS and related documents occurs in CD VII, 16.

A reconstruction of the fragment by Marilyn Lundberg and Bruce Zuckerman shows that Eshel and Eshel's proposed variant would probably align the columns properly only if the Tetragrammaton from the MT 11:4a α clause appeared at the end of line 3 rather than at the beginning of line 4 (see Figure 15.4).⁸ On line 4 the fragment shows a large space to the right of קד]שו with no trace of ink. Eshel and Eshel's emendation suggests that the previous word is בהיכל. The letter *lamed* elsewhere in the fragment exhibits an elongated mast and flag, and since no part of it appears, it would have been situated at least 3 mm to the right of קד]שו. That would place בהיכל nearly flush with the right margin of the column, with only a 1–2 mm indent from the margin created by lines 2 and 3. When Lundberg and Zuckerman substituted the synonyms במקום and במעון for בהיכל at the beginning of the reconstructed line 4 there was a slightly smaller space between those words and קד]שו. However, those substitutions created an even larger indent on the right margin of line 4. The best solution is to reverse MT 11:4a α and 4a β based on Eshel and Eshel's proposal, and to place the Tetragrammaton from MT 11:4a α at the end of line 3, according to Lundberg and Zuckerman's modification.

Textual Character

Little can be said of the textual character of DSS F.Ps3 since it and the related ATS fragment are very tiny. However, the variant transposition on line 3, and the clause transposition on lines 3 and 4 suggest a previously unattested variant of Psalm 11.

Relation to Other Judaean Desert Fragments

There are a substantial number of fragments containing text from individual Psalms, as well as a few copies of Psalms collections or "psalters" in the Qumran scrolls, and from other caves in the Judaean Desert.⁹ DSS F.Ps3 may be added to the following four texts in which material from Psalm 11 has survived.

8 Personal correspondence with M. Lundberg and B. Zuckerman, March 2015.

9 For differing views on the prevalence of Psalms in DSS, see Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2, and Mika S. Pajunen, "Perspectives on the Existence of a Particular Authoritative Book of Psalms in the Late Second Temple Period," *JSOT* 39 (2014): 139–163.

1. 4QCatenaA: This work, dated to the second half of the first century B.C.E., includes biblical quotes and midrashic commentary. 4QCatenaA (4Q177) frgs. 5–6 includes Ps 11:1a, 2. Like DSS F.Ps3 it attests the *plene* spelling of דויד.¹⁰ The Catena author enlists Mic 2:10–11 and Ps 11:1–2 to protest the maltreatment of the righteous by the wicked.
2. Ashland Theological Seminary Fragment: The 2007 Eshel and Eshel article identified the ATS fragment as belonging to the same scroll as DSS F.Ps3, assigning the two fragments to the same column. Beyond their publication no photographs are available. The ATS fragment includes nearby portions of Ps 11:1–3 from the first three lines of DSS F.Ps3, and is separated from it to the left by two to four words. The contents of the ATS fragment are added to the transcription below within curly brackets based on the Eshel and Eshel reconstruction. Future study of photographs of this fragment would provide further confirmation of its relation to DSS F.Ps3.

1 [למנצח] לדויד¹ [ד ביהוה חסיתי אי {ד} תאמרו לנפשי נודו הרכם צפור]
 2 [כי הנה] הרשעים [ידרכון קשת {כוננו חצם על} יתר לירות במו אפל]
 3 [לישרי] לב³ כי³ [הרסון השתות צדיק מה פע {ל} ⁴יהוה בשמים כסאו]
 4 [יהוה בהיכל] קד⁴ [שו עיניו יחזו עפעפיו יבחנו בני אדם ⁵יהוה צדיק]

3. 5/6HevPsalms v, 17–21 (frg. 1 iii 8–12 = Ps 11:1–5a): The fragment that contains Psalm 11 from the Wadi Hever Psalms scroll has a partial parallel to this fragment, with some overlap of lines 1, 3, and 4 of DSS F.Ps3.¹¹ DJD XXXVIII reports that 5/6HevPsalms v, 17 uses the defective spelling of “David,” which would be unusual in LBH and other DSS (see above for further discussion).¹² In col. v, 20 a *vacat* measuring approximately 8 mm separates לב and כי, the last word of v. 2 and first word of v. 3 respectively. In contrast, line 3 of DSS F.Ps3 has only a word separator between these two words.
4. 11QPs^c: Eshel and Eshel identified DSS F.Ps3 with other fragments from the 11QPs^c scroll but further examination does not support this theory. Although 11QPs^c has a lacuna where Psalm 11 would belong, the differences between that scroll and DSS F.Ps3 in script eliminate the possibility of assigning this fragment to 11QPs^c.

¹⁰ Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 71, line 7.

¹¹ Flint, “5/6HevPsalms,” in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Miscellaneous Texts*, 150; col. v, 17–22 (frgs. 2 + 1 iii).

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 1b.

We have not identified any scroll from the Judaean Desert to which DSS F.Ps3 belongs other than the ATs fragment.

Photographs



FIGURE 15.1

DSS F.Ps3 (Ps 117:1-4) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. Summer 2009 Infrared

PHOTOGRAPH BY WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH PROJECT. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.



FIGURE 15.2

DSS F.Ps3 (Ps 117:1-4) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. Summer 2012 Infrared

PHOTOGRAPH BY WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH PROJECT. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.



FIGURE 15.3

DSS F.Ps₃ (Ps 11:1-4) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. Spring 2014 Polynomial Texture Map

PHOTOGRAPH BY WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH PROJECT. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.



FIGURE 15.4 *DSS F.Ps₃ (Ps 11:1-4) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. reconstructed to show variants and column width. The reconstruction uses letters copied from those that appear in the fragment. Letters not represented in the fragment have been replaced with gray rectangles sized according to Ada Yardeni's script charts.*

MARCH 2015 BY MARILYN LUNDBERG AND BRUCE ZUCKERMAN. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Daniel 10:18–20 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003170)

*Robert Duke with Daniel Holt and Skyler Russell*¹

A single fragment containing a small portion of text from chapter 10 of the book of Daniel is part of the Museum of the Bible Collection with the inventory number MOTB.SCR.003170.² The fragment (Dan 10:18–20) has been assigned the designation DSS F.200 (DSS F.Dan) by E. Tigchelaar.

This fragment contains three lines of visible text that have been identified with parts of Dan 10:18–20.³ According to the seller, the fragment was purchased from the Ta'amirah Bedouin and its provenance was Qumran Cave 4. While this is not an unreasonable identification since many fragments were recovered by the Bedouin from Cave 4, its connection to this specific cave and to Qumran cannot be made with any surety.

The larger context of Daniel 10 features a remarkable presentation of a cosmic battle between angelic figures. Daniel is visited by a humanlike figure who is clearly otherworldly based on Daniel's description of his appearance and his own emotional and physical response. In Dan 10:1–3, a divine word is revealed to Daniel, which confounds him. He responds by entering a period of ritualized mourning lasting three weeks, but producing no explanation of the meaning of the word. In vv. 4–10, the angelic figure appears to Daniel. The figure's otherworldly appearance causes Daniel great distress, and this fragment contains the charge by this angelic being from v. 19, exhorting Daniel to be strong. The first two words from v. 20 survive in the next line of the fragment. In what follows in the biblical text, the angel explains to Daniel that

1 With additional assistance provided by Taylor Ernst, Tyler LeMasters, Jeffrey Martell, and Aron Tillema.

2 This could possibly be an additional copy of the book of Daniel, but the amount of data on this fragment does not make a confident claim possible. This material could be part of a larger work that included this quote from Daniel, but this, too, cannot be confidently stated. For a complete discussion of quotes from the book of Daniel within Qumran material, see Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 186–188.

3 The three lines of text can be discerned with difficulty in natural light; however, the infrared image clearly shows three visible lines.

he has been delayed in revealing the meaning of the divine word because of an ongoing conflict with the “prince of Persia” and the “prince of Greece.” The cosmic battle between angelic beings was understood in the Second Temple Period as mirroring the realities on the earth. According to Carol Newsom in the *Anchor Biblical Dictionary*:

The conflict on earth between Israel and its enemies is the counterpart of the conflict in heaven between angelic armies. Victory will mean the establishment of the kingdom of Michael among the angels and of Israel among the nations (1QM 17:6–8; *As. Mos.* 10:1–10; cf. Dan 7:13–14, 26–27). Although references to angelic armies are very frequent in the apocalypses, the most detailed account of the eschatological battle and the role of the angels is to be found in the Qumran War Scroll (1QM).⁴

The relatively high number of copies of the book of Daniel that survived at Qumran suggests that this book played an important role in shaping the concepts of the Qumran community.

Portions of chapter 10 also appear in three other Qumran copies of Daniel: 4QDan^a (4Q112; 10:16–20), 4QDan^c (4Q114; 10:5–16, 21), and 6QpapDan (6Q7; 10:8–16). Of these texts, only 4Q112 15 18 preserves overlapping material with DSS F.Dan1. Both texts have preserved the word הַיְדֵעַת. The transcription below assumes a right margin close to the surviving text, which would make this fragment’s alignment very similar to that appearing in 4Q112 fig. 15.

Physical Description

This dark brown fragment measures 2.5 by 1.9 cm. The rough surface shows some signs of damage which also appear subtly lighter in color where the skin has been worn. The fragment preserves remnants of three lines of text clearly legible in the color photograph.⁵ The word spacing is not consistent, with most words having less than 1 mm between them. At the end of line 2, there is no apparent space between the last two words on the fragment (see discussion below). The distance between lines is consistently 6 mm. The width of the

4 Carol Newsom, “Angels: Old Testament,” *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman: 6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1:253.

5 Photograph by Marilyn J. Lundberg, Bruce Zuckerman, and Kenneth Zuckerman, West Semitic Research.

column can only be estimated, since the remains of margins are not present. However, a reconstruction suggests a column width of approximately 50–55 letter spaces or about 8.4 cm.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This is a small fragment containing the remains of three lines written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand. The letters suspend on the lines and the distance between the tops of the letters in one line and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 7 mm. A small space has been left between most of the words except for the last two words in line 2 and the first two words in line 3, the reading of which depends on the context. The letters vary in their height and width. The average height of the letter *het* is about 2.5 mm and its width about 1.5 mm. Remains of damaged letters appear in line 1 and at the ends of lines 2 and 3, where the text has been restored. The letters were written with a thin reed pen. The almost equal thickness of horizontal and vertical strokes indicates a somewhat worn out nib of the reed pen. There seems to be an unequal tilt of the letters: some letters lean forward (e.g., *het*, *zayin*, *qof*, *vav*, *kaf*, and *resh* in line 2) while others stand erect (e.g., *tav*, *dalet*, *bet*, and *mem* in line 2) and still others lean backwards (e.g., *tav*, *lamed*, and *alef* in line 3). This may be a personal characteristic of the copyist’s handwriting or an impression caused by the shrinkage of the hide. This and the appearance of variant forms of the same letter (e.g., *he*, *mem*, and *tav*, each appearing in variant forms) indicate some negligence in writing. The base lines of *bet*, *kaf*, *mem*, and *tav* bend almost horizontally to the left.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents⁶ enabled an approximate dating of the script of this fragment to the first half to the mid-first century B.C.E. Ornamental additions at the left end of the “roof” of *he* and at the left “arm” of *ayin*, show that the copyist was already familiar with a late Hasmonean phase in the formal evolution of the “Jewish” script appearing toward the mid-first century B.C.E. The lack of the “heel” at the base of *bet*, the long *kaf* extending below the imaginary base line, and the short “leg” of *qof* all belong to an earlier phase in the development of the “Jewish” script and therefore this hand writing can hardly be dated later than approximately the mid-first century B.C.E.

6 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

Transcription

Dan 10: 18–20

- 1 [ויגע בי] כּמֶרְ[א] הֶּ [א] ׀ם [ויחזקני¹⁹ וויאמר אל תירא איש חמדות שלום]
- 2 [לך חזק] ׀התחזק וכדברו עמי הַתְּ [חזקתי ואמרה ידבר אדני כי חזקתני]
- 3 [ויאמר²⁰] הִידעת למה באתי אֲ[ליך ועתה אשוב להלחם עם שר פרס]

Translation

- 1 [... he touched me,] the one with the appe[a]rance[of a m]an. [And he strengthened me and said, “Do not fear beloved man, peace be]
- 2 [to you. Be strong]and strengthen yourself.” And while he was speaking in my presence, I be[came strong and said, “May my Lord speak because you strengthened me.”]
- 3 [And he said,]“Do you know why I came t[o you? And I presently must return to battle with the Prince of Persia ...”]

Notes on Readings

- 1 Only the *mem* is fully visible on this line. The reconstruction of the entire line, though, is likely based on the visible remains of the other letters on this line. Using the number of letter spaces on lines 2 and 3 in comparison with the MT, the reconstruction presented for the entire line seems most likely.
- 1 הֶּ כּמֶרְ[א] (10:18) The base of the *kaf* corresponds closely to the *kaf* that appears below on line 2. The letter is narrow, and the base extends slightly below the baseline, and on a subtle downward trajectory. While the *mem* is clearly visible (even to such a degree that it is unmistakable in the color image) this letter and the following stroke of ink are possibly problematic since they appear even at the very top edge of the fragment where the surface has worn. There is a gap following the downstroke of the *resh*, and then the bottom tips of two parallel downstrokes belonging to a single letter are clearly visible. The distance between these two vertical strokes are highly compatible with other fully preserved *hes* in the following line.

- 1 אִדָּם [א] (10:18) The tip of a downstroke likely belonging to a *dalet* and the bottom left corner of what appears most clearly to be a final *mem* are visible. The final *mem* drops well below the baseline.
- 2 וְהִתְחַזֵּק (10:19) Only the head of the first letter remains at the edge of the fragment. Context requires that it be reconstructed as the conjunction *vav*, but the angle and length of the stroke bears a slightly closer resemblance to *yod*, cf. הִידַעַת and בְּאַתִּי in the following line. The *he* is unusual as it does not follow the same pattern of movement in the joins between the downstrokes and the crossbar that appear in other examples, cf. הִתְחַזְקִיתִי at the end of the line and לָמָּה in line 3.
- 2 הִתְחַזְקִיתִי (10:19) This word is reconstructed based on the MT. The *he* is clear, and this letter is followed by a downstroke which appears to connect at the top to a crossbar. Context suggests that this is a *tav*, but the length of the stroke is unusually long compared to other examples in וְהִתְחַזֵּק on the same line, and in הִידַעַת on line 3. The visible *tavs* in lines 2 and 3 have thicker right vertical downstrokes. This word appears with no wordspace and in a slightly elevated position on the line. Its position is possibly problematic because it appears in a space where the surface is better preserved at the edge of the fragment and above lighter colored sections of damage where the line would be expected. This could suggest a secondary hand sometime in history, including the modern era. See especially the color photograph, MOTB.SCR.003170 OBVV, and the PTM images MOTB.SCR.003170obv1000, and MOTB.SCR.003170obv 2750.
- 2 וּכְדַבְּרוּ (10:19) The Masoretes noted the unusual nature of this word, for this is the only occurrence in Daniel of this specific word with a *kaf* instead of the three occurrences of the temporal clause with a *bet* in Dan 8:18, 10:11, and 10:15.⁷

7 Waltke and O'Connor claim that the use of *bet* or *kaf* indicates a difference in the type of time: "With the infinitive construct, ב denotes in general the temporal proximity of one event to another, כ more specifically the more immediately preceding time." Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 604. Dan 10:15 (using *bet*) and Dan 10:19 (using *kaf*) call this into question since the prepositions do not seem to have a substantively different meaning in Dan 10:15 and 10:19. A search of the entire book of Daniel where *bet* or *kaf* are used with an infinitive construct show almost equal occurrences of both.

between a Hitpael form of חזק and verb ἐνισχύω. This instance is in 1 Chron 19:13, which is paralleled in 2 Sam 10:12. Consider the two examples below of the root חזק and its Greek translations:

2 Sam 10:12 חזק ונתחזק ἀνδρίζου καὶ κραταιωθῶμεν
 1 Chron 19:13 חזק ונתחזקה ἀνδρίζου καὶ ἐνισχύσωμεν

Reconstructed Variants

- 1 [חמדות] (10:19) The reconstruction of Dan 10:19 follows MT; however, one copy from Qumran, 4Q112 15 17, reads החמדות, with the addition of the definite article. It is not possible to know whether or not DSS F.Dan1 included the article with this word.
- 2 הַתְּחֻזְקִי (10:19) The reading is suggested by the last two visible letters on the line. They appear slightly elevated and written without a clear word space separating this word from the preceding word עמי. The placement of the letters is furthermore peculiar since they seem to be intentionally positioned to avoid small parts of damage on the surface of the fragment. It is possible that this was an effect of the scribe attempting to navigate a very poorly prepared scroll surface, but one should also not dismiss the possibility that this was ink applied to an already damaged fragment.
- 2 וְאָמְרָה יְדַבֵּר אֲדָנִי (10:19) The reconstruction in line 2 follows the MT; however, a reconstruction based on 4Q112 15 18 could also be possible, which would read וְאָמַר דְּבַר אֲדָנִי and is supported by the Old Greek, Theodotion, Peshitta, and Vulgate.

Orthography and Morphology

The preserved portions of this fragment all reflect the short orthography of the MT. Most notably, ידעת in line 3 is defective where in several other known Qumran manuscripts it is written with a final *he*.¹¹ The reconstruction presupposes the same defective system, and aligns quite neatly with hypothetical right and left margins.

¹¹ See 1QIsa^a xxxiii, 29; xl, 13; 4QSam^a 54 3; 4QPs^a 19 ii 20–28.

Textual Character

Based on the extant readings and the known variants among versions in Dan 10:18–20, DSS F.Dan1 does not preserve enough material to describe its textual character, nor to assign it to any known textual tradition.¹²

Relation to Other Judaean Desert Fragments

DSS F.Dan1 is compared with fragments from ten known Judaean Desert manuscripts containing text from the book of Daniel. Eight were discovered in three of the Qumran Caves (1QDan^a, 1QDan^b, 4QDan^a, 4QDan^b, 4QDan^c, 4QDan^d, 4QDan^e, 6QDan). In 2009, Azusa Pacific University acquired a small fragment containing text from Dan 5:13–16.¹³ The Schoyen Collection also houses a fragment wad that has been positively identified as belonging to two previously published copies of Daniel from Qumran Cave 1, 1QDan^a,^b.¹⁴ According to that collection's website, the material on the fragment is from Dan 3:26–27. Finally, a Daniel fragment was acquired in 2010 by Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and contains text from Daniel 6.¹⁵ Based on a cursory examination of the material that is accessible for comparison, the Museum of the Bible Daniel fragment does not belong to any of the known copies of Daniel. This is most clearly evident from the scribal hand, which does not form a match with any of the other Daniel scrolls.

All the copies of the book of Daniel at Qumran show a basic agreement with MT. DSS F.Dan1 generally seems to also represent the text in MT, although it contains items of text-critical relevance.¹⁶ Whether this fragment was part of

12 For a full discussion of the various issues with the textual character of the book of Daniel see John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 2–12.

13 Robert Duke and William Yarchin, "DSS F.155: A Fragment of Daniel 5:13–16," in *Biblical Manuscripts at Azusa Pacific University and The Institute for Judaism and Christian Origins* (ed. James H. Charlesworth and William Yarchin; The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project, Supplementary Volume; Tübingen and Louisville, KY: Mohr Siebeck and Westminster John Knox Press, forthcoming).

14 Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*.

15 This fragment was presented in the following exhibit catalogue: *Gary & Stephanie Loveless Present Dead Sea Scrolls & the Bible* (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary: Fort Worth, TX, 2012), 91.

16 Consider Eugene Ulrich's comment: "All the identified fragments from Daniel at Qumran

another copy of the book of Daniel is beyond the evidence at present, but it does preserve important data for textual criticism and the book of Daniel.

Photographs

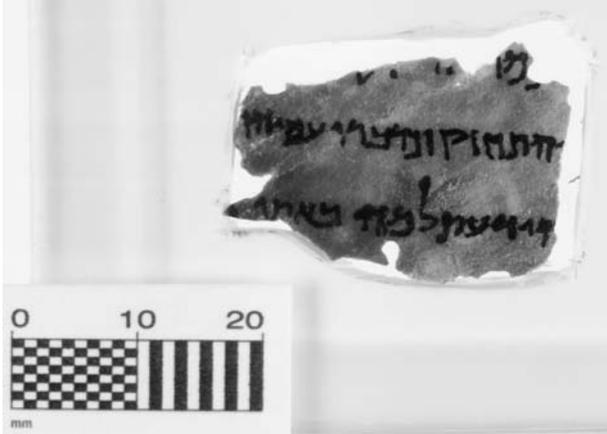


FIGURE 16.1 *DSS F.Dani (Dan 10:18–20) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E.*

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

share the same general text tradition as that transmitted in the Masoretic Text (as opposed to the longer Greek edition), though there are numerous interesting variants." Eugene Ulrich, "Daniel," *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:172.

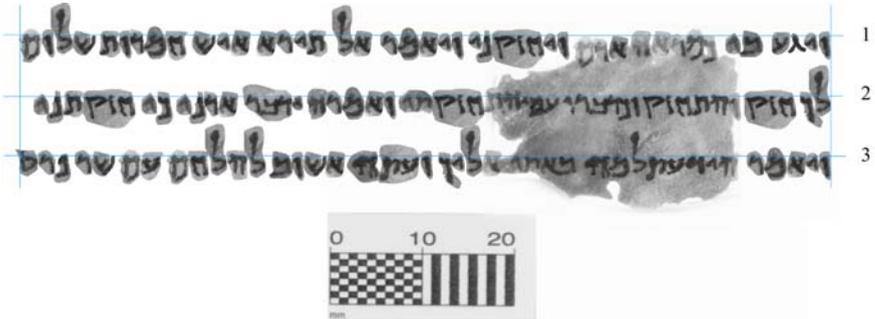


FIGURE 16.2 DSS *F.Dan1* (*Dan 10: 18–20*) dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters. The shapes of most letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.

RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

Nehemiah 2:13–16 (Inv. MOTB.SCR.003175)

Martin G. Abegg Jr. with Ryan Blackwelder, Joshua M. Matson,
Ryan D. Schroeder and Joseph Kyle Stewart

As the first Cave 4 materials were coming to light, Millar Burrows noted the absence of the biblical books Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah among the new manuscript discoveries at Qumran.¹ Now, sixty years later, only Esther remains missing. In 2000, three fragments of Ezra (4Q117) were published by Eugene Ulrich in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVI*.² Then in 2008, news of a privately held fragment of Nehemiah began to circulate. It was eventually added to The Schøyen Collection and a preliminary study detailing its contents was generously shared with the editors by Torleif Elgvin.³ The year 2012 brought news of a second Nehemiah fragment acquired by the Museum of the Bible Collection, which is documented for the first time in this publication.⁴ This fragment displays parts of Neh 2:13–16 and is the only witness to these verses from among remains found in the Judaean Desert. It is assumed to come from Cave 4, but in the final analysis it must be said that the provenance of the fragment remains unknown.

The fragment has been assigned the inventory number MOTB.SCR.003175 by the Museum of the Bible. It has also been referred to as XQNeh and occasionally as 4QNeh^b or 4Q117b in keeping with Elgvin and Eshel's preliminary sigla. Henceforth it will be referred to in this edition as DSS F.Neh2 (DSS F.201) as per the assignment of Eibert Tigchelaar, which is also in keeping with Emanuel Tov's recent publication of a new Amos fragment in *Dead Sea Discoveries: DSS F.Amos1*.⁵

¹ Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), 63.

² Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 291–293.

³ Torleif Elgvin had conducted preliminary work on this fragment with Esther Eshel, but its appearance in Elgvin et al., eds., *Gleanings from the Caves* has been postponed for a future subsequent publication.

⁴ The authors wish to express their heartfelt appreciation to the MOTB Scholars Initiative for making such an opportunity possible. The fragment served as the focus of a spring seminar at Trinity Western University and the four graduate students who participated are all included as joint authors of this study.

⁵ Emanuel Tov, "New Fragments of Amos," *DSD* 21 (2014): 1–11.

Physical Description

DSS F.Neh2 comprises two nearly equal sized pieces of parchment vertically joined to measure a combined 2.1 by 3.4 cm.⁶ The resultant fragment is literally the size of a commemorative postage stamp and preserves parts of four lines of text in the middle of a column (i.e. no margins). The substrate of the fragment is dark brown in color, and there are several places where the surface is worn, revealing a lighter-colored underlayer of the skin. Letters from all four lines of text are visible in natural light on the visible light color (VLC) image, MOTB.SCR.003175 obv v. There is no visible ruling⁷ and given the fact that the second line wanders somewhat, there may have been none in antiquity. However, the slight unevenness in the lines may be the result of shrinkage. The letters are a bit smaller than normal averaging just 2 mm in height.⁸ Spaces between words vary from an easily discernible 1.1 mm to as small as normal letter spacing of 0.2 mm. The line spacing varies from 0.5 cm (lines 1–2) to 0.6 cm (lines 2–4), as measured from the tops of the letters in one line to the tops of the letters in the following line. Reconstructing the missing text by means of MT gives a line length of about 50 letter spaces and results in a column width of approximately 7.6 cm. There is no way to judge the height of the column from the fragment itself. The infra red (IR) photos show four lines of clear writing on the recto and on the verso a 1.0 by 1.9 cm piece of clear tape holding the two fragments together. The tape appears to be of recent vintage and undoubtedly does not date to the time of discovery.

6 Bruce Zuckerman, Kenneth Zuckerman, and Marilyn Lundberg prepared both infrared (IR) and visible light color (VLC) photos of the recto and verso of the fragment. They also made available visible light color reflectance transformation images (VLC RTI) that allowed for some assessment of the “topography” of the fragment. In addition, Bruce and Marilyn prepared a full reconstruction based on letter forms either extracted or created from the fragment itself. Martin Abegg also spoke with Bruce in Portland, OR on May 31, 2014, at the meeting of the West Coast Qumran Study Group and went over the photographs with him. Several email exchanges with both Bruce and Marilyn occurred in June 2014, discussing not only the photographs, but also various readings. The authors are indebted to Bruce and Marilyn for their invaluable support at every stage of this study.

7 Bruce Zuckerman suggested in private conversation that the visible light color reflectance transformation images (VLC RTI) may show vestigial rulings. The study was not convinced of their visibility, however.

8 A random survey suggests that 2.5–3.0 mm was normative for the Judean Desert finds. Emanuel Tov concurs in Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 17.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This small fragment contains the remains of four lines written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand. The letters are of unequal height, but in general their height exceeds their width, except for *bet*, medial *mem* and final *he*. The average height of *shin* is about 1.7 mm and its width about the same. Remains of damaged letters appear in each of the lines, mostly at their beginning and end. The letters were written with a reed pen of medium thickness with a somewhat worn out nib, as indicated by the almost equal thickness of horizontal and vertical strokes. Most of the letters lean very slightly forward. The base lines of *mem* (except for final *mem* in line 2 and medial *mem* in line 3) and of *kaf* slant down to the left, whereas that of *bet* is horizontal.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents⁹ enabled a possible dating of the script of this fragment (with reservation) to around the mid-first century B.C.E. Most of the letters show features typical of the early first century B.C.E. The square *bet* lacking the “heel,” the distinction between medial and final *he*, the small *yod* made with two short strokes of almost equal length, and the archaic final *nun*, as well as the lack of ornamental additions, all seem to indicate an early phase in the development of the “Jewish” script. However, the final *mem* with the vertical left downstroke touching the base-stroke, the *het* with the diagonal bar joining the top of the left down-stroke, and the *shin* with the bent right “arm” are typical of the second half of the first century B.C.E. These late features cannot be ignored, and when combined with earlier letter forms, as in this fragment, indicate a gradual development of letter forms. Certain copyists who began working at an early phase and continued working for a long period may have incorporated later forms of the letters in the later years of their scribal activity. This fragment also includes two forms of medial *mem* (lines 2 and 3), two forms of final *mem* (lines 1 and 2), and two forms of *alef* (lines 2 and 3). Therefore, in spite of the archaic forms of certain letters, this fragment should be dated with hesitation to around the mid-first century B.C.E.

9 According to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure, for which see Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol. B, part II, 168–211.

Transcription

Nehemiah 2:13–16

- 0 [13]ואצאה בשער הגיא לילה ואל פני עין התנין ואל שער האשפת ואהי] o
 1 [שבר בחומת ירושלם אשר]◦רים ושי[עריה אכלו באש 14ואעבר] 1
 2 [אל שער העין ואל ברכת המ]לך ואין מקום לבהמה לעב[ר תחתי] 2
 3 [15]ואהי עלה בנחל לילה ואהי] שבר בחומה ואשוב ואבון[א בשער] 3
 4 [הגיא ואשוב 16והסגנים לא ידעו א]נה הלכתי [ומה אני עשה] 4

Translation

- o [13]I went out by the Gate of the Valley at night, toward the Dragon's Spring, to the Dung Gate, and I began]
- 1 [inspecting the walls of Jerusalem that were].rym, and [its] g[ates that had been consumed by fire. 14]I then went on]
- 2 [to the Fountain Gate and to the Pool of the Ki]ng. But there was no room for my mount to pas[s beneath me.]
- 3 [15]So I began to go by way of the wadi by night and] was inspecting the wall. Then I turned back and ent[ered by the Valley Gate,]
- 4 [and so I returned. 16]The officials did not know wh[ere I had gone [or what I had been doing.]

Notes on Readings

- 1 ◦רים [(2:13) The first visible letter of the fragment presents the most difficult transcription problem. First, as discussed below in *Variants*, the position of the extant *resh* makes it impossible that either MT reading, המפרוצים (*Ketiv*) or הם פרוצים (*Qere*), is to be reconstructed here. In addition, the traces of the letter to the right of the *resh* cannot be a *vav*. A number of different letters could be represented: *bet*, *kaf*, *nun*, *ayin*, *pe*, or *tsade*. However, the downward sloping angle of the base and position of the upper traces suggests that an *ayin* or *tsade* fit best. For contemporary manuscripts with examples of both combinations see 1QpHab VI, 11 (נערים) and 1QpHab XII, 11 (יצריו); 1QM II, 3 (בשערי) and 1QM I, 4 (במצרים). The length of the base and the overall height of the letter suggests a *tsade* whereas the angle of the base is more congruent with that of an *ayin*. The odd split form of the *resh* was perhaps caused by the “worn out nib” of the scribe’s pen.

- 1 וְשָׁעָרִיָּה (2:13) The downstroke of the *vav* is clearly visible, but the head has flaked off with the damaged portion of the surface at the edge of the fragment. The baseline of the *shin* is only just visible and, although it is not a good match for the *shin* of שָׁבַר (line 3), it is congruent with the shape of the *shin* of וְאֲשׁוּבָה (line 3), especially when the erosion of the surface layer to the right and left of the trace is taken into account. Other possibilities do exist: the horizontal base of a *kaf*, *mem*, or *nun*.
- 2 הַמַּלְךְ (2:14) A small part of the upper stroke of the *lamed* is visible above the line at the right edge of the fragment. The remaining trace of this stroke appears to be very low compared to the intact *lamed* in לְבַהֲמָה occurring later on the same line. If the top of the stroke is completely visible, the small size of the *lamed* is difficult to account for. However, the images show a clear erosion of the surface above and slightly to the right of the present trace.
- 2 וְאִין (2:14) The first complete word of line 2 is not in doubt, but the forms of the letters *alef* and *yod* are not clear because of the compressed writing. The two characters overlap at the left leg of the *alef* and the bottom of the *yod* creating doubt as to which letter the lower portion of the combination belongs. If to the *alef*, the form would have a distinct bent leg, turning sharply back to the right. If the *yod*, the leg of the *alef* would then be straight, ending just slightly past the descending *yod*, and the *yod* here would be as long as the *vavs* elsewhere. The *yod* of the first fragmentary word of line 1 (וְרִים) argues for the former decision while the *alef* of line 3 (וְאֲשׁוּבָה) suggests the latter. Ada Yardeni examined the photograph and believes that “the left leg of *alef* bends back since otherwise it would be unusually short for *alef*.”¹⁰ An examination of the photographs with an eye to the density of the ink is also suggestive of the determination that the *yod* ends to the left and just below the “knee” of a bent-legged *alef*.
- 2 לְעֵבֶר (2:14) The right lower corner of the *bet* where the base and downstroke meet has a rather strange appearance. The scribe may have been reshaping a letter written in error or perhaps the nib of his pen split as he turned the corner at the base.
- 3 בְּחֻמָּה (2:15) The *mem* is one of three visible on the fragment, but the form of this occurrence is quite different from the other two. The *mems* in line 2

10 Email correspondence of June 24, 2014.

above are both fairly consistent and characteristic of the Herodian period. However, this third example in line 3 is more reminiscent of later cursive forms (cf. e.g. 4QEn^g [4Q212]) with the downstroke forming a smooth curve back towards the base.

- 3 אַ וְאִבְנִי (2:15) A *vav* is expected as the first letter of the last word of line 3, but its appearance is unlike the six examples of this character present elsewhere in the fragment (line 1: וְשֵׁעָרֶיהָ, line 2: וְאִין and מְקוּם, line 3: בַּחֹמָה and וְאִשׁוּב). The bottom of the visible traces suggests that the scribe's pen nib again split on the downstroke and perhaps what ink might have been present below was thin and eventually flaked off. The surface of the skin appears to be intact. Otherwise it remains to posit a very clumsy *vav* that the scribe did not attempt to correct.
- 4 הַלְכֵתִי (2:16) Traces of the last two letters are difficult to identify but are arguably congruent with a *tav* and a *yod*. There are no extant examples of *tav* elsewhere in the fragment, but the downstroke following the mostly intact *kaf* and the trace that appears at the top left across the vertical break in the fragment could be filled in to fit the form of the *tav* found in 4Q365, a manuscript dated paleographically to 50–25 B.C.E. The top of the following *yod* slants oddly to the left but matches the profile of the *yod* in וְאִין (line 2).

Variants

- 1 אֶרֶם [(2:13) The very first word visible in the fragment presents the only variant. Nehemiah, describing the walls and gates of Jerusalem, writes that the latter had been “destroyed by fire” (Neh 2:13, וְשֵׁעָרֶיהָ אֶלְלוּ בְּאֵשׁ) and that the former were possibly “breached” or “broken down.” MT evidences a *Ketiv/Qere* at this point in the text, both offerings from the verbal root פָּרַץ, “to make a breach, break down, break through.” The *Ketiv* is the unreadable הַמְּפֹרָצִים, with the usual relative use of the definite article, but problematic given that it redundantly follows the particle אֲשֶׁר. The *BHS* apparatus interprets it as a Pual participle הַמְּפֹרָצִים, “they are broken down.” This interpretation has the benefit of a parallel at Neh 1:3, albeit in the feminine singular: “the wall of Jerusalem is broken down” (וְחֹמַת יְרוּשָׁלַם מְפֹרָצָת). The *Qere* presents us with the Qal passive participle פְּרוּצִים that finds a parallel at 2 Chron 32:5 with Hezekiah as the wall renovator (הַחֹמָה הַפְּרוּצָה). Both Neh 2:13 readings are curious in that they do not agree with the expected feminine antecedent, חֹמַת.

The problem with this fragment is that it reflects nothing of this. The *resh* and *tsade*, if it is a *tsade*, are reversed, and as indicated above in *Notes on Readings*, the expected *tsade* might in fact be an *ayin* or even a *bet*, *kaf*, *nun*, or *pe*. Also, the *vav* of MT is not possible.¹¹ Searching with these parameters yields nine possibilities:

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>bet</i> : | צְבָרִים | piles |
| | שְׁבָרִים | broken |
| <i>ayin</i> : | בְּעָרִים | burnt |
| | מְבֻעָרִים | kindled |
| | מִתְעַרְעָרִים | destroyed |
| | פְּעָרִים | opened, gaped |
| <i>pe</i> : | מוֹפְרִים | broken |
| <i>tsade</i> : | מְצָרִים | narrow places |
| | פְּצָרִים | pushed over (?) |

As this fragment offers new hope of solving a long standing textual mystery in MT, each of these possibilities will be reviewed in turn.

1. Resolving the character in question as a *bet* offers two possibilities:
 - a. The noun צְבָרִים meaning “piles” or “heaps” is never found in extant literature with “stones” or “walls.”
 - b. The verbal form שְׁבָרִים initially appears a logical choice, but again, there are no walls שְׁבָרִים (broken) in the Hebrew Bible.¹² For both of these readings with *bet* it is also noteworthy that the angle of the base of the letter in this fragment is sloped noticeably downward whereas every other clear case of *bet* in the fragment is flat: line 2 לְבַהֲמָה, line 3 שָׁבַר, בַּחֹמָה, and וְאִשׁוּב.
2. The *ayin*, as demonstrated by לַעֲבֹר in line 2, is a slightly better fit for the traces and presents four possibilities for examination.
 - a–b. The verb בער could fit the traces of the letters when understood as either the Qal passive participle בְּעָרִים or the Pual participle מְבֻעָרִים.

11 Since there is no *vav* visible in this fragment and Nehemiah generally represents Qal passive participles with a *shureq* (25 of 27 times), it might be argued that any form with a *qibbutz* before the final root radical is suspect. But see הַפְּרָצִים at Neh 4:1 and the numerous defective spellings of פְּרָצִים or הַמְּפָרְצִים catalogued by Kennicott.

12 See, however, with סלעים at 1Kgs 19:11 and with אבן in the Mishnah: *m. B. Qam* 9:3; *m. B. Metz'ia* 10:1; *m. Kelim* 11:8.

While the Hebrew Bible offers no occasion for the burning of stones or walls, the Mishnah suggests that this is possible (*m. B. Qam* 6:4). However, the Qal passive participle never occurs in extant literature and the Pual participle is found only at Jer 36:22 where the context requires “was burning/being burned.”¹³

- c. The form **מְתַעֲרָרִים**, a Hitpael participle of the root **עָרַר** (an inflection that does not occur in extant literature), could reflect Jer 51:58 where it is prophesied that the walls of Babylon would be “destroyed” (**תִּתְעַרְרָר**) and the gates burned with fire (**יִצְתוּ**).
 - d. The form **פְּעָרִים** (opened, gaped), a Qal passive participle of **פָּעַר**, might also fit the traces, although the root never occurs in extant literature with **חֹמָה**. In addition, the root is never found in the Qal passive participle and the Pual and Hophal are not attested elsewhere.
3. There are no examples of *pe* in this fragment. Nevertheless, contemporary manuscripts are in general accord with the traces (cf. **פָּרִי** at 1QpHab VI, 11). Reading the letter in question as a *pe* produces one contender for consideration: **מוֹפְרִים** (broken), a Hophal participle from the root **פָּרַר**. Although this inflection is not attested in the Hebrew Bible or Second Temple literature, it does occur frequently in the Mishnah tractate *Nedarim*, meaning “annulled” (e.g. *m. Ned.* 10:1). While this word seems a good fit, it becomes clear by surveying the biblical usage that nothing material is ever “broken” in this way. One can break a covenant (Gen 17:4) or frustrate a plan (Neh 4:9); in Qumran literature an arrow can “break forth” (1QH^a X, 28) or a person can be “shattered” (1QH^a XXI, 25), but nothing like stones or walls are ever **מוֹפְרִים**.¹⁴

4. A *tsade* offers two possibilities.

- a. First is the noun **מְצָרִים** which in biblical contexts would mean “distresses.” At 1QH^a XIII, 31, a reflection of Lam 1:4, the word seems rather to refer to “narrow places” that allow “no place of refuge.” Although this might be appropriate for the image of Nehemiah riding his mount through the confining rubble (Neh 2:14), it is less so for a description of the fallen walls.
- b. The second possibility is **פְּצָרִים**, a Qal passive participle from **פָּצַר** (an inflection that is not known elsewhere), which might mean, “coerced,

13 In private conversation, Bruce Zuckerman championed the Qal active form **בְּעָרִים**. This he would read impersonally so that “they are burning” would have equated to the passive, “they (the walls) were burned.”

14 See *m. Pesah* 2:1 where one can “crumble” (Piel) leavened goods.

pressed” or with some imagination walls might be described as “pushed over.” Intriguingly, HALOT suggests that the root is also a “by-form of II פרץ ,” meaning “to urge someone.”¹⁵ It is possible to envision several avenues of confusion that might have brought about such a metathesis:¹⁶ the grammatical difficulties present in the passage, a by-form of an existing homograph (of I פרץ), and perhaps even the weakening of *resh* in the period of our scribe.¹⁷

Although several of the above possibilities (with *bet*, *ayin*, or *pe*) were championed at various points during the analysis, פָּצְרִים is tentatively suggested as the best possible reading of the fragment.¹⁸ Thus, the initial hope of discovering a solution that would bring clarity to the ancient “back-story” that produced the muddled readings of MT did not materialize. At best this fragment offers material grounds demonstrating that the difficulty manifested in MT is also evident in another ancient text: DSS F.Neh2.

Orthography and Morphology

Aside from the single variant discussed above, the text represents MT in all respects, including both orthography and morphology. Having said this, the extant words give limited possibilities for other scribal approaches. Only the participle שֹׁבֵר (inspecting) presents the opportunity for a fuller orthography, namely with a full *holem*, and וָאָשׁוּב (and I returned) might have evidenced “Qumran” morphology with the so-called cohortative form, וָאָשׁוּבָה . With only a modicum of hesitance, this manuscript, in the limited fashion that has survived, can be described as MT-like in all aspects regarding its orthography and morphology.

15 Ludwig Koehler et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (ed. M.E.J. Richardson; 4 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3:955, 972.

16 Cf. the *Ketiv/Qere* at Prov 23:26: $\text{תִּרְצְנָה/תִּצְרְנָה}$.

17 Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 26–27.

18 It should be said that this discussion might have been extended by assessing Qal active participial forms as well. This would parallel the LXX reading, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ (“they are pulling down”), itself an avenue of difficulty rather than pointing to a solution. None of the above assessments would have been altered as a result.

Textual Character

Despite limited evidence and necessarily tentative evaluations, nothing within the fragment prevents its categorization as proto-Masoretic.¹⁹ The text of DSS F.Neh2 reflects MT exactly, with the exception of the first word of line 1, a variant possibly caused by scribal error in an already difficult passage. Furthermore, a relationship between the fragment and the LXX is not possible for two reasons. First, the spacing at the beginning of line 3 (Neh 2:15) of the fragment would have to be adjusted to include the word בחומה following וארי עלה to reflect the Greek addition ἐν τῷ τείχῃ (“on the wall”). Second, the LXX lacks an equivalent for the first occurrence of ואשוב in line 3 (Neh 2:15), whereas the LXX has καὶ ἐπέστρεψα for the second occurrence of ואשוב at the end of v. 15.

Relation to Other Judaean Desert Fragments

One last question of interest remains: What is the relationship of DSS F.Neh2 to the Schøyen Nehemiah fragment²⁰ and 4QEzra edited by Eugene Ulrich?²¹ Is it possible to assign these fragments to the same manuscript? Three clues suggest a relationship of kinship. First, all three manuscripts are written in a smaller than normal script, with a letter height of just 2 mm.²² Second, the two Nehemiah fragments evidence virtually identical line lengths of about 50 letter spaces. Third, all three date to the middle of the first century B.C.E. This is, however, as far as the similarities go. 4QEzra has somewhat longer line lengths of 65–70 letter spaces.²³ And, whereas DSS F.Neh2 and the Schøyen Nehemiah fragment are proto-Masoretic texts, 4QEzra with its three textual variations as compared with MT (two with the LXX and one against the LXX) is best categorized as “mixed.” Most telling, it was clear to the present authors, as well as to Elgvin, that each of the fragmentary remains evidences a different hand: 4QEzra is the most elegant of the three and DSS F.Neh2 is the crudest. In conclusion, although a slim possibility remains that there may be one manuscript with multiple scribes, it seems best to consider these fragments as representing three different scrolls, all copied in the mid-first century B.C.E.

19 Tov, *TCHB* (2013), 26.

20 Our discussion of the Schøyen Nehemiah fragment is drawn from a preliminary report and photograph that were provided by Torleif Elgvin.

21 Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XI*, 291–293.

22 See n. 8.

23 Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XI*, 291.

Photographs

The following two photographs were provided by Marilyn Lundberg, Bruce Zuckerman, and Kenneth Zuckerman of West Semitic Research. Both are infrared (IR). Figure 17.2 was prepared by Marilyn Lundberg and Bruce Zuckerman and represents a reconstructed text using letters present in the fragment or based on contemporary forms in the style of our scribe (i.e. *gimel*, *dalet*, *nun*, *samek*, *pe*, and *tsade*). The lines have also been straightened by a process that Zuckerman calls “patching.”



FIGURE 17.1 DSS F.Neh2 (Neh 2:13–16) dated to around the mid-first century B.C.E.

PHOTOGRAPH MOTB.SCR.003175_OBV_IR.TIF BY
 MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN,
 AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC
 RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.



FIGURE 17.2 DSS *F.Neh2* (Neh 2:13-16) dated to around the mid-first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters

PHOTOGRAPH MOTB.SCR.003175_16.PSD BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE ZUCKERMAN, AND KENNETH ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH. COURTESY MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE.

A Fragment of Instruction (Inv. MOTB.SCR.000123)

Michael Brooks Johnson

DSS F.Instruction1 is a single fragment from the Museum of the Bible Collection (inventory number MOTB.SCR.000123) that has been identified with a composition called *Instruction*, known from the Qumran scrolls, and has the closest affinities with the script and material characteristics of 4Q415. In the new system of nomenclature of Eibert Tigchelaar, this fragment has been given the designation DSS F.202 (DSS F.Instr1). This wisdom text, written sometime in the Second Temple period, contains ethical and practical admonitions and cosmological observations, all couched within an underlying eschatological concern. Although seven or eight copies have been discovered in Caves 1 and 4 at Qumran (1Q26, 4Q415–4Q417, 4Q418, 4Q418a, 4Q418c, and 4Q423), *Instruction* lacks specific references to the sectarian community that occupied the site, and it is likely not a sectarian work. Even so, it has literary, terminological, and theological resonances with core sectarian texts such as the *Community Rule* and the *Hodayot*,¹ and the number of copies discovered at Qumran likely indicates the popularity of *Instruction* in the sectarian community.

Prior to its official publication in this volume, this fragment has been incorrectly identified and transcribed in a series of museum guides, editions, and monographs. In 2004 Lee Biondi, a private antiquities dealer, published a low resolution photo of this fragment of *Instruction* in an exhibition guidebook.² The image's caption indicates that the fragment belongs to 4Q418 (4QInstruction^d), even though an identical passage was already attested in another fragment of the same manuscript (4Q418 frg. 148). This misrepresentation is surprising because Hanan and Esther Eshel were working as consultants for the exhibition starting in September 2003.³ Three years later, Eshel and Eshel used

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- 1 For general information about *Instruction* see John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, "General Introduction" in *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2* (ed. J. Strugnell, D. Harrington, and T. Elgvin; DJD XXXIV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 1–40; and Matthew J. Goff, *4QInstruction* (WLaw 2; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013).
 - 2 Lee Biondi, *The Dead Sea Scrolls to the Bible in America: How God Preserved His Word* (Biblical Arts of Arizona, 2004), 13.
 - 3 Hanan Eshel and Esther Eshel, "A Preliminary Report on Seven New Fragments from Qum-

Biondi's photos to produce their own preliminary edition in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls v–vi* [in Hebrew], and they determined that it belonged to another copy, 4QInstruction^b (4Q416).⁴ They designated the fragment as 4Q416 frg. 23.⁵ Their transcription may have been hampered by the poor quality of the photograph because they offered no readings for letters on line 1 and misread the final letter on line 2.

After the Eshels' edition, Biondi produced another exhibition guide (2009) with the same image of the fragment, still erroneously labeled as 4Q418.⁶ In subsequent years, two monographs on *Instruction* (John Kampen, 2011; Matthew Goff, 2013) have mentioned this fragment, both using the Eshels' designation.⁷ Elisha Qimron's edition followed the Eshels' identification of the fragment as 4Q416 frg. 23, but he corrected the reading of the last letter on line 2 from a *vav* to a *tav*.⁸ Qimron did not attempt to read any of the letters on the first line.

Although this edition addresses the brief publication history of the fragment, there is little that can be said about its provenance and authenticity. Beyond the details of this fragment's publication and incorporation into the Museum of the Bible Collection, there is little additional information available about who has owned this fragment or to which archaeological site or cave it might belong. Eshel and Eshel briefly state that it came from Khalil Eskander Shahin (Kando) but they do not account for how it came into Biondi's possession.⁹ The only known copies of *Instruction* have come from the caves of Qumran, so it is certainly plausible that it came from the same site. However, it should also be noted that DSS F.Instr1 and 4Q418 frg. 148 overlap suspiciously in such a way that the text of DSS F.Instr1 could have been copied from the more extensive text of 4Q418. DSS F.Instr1 only began to circulate in private collections (2003) a few years after 4Q418 was published (1999). In other words, DSS F.Instr1 contains no significant additions of words that were not already known after 4Q418 was

ran," in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls v–vi* [Hebrew] (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute; Haifa University Press, 2007), 271, cf. n. 1.

4 Eshel and Eshel, "A Preliminary Report," 277.

5 Eshel and Eshel, "A Preliminary Report," 277–278.

6 Lee Biondi, *From the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Bible in America: A Brief History of the Bible from Antiquity to Modern America Told through Ancient Manuscripts and Early European and American Printed Bibles* (Phoenix, AZ: Legacy Ministries International, 2009), 15.

7 John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* (ed. Martin Abegg Jr. and Peter W. Flint; ECDSS; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011), 38, 152; Matthew J. Goff, 2 n. 9, 4 n. 18.

8 Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* [Hebrew] (vol. 2; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013), 174.

9 Eshel and Eshel, "Preliminary Report," 271.

published. Accordingly, until a verifiable connection to any of the caves can be established, the issue of provenance remains open.

With reservations about provenance in view, this edition finds that DSS F.Instr1 has the most significant similarities of letter shape and material characteristics with 4Q415, 4Q416, and 4Q417, with the 4Q415 having the strongest correlation with DSS F.Instr1. However, because of the limited sampling of letters in the fragment and because of the question of authenticity, it is most prudent to treat it as a new copy of *Instruction* that has strong affinities with the script of 4Q415. Perhaps in the future additional evidence from material analysis and information about the fragment's provenance will provide grounds for a firmer identification with a known copy of *Instruction*.

Physical Description

DSS F.Instr1 consists of a single fragment, measuring 4.65 cm in width by 1.56 cm in height.¹⁰ The leather is dark brown. Most of the surface is abraded, revealing a lighter brown underlayer. The beginnings of two lines are preserved along a right margin. The distance from the right margin to the right edge of the fragment is 1.7 cm. It is unclear where the original vertical location of the fragment was in its column. The first line likely begins with a *vacat*, though it is possible that a word, such as הַי, could have been positioned between the margin and the first visible letter, due to the damaged surface. The writing is difficult to see in natural light, but the infrared spectrum reveals that the lettering is mostly intact, though some of the ink has worn away toward the left fragment edge. Ink from the recto has bled through to the verso, faintly mirroring some of the shapes of letters from the recto. There is a 2 mm word space between the first two words on the second line, but the interval between the next words is difficult to judge due to surface wear. The distance between the lines is 5.2 mm (measured from the bottom of line 1 to the top of line 2), with an estimated line spacing (measured from the top of line 1 to the top of line 2) of 6.8 mm. The average letter height is 2.3 mm and the average width is 2 mm. There are no clearly visible traces of any horizontal ruling, but there may be traces of vertical ruling. There may be evidence of an inscribed line along the right margin of the column and perhaps traces of another to the right of the intercolumnar, which is most clearly seen in the color images. The distance between these lines is approximately 1.3 cm.

¹⁰ Measurements are taken from the photograph.

Paleography and Date (by Ada Yardeni)

This is a small fragment containing the scant remains of two lines (only the bottoms of three letters remain in line 1 and their reading is very uncertain) written in a “Jewish” square, formal hand. The letters suspend from the lines and the distance between the (restored) tops of the letters in line 1 and the tops of the letters in the following line is about 6.8 mm. A space of about one letter width has been left between the words. Only ten letters of the alphabet are represented in this fragment (*vav*, *he*, *mem*, *shin*, and *tav* appear twice each). The height of *shin* is about 2.3 mm and its width is about the same. The letters were written with a reed pen of medium thickness. The almost equal thickness of the horizontal and vertical strokes indicates a somewhat worn-out nib of the reed pen. The down-strokes are almost vertical and only single letters very slightly lean forward (e.g., *he* and *vav*). Most of the strokes are straight and the script looks angular. The handwriting looks clear and professional but with no ornamental additions.

A comparison of each letter of the alphabet with its parallels in other scrolls and documents (according to the comparative charts of letters describing the formal development of their structure),¹¹ enabled an approximate dating of the script of this fragment to the first half of the first century B.C.E. The narrow *kaf* with the concave “roof” and the horizontal base still differs significantly from *bet*, the “roof” and the base stroke of which are parallel, slanting upwards to the right. The right “arm” of the triangular *shin* does not bend but that of *ayin* does, creating a slant base stroke and two parallel downstrokes slanting down to the right. This kind of bending the right “arm” already appears at the beginning of the first century B.C.E., but the “arms” are usually not parallel to each other. The horizontal “roof” of *he* and its two parallel down-strokes appear at about the mid-first century B.C.E. This fragment may be dated (with reservation) to about the first half, toward the middle of the first century B.C.E.¹²

11 Yardeni, *Textbook*, vol B, part II, 168–211.

12 Ada Yardeni’s dating is inconsistent with that of Hanan and Esther Eshel, who indicate that the fragment is consistent with a formal hand from the late Hasmonean-early Herodian period (50–25 B.C.E.). Eshel and Eshel, “A Preliminary Report,” 277.

Transcription¹³

]°[]ס̣ va[cat] 1
 עבודתכה ומשמהו ת̣] 2

Translation

- 1 va]cat Am[a]n ...
 2 your work, and from there t?[...

Notes on Readings

- 1 va[cat] There is sufficient space on the fragment for a *vacat* before the *alef*. Ink traces appear at the top left edge of the fragment, and the top half of the space between the ceiling and base of the line has deteriorated where the *vacat* appears. It is also possible that another word was written between the margin and the place where the text of the fragment begins, and it may have been obscured by damage to the surface. The overlapping text in 4Q418 148 ii 4 has a similarly proportioned and positioned *vacat* that measures 1.3 cm appearing before שׂא (see Parallel Texts).
- 2]°[]ס̣. Based on a possible parallel text (4Q418 148 ii 4) we might expect this word to be שׂא, though this reading is not clear from the fragment itself. The strokes of the last visible letter are difficult to distinguish. There are traces of what appear to be parallel downstrokes joined to a low baseline, similar to a final *mem*. The fragment has possibly experienced some distortion that has affected the horizontal alignment of the letters on the first line. The strokes are thickened, similar to the final letter on line 2. The thickness and lower position of the letter may indicate that this is a secondary addition or alteration to the text, possibly where a corrector has remodeled or reshaped an existing letter (cf. correction of an *alef* to a *shin* in שׂאל [1QIsa^a VI, 25]; *bet*

13 The transcription of the fragment of Eshel and Eshel reads:

]°°[] 1.
 עבודתכה ומשמהו 2.

to *pe* in בטט [1QSa I, 8]; *tav* to *he* in האווחזה [4QD^a (4Q266) 6 i 3]; and *shin* to *samekh* in יטפור [4QD^a 6 i 10]) or has included a sublinear letter that was omitted by the first scribe (cf. *vav* in יהוה [11QT^a XVII, 13]), although this is extremely unlikely.¹⁴ It is also possible that a corrector used a thicker pen, as is the case in 4QTQahat ar (4Q542), which might also account for the thickness of this letter.¹⁵ If this letter has been secondarily added to the manuscript, then it is remotely possible that an ancient or modern corrector wrote it.

- 3 עבודתכה The relationship between the *kaf* and the *he* in the pronominal suffix is peculiar, but not unprecedented. These letters appear very close together, with the *he* positioned slightly above the baseline of the *kaf*. It is uncommon for the baseline of the *kaf* to extend below the right downstroke, without making contact.
- 4 ומשמ׃ The long oblique stroke belonging to the first *mem* appears to have been written in two strokes that join where the horn attaches to the main stroke. As John Strugnell and Daniel Harrington note, ומשמ׃ can be read in two ways: as the prepositional phrase “from there” or the noun “destruction” (see Orthography and Morphology).¹⁶
- 5 ך׃ At the left edge of the fragment there are traces of a downstroke that is attached on the right side to a crossbar. The crossbar seems to have suffered some bleeding or smudging. The parallel text in 4Q418 148 ii 5 would lead one to expect a *tav* here, and the ink traces potentially match this suggestion. The visible strokes have an odd appearance that could suggest they are secondary additions to the fragment. The same thickened or smudged strokes are evident in the *shin* on line 1. This letter may have been remodeled (cf. examples in line 1, especially, the *tav* remodeled into a *he* in 4QD^a 6 i 3). It is also possible that the difference in shape is due to the letter’s initial position in a word. The only other example of a *tav* in DSS F.Instr1 is in a medial position. There appears to be room in the fragment for another letter following the *tav*, but the surface of the leather has worn away and no traces of ink remain.

14 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 222, 227.

15 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 223.

16 Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgin, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV*, 376.

Parallel Texts

DSS F.Instr1 overlaps with 4Q418 148 ii 4–5. It appears that both texts have similar, if not the same, format and content. Both begin at the right margin with a *vacat*. 4Q418 148 ii 4 has preserved more words than line 1 of DSS F.Instr1, but only traces of letters remain, and Strugnell and Harrington's readings are debated. 4Q418 148 ii 5 begins with דעת preceding עבודתכה, the former not found on line 2 of DSS F.Instr1. Accordingly, one can infer that this column of 4Q418 may accommodate fewer words than DSS F.Instr1.¹⁷

4Q418 frg. 148 ii 1–9¹⁸

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
|] | 1 |
|] הדרים בה] | 2 |
|] כול מואסי ב°] | 3 |
|] vacat איש ר° אַתָּה] | 4 |
|] דעת עבודתכה ומשמה ת°] | 5 |
|] בינה לקדמוניות שים ל°] | 6 |
|] דעת ובכול ספֹרֹת אנש] | 7 |
|] מעשיכה ואמונה בפרי ש°] | 8 |
|] עולם [] בִּישִׁי [] ל°] | 9 |

Reconstruction of DSS F.Instruction1

The parallel text (4Q418 148 ii 4–5) allows for the following reconstruction. Uncertain readings have been conservatively adjusted from Strugnell and Harrington's transcription of 4Q418 148 ii especially in view of Eibert Tigchelaar's comments on the second word in line 4. Here only two downstrokes are visible. Strugnell and Harrington tentatively suggest רוֹשׁ, but Tigchelaar argues that the descenders are too close together and that there is not enough evidence to propose a reading.¹⁹ These letters are marked with midline circlets in line 1 of the proposed reconstruction.

17 This suggestion presumes that both fragments preserve identical texts, which may not be the case.

18 This transcription is from Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV*, 374, with macrons denoting that a letter could indicate *vav* or *yod*. Reconstructions of words in the lacunae of lines 7–8 are omitted.

19 Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV*, 374; Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *To*

directional sense.²³ Accordingly, *וּמְשַׁמָּה* could indicate direction from, rather than direction toward, contrary to the conventional use of the locative *he* in biblical Hebrew. Alternatively, if the term is read as the noun “destruction,” then it is spelled the same way it is found in biblical Hebrew: *וּמְשַׁמָּה*.

Relation to Other Judaean Desert Fragments

Although Qimron, Kampen, and Goff follow the Eshels’ identification of this fragment as part of 4Q416, other possibilities exist that were not considered in the preliminary edition or in subsequent publications. This section will evaluate a fuller range of options, although, with an uncertain provenance and so few characters represented in DSS F.Instr₁ (10 of 27 total forms; only 37% attested), it is difficult to demonstrate a conclusive relationship one way or the other with any known copy of Instruction.

1Q26: The only surviving copy of *Instruction* from Cave 1 is written in a rustic semiformal script that is dissimilar to what we have in DSS F.Instr₁. For example, in 1Q26 the crossbar of the *he* is more heavily shaded, and the bases of the *kaf* and *bet* extend farther beneath the letter that follows. Another notable difference is how the lower right arm of the *shin* begins higher on the left stroke than in DSS F.Instr₁. The *ayin* of DSS F.Instr₁, with its parallel arms, right elbow, and distinctive rotation, is also not found in 1Q26. The script of 1Q26 is dated later than DSS F.Instr₁, in the early-mid Herodian period (30 B.C.E.–30 C.E.).²⁴ On this account, 1Q26 can be eliminated on the basis of paleography.

4Q415: The script in this copy (early Herodian, 30–1B.C.E.) is similar to DSS F.Instr₁; however, the existing fragments of 4Q415 have 4QRitual of Purification A (4Q414) written on the verso. DSS F.Instr₁ does have ink on its verso, but it is not a second composition, rather the result of ink bleeding through. However, it is possible that only part of the manuscript of 4Q415 was reused for 4Q414, and that DSS F.Instr₁ comes from a part of the scroll that was not reused. 4Q415 has the closest *ayin* to that of DSS F.Instr₁ (cf. frgs. 2 i 4; 4 i; 8 2; 13 3; 19 3), though

23 Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology* (SBLRBS 76; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 223–224.

24 Except for DSS F.Instr₁, all paleographic identifications are from the chronological synopsis in Brian Webster, “J. Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert,” in *The Texts from the Judean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. E. Tov; DJD XXXIX; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 371–375.

other examples are dissimilar. 4Q415 exhibits at least one example of the 2ms suffix where the base of the *kaf* extends below the right downstroke of the *he* (fig. 1 ii 2). 4Q415 also has some instances where the *shin* is drawn in a similar angular way, sometimes with understated *kerai* (frgs. 1 i 3; 2 i 5; 9 7–8; 11 8), though other examples within 4Q415 are more embellished and rounded. Also, the *dalet* of 4Q415 has a similar tick (frgs. 2 i 9; 6 1; 9 7; 11 12). 4Q415 averages a line spacing of 6–7 mm, which is close to the estimated 6.8 mm line spacing in DSS F.Instr1. The height of letters is close: 2 mm in 4Q415 and 2.3 mm in DSS F.Instr1. However, the intercolumnar width of 4Q415 is 1.6 cm, whereas it may be only 1.3 in DSS F.Instr1. Still, it is possible that the left margin of the previous column in DSS F.Instr1 is more distant, since evidence of a vertical inscribed line is not certain and blank space remains beyond it on the fragment. Many of the existing fragments of 4Q415 have visible horizontal dry lines (e.g. frgs. 8, 9, 11) but others do not (e.g. frgs. 1, 3, 10). The surface of DSS F.Instr1 is a darker brown, though the surface of 4Q415 fig. 6 has begun to darken and some of the lighter brown sublayer is showing in some parts of the fragment.

In view of the paleographic similarities, DSS F.Instr1 may have been a part of 4Q415. Although DSS F.Instr1 does not have evidence of 4Q414 on the obverse, it could have come from another sheet or from a part of the leather that was uninscribed when it was reused as an opisthograph. DSS F.Instr1 exhibits bleed-through, so it may have been written on the same kind of thin leather as 4Q415. The measurements are not a precise match, but neither are they prohibitively divergent. Similar instances of the most oddly-shaped letters of DSS F.Instr1, *shin* and *ayin*, can be found within the range of characters preserved in 4Q415, though the *shin* of DSS F.Instr1 is still much more angular and less unornamented than even the closest examples in 4Q415. The color and texture of the fragments do not match, at least among the fragments of 4Q415 that have survived. In sum, 4Q415 is a possibility, though there are still some reservations due to its color, texture, and the writing of the *shin*.

4Q416: Eshel and Eshel have identified DSS F.Instr1 with 4Q416, and a number of other scholars have adopted their view.²⁵ 4Q416 has a transitional script dating between the Hasmonean and Herodian periods (50–25 B.C.E.), making it the oldest copy of Instruction. A number of paleographical issues make 4Q416 an unlikely match: (1) the *shin* in 4Q416 is more stylized than the simple formation in DSS F.Instr1; (2) the crossbar of the *he* is more heavily shaded in 4Q416; and

25 Eshel and Eshel, "A Preliminary Report," 277–278; cf. Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 174; Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 38, 152; Goff, *4QInstruction*, 2.

(3) the right arm of the *ayin* tends to be straight or gently sloped, lacking the distinctive bend that is found in DSS F.Instr1. Furthermore, the average letter height is notably different in the two texts (2.5–2.8 mm in 4Q416 compared to 2.3 mm in DSS F.Instr1). There is also no evidence of ink that has bled through to the verso in 4Q416. However, it is also possible that DSS F.Instr1 comes from a different sheet than any of the preserved 4Q416 fragments. 4Q416 remains a potential candidate, but the size and shape of the letters cast doubt on the possibility of a close relationship with DSS F.Instr1.

4Q417: The script of 4Q417, dated to the early Herodian period (30–1 B.C.E.), has some affinities with that of DSS F.Instr1. In most cases the orientation of the *ayin* does not match that of DSS F.Instr1, but some examples are closer in shape (e.g., frg. 1 i: first character in line 8; 4Q417 2 i: second example in line 6 and the first and fourth example in line 8), but are rotated several degrees clockwise relative to DSS F.Instr1. Of the remaining letters in DSS F.Instr1, *bet*, *vav*, *mem*, *tav*, and possibly *kaf* are consistent with 4Q417. However, there is a notable difference in the formation of *dalet* in 4Q417, which is consistently made with a loop in the left horn that creates a triangular wedge, as opposed to the straight “tick” that appears on top of the letter in DSS F.Instr1. More significantly, the *shin* differs. In 4Q417, the short, right arm connects to the long, flattened oblique stroke, similar to the main stroke of the *ayin*, whereas in DSS F.Instr1, the *shin* is narrower, the oblique stroke more curved and on a more vertical angle, and it lacks a short arm. The closest example is the first *shin* in 2 i 6, which is quite similar to DSS F.Instr1, but fairly anomalous for the scribe of 4Q417.

There are some notable material similarities between 4Q417 and DSS F.Instr1. The color of the former’s leather varies from light brown to dark brown. While most of the fragments are light brown, frgs. 11, 13, 14, and 15 are closer in color or surface texture to DSS F.Instr1. Strugnell and Harrington observe that “the ink at several places has been eroded from the surface” and that “[a]brasion has left many letters partially preserved,” as is the case in DSS F.Instr1²⁶ (cf. frg. 14 which shows the same sort of damage, but is slightly different in color).²⁷ The size of an average letter is very close: in 4Q417 it is a height of 2–2.5 mm and a width of 2 mm, and in DSS F.Instr1 it is 2.3 mm by 2 mm. Strugnell and Harrington also note that some fragments of 4Q417 “have ink traces on the back” that “have penetrated through the skin from the text inscribed on the surface of

26 Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgin, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV*, 143.

27 Color image B-360781 at the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library [cited August 18 2014] Online: <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-360781>.

the fragment itself.”²⁸ This characteristic feature of 4Q417 is also present in DSS F.Instr₁, with traces of ink visible in several places on the verso. While some of the manuscript characteristics highlight 4Q417 as a match for DSS F.Instr₁, the differences in the script cast doubt on its placement in this copy.

4Q418: This manuscript can be eliminated from consideration because it contains the same passage. While it is remotely possible that the text may serve as a formulaic introduction to multiple subsections in *Instruction*, such a scenario is not supported by any existing manuscript of *Instruction*. 4Q418 has a transitional script between Hasmonean and Herodian periods (50–25 B.C.E.).

4Q418*, 4Q418a, b, c: There are differences of opinion about the group of fragments originally assigned the designation 4Q418. Torleif Elgvin argues that 4Q418 frgs. 1–2, 2a–c, 4, 286, 296, and 297 belong to another manuscript, which he calls 4Q418b (not to be confused with 4Q418b in DJD XXXIV).²⁹ Strugnell, Harrington, and Tigchelaar agree with Elgvin that frgs. 1–2 could be a separate manuscript, but the other fragments (4Q418 frgs. 2a–c, 4, 286, 296, and 297) do not have a matching script.³⁰ Tigchelaar calls 4Q418 frgs. 1–2 “4Q418*,” but Strugnell and Harrington include them under 4Q418. Both fragments are written in scripts similar to 4Q418. Strugnell and Harrington also identify two other manuscripts (4Q418a, 4Q418c). The scripts in these manuscripts are close to what is found in DSS F.Instr₁ with the exceptions of *ayin* and *shin*. The *ayin* lacks the bent right arm found in DSS F.Instr₁, and the lower arm of the *shin* is not straight in 4Q418a and 4Q418c. The script of 4Q418a is dated to 50–25 B.C.E. and that of 4Q418c to the early Herodian period (30–1 B.C.E.). There are minor differences in the average letter height in 4Q418a, which is only 2 mm, compared to DSS F.Instr₁, where it is 2.3 mm. These distinctions are perhaps not significant enough to discount a match with 4Q418a, especially with so little of DSS F.Instr₁ available for analysis.³¹ Nevertheless, subtle paleographical differences similar to those of 4Q417 indicate that 4Q418*, 4Q418a, 4Q418b (Elgvin), and 4Q418c are unlikely sources for DSS F.Instr₁.

28 Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV*, 143.

29 In DJD XXXIV, 4Q418b (4QQuoPs107) is considered to be a separate manuscript altogether, which contains part of Psalm 107, and not another copy of *Instruction*.

30 Torleif Elgvin, “The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A,” *RevQ* 16/4 (1995): 559–580; Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV*, 211; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 16.

31 Separate measurements for 4Q418c are not provided in DJD XXXIV.

4Q423: The script of this manuscript dates to the mid-late Herodian period (1–68 C.E.). Elgvin notes that some fragments have traces of ink on the verso, though he does not indicate whether it had bled through or had adhered to the verso when the scroll was rolled.³² Elgvin describes the color of the skin as “light to medium brown,”³³ and the color photographs reveal that the fragments are all considerably lighter in color than DSS F.Instr1.³⁴ Because of its coloration and also because the script in 4Q423 dates to the first century C.E., it is relatively certain that DSS F.Instr1 does not belong to this manuscript.

Instruction-like Composition B: The text attested by the four fragments of 4QInstruction-like Composition B is not found in any known copy of *Instruction*, and the editors of *Instruction* and 4Q424 have treated them as distinct works. Instruction-like Composition B contains series of admonitions that begin with a *vacat* followed by אִישׁ, the object of the sentence (4Q424 1 7, 8, 10, 13; 3 3, 7, 8, 9). In almost every case a new admonition begins with a *vacat* and either warns the audience about certain types of malefactors (a man of grumbling [1 7 תלונה], deceitful speech [1 8 לֹא שִׁפְתַיִם], or an evil eye [1 10 רַע עֵינַי]), or those who are unqualified for certain duties (a man who judges before investigating or trusts before [... [3 1 שׁוֹפֵט בְּטֵרֵם יִדְרוֹשׁ וּמֵאֲמִין בְּטֵרֵם], a man of blurred vision [3 3 שׁוֹעַ עֵינַיִם], or someone who is thick-headed [3 6 שְׂמֹן לֵב]). Using the same form of admonition, 4Q424 also exhorts the audience to emulate certain ideal characters (a man of insight [3 7 שְׂכֵל], knowledge [3 7 יָדַע], integrity [3 8 יִשְׂרָאֵל], truth [3 8 אֱמֶת], strength [3 8 חֵיל], and compassion [3 9 רַחֲמֵיִם]). Because 4Q424 shares a distinctive combination of syntax, content, and formal demarcations of sayings using *vacats*, it is remotely possible that DSS F.Instr1 comes from the work attested in 4Q424 and not from a copy of *Instruction*. Although DSS F.Instr1 and 4Q418 148 share the same text, only a few poorly preserved words form the basis for the parallel, so a relationship to Instruction-like Composition B cannot be entirely discounted.

Several factors complicate or run against the identification of DSS F.Instr1 with Instruction-like Composition B. The only known manuscript, 4Q424, is written in an early Herodian rustic semi-formal script dated to 50–1 B.C.E.,

32 Torleif Elgvin, “423. 4QInstruction^g (*Mūsār lē Mēvīn^g*) (pls. xxx–xxx1)” in Strugnell, Harrington, and Elgvin, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV*, 505.

33 Elgvin, “423. 4QInstruction^g,” 505.

34 Cf. Plate 183 (B-298189) at the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library [cited August 21 2014]. Online: <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298189>; and Plate 185 (B-298190) at the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library [cited August 21 2014]. Online: <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298190>.

so DSS F.Instr1 would have originated from another copy of Instruction-like Composition B, a claim that is difficult to advance without evidence of other copies.³⁵ However, in view of the distinctive form of sayings that the two works contain, it cannot be ruled out that 4Q424 came from an otherwise unattested part of *Instruction*, or that the two works shared a similar subsection. Collections of wisdom often borrow or rework sayings from other collections, and it is conceivable that the saying contained in DSS F.Instr1 is attested in different anthologies of wisdom. However, it is also significant that 4Q424 never includes a *vacat* when this kind of saying begins a new line (cf. 3 6 and 8), whereas 4Q418 and DSS F.Instr1 do. In summary, while it is possible that DSS F.Instr1 might be part of another copy of Instruction-like Composition B, it is more likely that it is part of *Instruction* due to the closer textual parallel and identical use of the *vacat* in 4Q418 148.

A New Copy

In view of the peculiarity of the script and color of the leather, it is possible that DSS F.Instr1 is a hitherto unknown copy of *Instruction*. Although the fragment could fit with 4Q415, 4Q416, or 4Q417, there are some paleographic and material considerations that cast doubt upon any identification. 4Q415 is the most plausible of the three, but the limited sampling of letters and the concentration of peculiar forms prevent a firm identification. Consequently, it is difficult to rule out the possibility that DSS F.Instr1 belonged to another manuscript unknown to us. Especially in view of the fragment's uncertain provenance and its history of being mislabelled by scholars and collectors, it is prudent to consider DSS F.Instr1 as yet another copy of *Instruction* until more reliable evidence can be adduced.

35 Sarah Tanzer, "424. 4QInstruction-like Composition B (pl. XXIII)" in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S. Pfann et al.; DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 334.

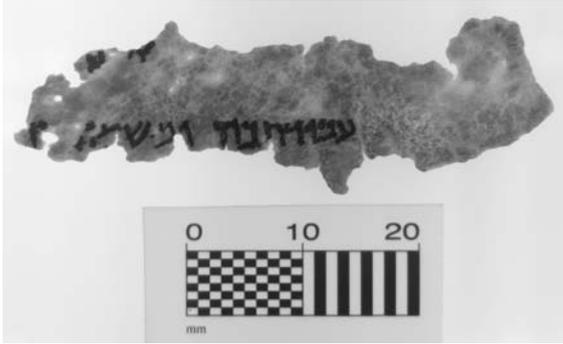


FIGURE 18.1 *DSS F.Instructioni* dating to the mid-first century B.C.E.

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ZUCKERMAN, WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH.
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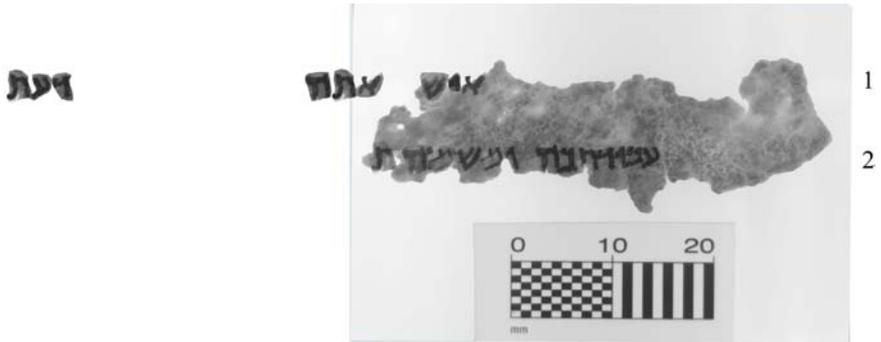


FIGURE 18.2 *DSS F.Instructioni* dating to the mid-first century B.C.E. including a reconstruction of missing letters. The shapes of most letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the fragment.

RECONSTRUCTION CREATED BY MARILYN J. LUNDBERG, BRUCE
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