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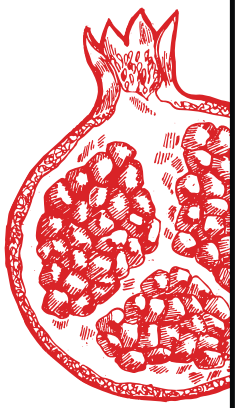

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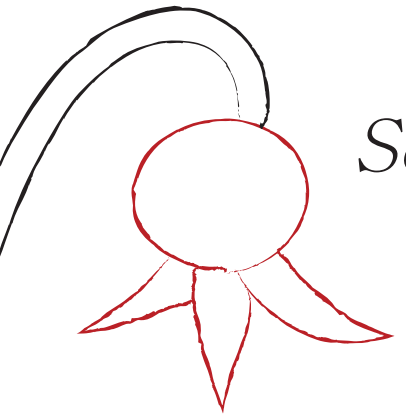
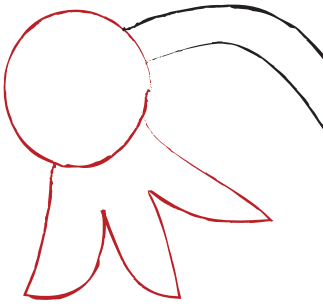


Thematic Issue: Material and Scribal Scrolls Approaches to the Hebrew Bible



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INTRODUCTION: CONTEXTUALIZING NEW MATERIAL AND SCRIBAL SCROLL APPROACHES TO THE HEBREW BIBLE

Eibert Tigchelaar and Danilo Verde

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Keywords: Dead Sea Scrolls, materiality, scribal culture, 4Q22, Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts, Hebrew Psalms collections, 4Q68

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Abstract

The following introduction presents an overview of the five articles that make up this thematic issue and contextualizes them in the ongoing research on the material and scribal aspects of biblical and non-biblical scrolls.

Cette introduction présente un survol des cinq articles qui composent ce numéro thématique. Elle les contextualise dans la recherche actuelle sur les aspects matériels et scribaux des rouleaux bibliques et non-bibliques.

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INTRODUCTION: CONTEXTUALIZING NEW MATERIAL AND SCRIBAL SCROLL APPROACHES TO THE HEBREW BIBLE

Eibert Tigchelaar and Danilo Verde

This special issue is a follow-up to the KU Leuven *Online International Symposium: Scroll Approaches to the Hebrew Bible*, organized by Danilo Verde (KU Leuven), which was held on June 16, 2021. Verde's proposal was to discuss how research on the materiality of biblical texts can shed new light on the historical study of the Bible's formation, reading, revision, and transmission. The purpose of the symposium, then, was to host discussions on the work in progress of David Carr (Union Theological Seminary, New York) as programmatically presented in his 2020 article "Rethinking the Materiality of Biblical Texts: From Source, Tradition and Redaction to a Scroll Approach." We therefore invited Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls scholars working on scribal and material features of the Dead Sea Scrolls, including Judith Newman (University of Toronto), Konrad Schmid (University of Zurich), Eibert Tigchelaar (KU Leuven), and Molly Zahn (University of Kansas; now Yale Divinity School), to respond to Carr's work or to discuss other

"scroll approaches" to the Hebrew Bible. The large attendance at the symposium, which counted about 100 participants, testifies to the great interest of the international academic community in this topic. While most presenters at the KU Leuven symposium were not able to contribute to the present special issue, we are grateful to other colleagues who accepted our invitation to submit their work on material aspects of scrolls (mainly the Dead Sea Scrolls).

David Carr's ongoing work is exciting, because he is the first to relate scholarship on the formation of the Hebrew Bible books, particularly the Pentateuch, to a wealth of material scroll evidence. Of course, in the past few decades, scholars have often looked at Mesopotamian scribal culture and the production of texts to shed light on the literary process of the formation of the Hebrew Bible. A well-known example of this approach is Karel van der Toorn's *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (2007). Van der Toorn raised important questions about materiality, asking, for example, how one should imagine ongoing revisions of a scroll of Deuteronomy. However, his study of ancient Israelite scribal culture drew largely on the evidence of Mesopotamian scribal culture, and his hypotheses on the revising of literary scrolls remain speculative. In contrast, Carr's "scroll approach" is based on the material evidence of scrolls in scroll cultures from the Persian period onward. His article for this special issue asks the question of how this evidence can inform and interrogate the models for the writing and revision of scrolls that would have contained earlier forms of the Hebrew Bible (Carr calls these "pre-biblical scrolls"). It brings together a wealth of data on a range of ancient scrolls with a focus on two overarching questions: How much text did such scrolls normally contain ("scroll carrying capacity")? and How in these various scroll cultures were literary texts produced and transmitted? Carr compares the scroll carrying capacity or text density of the Persian period Elephantine literary texts (mainly the Ahiqar scroll) with that of Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g., 1QIsaiah[a]), building further on Drew Longacre's observations about changes in writing implements and in the size of letters in the early Hellenistic period. Biblical books such as Genesis, Psalms, and Isaiah, written like the Ahiqar scroll, would have been oversized, and a scroll with the entire Pentateuch (let alone the Enneateuch) would

AABNER 3.2 (2023)
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have been impossible. Scrolls with large literary collections (such as the Pentateuch) would only have become possible in the Hellenistic period. Carr argues that also in other scribal cultures in this period larger complete copies of older textual complexes were produced, probably in preservationist scribal contexts. This article puts forward a new approach with important consequences for thinking about the manner and time of the growth of our biblical books. It requires the attention of Hebrew Bible scholars.

Hila Dayfani's article is an exemplary demonstration of the material reconstruction of a fragmented scroll and how such a reconstruction can contribute to the literary assessment of its text. Her method of reconstructing fragmentary scrolls, based to a large extent on recurring damage patterns on the fragments, was first developed by Hartmut Stegemann in his study on the Cave 1 Hodayot scroll (Stegemann 1963, 2000; Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom 2009) and then taught to many of his students and interested colleagues. A new version of this method, applying digital tools, was recently developed by the Haifa team of the Scripta Qumranica Electronica project headed by Jonathan Ben-Dov and applied to the 4QInstruction manuscripts (Ben-Dov, Gayer, and Ratzon 2022). The method allows one, with different degrees of certainty, and depending on the preserved materials, to establish the original sequence of some or all of the fragments of a damaged scroll and sometimes also to calculate the original size of the scroll as well as the distance between the preserved fragments. Dayfani, who has been part of the Haifa team, demonstrates how this method can be applied to 4Q22, a scroll of Exodus written in the paleo-Hebrew script and preserved in many, often small, fragments. Her article offers the first material reconstruction of the scroll and zooms in on Exodus 35–40, the so-called "Second Tabernacle Account," which is found in four different versions – the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, and the Old Latin – that may represent different stages in the development of the text. Even though little of 4Q22 that covers Exodus 35–40 has been preserved, Dayfani argues that the reconstruction of the overall size of the scroll shows that the scroll would have had the longer, more developed text attested in the Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch, rather than the shorter one attested in the Septuagint and the Old Latin.

Anja Klein's article on parts of the so-called "Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts" as rewritings of corresponding parts of biblical Ezekiel is the most incisive exegetical study of these texts to date. It is couched in a very instructive methodological reflection on the scholarly model of *Fortschreibung* (literary supplementation) in Hebrew Bible studies. While referring to Anna Shirav's (2022) recent material reconstruction, Klein emphasizes and illustrates how materially attested literary evidence like that of the Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts helps us to understand the creation, tradition, and transmission of Hebrew Bible writings. She demonstrates this by zooming in on various forms of rewriting and on the specific tendencies shown in the rewriting of Pseudo-Ezekiel. Klein appeals to a different aspect of the materiality of the scrolls than the other studies in this special issue. Yet her study is a very welcome illustration of the contribution of the study of the scrolls to our assessment of models and methods in Hebrew Bible studies, and it promotes, correctly in our opinion, the integration of the historical-critical study of the Dead Sea Scrolls into the historical-critical study of the Hebrew Bible.

In his study on the materiality of Hebrew Psalms collections, Drew Longacre brings together different kinds of material evidence – codicological (John Strugnell once suggested the term "voluminological" for scrolls) and palaeographic – and relates them to textual and literary questions pertaining to the Psalms. Longacre was part of the Groningen ERC project The Hands That Wrote the Bible (2015–2022) headed by Mladen Popović, which focused primarily on the palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls. He has developed new insights into the relationship between scribal hands and styles, on the one hand, and forms and functions of scriptural books, in particular Psalms collections, on the other. Longacre studied the development of Aramaic writing from the Persian to the Hellenistic-Roman period, from the larger-sized writing with the rush brush in the Persian period, to the smaller-sized writing with reed pen in the Hellenistic-Roman period, showing how a much larger amount of writing material was required in the Persian period to write literary works. His research puts forward the idea that it is most feasible to assume that the five-book differentiation in the later Psalter goes back to five material scrolls in the Persian period. In his sections on codi-

cology and palaeography, Longacre argues that the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls evidence shows a correspondence between material format, textual content, and palaeographic style. Thus, one should differentiate between large copies with, assumedly, conventional contents, which are written calligraphically, and smaller scrolls, written less formally, which frequently contain unique selections of Psalms. Underlying his study is his fresh approach to the various kinds of writing styles in the Dead Sea Scrolls, providing a major revision of the classification of styles proposed by Frank Moore Cross (1961, 2003). The details of his palaeographic style revision may have to be tweaked, and, as with all human products, there are always exceptions that go against the general tendency. However, Longacre's combined codicological-textual-palaeographic approach is more widely applicable to the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. His differentiation on codicological-palaeographic grounds between different kinds of biblical scrolls within the collection of Dead Sea Scrolls is essential for assessing the textual evidence of these scrolls and for interpreting ongoing textual and literary variations in scriptural scrolls.

Noam Mizrahi's case study of 4Q68 (4QIsa^{o}), a part of the ISF project Revealing the Sealed Document: Revisiting the Qumran Isaiah Scrolls, is an excellent illustration of recent holistic studies of individual biblical scrolls, which connect an interpretation of the material features of scrolls with an interpretation of their textual evidence. Such studies will indeed help us understand specific scrolls within a larger context and contribute to a more differentiated understanding of the corpus (as also implied by Longacre), but Mizrahi emphasizes the importance of the typological characterization of a textual witness as a whole for text-critical assessments. This article illustrates Mizrahi's signature contribution to the study of the biblical scrolls, namely his close attention to orthographic and textual variants as witnesses of the scribes' linguistic and exegetical interpretation of the text. It is also, in our opinion, a rehabilitation of (some of) these ancient copyists of the scriptures, who are seen as skilled interpreters and improvers of the biblical text.

Taken together, these five articles evince a new vitality in the study of biblical and non-biblical scrolls and demonstrate a range of approaches pertinent to the creation, rewriting, and transmitting of the Hebrew Bible.

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AABNER
ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF A SCROLL APPROACH TO THE FORMATION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

David M. Carr

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Keywords: material history, scrolls, scroll approach, ancient Egypt, (Egyptian) miscellanies, Elephantine, Instruction of Ahiqar, Amherst Papyrus 63, Dead Sea Scrolls, Greek Literature, Demotic Literature, Qumran, Pentateuch, source criticism, Psalms

This issue has received financial support from the Diamond Open Access Fund of the University of Groningen.

Abstract

This essay updates a proposal for a material-historical scroll approach to the formation of the Hebrew Bible, particularly the Pentateuch (cf. Carr 2020). It starts by surveying ancient Egyptian, Levantine, Greek, Demotic and Second Temple Jewish practices surrounding literary scrolls—how compositions were inscribed on them, scroll length ranges, and ways that existing scrolls were revised. This survey suggests that a substantial shift occurred around early Hellenistic period toward development of scrolls with high carrying capacity (both in writing density and length), facilitating a revolution in the amount of literary material that could be recorded on a single written object. Though possibly prompted by Greek writing practices, this development of high-carrying-capacity scrolls seems associated with priest-adjacent preservationist scribal contexts where such scrolls were used to conserve indigenous literary traditions amidst an environment dominated by another language. These findings have implications for exploring the relation between written artifacts and memorized/performed textual works in the Ancient Near East and the development of models for the inscription of Hebrew textual traditions. In addition, the article proposes several measures for use in analyzing scroll features across multiple culture areas.

Cette contribution reprend de façon actualisée une approche historico-matérielle de la formation de la Bible hébraïque et en particulier du Pentateuque, à travers l'étude des manuscrits de la Mer morte (cf. Carr 2020). Son point de départ est l'analyse de pratiques anciennes égyptiennes, levantines, grecques, démotiques et du judaïsme du Second Temple concernant les rouleaux littéraires – comment les compositions (ou des parties de celles-ci) étaient inscrites, les longueurs et les types de rouleaux, et les façons dont les rouleaux existants étaient révisés. Cette étude préliminaire suggère qu'un changement important survient au début de la période hellénistique qui conduit au développement de rouleaux avec une capacité d'inscription exceptionnelle (tant en termes de densité d'écriture que de longueur), ce qui favorise une révolution quant à la quantité de matériel littéraire qui pouvait être enregistré sur un seul objet écrit. Cette évolution, bien qu'en partie possiblement suscitée par les pratiques grecques d'écriture, semble associée à certains contextes scribaux préservationnistes liés au temple et proches des prêtres. Dans ce cadre, ces rouleaux sont utilisés pour préserver des traditions littéraires indigènes au sein d'un environnement plus large dominé par une autre langue. Ces découvertes ont des implications pour l'étude de la relation complexe entre artefacts écrits et œuvres textuelles mémorisées ou exécutées dans le Proche-Orient Ancien et pour le développement de modèles qui analysent l'inscription des traditions textuelles hébraïques En outre, cette contribution propose plusieurs unités de mesures pour l'analyse des caractéristiques des rouleaux dans de multiples aires culturelles.

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BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF A SCROLL APPROACH TO THE FORMATION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE[1]

David M. Carr

Introduction

The aim of this contribution is to summarize and update my proposal for a scroll approach to study of the formation of the Bible, a proposal that I presented orally in 2017 and published in preliminary form at the end of 2020 in an article entitled "Rethinking the Materiality of Biblical Texts" in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (*ZAW*) (Carr 2020). The 2017 talk occurred in a panel session on divisions between different models of Pentateuchal criticism, where I was assigned to speak (self-critically) on the topic of how the tradition-historical method can be improved. I took the opportunity there to build in

[1] I thank Danilo Verde for proposing the panel out of which this article arose and, along with Eibert Tigchelaar, for organizing it. I thank my fellow panelists and participants for their responses to my 2017 presentation on the panel. Those

particular on the work of Menahem Haran, an intellectual ancestor of the Neo-Documentarian approach, in suggesting that Pentateuchal scholars, including those like me who advocate tradition-historical models for the formation of the Pentateuch, should take more account of ancient practices surrounding the writing and revision of ancient scrolls. The 2020 *ZAW* article on the materiality of biblical texts

familiar with my *ZAW* article and/or Leuven panel contribution will notice major shifts and updates, reflecting my further work on the topic over the last two years. Over that time, I have benefited from discussions with Eibert Tigchelaar, Drew Longacre, Mladen Popović, James Nati, Molly Zahn, and others who are among those who have been doing a version of what I call a "scroll approach" for a long time. I owe an additional debt of gratitude to the Humboldt Foundation and to colleagues in Germany and France whom I consulted during a two-month research stay in Berlin as a guest of the Humboldt University funded by the Humboldt Foundation, combined with a visit to Paris, where I lectured on the topic at the Sorbonne hosted by Chloé Ragazzoli, whose work I have found to be strategically helpful in this project. My time in Berlin was particularly enabled by the excellent team gathered there under the auspices of the DEMBIB (Demotic Egyptian Papyri and the Formation of the Hebrew Bible) ERC grant project headed by Bernd Schipper. I was helped in making some key measurements of Dead Sea Scroll materials through the use of preliminary versions of the Scripta Qumranica Electronica Platform (hereafter abbreviated SQ), and I am grateful to the SQ team for providing me with access to this tool. Some colleagues deserving special mention whom I consulted (in person or by email) during this stay include my host in Berlin, Bernd Shipper, along with James Moore, Joachim Quack, Joseph Cross, Robert Kade, Chloé Ragazzoli, William Johnson, Emanuel Tov, Tawny Holm, Jacqueline Jay, Erhard Blum, Eibert Tigchelaar, Molly Zahn, and Verena Lepper. A few of these read earlier drafts of all or part of this essay, and I am grateful to them for their corrections and insights. None reviewed the present form of it. Also, I am particularly grateful to Drew Longacre, whose work on a Hellenistic shift in script size was important in prompting a key part of what follows, and who has shared his work along parallel lines with me. I am also very grateful to Asaf Gayer, my collaborator on a related project on script density that was prompted by Drew Longacre's work. I could not have done much of the analytical work without the tools and skills that Asaf Gayer generously shared with me over the last year, and much of the recent development in my thinking about Jewish literary scrolls has resulted from this collaboration and Asaf Gayer's important questions and reflections on earlier drafts of my work.

expanded on this idea, arguing for what I called a "scroll approach" to the formation of the Hebrew Bible that drew explicitly on scholarship regarding ancient scroll practices in Egypt, Greece, and Second Temple Judaism. This scroll approach represented a turn toward the materiality of texts and scribal practices oriented around the particular materiality of scrolls.

Of course, I am not the first to inquire about how scroll practices might inform biblical study. Menahem Haran, for example, wrote a series of articles, mostly published in the early 1980s, that exemplified what I'm terming a "scroll approach."[2] Yet, though pioneering in many ways, Haran's work appeared before the publication of a number of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and it relied primarily on a mix of data from the Bible itself, references to scroll production in rabbinic literature, and some older research in Classics and Egyptology. Within European biblical scholarship, Konrad Schmid's dissertation, published in 1996, had an extensive section on scroll technology, relying on a similar mix of data.[3] In addition, many Qumran specialists came into the field via biblical studies and have used insights from the Dead Sea Scrolls to illuminate their work on the Bible.[4] In the meantime, there's been an explosion of detailed work on scrolls and scroll practices in Egyptology (e.g., Eyre 2013; Ragazzoli 2019) and Classics (especially Johnson 2004), and there's been fuller publication and discussion of the Dead Sea Scrolls along with other finds like the Wadi Daliyeh papyri, Pap Amherst 63,

[2] See Haran 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986.

[3] Schmid 1996. He has since updated this with Schmid 2006, and his work on this topic continues. Cynthia Edenberg is another biblical scholar who has included reflections on scroll practices in the evaluation of hypotheses about the prehistory of biblical books (e.g., 2020, 391–93, 400).

[4] I list some examples of such scholars in notes 1 and 3 of Carr 2020. This list was shortened in that article for limits of space, but it could easily have included many others whom I have greatly learned from but did not directly consult on the article, such as Daniel Falk, Charlotte Hempel, Jutta Jokiranta, Ingo Kottsieper, Nathan Mastnjak, Sara Milstein, Matthew Monger, Eva Mroczek, Hindy Najman, Mika S. Pajunen, Mladen Popović, John Quant, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, and Sidnie White-Crawford.

and the Deir-ʿAlla plaster texts, which, though on hard media, appear to depict traditions transmitted on scroll media.

This latter work on primary texts is all, of course, scroll-focused. What I'm terming a "scroll approach" to the Bible takes insights from this varied work from multiple disciplines and uses them *to inform hypothetical models for the writing and revision of pre-biblical scrolls that we do not have*. This focus on the use of actual scroll research to form hypothetical models is what distinguishes a scroll approach to the formation of the Bible from both studies of actual scrolls per se (e.g., Qumran studies, papyrology, etc.) and biblical studies that merely talk generally about what might have happened with this or that scroll. As such, the scroll approach advocated here is inherently interdisciplinary (since it is cross-referencing diverse ancient domains), focusing on dynamics specific to scroll media in the ancient world and using insights from this interdisciplinary investigation to inform hypotheses about the writing, revision, and performance/use of pre-biblical scrolls. Of course, this kind of interdisciplinary work can be fruitful in the study of scroll artifacts and practices in comparatively well-documented ancient areas, as has already been done, for example, by Chloé Ragazzoli and Christopher Eyre, in the study of Egyptian scrolls, and Emanuel Tov, Drew Longacre, and James Nati in the study of Qumran scrolls. Specialists in those areas can better determine how that work on their own materials might best be done. The contention here is just that biblical studies—and the study of Northwest Semitic literature more generally—can particularly benefit from this kind of approach because the scroll side of Iron Age and Persian-period scribal practices is relatively poorly documented, especially when it comes to scrolls bearing literary texts.

I readily admit that this umbrella term of "scroll approach" is somewhat awkward, but I prefer it for now to more general appellations such as "material historical approach" because it foregrounds how the literary materials that preceded the Bible likely were written on scroll media that were used in specific ways in ancient contexts. These scroll practices are different from the practices surrounding later codex books and other forms of media that often inform the imaginations of biblical scholars, who build hypotheses about the written sources behind

the Bible. Ancient and contemporary versions of the source-critical approach are often implicitly based on models of print culture. The tradition-historical approach to the oral background of the Pentateuch was informed by models taken from the study of European saga cycles. More recent redaction-critical models often bear an uncanny resemblance to processes of computer word-processing, supplementing and slightly revising a fixed prior text.[5] Within this context, advancing a broader umbrella of an interdisciplinary scroll approach to the formation of the Pentateuch and other biblical texts is a way of gathering and recognizing present and future work in biblical studies that more seriously takes into account the fact that pre-biblical written sources were likely inscribed on scroll media and takes into account scholarship (including the most recent scholarship) on how such scroll media were used in the ancient Near East.

Though it is quite clear that there are important differences between the scroll practices used in each ancient context, the virtue of a scroll approach (to the formation of the Bible) is to add more sustained attention to diverse tendencies in (literary) textual formation that were

[5] A recent extension of computer-media metaphors is Dershowitz 2021. Its title, *The Dismembered Bible: Cutting and Pasting Scripture in Antiquity* (and the sub-headings to chapter three) suggests that the book will offer ancient analogies to the contemporary phenomenon of cutting and pasting. Nevertheless, the contents collect a highly diverse set of examples of the revision of texts by physical means, from some exemplars of the Book of the Dead (the Papyrus of Ani) through a handful of Qumran scrolls (4Q14, 4Q22, 4Q216) to "Modern Analogues" like the Jefferson Bible. The closest analogy to the secondary joining of multiple traditions is the *Tomoi Synkollēsimoi* documents, but these are specifically Roman-period documents of an administrative genre. Most other examples (e.g., 4Q41) are likely examples of material repair. There is one example, 4Q216 (4QJub[a]), of a scroll bearing a literary text that *may* have had a prologue secondarily added to it (so Hempel 2000; Monger 2017). For discussion of some problems with this approach, see Tigchelaar 2014. Overall, though Dershowitz and I are in agreement on the need to attend to material elements of the writing and revision process, I think more progress will be made through attending more than Dershowitz does to the genres of examples, to the specific kinds of revision characteristic of literary scrolls in particular, and to the distinctive (literary) scroll practices characteristic of ancient contexts nearby that of ancient Israel (certainly not modern analogues).

influenced by the materiality of ancient literary texts, texts all too often treated by biblical scholars as pure abstractions. These "biblical" texts were fully instantiated on a certain kind of material object, a scroll, which has certain characteristics, especially insofar as such scrolls were designed to be read by humans with certain bodily characteristics (Carr 2020, 596–98). Those ancient humans may have been somewhat smaller in stature, on average, than ourselves, and they typically wrote and read these scrolls when seated on the ground, with the scroll thus spread on the lap a certain distance from their eyes. These eyes had a certain field of vision and their hands certain abilities in rolling, unrolling, and otherwise manipulating the scroll. Material characteristics such as these, along with some ancient interactions among ancient scroll cultures, played an important role, I will suggest, in the types of literary book rolls that were produced, how they could be revised, and how they could be used to support a broader culture of study, memorization, and performance.

Let us now turn from this general thesis to brief illustrations from several ancient Near Eastern contexts. The aim in this essay is to explore, preliminarily, different ways that an interdisciplinary look at multiple ancient scribal contexts could raise important questions about scroll practices for scholars working in each context. In particular, my particular focus as a biblical scholar (with some expertise in the Dead Sea Scrolls) is on identifying avenues of exploration and cross-contextual categories for comparison (e.g., terms for the carrying capacity of scrolls) where insights from relatively well-documented periods and loci of ancient (literary) scroll production (e.g., ancient and Greco-Roman-period Egypt, Persian-period Elephantine, the areas around the Dead Sea) can connect with questions about pre-biblical processes and models of formation that are being asked by biblical scholars. At points, I draw here on work carried out by specialists in these well-documented periods and loci to execute probes showing possible lines of exploration. This work is intended to provide evocative illustrations, requiring expansion and correction by specialists in the respective areas, of potentially productive connections between the study of actual ancient (literary) scrolls and the biblical scroll approach proposed here.

Illustrations of Ancient Literary Scroll Practices

Egypt (Pre-Persian Egyptian Literary Scrolls)

I start with one of the most important areas of scroll research, scroll practices surrounding early, pre–Persian-period Egyptian scrolls bearing literary texts. I will focus this brief discussion on four things that older Egyptian scroll practices illustrate: (1) the way the materiality of ancient scrolls and ancient bodies led to limits in the size of literary scrolls when compared to certain types of non-literary scrolls; (2) the function of literary scrolls as part of a broader ancient Egyptian process of writing-supported study and performance; (3) how scrolls written on papyrus lent themselves to revision by extension; (4) and the way ancient Egyptian literary scrolls were produced in an integrated scribal environment—whether temple-based or not—that involved the intensive production and preservation of other types of scrolls in the same language (letters, records, etc.).

The first point should be obvious, but unfortunately is missed by many biblical scholars: there are important format and other differences between scrolls bearing literary texts and unusually large administrative and mortuary scrolls that were not meant for regular reading. Some biblical scholars have referred to Papyrus Harris I (BM EA 9999) as an example of the potential large size of scrolls that might once have contained larger literary complexes of the Bible. And indeed, it is extraordinarily large at around 41 meters in length and 42 centimeters in height. Nevertheless, this monster-sized scroll could be so large and unwieldy because it was likely never meant for regular reading by human eyes. Instead, this record of temple endowments and deeds of Ramses III was stored as a record *for divine eyes* of his contributions to the temple and his great deeds, and a divine readership is likely similarly assumed for other large scrolls bearing copies of the Book of the Dead.[6] There

[6] For publication of Harris's notebook page describing the find site, see Hamernik 2010. See also the discussion in Quack 2014, who persuasively argues that mortuary texts and amulets are materially distinguished from other forms of texts (that are actualized orally so that their holiness comes from that verbal actualization) by the fact that the material object itself is understood to be the effective agent.

are also a number of quite large scrolls bearing administrative records from ancient Egypt that are often distinguished from literary scrolls by a particular administrative script. Their large height and frequent long length were not problems, since such administrative scrolls were not created for any kind of regular reading or even consultation. Instead, as work by Christopher Eyre (2013) suggests, they served as material witnesses to certain legal or other transactions.

In contrast, the height and length of scrolls bearing literary texts appear to have been modest. Most often, they were created by cutting larger administrative scrolls in half length-wise and erasing their original records. Apparently created for more ongoing use than documentary or mortuary scrolls, these early Egyptian literary scrolls were limited in both height and length by the limits of the scribe's reading body. Of course, this did not impose a hard and fast limit. Nevertheless, the further one went from a scroll height of around 20 to 25 centimeters, the less easily readable and manipulable the scroll became. We see similar limits of page size imposed on contemporary book media of diverse types that are not scrolls, from printed books to dedicated digital book readers (like the Amazon Kindle) that technologically could easily be larger. These column size limits for texts meant for ongoing reading have to do with the materiality of the human body—the arms that hold a scroll and the eyes that read sections of it (Černý 1947, 24–25).

Body size and the limits of arm reach also seem to have imposed some fuzzy limits on the length of literary scrolls intended for some kind of ongoing reading. My rough working database of 125 Egyptian literary scrolls suggests that few of them exceeded 9 meters in length, and all but eight of the 120 scrolls are 4 meters or less in length.[7] Notably, the vast majority of longer scrolls contain parts or all of multiple compositions, whether they were the miscellanies so beautifully studied by Chloé Ragazzoli (2019) or additional individual scrolls like Papyrus Prisse with the Instructions of Kagemni and Ptahhotep, Leiden 344 with Hymns to Amun on the recto and the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* on

[7] The following are the eight longer papyri in my preliminary list: Anastasi (Papyri) 1, 4, and 5; Papyrus Prisse; Sallier 4; Chester Beatty 1; Berlin P. 3022; and Papyrus Lansing.

the verso, or Chester Beatty P. 1, which similarly combines love songs with another tradition, in this case that of Horus and Seth. Scrolls bearing single compositions do exist, but most longer exemplars tend to be in the 3.5 meter to 5 meter range. So far as I know, we have very few literary scrolls higher than around 25 cm (the Westcar Papyrus is ~28 cm). Of course, it would be helpful in this respect to have a fuller survey of the likely original height, format, and total length of ancient Egyptian literary scrolls.

For now, it is just useful to notice these initial distinctions in material format between ancient Egyptian scrolls bearing what we might now term "literary" texts and these larger scrolls bearing texts meant for mortuary or administrative purposes. Of course, as recent discussions have emphasized, we must be aware of the risks of anachronism in applying contemporary loaded terms like "literary" to ancient textual corpora.[8] Nevertheless, it appears that ancient writers themselves distinguished between formats for working scrolls bearing texts meant for ongoing reading, what I am terming "literary" texts, and formats used for texts intended for eternal deposit, administrative records, and other purposes, such as situational communication or legal records. This distinction in the materiality of what I am here terming "literary" scrolls connects to their intended use as part of an ongoing process of human reading. Put another way, what I am defining as "literary" texts here are trans-temporal textual complexes intended for human use (unlike other non-literary texts for human use meant to facilitate or witness to specific human interactions).[9]

This distinction, then, leads to the question of what sort of media-bearing artifacts these literary scrolls were. Earlier Egyptological

[8] See Burkard and Thissen 2015, 16–39, for a useful overview of reflections on applying the category of "literature" to Egyptian materials.

[9] I will not enter further here into questions of what sort of performance or memorization might be involved in such reading. For an earlier discussion, see Carr 2005. For an excellent recent discussion of issues of performance and reception of Middle Kingdom literature, see Parkinson 2011. Though this essay focuses on the material dimension of inscribed iterations of such texts, one might also consider (in another context) ways in which their size may have been shaped by constraints related to such oral performance and/or reception.

scholarship once concluded from the recycled quality of many such literary scrolls, especially those containing diverse selections of Egyptian literature (the "miscellanies"), that these recycled scrolls must be student exercises of low value. More recent work by Fredrik Hagen (2006), Chloé Ragazzoli (2019), and others, however, has noted numerous signs that most such literary scrolls, though often on reused materials, were created by skilled scribes and were highly valued. The scroll material, whether new or reused, was often of good quality; whatever markings were in the margins were often made by the scribe himself—not by a teacher—as he practiced difficult signs; and there are other signs that the *scriptor* was skilled at his craft and knew the texts well. If he was a student, he was an advanced student (this latter scenario would match that now posited for many Dead Sea Scrolls—namely, advanced student work).[10]

When we look more carefully at the nature of texts inscribed on these scrolls, it becomes ever more evident how misleading our assumptions from our present media context actually are. Yes, there certainly are instances of the apparent use of a single scroll artifact to bear a single written composition. Nevertheless, especially in the New Kingdom period (which is the best-documented period from ancient Egypt), we see a number of scrolls, especially the "miscellanies," that contain parts or all of multiple prior compositions. As shown in a particularly illuminating study by Chloé Ragazzoli (2019), the variants seen in these miscellanies show that many such texts appear to have been copied from memory, with only a minority explainable by the sorts of dynamics that typically characterize visual copying.[11] Even in earlier periods, we have multiple instances of scrolls being used to inscribe multiple works. The scroll thus served as a written performance, by a skilled scribe, of *part* of the

[10] Hagen 2006; Ragazzoli 2019, 49–50. For the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Popović 2023.

[11] Ragazzoli 2019, 68–69, 77, 294–300, building on a preceding wealth of scholarship in Egyptology on writing-supported memorization of texts. I survey some of that literature in Carr 2005, 71–75. For my proposal of "memory variant" as a term to designate such shifts (as opposed to some other proposals of "lexical variant," "semantic variant" and the like), see Carr 2011 (proposed examples on 41, 51–55, 58–65, 92, 100–1, 438).

literary repertoire that the scribe had internalized and thus mastered. Indeed, the partial nature of the literary excerpts often included suggests to Ragazzoli that such scrolls (and literary ostraca as well) were partial performances of a much larger corpus of literary texts that existed—as a whole—exclusively in memorized form in the minds of the skilled scribal class (2019, 274). A scroll containing one or more parts of this larger memorized corpus served some kind of subsidiary role in preserving that internalized corpus and/or demonstrating that scribe's or advanced student's mastery of it.

This is an initial indicator of the need to rethink the nature of a verbal "work" in relation to ancient written media. Whereas it is natural to think in contemporary contexts of a general one-to-one relation of a larger textual work, a "book," to a written media object, a book "copy," the pre-Hellenistic Egyptian evidence suggests a need to adjust our conceptuality and terminology to an environment in which a verbal work, such as the Teaching of Amenemhat, is often not "copied" per se but "iterated" in parts in written form in diverse ways. The term "iterated" should not be understood here as necessarily implying oral performance (though this was one common form of iteration). Within the context of this essay, "iteration" refers to the externalization of a given verbal work (teaching, tale, song) on written media, often from memory (at least for certain genres), whether initially on a separate scroll or alongside other works in partial (e.g., New Kingdom miscellanies) or complete form.

Egyptian evidence also provides particularly rich documentation of a phenomenon that I term "revision through extension."[12] For example, the scribe who produced Chester Beatty 4 seems to have added texts over time as they were available, perhaps because he did not have continuous access to these texts in a nearby archive (Ragazzoli 2019, 98). Notably in this and other cases of revision of an existing scroll, the scribe added new material at the end of the scroll, as needed, turning the scroll over and inscribing its verso progressively. This phenomenon of creating opisthographs is particularly characteristic of scroll cultures, like that in Egypt, that primarily used papyrus, since the verso side was still

[12] This is an adaptation of the apt phrase "revision through introduction" coined by Sara Milstein and explored in Milstein 2016.

quite inscribable. An existing literary papyrus scroll could be relatively easily extended through adding to its "end" by using any uninscribed portions of the recto and continuing on the verso. Such inscription on the verso was difficult, though not impossible, for ancient processed leather scrolls, which were typically inscribed on the formerly hairy side of the skin, while the flesh side was rarely inscribed.[13] Notably, it does not seem to have been common to extend such scrolls with additions of new textual material by gluing extra sheets onto them. Although this is rarely documented (e.g., Sallier 1), it appears that scribes generally did their gluing only in the production of an initial scroll in order to have enough writing material to complete a copy of a pre-existing text (e.g., Ahiqar).[14] Indeed, in one case a scribe seems to have run out of room on the scroll that he had started his copy of The Eloquent Peasant on (Berlin 3023, 4 m in length and around 16 cm in height), but rather than extending it he appropriated another separate scroll (Berlin 3025, 8+ m in length and 14 cm in height) to complete the copy.[15]

Though I have highlighted the material distinction between Egyptian literary scrolls and non-literary ones, I conclude this brief discussion of the ancient Egyptian evidence by noting that such literary scrolls were produced and used by scribes who produced other sorts of scrolls on a regular basis. We already see an initial indicator of this phenomenon in the way literary scrolls often were inscribed on reused papyrus from erased administrative records. Though of different size, both scroll types were longer and usually inscribed initially on the recto side, parallel to the papyrus fibers. Apparently, the scribes producing literary scrolls often had such administrative scrolls at hand, could appropriate them, cut them in half, and erase them so that they could be reinscribed with

[13] Opisthographs at Qumran are disproportionately on papyrus (compared to the overall distribution of papyrus scrolls in the corpus), but a few are on skins. For a useful overview and analysis, see Perrot 2020.

[14] For discussion of P. Sallier 1, see Ragazzoli 2019, 51, and see 52 of the same book for discussion of P. Sallier 4 as an interesting example of the ongoing use of a scroll for diverse inscriptions.

[15] For a detailed account of the process, see Parkinson 2009, 86–88.

literary texts. Moreover, the literary texts thus inscribed could themselves bear a relation to non-literary genres.

This phenomenon is illustrated, for example, in how the diverse texts collected in New Kingdom miscellanies are together framed in standard epistolary forms.[16] The writing of letters was a common part of the daily work of many ancient scribes, and the epistolary form embedded in such texts provided a means to illustrate mastery of that form or even a means to learn it. An epistolary form within the frame of the text served to provide it a kind of built-in situation in life or (German *Sitz im Leben*). Here, it is important to recognize an important difference between a valued text transmitted exclusively in oral form and a text that is transmitted, at least in part, in written form. An oral text requires embedding in a recognized institution (e.g., temple) and/or chain of authority, and an anonymous written text depends on similar connections. We see this set of social relationships built into many ancient literary texts, where they are framed as addresses by recognized figures, letters, and the like. These frames to miscellanies, wisdom teachings, etc. are what I call a "portable *Sitz im Leben*" for written media, since they are a way that ancient writers inserted a recognized social situation into a given written text. That built-in *Sitz im Leben* then could combine with aesthetic elements of the material (scroll) object itself (quality of material, script, margins) to make a claim on its potential readers, influencing them to imagine themselves in a social situation (often an originally oral situation) depicted in or recreated by the text.[17]

In these and other ways, the production and use of literary book rolls in ancient Egypt was embedded in a broader world of scribal textuality in the same language. The integration of such literary scroll production in this broader scribal environment meant that these different areas of textual production could be related to and mutually influence one another.

[16] See Ragazzoli 2019, esp. 104–10, 204, 215, for discussion of the letter form and the interaction of scribal social context and epistolary textual frames.

[17] Here I draw on a proposal of this concept in Carr 2022, 136–42.

Levantine Alphabetic Literary Scrolls—Evidence from Persian-Period Egypt and Earlier

When we turn our attention to pre-Hellenistic alphabetic scrolls from the Levant, the evidence is far less well preserved than in ancient Egypt. Though papyrus marks on bullae from Iron Age Jerusalem show that papyrus scrolls were used there, these and other scrolls from the Iron Age Levant are lost thanks to the generally damper climate of that area. We have no actual literary scrolls preserved, and there is only one Iron Age non-literary scroll preserved, a seventh-century papyrus palimpsest among the Murabbaʿat finds, with a list of names written over an erased copy of an earlier letter. Meanwhile, the dry climate of Egypt means that we do have a very few examples of alphabetic scrolls from that region, more specifically from the island of Elephantine. As in the case of the older Egyptian scrolls, these writers, whether Aramean or Judean, were producing literary scrolls in what I will describe as an "integrated" context, meaning by this a scribal environment where multiple forms of scroll production were, to a greater extent, integrated with the production of texts in the same language for administrative and legal purposes in a variety of settings, whether temple, governmental, or other.[18] Where the above-discussed ancient Egyptian scrolls were embedded in an Egyptian scribal context producing other genres of scrolls in Egyptian, so also these Aramaic literary scrolls were produced in a broader scribal context, this one oriented toward the Imperial Aramaic dialect of the Persian Empire. We do not have many literary scrolls from this broader context, but the ones that we do have are strategically important as comparison points for some later discussions. So I pause here to describe them in turn.

The first scroll considered here, Berlin P. 13446 along with a plate in the Cairo museum (EM JdE 43502), provides multiple illustrations of a phenomenon well documented in earlier Egyptian scrolls, the acquisition of materials for literary scrolls through erasing and reusing administrative records, a process perhaps encouraged by the fact that such administrative records tended to be on longer scrolls and were usually

[18] See Moore 2022a, 257–59, for careful arguments that the Berlin P. 13446 iteration of Ahiqar may reflect a Judean recension of the composition.

inscribed—like most literary scrolls—parallel to the papyrus fibers (Moore 2022b, 18–19). Across its recto, this relatively long (originally 6–7 m; Moore 2017, 175) and high (originally ~32 cm) scroll features a high-quality version of the Aramaic *Instruction of Ahiqar*. Notably, this copy, initially started through the erasure and reuse of a customs account scroll, was completed through the affixing of two sheets from a reused manuscript that previously had an earlier copy of Ahiqar on its verso (done in the same hand as the later copy) and a (different) customs account on its recto. So this artifact counts, in this respect, as two exemplars of the *Instruction of Ahiqar* produced by the same scribe. The earlier case features the inscription of Ahiqar in a perpendicular direction vis-à-vis the fibers on the verso of a scroll that bore a customs tax account, the scribe perhaps influenced here by his practice in writing contracts and letters transversa charta. The second case was a copy of this earlier version, likely created when the older one wore out. As James Moore suggests, the data suggests that the scribe initially started the new copy on an erased and reused customs account, copying most of Ahiqar from the older version. When he ran out of room on this initial roll, the scribe finished the new version by adding two sheets from the earlier one, erasing the contents of those sheets, and reusing them, since he had already used that part of the older Ahiqar roll to create the first part of the new copy. Moreover, this second copy of the *Instruction of Ahiqar* may also show influence from other kinds of scroll production, since its beautiful, large script and generous margins are held in common with deeds and contracts likewise written in large script and large margins, elements that may have marked all of these texts—both legal and literary—as "presentation quality" documents, thereby making an extra claim on their potential readers.[19] The final product is evidence of an ongoing process of copying and recopying literary materials on reused administrative materials, a process that, in this case, seems to have been done in the same hand, the two versions

[19] The term "presentation quality" documents and this paragraph's entire discussion are indebted to the discussion of this scroll in Moore 2017, 243–47.

likely having been written down within a few years of each other, within the career of a one scribe.[20]

The other major example of a Persian-period scroll bearing an Aramaic literary text is Berlin P. 13447, a scroll of approximately 3 meters in length and almost 30 centimeters in height that bears a copy of the Aramaic text of the Darius Inscription across the recto and two columns of the verso of a high-quality pristine roll of papyrus.[21] Where the Berlin P. 13446 versions of the *Instruction of Ahiqar* were inscribed on reused administrative records, Berlin P. 13447 illustrates a reverse direction of interaction of scroll media. In this case, the literary text seems to have been inscribed on an unused papyrus roll before the unused portions of the roll were used to record administrative records. Thus, within this Persian-period Aramaic environment, we may not just have scribal reuse of administrative records to produce literary scrolls, but Berlin Papyrus 13447 illustrates use of uninscribed parts of a literary scroll to record administrative records (Moore 2022b, 18–19).

Either way, both the Berlin P. 13446 copy of Ahiqar and the Berlin P. 13447 copy of the Darius Inscription are written on relatively large scrolls, both nearly 30 centimeters in height and several meters in length, and both scrolls have features that characterize high-quality literary (and other genre) scrolls in other ancient contexts: high-quality script, generous spacing, and good-size margins. Though we lack enough

[20] Porten and Yardeni 1993 (hereafter TAD 3), 23, on the same hand for both exemplars of Ahiqar. This example of two high-quality copies done within the career of a single individual shows that, on occasion, scrolls could be replaced within a few years. To be sure, there are well-grounded estimates that some scrolls could be usable much longer, though it is unclear how big a proportion. Ryholt 2019, 399, suggests that a century was the maximum average lifespan for a papyrus scroll, while Popović 2012, 562–64, surveys work in classics that suggests that some manuscripts had a "useful life" of 100 to 300 years, though the majority had far less. See also Houston 2009, 249–51, on some examples of literary manuscripts lasting multiple centuries, with a "significant minority" lasting a 100 years.

[21] As noted in Ragazzoli, 2019, 49–50, royal decrees were the main other Egyptian text type, besides mortuary texts, to be regularly written on unused papyrus rolls. In this respect, Berlin P. 13447 seems to reflect a similar practice in a Persian-period Aramaic context.

evidence to establish a broader typology of Aramaic literary scrolls, it is plausible to hypothesize that these two papyri represented relatively valuable written artifacts. Their visual appearance seems crafted to convey a certain prestige attached to the Aramaic literary traditions that they display.[22]

As noted above, unfortunately no other early Levantine literary scrolls have been preserved. Nevertheless, we have a set of inscriptions, the Deir ʿAlla plaster texts, that may provide indirect insight into both the format of earlier Levantine literary scrolls and their prestige. To be sure, these are wall inscriptions, not scrolls, and they originate from a time (ninth or possibly eighth century BCE) and place (the Transjordan) quite distant from the Persian-period Aramaic scrolls from Elephantine discussed above. Nevertheless, the Deir ʿAlla wall inscriptions contain a mix of literary texts—including a report of a divine vision (by Balaam son of Beor) and apparent wisdom-related maxims—written in a column format resembling that of their Aramaic literary scroll counterparts. They even roughly correspond to those later Aramaic materials in overall line length (~30 cm) and column height (~30 cm likely for combination A and possibly combination B).[23] Moreover, they are written in a highly professional Aramaic script in a Levantine dialect that shares numerous isoglosses with older Aramaic (Blum 2015, 24–25). These resemblances between our only three possible exemplars of pre-Hellenistic alphabetic literary scrolls are tantalizingly suggestive, even if inconclusive. For now, it can be said that these Deir ʿAlla plaster inscriptions on the one hand and the Elephantine Ahiqar and Darius-Memoranda scrolls on the other *may* be chronologically and geographically distant attestations of a broader tradition of Aramaic and Aramaic-adjacent literary scribal traditions.

[22] Another possible indicator of the prestige of the scroll that was inscribed with the Darius text is that, though the copy may have been damaged, it was not erased when memoranda were added to the scroll. Instead, the scribe just used uninscribed portions. On this issue, see the important forthcoming comprehensive discussion of the *Memoranda*, Moore 2024.

[23] Millard 1978, 24–25; Lemaire 1991, 43.

Be that as it may, one final thing to emphasize is how the scribal practices in the Elephantine and Deir ʿAlla literary scrolls both feature connections to Egyptian practices surrounding literary scrolls. All of these literary traditions adapt the multi-column structure of Egyptian literary rolls. All are written with the rush pen used in ancient Egypt. And the Deir ʿAlla texts even share with older Egyptian literary rolls the use of red tint ink for writing paratextual markings (Quack 2005, 249–50).[24] These indicators are consistent with evidence that Egyptian scribal practices played an important early role in the overall development of Levantine literacy, from the development of the early Semitic alphabet to the evident use of papyrus for Iron Age Judean documents (including the Iron age papyrus palimpsest found at Murabbaʿat), the use of Egyptian red tint in early Judean inscriptions (e.g., Kuntillet ʿAjrud), the borrowing of Egyptian words for key implements of writing, and the adoption of the Egyptian hieratic numbering system.[25] These disparate data from the Iron Age Transjordan, non-literary epigraphs from Judah and Israel, and Aramaic scrolls from Levantine writers at Elephantine all point to Egypt as the common reference point for Levantine scribality up through the Persian period.

Finally, in Amherst Papyrus 63 we see a distinctly different but also interesting interaction of Egyptian scribal practices and Aramaic textuality. This 3.5 meter fourth-century scroll renders a collection of Aramaic texts with Demotic script, roughly following formatting conventions of Demotic literary scrolls.[26] At the same time, its writing blocks are more irregular than contemporary book rolls containing Demotic literary texts, with lines written at a slant and little in the way of regular intercolumn or other margins. In this respect, as suggested by Joseph Cross in an unpublished paper, the scroll may be more like

[24] . For more possible pointers to Egyptian influence, see Lemaire 1986, 89; Weippert 1991, 176–77.

[25] All these elements likely through a Phoenician conduit. For work on reflections of Egyptian scribal practices and technology in the Hebrew language, see Zhakevich 2020, 160–68; Quack 2022, 84–88.

[26] For a useful discussion of the scroll and theories regarding its dating and background, see Holm 2022.

an informal collection, in the relatively phonetically rich Demotic sign system, of a selection of Aramaic texts penned by a scribe working out of an Egyptian primary system.[27] Whether written by an Egyptian or a (Demotically trained) Aramean, this scroll is a useful testimony to how textual and scroll traditions, from different culture areas which are often treated separately, could be more porous to each other than is easily comprehended through the specialized training our disciplines typically provide. Also, insofar as the prose tale of two brothers at its conclusion is the best candidate to be a later addition to the collection, Amherst Papyrus 63 provides additional potential evidence of the phenomenon of "revision by extension" that I discussed above vis-à-vis diverse Egyptian materials.

Early Greek Literary Scrolls

I now take a brief look at early Greek language literary scrolls, all of which date from the Greco-Roman period. For reasons of space, I confine myself to a few aspects of Greek scroll practices that are particularly relevant to study of scroll practices among Greco-Roman period Egyptian and Judean writers. The farther one moves into the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the more one sees the influence of Greek script and writing practices on their local scroll production. Greek became an increasingly dominant language of administration, while education in Greek literary texts became important for elites and mid-level officials functioning in this environment, especially in government contexts. Thus, Greek literary texts, like the older Egyptian and Aramaic texts discussed already, were created in what I've been describing as an integrated scribal environment. The broader dispersion of Greek scroll textuality meant that Greek writing practices had an impact beyond the Greek environment per se, also influencing the production of non-Greek literary scrolls in contemporary contexts.

[27] This idea is presented preliminarily in Cross, "Corpus" (Forthcoming), with a fuller argument provided in a paper by the same author, "Envisioning a Compiler at Work: Scribal Features of Papyrus Amherst 63" that was presented orally at the 2018 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and is currently being prepared for publication.

This influence, however, did not just go one way. Many Greek scrolls, after all, are written on Egyptian papyrus, and they adopt the column format found in Middle Kingdom and later Egyptian and Levantine literary scrolls. At the same time, Greek literary scrolls adapt that format in at least two striking ways. The columns generally are much narrower than their Egyptian and Aramaic counterparts, usually less than 13 centimeters for verse texts and less than 10 centimeters for prose texts (with letter space counts less than 20). In addition, there is a widespread tendency for Greek columns to be written at a forward slant, so that the right-written column leans in the direction of writing, with the lower lines written slightly to the left of the upper lines.[28]

In addition, Greek writers wrote these scrolls in a script that was more rectilinear than earlier Levantine scripts with a narrower pen than those used for earlier Egyptian and Levantine scrolls. As Drew Longacre notes in an important article in comparative manuscript studies, the rectilinear script of Greek epigraphs may have influenced Judean formal scripts. Moreover, it seems as if either the Greek calamus pen or certain modes of using it contributed to a tendency toward denser, smaller writing, not only in Greek scrolls, but in indigenous-language scrolls from the Greco-Roman period as well.[29]

Meanwhile, Greek materials provide an important example of the limits and possibilities of transmitting large literary works on scroll media. This is a particular challenge in the Greek tradition because of the prominence within it of the Homeric epics, which were foundational in Greek educational and intellectual systems (Carr 2005,

[28] This data comes from that gathered in Johnson 2004, esp. 91–109, 153–55.

[29] Longacre 2021a, 12–24. As noted in personal conversations with James Moore and Joachim Quack, it is unclear the extent to which the shift in size that Drew Longacre discusses can be attributed to a shift in writing implement. In work underway now, Moore finds indicators of earlier use of a reed pen by scribes at Elephantine. Joachim Quack notes in a personal communication that a shift toward smaller writing occurs already in the Saite period in Egyptian texts. In a recent discussion of the writing implement shift, Quack argues that his preliminary judgment is that the shift toward the reed pen in Egyptian materials (including use of a thicker reed pen than is used with Greek materials) started already around the end of the second century BCE. See Quack 2015, 444–45.

100–1). These epics achieved a vast size amid largely oral transmission that far exceeded the carrying capacity of any normal literary scroll of the ancient world. It is not clear exactly when and how parts of the epics began to be inscribed, but it is virtually certain that no single scroll could or did contain the whole of either Homeric epic.[30] Instead, the existing evidence, partial to be sure, suggests that the diverse portions of that tradition were inscribed on scrolls of varying modest lengths until later in the Hellenistic period, when the 24-book system for dividing up the epics was applied to the Iliad and (by analogy) the Odyssey, with each "book," or sometimes a small combination of books, inscribed on a modest-length scroll (Van Sickle 1980, 7–12).

In this respect, the early writing of the Homeric epic tradition somewhat resembles a new and distinct illustration of the complex interchange of memory and inscribed artifact that Ragazzoli (2019) posits for the miscellanies especially prominent in the New Kingdom period. In both cases, the written media of scrolls were used to inscribe selective portions of literary traditions that were transmitted in large part by means of memory. On the one hand, one had a larger literary complex in the minds and mouths of the tradents—whether Homeric epic or classical Egyptian traditions. On the other hand, these tradents

[30] Biblical scholars may have been misled by a brief comment that a full Homeric manuscript is known in Driver 1948, 84. Thanks to a personal communication from Konrad Schmid, I received the following genealogy of this claim from the late Oxford classicist Peter Parsons, who traces this kind of claim to Birt 1882, who believed that the works of Greek authors were not originally divided into books and, therefore, at the earliest stage each work (say, the *History* of Thucydides) were copied complete on a single roll of enormous length. Parsons notes that "to support this he [Birt] cites (445) two literary references: Ulpian at Digest 32.52 mentions a roll containing the whole of Homer (perhaps just a hypothetical case); then in the fifth century AD the historian Malchus mentions a dragon skin 120 feet long on which both Homeric poems were written in gold." An examination of both references indicates that they are to mythical scrolls, and Parsons notes with regard to Birt that "nobody these days believes him: such huge rolls would have been impossibly cumbrous, and in the papyri that actually survive it's rare to find even two books of Homer on the same roll." I am very grateful to Konrad Schmid and Peter Parsons for providing this information.

produced scroll artifacts bearing selective parts of that broader tradition, artifacts representing hand-written performances of those subparts of the tradition.

Overall, William Johnson's foundational 2004 study of Greek book rolls, many of which contained parts or all of large literary works, suggests that most such scrolls did not exceed 15 meters in length, with rolls larger than that being excessively awkward and relatively rare. As in the case of the Homeric epic (and perhaps following the precedent established by that important example), writers could, and often did, avoid such awkwardness by using multiple scrolls to inscribe a given textual unit. There is even an example of a composition where the same work (Philodemus's *On Poems*) is copied over one long 12.3 to 14.8 meter scroll (PHerc 1425), while copied in a different, less dense, format across two scrolls totaling 16–18 meters, of which PHerc 1538 is the first part (Johnson 2004, 146–49). There are also multiple references within Greek literature of authors intentionally composing works meant to be transmitted in multiple scrolls, including the Jewish author, Josephus, who says that he composed *Against Apion* in two volumes because his first volume had reached an appropriate size (Ag. Ap. 1.322).

Johnson (2004, 148–49) notes that many of the large and unwieldy scrolls that exceed the normal "upper limit" of 15 meters for literary scrolls share high-quality script, larger script, and generous formatting that mark them as luxury scrolls, which are meant more for display than for regular reading. There is, for example, an unusually handsome, generously proportioned scroll from Oxyrhynchus containing four books of the Iliad in unusually fine script across 19 meters. And several other unusually large examples of early Greek scrolls are copies of parts of Herodotus or Thucydides, again marked as luxury copies by their extra-fine scripts, a mark of the extra expense put out to create them.[31]

[31] Van Sickle 1980, 7, notes the existence of early scrolls with luxurious formats, such as a scroll of the Iliad that features only 10 lines per column, but he nevertheless notes that even this format would still accommodate a 1,000-line book in 6.3 meters. Notably the late-fourth-century Derveni Papyrus is much more densely inscribed, with an estimated 30 lines per column, with lines averaging well over 35 letters a piece (based on column XXII, working from the publication of the

The extra prominence of luxury copies *among the largest scrolls* in the Greek materials provides a possible interesting perspective on unusually large literary scrolls found in other contexts. Johnson proposes that these luxury copies, relatively unwieldy as they are, served a display purpose analogous to contemporary coffee table books, which are meant more for display and brief consultation in living rooms than for any ongoing reading. So also, he notes the unusually large size of highly decorated and carefully treated synagogue Torah scrolls, which symbolize a valued tradition in how they are cared for and carried, but which are read only highly selectively in liturgical and ritual contexts. Their unusually large size is needed for them to bear the entire Torah tradition that they represent, and their grand size may even provide a material token of that tradition's extraordinary character.

Demotic Literary Scrolls from the Greco-Roman Period

The Demotic evidence provides an important initial illustration of the important shifts in production of literary scrolls that occurred as such non-Greek traditions were transmitted increasingly exclusively in temple and temple-adjacent contexts in cultural environments where government and non-temple business was conducted in Aramaic (especially in the Persian period) and Greek (especially into the Roman period).[32] The shift was particularly marked in the Egyptian instance because the Persian period represents somewhat of an interruption in the production of Egyptian literary scrolls up to that point, scrolls generally inscribed with hieratic script. Perhaps because of Cambyses's closing of temple scribal workshops in 525 BCE in the wake of a revolt and subsequent Persian suppression of native Egyptian temple-based

papyrus in Kouremenos et al. 2006, 8). Overall, the question of text density for early Greek scrolls is less clear than in other areas surveyed here, with a paucity of pre-Hellenistic evidence (for literary scrolls) and some of the best existing scholarship (e.g., Van Sickle 1980) using figures of line count rather than letter space to calculate relative lengths of literary works.

[32] On the disappearance of Demotic contracts in the Roman period, see Muhs 2005, 93. For an overview of the ups and downs of the administrative use of Demotic, see also the overview in Moje 2019.

traditions, the Persian period represents a break in the production of native-language Egyptian literary texts, though administrative texts continue to be produced in the Demotic scripts used previously for such texts (Hoffmann 2009, 368). When Egyptian production of literary texts fully resumes during the Ptolemaic period (or latter part of the Persian period) on the other side of this break, they were written in the Demotic script and Egyptian dialect, and there were other marked changes as well.[33]

To start, the complex of Egyptian literary traditions shifted. Where earlier Egyptian literature featured a mix of structured wisdom instructions and narratives, stylized letters, and other genres, Greco-Roman period Demotic literature was dominated by more loosely structured collections of wisdom maxims (e.g. Khasheshonqi [often known as Ankhsheshonq(y)]and Papyrus Insinger) and narrative complexes (Petese, Inaros, Setne) along with some large-scale religio-theological texts (Book of Thoth, Myth of the Sun's Eye) whose overall size well surpasses those of pre–Persian-period classical Egyptian compositions.[34] In important ways, these Demotic materials have a more (Story of Petese) or less (Inaros Cycle) loose, agglutinative quality, marking their status as collections of diverse materials featuring a similar character set within a broader narrative frame.[35] Moreover, and this is important for later consideration of contemporary Jewish traditions, these large Demotic compositions are often inscribed *as wholes* on sometimes extremely large scrolls (e.g., the Myth of the Sun's Eye on a 22–25 m scroll, a version of the Story of Petese running to around 20 m, and the Inaros Cycle with 46 densely written columns).[36] Indeed, these overall

[33] For a summary of problems with dating Demotic compositions by the date of their manuscripts, see Quack 2016, 24–27, and the overview of dating indicators in Hoffmann 2009. In addition, see Jay 2015 for arguments for a pre-Ptolemaic substrate to the Demotic Petition of Petese.

[34] Note also that the Book of the Temple, though originally hieratic, was translated into Demotic and transmitted on large scrolls. See Quack 2016, 268.

[35] For discussion of the genre of story collection in Demotic materials, see Holm 2013.

[36] The latter text is not yet published, but Kim Ryholt (2018, 168) provides a survey of the longest Demotic scrolls.

length measures may only partially encompass how much larger these Demotic complexes are than their pre-Hellenistic counterparts, since these scrolls often feature more lines per column (and possibly denser writing) than earlier Egyptian literary scrolls. Figure 1 provides images of the Berlin P. 3022 copy of Sinuhe and a similarly scaled image of column VII of the Leiden P. 384 copy of the Myth of the Sun's Eye. A very limited probe done with Joseph Cross suggests that the 32 lines of minutely written script in the Leiden P. 384 column typically contain about four times as many quadrats per centimeter as the more broadly written 12 lines per column of Berlin P. 3022.[37]

This Hellenistic period move toward the collection and copying of massive narrative complexes on single scrolls is new compared to pre-Persian Egyptian scribalism, where literary scroll compositions were of more modest length and often copied in only excerpt form. In those cases, Egyptian literary texts, albeit often in older dialects of Egyptian, were being memorized and transmitted in integrated scribal systems in both temple and non-temple contexts where a form of Egyptian was still being spoken and used for non-literary, non-temple written transactions. The greater level of interface between the Egyptian of the literary tradition and that of the production of scroll iterations of that tradition

[37] The method for calculating sign-space per centimeter is discussed and illustrated for Qumran materials below. Nevertheless, it can be noted here that this initial probe involved calculating an average number of quadrats per line across two lines of a given column of each manuscript, multiplying that average by the lines per column, and dividing the resulting estimated number of quadrats in the writing block by the width of that block plus associated intercolumn margin. Meanwhile, Ryholt 2018, 168, n. 50 notes that the extraordinarily dense writing of the Carlsberg P. 164 version of the Inaros Cycle (unpublished at the time of this writing) is so minutely written that it contains more text than the (already densely written) 124-column Leiden 384 version of the Myth of the Sun's Eye. Together, these figures would suggest that Carlsberg P. 164 thus would contain upwards of eight times or more textual information per centimeter of scroll length than Berlin P. 3022. Furthermore, a personal communication from Joachim Quack notes that the contrast in phonetic information per centimeter might be yet more pronounced if one took into account the fact that Greco-Roman Egyptian writing typically has more signs per square, but this area needs more research.

Figure 1: Berlin P. 3022 Sinuhe (14 cm column height, 12 lines) compared to Leiden P. 384 Myth of the Sun's Eye (20.5 column height, 32 lines)

Photo and permission of Berlin P. 3022 (Photo 14.P3022 F(2) Sinuhe) provided by the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung. Photo and permission for Leiden P. 384 provided by the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden.

can be seen in the substantial attestation of elementary school exercise copies of that tradition on ostraca. As Joachim Quack observes, we see fewer such exercises, now in Demotic, during the Greco-Roman period (2016, 14–15).

This is just one of several reflections that Demotic literature was now being transmitted in more limited contexts of learned priests in Egyptian temples. As we move into the Greco-Roman period, finds at Tebtunis, Tanis, and elsewhere testify to the way many such temples featured texts in both Greek and Demotic. This suggests the likelihood of a sustained and complex interaction between the above-discussed Greek writing practices and the production of Demotic administrative and literary texts.[38] This coexistence and complex relationality militates

[38] For a nuanced survey of diverse find spots, most associated in some way with temples, see Ryholt 2019, especially (for evidence of Demotic and Greek mixed scribal environments) 400, 419–421 and (on association of the preserved literary

against an idea of a defensive Egyptian-language scribalism (Tait 2014, 328–29). Nevertheless, across the latter part of the first millennium BCE and especially toward the Roman period, Demotic literary scribalism took place in a narrower (temple) context and was less integrated with non-temple society and elite textual practices. By the first and second centuries CE, from which most copies of Demotic texts date, temple-associated libraries of Demotic texts reflect a literary and religious textual corpus produced in a preservationist environment by an elite group of textual professionals.

This environment sees the collection and inscription of some large, loosely organized and agglutinative, textual traditions like the Inaros Cycle and Petese Story Collection or large wisdom complexes like Khasheshonqi or the Great Wisdom Book (preserved on P. Insinger). Similar, yet distinct, from the case of written iteration of the Homeric epic tradition, these Demotic materials are complexly related to oral and oral-written practices of textual performance and transmission.[39] As suggested in work by Kim Ryholt and especially Jacqueline Jay, these materials show diverse relations to processes of memorization and performance. In some cases, such as the frame narrative for Khasheshonqi [and the Petese and Setne cycles], there are instances of documented variation that are so great that one could suppose that certain scroll versions of a composition are separate written iterations of tradition complexes as transmitted in exclusively oral and memorized form.[40]

temples with temples and their work) 457. Cf. also the more complicated case of the Ptolemeios and Apollonios archive in Ryholt 2019, 410–11, which may be a Greek-primary writing environment that reused older Demotic scroll material. On Demotic scribes working with both literary and non-literary texts, see Quack 2016, 11.

[39] See Quack 2016, 15–17, for a collection of instances where Demotic texts thematize oral and other contexts for textual transmission. Note also Cross, "Mouvance" (forthcoming).

[40] On Khasheshonqui, see Ryholt 2000, 114; Jay 2019, 257–61. For other traditions, note again Ryholt's comment at the locus cited above: "One strongly suspects that a story originally had an oral tradition and that it was committed to writing at different locations and at different times." This approach has been confirmed in further work by Jay 2016 for Story of Petese (214–16) and versions of Setne (249).

In other cases, Jay's analysis of overlapping sections of Inaros materials finds memory variants that could point to transmission of literary texts through (writing-supported) memorization (Jay 2016, 146–50). There certainly still was graphic transmission of extended texts, and there seems to have been particular care to attend to and comment on variants in religio-theological texts (Jay 2016, 236–37). Nevertheless, the increasingly published Demotic literary corpus seems a particularly productive arena for exploration of the ways different genres of literary texts could be related to ongoing transmission in a Greco-Roman-period scholarly elite developing and conserving an indigenous language textual corpus (Jay 2016, 2019).

Meanwhile, the Demotic evidence provides a useful comparison point with pre-Hellenistic Egyptian scrolls, showing how literary scroll practices seem to have developed during this Hellenistic-into-Roman context to transmit these often-large indigenous language textual complexes (Inaros Cycle, Story of Petese, Myth of the Sun's Eye, Insinger/Great Wisdom book). Certainly, longer scrolls were used sometimes in order to inscribe these large textual complexes as a whole. Nevertheless, other techniques are used to increase the carrying capacity of these scrolls. These include the occasional use of unusually tall scrolls allowing more lines per column, the placement of lines closer together, the use (especially in the Roman Period) of guidelines to allow compact formatting, the use of pagination (especially for high quality scrolls), and the use of smaller writing (Ryholt 2018, 168–72).

To trace just one of these techniques, the following chart (Chart 1) traces the proportion of height to width of pre-Hellenistic to Demotic literary scrolls.

The longer lines here indicate columns where the columns are taller than they are wide, while lines to the right that are below the '1' line represent scrolls where the columns are wider than they are high. The names of Demotic scrolls are in all capital letters to distinguish them. They dominate the thirteen spots representing scrolls with columns taller than they are wide, with the earlier Westcar Papyrus and Turin P. 1881 the main exceptions.

Demotic (and late Hieratic) rolls also were able to contain more text per centimeter because their columns often featured more lines, partly

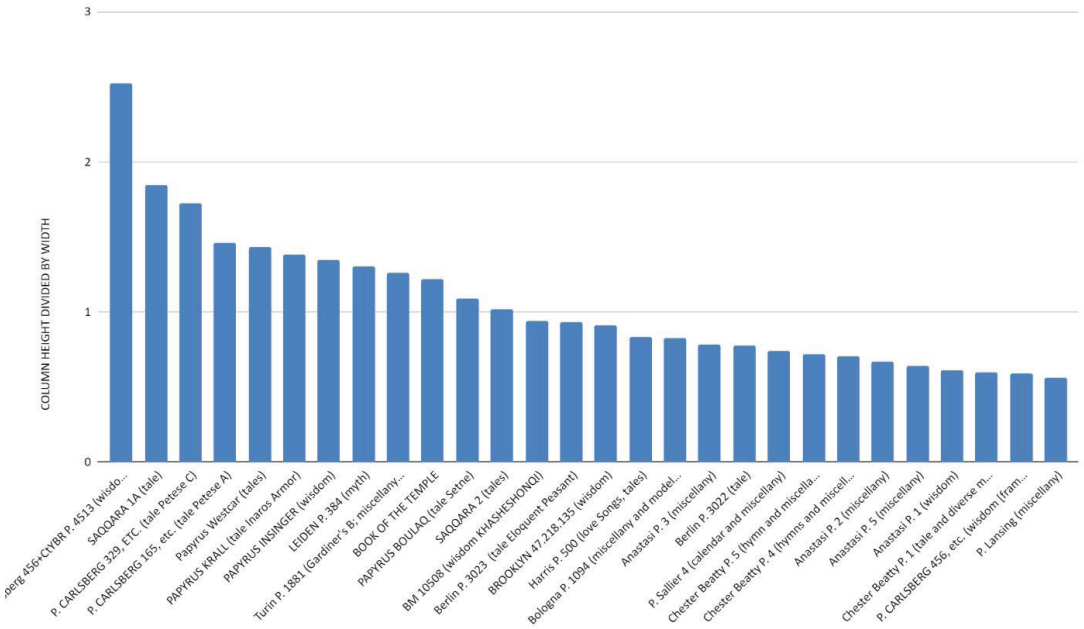

Chart 1: Column Proportions

because those columns were (often) taller and partly because the lines were placed closer together. The following chart (Chart 2) compares the line counts of columns in pre-Hellenistic and later Egyptians scrolls. Again, the ten scrolls with 20 or more lines are mostly later scrolls, again with the tall column Westcar Papyrus as an exception. These relatively tall columns with more lines allowed later Egyptian scrolls, especially the ones on the far left of each chart, to contain multiples more text per centimeter of their length than their counterparts on the right side of the chart.

We do not have as much data as would be ideal to develop a fuller comparison of later Egyptian scrolls (many still unpublished) with earlier Egyptian scrolls on this point. Nevertheless, one can start to get an idea of the difference in carrying capacity between the largest Greco-Roman period Egyptian scrolls and comparable scrolls from earlier periods by roughly estimating their 'cumulative line length'. This is a figure summarizing the cumulative total length of inscribable lines on a reconstructed scroll if one multiplies the scroll length (or reconstructed scroll length) by the number of lines per column by an inscribed ratio percentage figure (accounting some for intercolumn margin blank space) derived by dividing a typical column width by the

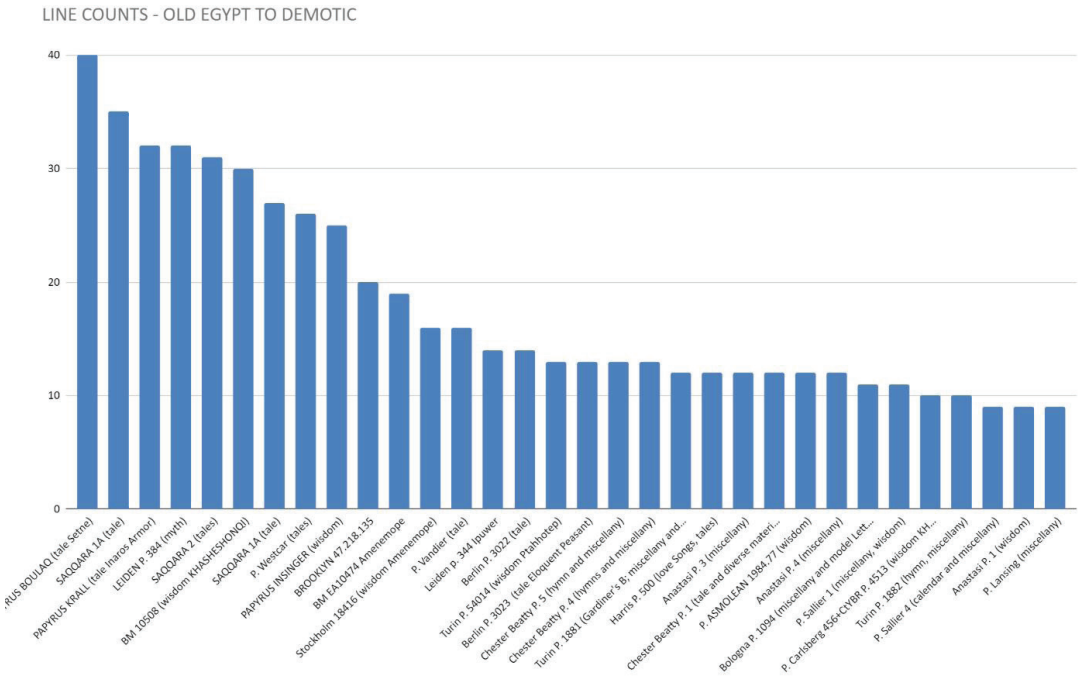

Chart 2: Line Counts Old Egyptian to Demotic

sum of that column width and an intercolumn margin. Each of these numbers often vary, and overall scroll length also can be uncertain. Nevertheless, even accounting for such uncertainties and variances, my initial estimates suggest that there is a quite significant apparent difference between estimated cumulative line length for the Leiden P. 384 copy of the Myth of the Sun's Eye (650+ meters of inscribable lines) or the Papyrus Krall copy of the Conflict over Inaraos's Armor (142 meters) and the highest such figures for pre-Hellenistic scrolls, such as 70 meters for Anastasi P. I or 65 meters for Papyrus Westcar, while the figures for most early Egyptian scrolls are in the 13-meter (Turin P. 1881) to 30-meter (Chester Beatty P. 4) range.[41]

Insofar as these figures hold up, it would suggest that later big scrolls like Leiden P. 384 or the Carlsberg P. 164 iteration of the Inaros Cycle

[41] These numbers are approximate, as they are roughly estimated from digital measures of photos from museum and other websites, and they are often scaled using the (sometimes misleading) figures reported in publications. Despite these uncertainties, the patterns are clear enough for these rough figures to serve illustrative purposes.

are not only just longer in raw number of meters than earlier scrolls (though they are that), but they are inscribed in such a way as to contain many times as much text for each meter as many of their pre-Hellenistic counterparts. This high-carrying-capacity form of scroll, of course, is not universal in the Demotic context. The above charts, for example, suggest that certain genres of Demotic texts, especially some wisdom texts, were inscribed in short-wide columns like their pre-Hellenistic counterparts, perhaps following old Egyptian models of similar-genre texts.[42] Nevertheless, the Greco-Roman period seems to be a time when scroll carrying capacity was radically expanded for at least certain kinds of Demotic texts, especially those written in new genres (e.g., the story collection). These high-carrying capacity scrolls were a substantially new sort of textual media object, one capable of serving as a platform for the development and conservation —within the preservationist Demotic scribal context—of a very different scale of literary text / literary complex than existed in earlier Egypt. And this does not yet account for possible shifts in text density in Demotic scrolls or the (occasional) transmission of Demotic materials across multiple scrolls (e.g., one iteration of the story of Petese).[43] The term "text density" is drawn from work by specialists in medieval Jewish codicology and refers to a variety of features (e.g., number of lines per page, characters per line, space between lines) that combine to determine how much text is inscribed within a given spatial area of writing media (codices or, in this case, scrolls). I will return later to questions of developments in text density in discussion of early Jewish scrolls.[44]

These figures are quite preliminary, but they point to possible fruitful directions for further research, both expanding the dataset with

[42] For more on the formatting of Demotic texts in relation to these earlier squat column formats and yet earlier tall ones, see Quack 2016, 10.

[43] For multi-scroll versions of the Story of Petese, see Ryholt 2005, 8. Furthermore, an oral report from Joachim Quack suggests that one exemplar of the Book of the Temple (a hieratic one) may have been inscribed across three scrolls, partly because this scroll was written in an unusually large hand on an unusually short/narrow scroll.

[44] Olszowy-Schlanger 2013; 2016, 93–94; 2019, 67–96; Del Barco 2020, 103.

firmer figures and clarifying the function and background of such high-carrying-capacity scrolls. In particular, it remains unclear the extent to which Greek writing practices, for example the use of tall-column, densely written scrolls often in multi-scroll formats, may have played some role in prompting similar strategies among Greco-Roman-period Egyptian scribes working in Demotic (and Hieratic).[45]

Indeed, it should be emphasized that much work overall remains to be done in building the foundation for further work on Demotic literary scrolls through publishing more of them and making scale photos of them publicly available. This will provide more data with which it will be possible to survey broader shifts in format and text density, shifts that initially seem apparent when comparing available Demotic materials with pre-Hellenistic Egyptian literary scrolls. More publication of Demotic literary scrolls may also make it possible to develop a typology of such scrolls. It might be possible, for example, to identify characteristics of prestige display copies of Demotic literary texts versus copies meant for more regular use. Ryholt (2018: 169) suggests that the page numbers on some of the longest scrolls may be marks of their prestige status, and many such long scrolls are written in a fine hand. Yet these scrolls do not consistently feature the generous margins and large writing that characterize luxury copies of Greek texts, partly because they seem formatted to carry so much text per linear centimeter. It remains to be determined whether there is an identifiable subcategory of luxury copies of Demotic scrolls and clarify the extent to which their distinctive features are similar to, or different from, those of luxury/prestige copies of Greek texts.

Greco-Roman Period Judean Literary Scrolls from the Dead Sea Region

The above discussion of Egyptian, Aramaic-Levantine, and Greek practices around literary scrolls provides a broader context for consideration

[45] Of course, it should be noted in this respect that this could be an inner-Egyptian development, since there are a few iterations of the Book of the Dead transmitted across multiple scrolls as well (Quirke 1999, 91). This was quite rare, however, and limited to a very different genre.

of the rich data from the Dead Sea Scrolls. This is a group of hundreds of largely literary scrolls discovered at sites around the Dead Sea, especially in caves near the settlement of Qumran on the Dead Sea's northwestern edge. These scrolls, now mostly leather but some papyrus, date from around the third century BCE to the second century CE.[46] They provide a precious glimpse into developments in Jewish Judean literary scroll practices across this period. Since my focus here is on an interdisciplinary approach, I will concentrate this discussion of Dead Sea Scroll texts on areas that connect with phenomena that I have discussed above.

To start, I suggest that this corpus of Hebrew Dead Sea scrolls provides another illustration of a relatively preservationist scribal context focused particularly on production and transmission of literary scrolls written in a language distinct from the dominant, or at least prominent, language used in contemporary administrative contexts and/or colloquial speech. In this case, the vast bulk of the Dead Sea Scrolls are Hebrew language compositions, with only a minority in the Aramaic and Greek languages that were more commonly used in everyday discourse and business in the region.[47] To be sure, there are few documentary texts and letters among the scrolls, some of which feature a documentary text inscribed on the verso perpendicular to a literary text inscribed on the recto (e.g., 4Q324+4Q355; 4Q460+4Q350).[48] Nevertheless, the proportion of documentary texts among the Qumran cave scrolls is small, and these scrolls appear to have been conserved by a group that came to identify itself with the priestly sons of Zadok.[49] As

[46] For an overview of the papyrus scrolls, see Tov 2004, 32–33 and appendix 2, 289–94. As noted by Eibert Tigchelaar (reporting a suggestion of some audience members who heard his talk) in Tigchelaar 2016, part of the lower proportion of papyrus materials in the Qumran finds may be an accident of their poorer preservation (Tigchelaar 2016, 4, n. 10, raises questions about this).

[47] For a survey of scholarship on the later Second Temple period and a proposal, see Ong 2016, 69–226.

[48] See Yardeni 1997, 283, for questions about the claimed Qumran provenance of some documentary texts said to have come from Cave IV.

[49] These comments relate to group self-perception and/or presentation as reflected in texts like the (later recensions of) the Community Rule. For careful

such, these Qumran literary scrolls, most of which were written in the archaic language of Hebrew, bear a similar (complex) relation to an indigenous temple complex that we see in the case of Demotic materials, especially in the Roman period. In both cases, it appears that priestly and/or priest-associated groups produced literary scrolls to preserve an indigenous literary tradition written in an archaic language (Hebrew or Demotic) that was in declining everyday use outside the temple(s).

Another thing that the Qumran corpus has in common with the roughly contemporary Demotic corpus and the Greek corpus as well, is the adaptation of the literary scroll medium to transmit unusually long texts containing older traditions. In the Greek tradition, we saw the use of multiple, often large scrolls used to inscribe portions of the mammoth, originally oral Homeric epic tradition and large-scale classical traditions like Herodotus or Thucydides. Among Demotic scrolls, we saw the use of very long scrolls, sometimes multiple scrolls, to inscribe agglutinative complexes of story cycles (Petese, Inaros, Setne), wisdom collections (Khasheshonqi), and mythic (Myth of the Sun's Eye) traditions. Now at Qumran, we see the use of long, tall, and densely written scrolls to inscribe large Hebrew literary works that have grown over time, one or more books of the Pentateuch, the books of the Psalms, and larger prophetic collections associated with Isaiah and Ezekiel. As work by Drew Longacre initially suggested and as has been confirmed in a broader survey that Asaf Gayer and I have done, the carrying capacity of these scrolls is on a different order from the above-discussed Elephantine literary scrolls like the copy of Ahiqar. Thanks to smaller script and an increased number of lines made possible by closer spacing and higher columns, some manuscripts at Qumran could bear upwards of ten times as many characters per linear centimeter as the Darius-Memoranda or Ahiqar scrolls could have.[50] Inscribed in such a

qualifications regarding past theories about the priestly and/or Essene origins of the group(s) transmitting the Qumran scrolls, see Collins 2010.

[50] This collaborative project is Gayer and Carr 2024. The work on the highest-carrying-capacity scrolls among the Dead Sea corpus was done by me using techniques and figures developed in that study. My methods for estimating carrying capacity are discussed below in relation to Qumran materials.

way, a densely written, large-format Qumran scroll could contain the entire Pentateuch on a semi-manageable length of around ten meters, where a scroll inscribed in the manner of the Elephantine Ahiqar or Darius-Memoranda examples would have required a completely unworkable 100+ meters.

Furthermore, as in the Greek case and possibly also the Demotic case, these unusually large Dead Sea literary scrolls share features characteristic of high-quality luxury or presentation-quality scrolls aimed for display and possible communal use. Much as William Johnson used script quality as an initial and primary criterion for Greek luxury scrolls, so also a recent article by Drew Longacre shows that the largest Psalm scrolls are distinguished by their unusually fine scripts, and my broader survey has confirmed this trend across other large Dead Sea scrolls.[51] This suggests that the focus by Emanuel Tov on margin size for identifying "luxury" scrolls at Qumran, focusing on manuscripts with preserved top or bottom margins more than 3 centimeters, may not be the best approach. For one thing, as Tov is acutely aware, margin size is only inconsistently preserved, so some of the most finely written scrolls with large writing blocks do not get included as candidates for presentation copies—such as 4QGen-Exod[a] (4Q1) or 4QGen[b] (4Q2).[52] In addition, intercolumn margins are also relevant, suggesting that a certain measure of white space per centimeter may be a better measure of manuscript quality. But more than that, it may make sense to follow William Johnson's example and focus initially on scrolls written in high-quality formal square, or high-quality paleo-Hebrew, scripts for initial candidates for deluxe, presentation-quality scrolls. Again, my quite initial survey suggests that many of the largest, most densely written scrolls at Qumran are also written in high-quality, normal-size paleo-Hebrew or square script. In this group, only the 4QExod-Lev[f] (4Q17) scroll is written in a proto-cursive script.

[51] Longacre 2021b. For William Johnson's reasoning for focusing initially on script quality as a criterion (albeit subjective) for *editions deluxe*, see Johnson 2004, 102.

[52] Tov (2021, 431) himself lists a "control group" of candidates to be luxury scrolls that lack large margins. He updates and revises his description of luxury scrolls in a revised version of his book *Scribal Practices* (= Tov 2004).

In my original presentation for the Leuven panel, I hypothesized that the production of large-capacity scrolls containing the whole Pentateuch might have been a phenomenon characteristic of the conclusion of the Second Temple period, with these large-capacity Pentateuchal scrolls perhaps standing as deluxe copies of an increasingly formalized scriptural tradition. This idea has not held up, however, as I have done rough estimates of letter space per linear centimeter capacity for the primary candidates to be such high-capacity scrolls, with "letter space" here following the convention (within Dead Sea Scroll scholarship) of counting both letters and spaces between words.[53] Working with a dataset formed of Dead Sea scrolls identified as luxury copies and/or scrolls with extra-large writing blocks by Emanuel Tov (and comparing them to the Berlin P. 13446 iteration of the Instruction of Ahiqar), I attempted, as far as possible, to estimate how many letter spaces per centimeter these scrolls could carry.[54]

I developed these estimates in the following manner. Where possible, I identified a fragment (or block of fragments joined by the editor) preserving a complete (or nearly complete) set of lines and associated intercolumn margin for a given column. I then calculated an average number of letter spaces per line for that column whether by counting and averaging the letter spaces for multiple lines or (in the case of biblical manuscripts) by developing a letter space count based on the block of biblical text thought to have been preserved in the given column. I used these figures to estimate the total number of letter spaces in the given column block—either the block of biblical text or the letter-space-per-line average multiplied by the number of column lines. The letter space per linear centimeter estimate was then generated by dividing the letter spaces for the column block by the width of the column combined with an associated intercolumn margin. The resulting (letter space per centimeter) figure indicated how many spaces

[53] For discussion of the concept of letter space, see Ben-Dov, Gayer, and Ratzon 2022, 79.

[54] My dataset focused on Emanuel Tov's list of scrolls with extra-large blocks in Tov 2004 and of some additional scrolls in his candidates for luxury scrolls in Tov 2022, 43.

Figure 2: Illustration of Contrasting Carrying Capacity Per (Linear) Centimeter: 32 Letter Spaces per cm in Column IV of Berlin P. 13446 (Ahiqar) vs. 113 Letter Spaces per cm in Column V of 1QIsa[a] (19.7 cm column height, 12 cm column width plus intercolumn margin).

Photo (by John Trevor) and permission for column V of the 1Qisaiah scroll (1QISACOL05_A8) is provided courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago

Photo of plate D of Berlin P. 13446 and permission provided the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung.

would be contained in an average 1-centimeter vertical sliver across a given one centimeter length of scroll surface (taking into account inter-column margins and *vacat*s). Figure 2 gives images of portions of the Berlin P. 13446 copy of Ahiqar and the more densely written 1QIsaiah[a] scroll, with vertical lines roughly indicating the sort of vertical slice of writing block measured in each case.

Not every scroll in this dataset had enough material to measure even one column, especially non-biblical scrolls where it was more difficult to project total numbers of lines in fragmentary columns. Nevertheless, with those qualifications and noting how rough such projections can be (based on one column and often uncertain estimates), I arrived at the fol-

lowing list of 12 scrolls that are the best candidates for having around 200 or more letter spaces per centimeter: *4Q1/4QGen-Exod*[a]; ***4Q5/4QGen***[e]; ***4Q11/4QpaleoGen-Exod***[l]; ***4Q14/4Q[Gen-]Exod***[c]; 4Q17/4QExod-Lev[f]; *4Q23/4QLev-Num*[a]; ***4Q24b/4QLev***[b2]; ***4Q51/4QSam***[a]***)***; ***4QIsa***[b]***/4Q56***; 4Q98a/4QPs[r]; ***4Q365/4QRP***[c]; and *4Q403/4QShirShab*[d].[55]

In contrast to my suppositions presented in the 2021 Leuven panel, this is hardly a list of late Second Temple deluxe copies of Pentateuchal scrolls. The only two scrolls that clearly fall in the common era, 4Q98a/4QPs[r] (if it has tall columns) and 4Q403/4QShirShab[d], are modest to small-size scrolls written in extremely small script that are each a case unto themselves. Otherwise, the scrolls in this list are dated by their editors to the late Hasmonean / early Herodian period (in **bold** in the list above) or earlier (4Q1/4QGen-Exod[a]; 4Q17/4QExod-Lev[f]; and 4Q23/4QLev-Num[a]).[56] Though a few have large margins preserved (e.g., 4Q11/4QpaleoGen-Exod[l]; 4Q13/4QGen-Exod[c]; and 4Q51/4QSam[a]), they are most united in being written in archaizing

[55] For some information on the measurements for this group of manuscripts, see Appendix 1 to this article. The designation 4Q24b/4QLev[b2] comes from Eibert Tigchelaar's argument for two manuscripts present among the fragments previously designated by the designation 4QLev[b] (Mus. Inv. 1077–79; see Tigchelaar 2021, 263–69). The measurements in this case come from fragment 9, which is among those with more minutely written portions of the later chapters of Leviticus. It should also be noted that it is quite uncertain whether 4Q98a/4QPsr belongs in this list. As noted in Jain 2014, 141, the original editors' supposition of a 60-line column for this manuscript (Peter Flint, Patrick Skehan, and Eugene Ulrich in DJD XVI, 151) is based on slender evidence. Similarly slender evidence (adduced by Jain) would yield columns of approximately 33 lines at 16.5 cm in height, which would mean considerably less carrying capacity per centimeter. For other information on the measurements for this group of manuscripts, see Appendix 1 to this article. As noted there, the date ranges assigned to these manuscripts by their editors on paleographic grounds are ever more questionable, and all of the measurements used here involve approximations and in some cases (e.g., 4Q5/4QGen[e], 4Q365/4QRP[c]) a particular level of guesswork. Though the overall trends noted here remain highly likely, precision is not claimed here and is virtually impossible to achieve.

[56] This correlates with Drew Longacre's (2014, 148–52) finding of Exodus manuscripts with large numbers of lines per column being relatively earlier.

(paleo-Hebrew) or otherwise formal script. Only the earliest scroll in the set, 4Q17/4QExod-Lev^{f} (dated to the third century BCE) is written in a proto-cursive script. Many scrolls at Qumran are written with such a high-quality script, so the predominance of formal scripts among these high-carrying-capacity scrolls may not be significant. Nevertheless, insofar as quality of script was the initial and primary criterion for William Johnson's identification of *editions deluxe* versions of textual traditions (see above), this could be a prompt to consider other criteria for quality of scroll production and whether high-carrying-capacity literary scrolls may have been distinguished by such characteristics as serving similar symbolic and/or display purposes to Greek *editions deluxe*.

Overall, it is difficult to draw more secure conclusions from this preliminary survey, especially given the above qualifications about problems in gathering data for many scrolls. Nevertheless, rather than agreeing with my hypothesis of a trend toward the production of high-capacity deluxe copies in the first or second century CE, this initial probe would suggest instead a move around the middle or the late first century BCE toward increased Judean use of this high-capacity scroll technology to produce especially large, complete copies of Pentateuchal books and a few other large biblical books. Indeed, in almost half of the cases (five of the above-listed high-capacity Dead Sea scrolls), this scroll technology seems to have been used to produce high-capacity scrolls that could carry multiple books in the Pentateuch on one material object. In the concluding section of this essay, I will return to this question of the transmission of the Pentateuch in a well-established five-scroll framework.

Meanwhile, the Dead Sea evidence relevant to a scroll approach is not confined to this limited list of relatively well preserved, high-capacity scrolls. Indeed, most of the Dead Sea Scrolls appear to have been modest-sized scrolls bearing parts or all of shorter compositions. If we turn our attention away from what my German colleagues would call *Traditionsliteratur* (books built up over time, like Genesis, Exodus, Isaiah, or Psalms), the relatively newer compositions found at Qumran are inscribed on scrolls in the same 3–9 meter range that we saw for early Egyptian compositions. Notably, the overall denser writing of these Greco-Roman period Jewish scrolls meant that scrolls in this 3–9 meter

range could hold far more text than a comparable scroll inscribed in the manner of our known pre-Hellenistic scrolls. In this sense, the apparent Greco-Roman-period revolution in carrying capacity of literary scrolls (as well as the example of longer Greek works in the surrounding cultural context) may have prompted (or at least allowed for) an increase in size of new Jewish compositions.

Meanwhile, once a given composition was in the stream of tradition, it could be represented in a diverse range of ways. Much work remains to be done on the diverse purposes of scrolls and related formats and other features that might point to such purposes. Older treatments sometimes speak of the "liturgical" or "personal" purposes of minutely written small-format scrolls, but there does not seem to have been much further work providing background and data on what such liturgical or personal settings would have involved. According to Matthew Monger's (2022) survey of the Qumran evidence, almost half of the scrolls have 25 lines or less, and it seems that there is a particularly high proportion of copies of select portions of Psalms, Genesis, and Deuteronomy. Overall, Monger's work synthesizes an emergent consensus in Qumran scholarship that the relation of textual composition and written artifact was not one-to-one but fluid and variable. Though someone initially composing a text might produce a modest-sized initial scroll version of a text, later writers might produce partial iterations of the textual tradition for diverse purposes. An important direction for further research is more quantification of the proportion of such partial iterations of textual traditions, their distinctive formatting and script characteristics, and their likely purposes.[57]

A few remarks should be made about evidence at Qumran for how literary scrolls might be modified. As in the case of the Demotic materials mentioned above, we have some important examples at Qumran of multiple scroll iterations of literary compositions. In some cases, especially copies of compositions that were included in later scriptural compilations (Christian Old Testament, Jewish Tanakh), this evidence can be combined with other manuscript traditions and related textual iterations (e.g., 4QRP, 11QTemple) to form a broader picture of written

[57] Monger 2022, shared in preliminary form with me.

iterations of Jewish traditions featuring coordinating expansions, shifts in order, memory variants, and occasional larger-scale changes. In the case of the varied iterations of the more recently composed Community Rule (1QS), we see an apparent complex mix of diverse large-scale changes. Interestingly, we see some data analogous to the trend toward "revision by extension" seen in Egyptian materials, even though the community rule traditions are largely inscribed on leather, which lends itself far less to extended inscription by way of verso of the scroll. In at least one instance, the inclusion of another community rule tradition on the sheets at the end of 1QS, this may have been accomplished through adding leather sheets with additional compositions onto the end of the roll. In addition, there are a handful of examples of the practice of extending the writing on a literary scroll through adding a new literary work onto its uninscribed verso (these cases usually involving flipping the scroll horizontally). Notably, one of the most promising examples, 4Q509/4Q496/4Q506, is a papyrus opisthograph that seems to feature an intentional combination of excerpts, in this respect resembling the New Kingdom miscellanies discussed above (Aksu 2022). And, in addition, there are several other scrolls that may feature multiple compositions on their recto.[58]

Finally, I should note that the Qumran evidence preserves evidence for different forms of revision of existing compositions. In at least one case, the apparent addition of several columns to the version of the community rule tradition sees in 1QS, this might have been enabled (at an earlier point) through the sewing of one or two additional sheets to the beginning of a scroll bearing an earlier iteration of the tradition (one similar to 4QS^{b} and 4QS^{d}) (Metso 1997, 2000).[59] In other cases, however, the Dead Sea materials—sometimes combined with evidence from other manuscript traditions for early Jewish texts—provide broad

[58] Some major candidates are listed in Tov 2004, 39.

[59] I discuss this case in Carr 2011, 83–88. It should be noted, however, that there is no division between sheets in the 1QS version between columns IV and V (the closest seam is between V and VI), so that any such material explanation of the addition of a new sheet to the beginning of the rule tradition would need to suppose such a change in a pre-1QS stage.

documentation of other changes that could be done to literary compositions in their middle. Given the dynamics of writing scrolls, it is likely that the more substantial of these changes were not done to an existing literary scroll, but when a completely new iteration was produced. Notably, in contrast to some of the more profound divergences that are reported to exist between some early and late iterations of Demotic traditions (see above on Petese and Khasheshonqi), the documented examples of textual development in early Judaism still feature extensive verbally parallel sections (even if sometimes differently arranged), thus suggesting a value on relatively close verbal transmission of these written traditions (albeit with memory variants) and the likely use of writing and writing-supported verbatim memorization (or graphic copying) to achieve such close verbal transmission.

General Conclusions

Looking back over this admittedly brief survey of five ancient areas of scroll practices, there are important lines of continuity and difference, both of which might inform models for the formation of biblical and other early Jewish texts. Most of the surveyed contexts provide evidence for the initial inscription of cohesive compositions on modest-sized scrolls (typically under 10 m), though the early Greek evidence (and a few Demotic scrolls) provides important exceptions to this. In addition, all of the areas surveyed show a complex relationship between verbal literary work and written artifact, with scroll media often serving as a space for written performance (often from memory) of literary works in partial form, combined with other works, and/or across multiple scrolls. In this sense, the identity of a given literary "work" in these contexts is not necessarily located in its existence in discrete material "copies" but—at least for some kinds of texts—may be based in the status and ongoing stability of the work as a discrete entity in the collective memory of textual-scribal experts. Meanwhile, I have also discussed elements that distinguish the above sets of scroll practices from each other. In particular, I have argued that there may be ways that temple- and/or priest-connected preservationist scribal contexts

of Greco-Roman-period Egypt and Judah seem to have developed—perhaps somewhat prompted by Greek writing technology and practices with large-scale scrolls and/or multi-scroll compositions—forms of high-carrying-capacity scrolls that then served as platforms for large-scale collections of indigenous-language (non-Greek) literary traditions.

All of this, of course, represents a preliminary report on work in progress. It is based on initial data-gathering that was aimed at identifying potentially fruitful questions and approaches. With that said, I conclude with some observations on the potential implications of this initial work on potential models for the formation and early use of the Bible.

I start where I began this essay, with the origins of this approach in a panel where I proposed a scroll approach as an answer to the question of how one might improve the tradition-historical approach that I have advocated for understanding the prehistory of the Pentateuch. The first important learning that I received from this approach—extrapolating initially from evidence provided by well-preserved Dead Sea scrolls (1QIsaiah^{a} and 1QS)—was the need for major caution about presupposing that the early scribes would have created and, later, redacted, massive compositions like a document containing much of the non-P material from Genesis to Joshua, or a Deuteronomistic history containing much of Deuteronomy through 2 Kings, or even an overall Priestly source including much of the material assigned to P across Genesis to Numbers. Depending on how one delimited the material included in such compositions, they would have needed scrolls extending into the tens of meters to inscribe (in the manner of 1QIsaiah^{a} or 1QS), far longer than most ancient literary scrolls. If we are to suppose such tradition complexes existed early on as identifiable compositions, they would either have been inscribed partially in diverse contexts (e.g., like early Homeric epic materials) or, at most, as multi-scroll compositions (first attested for literary materials in Hellenistic-period Greek, Demotic, and Hebrew texts). This would have significant implications with regard to my work so far. It would reinforce some ideas I had initially proposed about the multi-scroll origins of P, while it would raise questions about some arguments I had advanced—even relatively

recently—about evidence for a proto-Pentateuch composition that connected non-P Genesis and non-P exodus-Moses materials.

These insights have been refined with a broadened focus on non-Hebrew-focused ancient literary scroll practices. As noted above, thanks to work by Drew Longacre and a collaboration with Asaf Gayer, it is clear just how approximate my initial estimates of these issues of scroll length were, based as they were on figures derived from relatively densely inscribed scrolls (again 1QIsaiah[a] and 1QS) from among the Greco-Roman-period Dead Sea Scrolls.[60] It now appears that our attested evidence for pre-Hellenistic scrolls, especially for the carrying capacity of our few pre-Hellenistic literary scrolls (e.g., Ahiqar and the Darius text), suggests that these earlier scrolls with alphabetic literary texts contained about one-fourth as much text per linear centimeter as 1QIsaiah[a] or 1QS and one-eighth as much as the largest carrying-capacity scrolls found at Qumran (e.g., 4Q11/4Qpaleo-Gen-Exod[l] or 4Q14/[4Q[Gen-]Exod[c]). And though this evidence for pre-Hellenistic literary scrolls is meager (Ahiqar, Darius-Memoranda, and indirect evidence from Deir ʿAlla), Asaf Gayer's and my broader survey of text density across a broader range of genres of scroll texts confirms Drew Longacre's initial proposal that Hellenistic- and later-period Jewish scrolls were inscribed far more densely than pre-Hellenistic scrolls.

Though one must be cautious not to put too much weight on these preliminary figures from patchy evidence, this initial work suggests some significant potential implications for mine and others' models of the prehistory of the Pentateuch and other biblical texts. *If* one envisions an ancient Hebrew literary scroll that was inscribed with a carrying capacity like that of the Elephantine Ahiqar scroll (or Darius-Memoranda scroll), for example, our existing Pentateuchal books would have required large to over-large scrolls by ancient standards, ranging from Leviticus at around 14 meters to Genesis at 24 meters of inscribed

[60] In Carr 2020, 611, n. 61 I noted the need to revise the figures used in that article with analysis of pre-Hellenistic materials and cited work on digital reconstruction by Jonathan Ben-Dov, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, and Asaf Gayer as exemplary (see now also Ben-Dov, Gayer and Ratzon 2022). The article with Asaf Gayer (2024) is a step forward in this direction.

scroll length. This is not impossible, especially if parts of these texts were copied on the verso of papyrus rolls.[61] We have some examples of such large scrolls among the later Demotic and Greek scrolls. Insofar as these figures for the carrying capacity of pre-Hellenistic scrolls hold up, they could suggest that the current distribution of Pentateuchal material across five scrolls represented the use of a minimum number of scrolls—inscribed in a length and/or format on the outer limits of ancient scroll capacity—needed to contain the mass of P and non-P material that they now do. At this point, it would have been relatively unlikely that multi-book copies of Pentateuchal books would have been produced (requiring a minimum of 30+ m to inscribe), let alone a pre-Hellenistic copy of the Pentateuch as a whole. And this whole reality can well explain the firmly entrenched concept of the Pentateuch as a five-scroll composition, an idea embedded in multiple terms for it—for example, the *Penta*-teuch, or the rabbinic *humashim*—(even in later media contexts where the Pentateuch came to be transmitted on one written artifact, whether synagogue scroll or later Bible book) and echoes of its five-scroll composition in the five-book, Torah-oriented final redaction of the scriptural Psalter. Up to now, this *five-scroll* characteristic of the Pentateuch has not been adequately focalized by my own theories of Pentateuchal composition or others. A five-scroll structure would not have been necessary for the Pentateuch if it had been finalized in the later Hellenistic period when high-carrying-capacity scrolls were possible. Then the whole narrative complex could just be

[61] We should not assume, however, that there was much, if any, copying of large portions of such books on the verso of scrolls, even papyrus rolls. In most cases, scribes producing a version of a text would inscribe all of it, or almost all of it, on the recto of the scroll. The Berlin P. 13446 copy of Ahiqar, for example, is completely contained on the recto, and all but two columns of the Darius text are contained on the recto of Berlin P. 13447. And this is just to name two examples of a more widespread phenomenon. Even in scribal cultures where scribes were known to add to such literary scrolls with additional writing on the verso, they rarely used much of the verso for initial inscription. Even massive scroll exemplars, such as the Leiden 384 copy of the Myth of the Sun's Eye (more than 20 m) are copied exclusively on the recto (this example was mentioned to me orally by Joachim Quack).

put on one scroll. The five-scroll structure of the Pentateuch is a product of pre-Hellenistic scribalism.[62]

The same can be said, by the way, for reconceptualizing the background of the book of Psalms, the book of the Twelve Prophets, and large collections of material associated with prophetic figures like Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. For example, if the book of Isaiah was inscribed in a manner similar to the Ahiqar scroll, it would have required an almost 30-meter scroll (inscribed all or mostly on the recto) and the book of Psalms would have needed a scroll surpassing that number.[63] This could well explain why the redaction of Psalms now in the Bible bears signs of once being divided across five books, likely five scrolls. Again, inscribed in the manner of the Ahiqar scroll, the portions of the biblical book of Psalms that fall into each of its five books would have required a scroll extending to just few meters, well within the normal length range of ancient literary scrolls.[64]

This all just would provide important background to the scroll structure already prominently foregrounded in one major biblical complex (the Pentateuch) or signaled by colophons in another (the book of Psalms, echoing the five-scroll structure of the Pentateuch). Yet it also might provide some *general* guidelines for looking at possible earlier written (scroll) sources standing behind Pentateuchal and other books. Though our slender evidence does not provide us with hard numbers,

[62] In a forthcoming essay (2024), Drew Longacre uses this kind of data to make a similar case about the move from multiple books of Psalms to the current Psalter. This essay was shared with me in prepublication form as "Size Does Matter: Manuscript Format and Literary Criticism in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods." Longacre's essay and mine and Asaf Gayer's work (Gayer and Carr, 2024) represent separately-conceived, parallel projects that adjust preliminary conclusions about literary scroll length in Carr 2020 using data mainly from one (Longacre) or more (Gayer and Carr) pre-Hellenistic scrolls (building on Longacre's 2021 article).

[63] For the prophetic material, see already Mastnjak, 2018, 2020, 2023. For Psalms, see the above-cited essay by Longacre (2023).

[64] I refrain here from publishing my own more specific calculations, since this part of my research, though done independently, parallels and intersects with excellent work along these lines on the book of Psalms carried out by Drew Longacre (2023).

our existing evidence for the carrying capacity of pre-Hellenistic literary scrolls suggests that a longish 10-meter literary scroll inscribed in the manner of Ahiqar (around 30 ls per linear cm) could have contained at least 30,000 letter spaces. Working with round letter space (ls) numbers to indicate their approximate nature, the non-P Jacob story (~17,000 ls) and non-P Joseph story (~22,000 ls) both fall well within that number, as do the materials assigned to P in Genesis (~21,000 letter spaces). Notably, the Priestly materials assigned to both Genesis and Exodus together (~61,000 ls) well exceed the 30,000 ls number, which—while not decisive—might raise questions about the hypothesis of a one scroll Pg source that included Priestly materials up to the Tabernacle account, let alone a *single scroll* Pg that extended further. This does not, however, rule out the idea that what scholars have called a "Priestly source," in the singular, might actually have been a multi-scroll composition. And there are some literary indicators within the Priestly materials themselves, such as the distinctive expanded genealogy structure of P in Genesis and the apparent new beginning represented by P materials at the outset of Exodus (Exod 1:1–5), that suggest a multi-scroll background to P, indeed one that may have provided an initial framework for four of the five scrolls in the five-scroll Pentateuchal composition (cf. Carr 2018, 101–2).

These reflections aim to indicate potential implications of a refined scroll approach for mine and others' work in Pentateuchal theory, focusing in this case on questions of scroll length. Yet the broader survey of non-Hebrew scroll practices above suggests some other potential insights that I will now briefly summarize.

First, starting around the outset of the Hellenistic period, there seems to have been a trend across multiple contexts—Greek, Demotic, and Judean—toward the production of large, complete copies of older, often agglutinative textual complexes (Homeric epics, Inaros Cycle, Pentateuch) on large scrolls that were large in length and/or height compared to pre-Hellenistic exemplars. Often these big scrolls appear to be prestige copies that served special purposes in later Greco-Roman contexts (whether Greek, Egyptian, or Judean). In at least the case of Judean scrolls, the unusually high text density of these high-capacity Greco-Roman-period scrolls allowed them to collect on one scroll, or

at least more easily collect on one scroll, large textual complexes—for example, the Pentateuch (~310,000 ls), Psalms (~100,000 ls), Isaiah (~85,000 ls)—that would have been difficult, if not impossible, to transmit on one written media object in the pre-Hellenistic period. Thus, for example, with the shift toward far more densely written scrolls in the Hellenistic period, we see the possibility of inscribing multiple Pentateuchal books on one large-format, densely written scroll, even all five of them. Indeed, my calculations suggest that it would have been possible to inscribe the Torah on a large-format scroll of 11–13 meters if done in the style of 4Qpaleo-Gen-Exod^{l} (~277 ls per cm) or 4Q Lev^{b2} (~240 ls per cm).

Second, though much more can and should be done to clarify the nature and purpose of such large copies, a potentially fruitful future research direction would be to explore the socio-cultural background of the production of relatively large carrying capacity literary scrolls across these diverse contexts. It may be significant that many of these large-scale copies emerged in what I have preliminarily termed "preservationist" scribal contexts—Hellenistic-into-Roman-period Egyptian temple complexes and the Second Temple Judean Dead Sea Scrolls. As such, these unusually large and often carefully prepared literary scrolls may play both an archival and symbolic role in conserving and celebrating literary traditions written in an indigenous language that was becoming increasingly marginalized in the broader societal context. As discussed above, the Greek-oriented scholarly traditions in that broader context produced often high-quality, large-scale iterations of Greek literary traditions, including the routine transmission of some works (Homeric epics, etc.) across multiple scrolls. A fruitful line of research would be further exploration of how this Greek literary culture and its scroll-writing practices played a role in shaping Greco-Roman-period literary scroll practices in non-Greek and/or bilingual Greek–indigenous-language contexts (and possibly vice versa).[65] It appears that there were crucial ways that Greek writing technology

[65] I have some preliminary reflections on multi-scroll transmission in Carr 2020, 603–4. Note also reflections by Menahem Haran on multi-scroll composition and the catch-phrase phenomenon in tablet media contexts in Haran 1985.

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played a role in enabling the creation of high-carrying-capacity scrolls in the Judean (and perhaps Demotic?) scholarly contexts. Moreover, engagement with Greek culture may have encouraged the Judean and Egyptian use of such high-capacity scrolls as material anthologies or archives, collecting indigenous-language traditions in massive, somewhat agglutinative, and not necessarily literarily cohesive ways. But amidst these complex interactions there may be important ways that the Judean and Demotic contexts diverged from their Greek counterparts, for example in more often using average to small margins for high-capacity, prestige scroll copies of large traditional complexes of older traditions.

Such questions highlight the importance of a sustained exploration of the complex, often bilingual, sociocultural scribal background for the production of different types of literary scrolls, whether the above-discussed types of large-capacity scrolls or other kinds. This essay has included some research probes focused on the primary data of formatting and text density found in the scrolls themselves. It can be deepened through more attention to find spots (e.g., Ryholt 2019), pointers to reading communities in marginal notations and other indicators,[66] and the use of that and other data to investigate the background to developments in scroll practices and test preliminary hypotheses such as those ventured above. For now, the main point is that there are certain patterns and developments in scroll practices, formatting, and text density that are potentially quite relevant for the study of the formation of the (Hebrew) Bible, whatever their background.

It should be stressed that the focus across much of this essay on complete scroll copies of literary works, whether possible early, pre-Hellenistic scroll iterations of Hebrew traditions or later Greco-Roman large-scale scroll collections of Hebrew or other traditions, could obscure the fact that scroll technology also could be used in more fluid ways in relation to literary traditions. My survey started with early Egyptian scholarly contexts where scrolls often were used to transmit multiple literary works or (especially in the New Kingdom) portions of literary works that were in the stream of tradition and part of a broader corpus known in memorized form by elite scholars. It concluded with mention of how

[66] For example, Johnson 2010; Popović 2017.

the Qumran corpus preserves a substantial array of smaller-scale scrolls of diverse formats that preserve subsections of longer Hebrew works. In some cases, such as the Carlsberg 304 et al. copy of the Khasheshonqi framework narrative or a possible separate copy of the Joseph story in 4Q9 (4QGen[j]), it seems that writers could create scroll iterations of scenes or other compositional subsections of larger works, whether as a student exercise and/or abbreviated reformulation of a known tradition.[67] Much remains to be done in clarifying the particular purposes of these diverse scroll types. A number of terms are in circulation—for example, "anthology," "archive," "liturgical," "personal"—with a need for more sustained reflection on the extent of fit of these terms to ancient contexts and social practices, and on why and how scrolls were produced. What is already clear, however, is that active scholarly contexts did not feature an assumed one-to-one relationship of scroll to composition. Though it seems likely to me that full written compositions likely were inscribed at least initially on a given scroll exemplar, all kinds of different forms of iteration of such textual traditions became possible if and when they were adopted into a broader scholarly stream of tradition.

And this variety in the forms of scroll iteration may become more common at the other end of the transmission process, especially where some textual compositions were developed amidst the more preservationist scribal contexts of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. Insofar as there was a tendency in this time to collect indigenous-language traditions on high-carrying-capacity scrolls in temple- or priest-associated contexts (a supposition that requires further testing and clarification), the resulting compilations may not always be particularly tightly structured or coherent by contemporary standards. This may require us scholars of these ancient texts to be attuned to the different types and levels of coherence, developing more precise terminology to characterize them. Though we certainly still see narrative art in some Greco-Roman-period indigenous-language compositions, it may be forcing things to find design in more massive and/or loosely

[67] For the former possibility (for 4Q9), see Tigchelaar 2022. For the Khasheshonqui framework narrative, see Ryholt 2000.

structured textual cycles created in a more preservationist/archival/anthological mode.[68]

Third, I have commented above on certain patterns of modification that are documented in scroll media. It was always possible, of course, to add modifications to any point of a scroll composition if one was producing a completely new iteration, and it was theoretically possible to extend a composition by adding new sheets, even though it seems that this was almost exclusively done just to finish copying the full extent of an already existing literary composition. Nevertheless, we also have some evidence, especially in scroll cultures using papyrus, for extending existing literary scrolls at their conclusion, sometimes progressively, by adding new sections or works onto the uninscribed part of the scroll's verso. The documented cases of this, to be sure, are somewhat limited, and they often involve the addition of materials that are relatively unrelated to the work being supplemented. Nevertheless, insofar as scroll media, especially papyrus scroll media, offered an occasionally utilized option for ancient scribes to extend a scroll for different purposes, this phenomenon of "revision by extension" would provide a material historical background to longstanding hypotheses among biblical scholars about numerous biblical books having later material toward their conclusions (2 Samuel 21–24; Judges 17–21; Psalms 151 [LXX] and 151–54 [Syriac]; Jeremiah 52 [//2 Kings 24:18–25:30]; Isaiah 36–39 [//2 Kings 18–20]). In particular, this phenomenon of "revision through extension" could provide a material historical framework for understanding the background of apparent appendix-like materials clustered around diverse endings of the Priestly material: Leviticus 27; Leviticus 17–26; Numbers 33–36; the documented reshaping of the Exodus tabernacle materials; and perhaps also the appendix-like materials at the end of the Sinai pericope (Numbers 5–10).[69] Like debris left on a beach at high tide, appendix-like materials may reflect ancient scroll end-points, even

[68] I would note that this is not just an issue for the later materials. Ragazzoli 2019, 292–93, discusses the unusually high level of compositional coherence in Papyrus Lansing compared to the bulk of less clearly structured miscellanies.

[69] I work in this direction in Carr 2012, 28–29; 2018, but for fuller development, see Röhrig Forthcoming.

when some (like Numbers 5–10) occur midway in a present biblical scroll. Moreover, insofar as this phenomenon seems most typical of (though not exclusive to) papyrus-oriented scroll practices, it would suggest a dating of such extensions of biblical books in a time when papyrus remained a dominant medium for Hebrew literary scrolls.

Such are some preliminary ideas about how a "scroll approach" might inform hypotheses for how biblical books developed, especially multi-scroll compositions. In another context, a related thing to explore would be how a scroll approach might inform theories about the literary design of ancient compositions. In my 2020 article, I pointed to reflections by John Van Sickle and James Nati about how literary texts on scroll media are read in serial form, and how this mode of appropriation lends itself more (at least for visual appreciation) to literary patterns within a small series of columns rather than a work as a whole.[70] To that, I now would add questions pertaining to multi-scroll compositions. Are there ways that literary complexes spanning multiple scrolls tend to be connected in substance to one another? Are there differences between how this happens, depending, say, on whether the literary complex initially emerged in an exclusively oral context (e.g., as is often supposed for the Homeric epics) or whether it was compiled out of preexisting written materials (e.g., as is often supposed for the Pentateuch)?[71] These questions exemplify a range of fruitful avenues for further exploration within (and without) biblical study.

Finally, I have tried along the way to indicate some potentially fruitful questions for scroll research outside the Bible. In particular, I would argue that the concept of letter spaces per linear centimeter (or the quadrat or other equivalent for Egyptian sign systems) could be a

[70] Van Sickle 1980, 5–7; Nati 2020, 20–25.

[71] Cf. on this point, evocative reflections along these lines in Jay 2016, 153–54 on the Inaros Cycle as a more tightly constructed composition than the Homeric "Cycle" where links are imposed on oral material. I plan work along these lines on ways in which a multi-scroll Priestly (P) work shows signs of connection across scrolls and distinction between them. Note also work by Joseph Cross on distinctions between different levels of narrative cohesion seen in the Inaros Cycle versus the Prebend of Inaros and Armor of Inaros compositions, preliminarily discussed in a forthcoming article (Cross, "Mouvance").

helpful figure for comparing the textual carrying capacity of scroll and other written media across multiple periods and culture areas, more helpful than mere scroll length or word count. Moreover, it could be helpful to develop a prioritized range of reliable measures of such carrying capacity, from the above-summarized "cumulative inscribed line space" figure in relation to diverse Egyptian scrolls to different sorts of "letter space per linear centimeter" carrying-capacity estimates that become more reliable the more they can be based on secure measurements of larger blocks and/or numbers of columns. Different sorts of measures will be useful for different purposes, because the numbers of scrolls that can be used for comparison of carrying capacity will necessarily be lower the more the measures are limited to scrolls preserving complete columns or series of columns.[72] And the same could be said for measures of formatting that might be specific to prestige scroll iterations of literary compositions. For example, a measure of square centimeters of white space per linear centimeter of scroll length (including top and bottom margins along with intercolumn margins) would be one way to compare amount of space left uninscribed in literary scrolls (providing a ready means to rank scrolls on a spreadsheet and compare them). Moreover, this figure, like the letter space (or quadrat space for Egyptian) per linear centimeter figure, could be determined in different ways, depending on the amount of preserved data in the scroll dataset—for example, just comparing square centimeters of uninscribed space across one preserved column and margins [for a broader set of fragmentary scrolls] versus measuring square centimeters of uninscribed portions across larger blocks of a smaller set of better-preserved scrolls.

Scroll research has come a long way since the earlier publications by Haran and his precursors. For example, the substantial attestation of very long literary papyri in the Greek and Demotic corpora show the problems with Haran's idea that leather scrolls were needed for

[72] Of course, it is possible that digital reconstruction could somewhat expand a given dataset, insofar as it could reliably project the broader shape of a more partially preserved scroll. There may be a risk, however, of circular reasoning, since a given scholar's reconstruction would be producing the carrying-capacity data used for broader comparisons.

longer literary documents (Haran 1983, 1986). Moreover, these diverse scroll corpora show multiple problems with Haran's idea that there was a strong correlation between single compositions and single scrolls (Haran 1984). And the raw material for this work continues to grow. Unlike areas with a longer history of work with a given block of data, cross-disciplinary insights from scroll research promise to develop and change rapidly. This progress report on scroll research exemplifies this point, refining and correcting as it does my own earlier formulations.

Even now, I should stress that the measures given in this essay varied in minor ways as they were redone, and the carrying-capacity measures given here would shift with changes in assumptions about lines per column and letter spaces. Though I stand by the basic points made in this essay, I also would emphasize that the letter space per centimeter figures here are approximate and that this whole business—despite the plethora of numbers—is not an exact science.[73] The figures that I have provided give a usable idea of comparative scroll lengths in different periods and contexts. Nevertheless, one should avoid, or at least use great caution, in using them (or similar figures) to reconstruct the likely sizes of individual column blocks and/or sheets in reconstructed documents. With those qualifications, I remain hopeful that the formulations and questions advanced here will prove useful, prompting productive work in biblical studies and related fields of scroll research.

[73] See notes to Appendix I below that indicate particular difficulty in producing usable figures for some of the high-capacity scrolls surveyed here. These are just samples of issues I encountered looking at a broader group of large-format Dead Sea scrolls and are unavoidable in work with often-fragmentary scroll materials.

Appendix I: Data Used for Comparison of Dead Sea Scroll Manuscripts with Persian-Period Literary Scrolls

Key to all Sheets

Overall, items in bold are potential markers of luxury scrolls.
Column A—Scrolls (and part measured): with the exception of the first three scrolls in the comparison sample, these scrolls are ordered from highest carrying capacity (per linear centimeter) to lowest. As possible, notes are given on the fragments (abbreviated frg) and/or column used for measures.
Column B—Leather Quality: these are comments (if given) by the original editors.
Column C—Script: these descriptions are largely dependent on the original publications in DJD. Date ranges given to scripts by editors are given by way of column C.
Column D—Approximate Date: these are those given by the original editors as standardized in Daniel Webster's "Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert" (DJD XXXIX, 371–75). Though there are significant issues with the paleographic method used to arrive at the date ranges in the index and with Webster's index in particular (see Tigchelaar 2020, esp. 269–71), the index provides a comprehensive reference point, independent of this author, for points made here. Exceptions are noted in footnotes.
Columns E and F—Top and Bottom Margins: these are measurements where some margin is preserved, often partial (and often variable).
Column G—Average Letter Spaces Per Line in Measured Block: most of these counts were done by using Accordance to extract an unpointed (Masoretic) text corresponding to the material reconstructed (by the editor[s]) for the measured block, stripping that text of all numbers and other non-letter markers, using Microsoft Word to get a count of letters and spaces between them for the whole block, and dividing the resulting figure by the number of lines in the block. In the cases of the first three scrolls in the comparison points, these letter space counts were

done by hand by me, using the text or, as necessary (for Berlin P. 13446 and Berlin P. 13447), some text reconstructed by the editors (TAD 3,32 and 66, respectively).

Columns H and I—Column Width and Intercolumn Margin: these measurements were done using GIMP open-source software, generally with scale photographs or (if scaled photographs were unavailable) with the Scripta Qumranica tool or (if photos were not available in that tool) with digital photos scaled using measurements of photo dimensions reported by the editors. Though separate measurements are given here for column and intercolumn width, the combination of the two is more relevant to the questions considered here (carrying capacity per linear centimeter) and less variable (since column width and intercolumn width vary by length of line, while the total remains more stable).

Columns J and K—Lines in Column and Height of Column: these figures were drawn from the original editions.

Column L—Letter Spaces per (Linear) Centimeter of Scroll Length: this figure was calculated by multiplying Column G (average letter spaces per line) by Column J (lines in column) and dividing the result by the sum of Columns H and I (column width and intercolumn margin), with the result rounded to the nearest integer.

Comparison Points to Later High Carrying Capacity Judean Literary Scrolls

Scrolls (and part measured)	Writing material	Script	Approximate Dates	Top Margin	Bottom Margin	ls per line	Column Width	Inter-column Margin	Lines in column	Column Height	ls per (linear) cm of scroll
Berlin P. 13446 - Wisdom of Ahiqar (col. 4)	**Well prepared**	Aramaic **book-hand**	450			63	25.6	3.5	15	27.4	32
Berlin P. 13447 - Darius-Bisitun (col. 7)[1]	**Well prepared**	Aramaic **book-hand**	450			64	28.3	2.5	17	23.4	35
1QIsa[a] (medium-large format Qumran scroll; col. 5)		**Semi-formal**	125-100 BCE	1.9	**2.8**	51	11	1	29	19.7	123

[1] The ls and column width measurement for this scroll is taken from [Yardeni's extensively reconstructed] text of col. 7 in TAD 3, p. 66. The scale in Yardeni's drawing was confirmed using the scaled photo from the Elephantine Texts and Scripts database (https://elephantine.smb.museum/)

AABNER 3.2 (2023)
ISSN 2748-6419

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ISSN 2748-6419

High Carrying Capacity Judean Literary Scrolls from the Hellenistic into Roman Period Dead Sea Scrolls (part 1)

Scrolls (and part measured)	Leather	Script	Approximate Dates	Top Margin	Bottom Margin	ls per line	Column Width	Intercolumn Margin	Lines in column	Column Height	ls per (linear) cm
4QPs[r] 4Q98a (col. 1)[2]	**Well prepared**	**Formal**	30 BCE - 68 CE	-	0.6	39	7	0.6	60	33	308
4QShirShab b[d] 4Q403(frg. 2)		**Formal**	30 -1 BCE	1.1	-	65	9.8	1.1	50	15.4	298
4QpaleoGen-Exod[l] 4Q11 (frgs. 7 and 20)[3]	Poorly prepared?	**practiced**	100-25 BCE	**-**	**4**	51	9.4	1.5	60	30	281
4QLev-Num[a] 4Q23 (various frgs)[4]	Not well prepared	**formal**	150-100 BCE	1.7	1.4	81	10.7	2.4	43	33	266
4QExod-Lev[f] 4Q17 (frg 2)		Proto-cursive archaic	250-200 BCE	-	1.4	51	11.8	1	60	31.2	239
4QGen[e] 4Q5 (frg 8)[5]	**Thin and polished**	**formal**	50-25 BCE	—	-	58	11	1.2	50	34	238
4QGen-Exod[a] 4Q1 (frg 19ii)[6]	**Moderately thick, polished**	**formal with semi-formal influences**	125-100 BCE	1.8	1.9	64	11	1.2	42	23	220
4QLev[b2] 4Q24b (frg. 9)[7]	Not well prepared	**formal early Hasmonean**[8]	75-50 BCE	2.6	2.5	66	10.4	1.5	41	30.75	227

[2] See above, n. 55, for qualifications on column height, line count and resulting ls per cm figure for this scroll.
[3] Ls is from frag 20 lines 6-8. Column measure is from frag 7 line 7 with 1.5 intercolumn measure to seam on the right of frg. 7.
[4] The SQ tool was used for column and margin measures (of frags. 35, 32ii, 36 and (for top) 51 and (for bottom) 68.
[5] The column width for 4Q5/4QGen[e] was extrapolated from several partial lines of fragment 8 (lines 6, 8, 9, 10), comparing the space taken by existing text with a similar space needed for reconstructed text. The block height for the same scroll was calculated from multiplying the 6.5 centimeters needed for lines 2–12 by 5 and adding 0.7 centimeters for the last line.
[6] The column line count comes from Tigchelaar 2023, 19.
[7] See Tigchelaar 2021 for designation of this scroll and treatment of its parts.
[8] The date range given here follows that given by Tigchelaar 2021, 265–67, for fragments 9–25 (for now 4QLev[b2]) versus Webster's index (for 4Q24/4QLev[b]).

High Carrying Capacity Judean Literary Scrolls from the Hellenistic into Roman Period Dead Sea Scrolls (part 2)

Scrolls (and part measured)	Leather	Script	Approximate Dates	Top Margin	Bottom Margin	ls per line	Column Width	Inter-column Margin	Lines in column	Column Height	ls per (linear) cm of scroll
4Q[Gen-]Exod[c] 4Q14 (frgs 32 ii, 34, 33ii; VI:39-43)	**well-prepared on recto**	**formal**	50-25 BCE	**4**	**3.6**	79	13.7	1.6	43	38	222
4QIsa[b] 4Q56 (frgs 10, 13)	**stately ms**	**formal**	50-25 BCE	2.4	-	57	10.7	1.3	45	24	214
4QRP[c] 4Q365 (variable)[9]	**well prepared**	**formal**	50-1 BCE	2	2.2	61	11.825	1.175	45	30	211
4QSam[a] 4Q51 (frg. a-e for col. 3)	**writing on hair side of polished leather backed by papyrus**	**formal book-hand; highly skilled**	50-25 BCE	**2.7**	**3.3**	51	9.8	1.1	43	30.1	200

[9] Because the text included in this non-biblical scroll is not known, it is especially difficult to reconstruct its column format (see Tov et al. 1994, 255). The ls and intercolumn margin used here is from average given by Tov and White in DJD XIII; column width from fragment 12 in PAM 43370, column iii, line 6.

AABNER 3.2 (2023)
ISSN 2748-6419

Sample of Next Tier of Potential High Carrying Capacity Judean Greco-Roman Period Literary Scrolls

Scrolls (and part measured)	Leather	Script Quality	Approximate Dates	Top Margin	Bottom Margin	ls per line	Column Width	Inter-column Margin	Lines in column	Column Height	ls per (linear) cm of scroll
4QEzek[a] 4Q73 (frg 3)	**Well pre-pared on recto**	Semi-formal	50-25 BCE	**3**	**-**	57	11	1.2	42	29	196
4QIsa[a] 4Q55 (frg 11 ii; ls from lines 27-29)	**Well pre-pared**	**formal**	50-25 BCE	**2.8**	**3**	67	11	1.2	35	25	192
4Q[Gen-]Exod[b] 4Q13 (frg 6; col 6)	**Well prepared**	semi-formal round	30 BCE - 20 CE	-	-	63	15.4	1.6	50	50	185
4QIsa[g] 4Q61 (frgs 1-8)	average prep	**formal**	50-0 BCE	1.7	2.2	55	11	1	40	31	183
MasDeut (col. 2)		**formal expert**	0-30 CE*[10]	**3.5**	-	41	8.5	1.2	42	33	178
4QIsa[e] 4Q59 (col. 5; frgs 4-10; lines 1-7)	**Well prepared**	**semi-formal**	50-0 BCE	2.2	**3**	72	14	1.05	35	27	167
4QRP[b] 4Q364 (frg 4b, lines 2-9)	**Well prepared**	**formal or transitional formal**	75-50 BCE	2.2	2.2	48	10.4	1.35	40	33	163
MasEzek (average of columns 1-3)		**bookhand expert**	0-30 CE*[11]	**2.8**	**-**	37	8.4	1.4	42	39.5[12]	157
MurXII Mur 88 (col 9)		**careful**	100-125 CE	**4.5**	**4.5**	60	13	2	39	26.6	156
4QGen[b] 4Q2 (possibly Mur? col 1, frg 1)	course	**Formal Skilled hand**	0-100 CE	3.4	-	53	12.3	1.6	40	35	153
4QIsa[c] 4Q57 (frgs 9ii, 11, 12 i, and 52)	**Well prepared**	**formal developed**	33-66 CE	2.4	2.4	56	13.7	1.3	40	25	149

[10] Though Shemaryahu Talmon (1999) identifies this scroll as early Herodian, Émile Puech's (2003) review of the volume suggests a late Herodian (turn-of-the-millennium) date.
[11] Though Talmon (1999, 24) identifies this scroll as "early Herodian bookhand," Eibert Tigchelaar (2005, 273–74) suggests that a late Herodian date is more likely.
[12] This speculative column height figure equals 1.7 multiplied times 22.6 from a measure of the first 24 (of a reconstructed original 42) lines per column.

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ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF 4Q22 IN AID OF LITERARY CRITICISM OF THE BOOK OF EXODUS

Hila Dayfani

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Abstract

The second tabernacle account (Exod 35–40) is found in four discrete versions, namely, in the MT, the SP, the LXX, and the Old Latin translation documented in the Codex Monacensis. This paper seeks to shed light on which version of this account was included in 4Q22. The preserved text in 4Q22 ends at Exodus 37:16. Yet, by material reconstruction of the scroll, it is possible to estimate the amount of the missing text between the extant fragments in the last columns of the scroll (cols. XXXVIII–XLV) and between the last preserved column of 4Q22 and the end of the scroll. Thus, despite the complexity of the textual evidence and the fact that the findings are based on reconstruction, this paper suggests that 4Q22 included a version of the second tabernacle account that is similar to the account found in the SP. Finally, this paper discusses the implications of this suggestion for the textual history of the tabernacle materials in the book of Exodus.

Le second récit à propos du tabernacle (Exode 35-40) est transmis dans quatre versions distinctes, à savoir le TM, le Pentateuque samaritain, la LXX et la traduction Vieille Latine documentée dans le Codex Monacensis. Cet article cherche à déterminer quelle version de ce récit a été incluse dans 4Q22. Le texte conservé dans 4Q22 se termine en Exode 37,16. Cependant, grâce à la reconstruction matérielle du rouleau, il est possible d'estimer la quantité de texte manquant entre les fragments existants dans les dernières colonnes du rouleau (cols. XXXVIII-XLV) et entre la dernière colonne préservée de 4Q22 et la fin du rouleau. Ainsi, malgré la complexité des indices textuels et le fait que les résultats sont basés sur une reconstruction, cet article suggère que 4Q22 incluait une version du récit du second tabernacle similaire au récit trouvé dans le Pentateuque samaritain. Enfin, cet article analyse les implications de cette suggestion quant à l'histoire textuelle du matériel relatif au tabernacle dans le livre de l'Exode.

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MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF 4Q22 IN AID OF LITERARY CRITICISM OF THE BOOK OF EXODUS[1]

Hila Dayfani

Introduction

4Q22 (4QpaleoExod^{m}) is a copy of the book of Exodus from Qumran that is paleographically dated to the second or first century BCE.[2] This scroll is of great importance in studying the textual history of the

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the IOQS Congress, Zurich, in August 2022. I want to thank the participants for their valuable comments and questions. I am particularly indebted to George Brooke and Alison Salvesen for their insights and suggestions and to Drew Longacre, Nathan MacDonald, and Eibert Tigchelaar who generously shared pre-publication works with me. Finally, images in this paper are courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library of the Israel Antiquities Authority; photographer: Shai Halevi.

[2] Following McLean 1982, 78; Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, 61–62, date 4Q22 between 100 and 25 BCE. Cf. Perrot and Richelle 2022, 39–45, who date it to the second century BCE.

Pentateuch. Apart from being the most extensive manuscript to be found in Qumran Cave 4, it attests to an expansive version of Exodus that is similar to the one represented in the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP). Thus, it reveals that an expansive version of Exodus existed already in the late Second Temple period alongside other textual traditions, among them the short tradition that later became the Masoretic Text (MT).

4Q22 preserves portions of Exodus 6:25–37:16, a text that occupied 45 columns in the original scroll.[3] Similar to other manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4, 4Q22 is poorly preserved. No column is entirely undamaged; many columns are represented solely by scattered fragments. Despite the great value of the scroll for understanding the textual history of the Pentateuch on the one hand and its fragmentary state on the other, an in-depth study of its material aspects has not hitherto been offered, nor has its complete material reconstruction been attempted.

My aim here is to fill in this gap. I utilize digital tools for material reconstruction of the DSS and offer a new material reconstruction of 21 columns of 4Q22 (cols. XXV–XLV).[4] The material reconstruction is used as a means to explore the compositional history of the book of Exodus and the stage in the literary growth of the book that is represented by 4Q22. In cases where there are variants between textual witnesses that include significant differences in the scope of the text, material reconstruction may be able to shed light on the text represented by the scroll, even though the latter preserves the original manuscript only partially. In these cases, after placing the fragments in their approximate pre-disintegration locations, one can estimate the quantity of text missing between them. This estimation can be instructive in determining the scope of the original text of the scroll.

Based on the reconstruction of columns XXV–XLV, which attest to Exodus 22:20–37:16, I ask which version of the second tabernacle account (Exod 35–40) was originally included in the scroll, given the four

[3] Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, 54–56.

[4] In a previous paper (Dayfani 2022), I suggested a reconstruction of cols. XVIII–XXI, which originally included the Sinai revelation. I demonstrated the implications of the reconstruction of these columns for the development of the expansive tradition of the Pentateuch (the so-called "pre-Samaritan tradition").

versions of this account that are preserved in the MT, the SP, the LXX, and the Old Latin translation. Further, I consider the broader implications of the findings for the compositional growth and textual development of the book of Exodus.

Material Reconstruction of 4Q22 Cols. XXV–XLV

The material reconstruction uses a digital canvas to simulate the original scroll before its decay.[5] First, the securely located fragments are placed in their position in the canvas according to their material features, mainly the top and bottom margins (Fig. I). As evident from the preserved fragments at the furthest right and the furthest left (cols. XXV and XLV, respectively), these columns document the text of Exodus 22:20–37:16.

In order to reconstruct the missing text between the placed fragments, we must ascertain the number of lines per column in 4Q22. This piece of data is known from the first preserved column (col. I). The fragments attached to this column attest to parts of all four margins.[6] All lines in the column are partially preserved, attesting that 4Q22 is a 32-line scroll. However, slight variations between columns may exist.[7]

Due to the textual proximity between 4Q22 and the SP, the missing text between the fragments that were already placed in the canvas was reconstructed according to the SP. Despite being associated with the same textual tradition, it is reasonable to presume that the text of 4Q22 was not completely identical to that of the SP, given the fluidity and plurality of the biblical text in Second Temple times.

[5] The digital tools for material reconstruction have been offered by Ben-Dov, Gayer, and Ratzon 2022.

[6] Apart from the unidentified fragments, 4Q22 fragments are not numbered in the critical edition. Instead, the fragments are grouped into columns according to their approximate location in the scroll. Despite this inconvenience, I here follow the method introduced by the critical edition and refer to the scroll's fragments according to the columns they belong to. For an image of column I, see http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298147 at the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library.

[7] Tov 2004, 88.

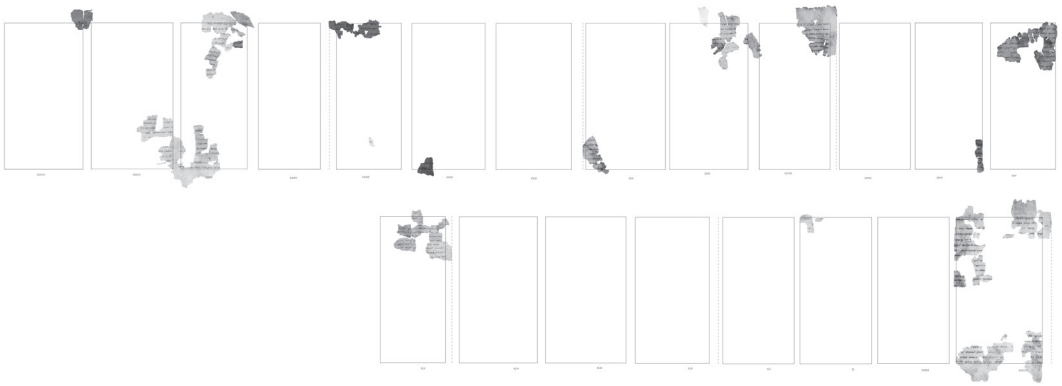

Figure I: Securely located fragments in 4Q22, cols. XXV–XLV[8]

Special attention should be given to the major variants. Due to their large-scale scope, these have had a significant influence on the reconstruction. As stated above, 4Q22 columns XXV–XLV comprise the text of Exodus 22:20–37:16. This text includes four major variants between the MT and the SP. Two variants involve differences in material organization, in the instructions for the incense altar (MT Exod 30:1–10; SP Exod 26:35a–35j) and instructions for the installation of the high priest (MT Exod 29:21; SP Exod 29:28). The remaining two major variants involve material duplication in the SP. First, in the description of making of the priestly vestments (Exod 27:19a), material from Exodus 39:1 is interpolated into Exodus 27:19. Second, in the golden calf episode, material from Deuteronomy 9:20 is interpolated into Exodus 32:10. Fortunately, there is sufficient evidence in the extant 4Q22 fragments to determine whether the scroll agrees with the MT or the SP in most cases. 4Q22 agrees with the SP in the location of the instruction for the incense altar in chapter 26 (col. XXX). It also documents the two duplications known from the SP in Exodus 27:19 and 32:10 (cols. XXXI and XXXVIII). In addition, the sprinkling on the priests' vestments does not occur in Exodus 29:21 as in the MT (col. XXXIV). However, since verse 28 has not preserved in the scroll, there is no certainty that it agrees with the SP.

[8] See the online figures (Figs. I–XI) at https://osf.io/q7hta/.

To achieve as precise a representation of the scroll layout as possible, the textual reconstruction utilizes a digital font that imitates the scribe's script. Completing the missing text between the fragmentary lines allows the columns' width and the positions of additional fragments to be determined. Figure II shows the reconstructed columns after the completion of the missing text between the fragments and the placement of the remaining fragments.[9]

[9] A total of 447 fragments of 4Q22 are unidentified in the critical edition. These fragments were associated with the scroll, but were not identified with a specific text of Exodus (Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, Plates XXIX–XXXIII). After the completion of the critical edition, Nathan Jastram 1998, 283–84 (henceforth Jas.) and Drew Longacre 2015, 115–16 (henceforth Lon.) proposed a new identification of hitherto unidentified fragments. The suggested reconstruction incorporates many of the new identifications, but for the sake of caution only certain or almost certain identifications were accepted. The new identified fragments incorporated in the reconstruction are the following: col. XVII: frg. 57 (Exod 16:35–17:1; Lon.); frg. 149 (Exod 16:35; Lon.); and frg. 242 (Exod 16:32; Lon.; this fragment was identified and transcribed in the critical edition but mistakenly listed as unidentified); col. XVIII: frg. 162 (Exod 18:17; Jas.), 163 (Exod 18:1; Jas.), and 168 (Exod 18:6–7; Lon.) (which were identified and transcribed in the critical edition but mistakenly listed as unidentified); frg. 118 (Exod 18:4–5; Lon.); frg. 259 (Exod 18:11–12; Lon.); and frg. 421 (Exod 18:12; Lon.); col. XIX: frg. 205 (Exod 18:21–22; Lon.); col. XX: frg. 173 (Exod 19:9–11; Jas.); frg. 213 (Exod 19:19–20; Lon.); and frg. 225 (Exod 19:23; Lon.); col. XXII: frg. 114 (Exod 20:20; Jas.); frg. 160 (Exod 20:24; Lon.); col. XXIII: frg. 167 (Exod 21:32–34; Jas.); frg. 294 (Exod 21:22–23; Lon.); and frg. 326 (Exod 21:22; Lon.); col. XXIV: frg. 86 (Exod 22:16–17; Lon.); and frg. 302 (Exod 22:4–5; Lon.); col XXV: frg. 127 (Exod 22:30–23:1; Lon.); col XXVI: frg. 282 (Exod 24:9–10; Jas.; this fragment is directly joined with the newly identified fragment documented at the bottom right of PAM 40.970. The PAM fragment was identified as Exod 24:9–10 by Eibert Tigchelaar in unpublished work); and frg. 334 (Exod 24:7–8; Lon.); col. XXXIII: frg. 113 (Exod 29:12–13; Lon.); col. XXXV: frg. 120 (Exod 29:37; Lon.); and frg. 320 (Exod 29:46+30:11; Lon.); col. XXXVI: frg. 111 (Exod 30:25–26; Lon.); and frg. 315 (Exod 31:6; Lon.); col. XXXVIII: frg. 88 (Exod 32:11; Lon.); frg. 288 (Exod 32: 11–12; Lon.); and frg 355 (Exod 32:27; Lon.); col. XXXIX: frg. 84 (Exod 33:9–10; Lon.); col. XL: frg. 206 (Exod 34:11–12; Lon.); and frg. 416 (Exod 33:16; Lon.); col. XLI: frg. 339 (Exod 34:22–23; Lon.).

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Figure II: Textual reconstruction of 4Q22, cols. XXV–XLV (Exod 22:20–37:16)[10]

[10] See the online figure at https://osf.io/q7hta/. The font design is by Einat Tamir. For the text in each column, see the Appendix below.

Quite naturally, the shorter the distance between securely placed fragments, the greater the accuracy of the reconstruction. Moreover, the higher the number of fragments that is preserved in a given column, the more certain the reconstruction can be.[11] To be sure, although the new digital tools allowed me to make a good estimation of the original state of the scroll, I do not claim that the proposed material reconstruction precisely represents the layout of the scroll. Complete accuracy in any reconstruction is impossible due to minor textual variants and different methods of paragraph division. Moreover, a slight deviation is possible in the width of the columns, which, as stated above, is determined by the completion of the missing text between the fragments using the digital font. Although the estimation that the font provides is good, the font cannot immaculately imitate the scribe's sporadic inconsistencies.

The material reconstruction may be a helpful tool in determining whether the scroll agrees with the known textual tradition(s) of the Pentateuch in cases where there are textual variants that involve a significant difference in the scope of the text. A method suggested by Hartmut Stegemann enables us to estimate the amount of missing text between the extant fragments and to estimate the scope of the original text of the scroll.[12] The Stegemann method is based on the observation that the scrolls were damaged and deteriorated when they were in a rolled state. Therefore, it suggests searching for a recurring damage

[11] Note that there is a recognizable difference in spacing between lines in col. XXXVIII that attests to Exod 31:7–32:9 (the rightmost column in the second line in Fig. II). Most of the lines in this column were partially preserved. Thus, the height of these lines is determined by their location in the extant fragments. The density between the lines in the center of the column, where no fragments have been preserved, may be due to (1) the stretching of the leather of the extant fragments (which is less probable since there are several fragments in this column that attest to the relatively wide spacing between lines); (2) shorter text in the original scroll that is different from the known textual traditions; or (3) scribal inconsistency. Since the borders of the text originally included in this column are well determined by fragments that are placed at the top and bottom, the doubts regarding the text at the column center have no significant effect on how one should see the larger picture.

[12] Stegemann 1990; Stegemann 1998.

pattern in the fragments, which may indicate that the fragments were in successive layers in the rolled scroll; the distance between corresponding points of damage would equal the circumference of the scroll at that point. The circumference constantly increases or decreases from layer to layer, depending on the direction in which the scroll was rolled. Thus, the reconstruction has to demonstrate a series of circumferences with an incremental growth or decrease between corresponding points of damage.

In 1986, Stegemann investigated the fragments of 4Q22 and identified a recurring pattern of damage. Based on this identification, he concluded that at least seven columns preceded the first preserved column and that five columns would have followed the last preserved column to complete the text of Exodus. In addition, he excluded the possibility that Exodus was followed by Leviticus, but not the possibility that Genesis preceded Exodus. Stegemann's investigation is briefly reported in the preface to the critical edition of the scroll, but, unfortunately, a detailed description of this investigation and a record of the fragments that exhibited a damage pattern were never published.[13]

A damage pattern can be identified in three relatively large fragments that preserve bottom margins in columns XXXV and XXXVIII (Fig. III). A representation of the fragments' borders when they are laid on top of each other (Fig. IV) reveals a common protrusion on the left-hand side of the fragments, all of them exhibiting a banana-shaped form. The damage pattern probably indicates that the fragments may have deteriorated when they were in successive layers within the rolled scroll.

Indeed, the distances between corresponding points of damage, marked in by the letters A to C, indicate that it is possible to display a series of four circumferences of the scroll, ranging from 11.2 to 12.1 cm, with an incremental growth of 0.3 cm (Fig. V).[14] In other words, the

[13] Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, 56.

[14] As seen in Fig. V, the distances between corresponding points of damage are measured according to the width of the columns and the intercolumnar margins between them. The width of the columns is determined by the textual reconstruction of the missing text between fragmentary lines. The width of the

Figure III: Fragments in cols. XXXV and XXXVIII of 4Q22 that exhibit a damage pattern

Figure IV: The corresponding point of damage in fragments located at the bottom of 4Q22 cols. XXV and XXXVIII

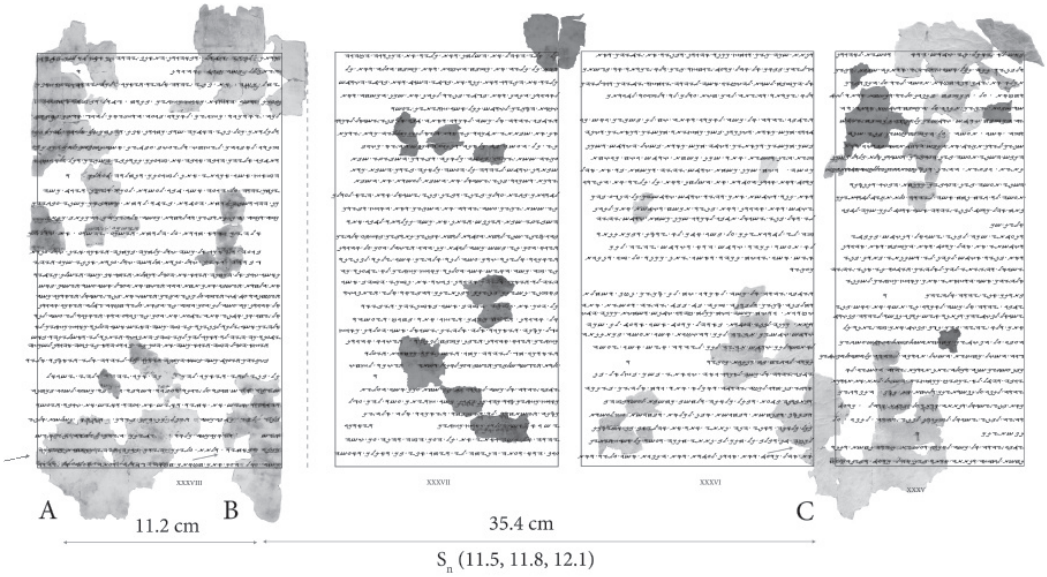

Figure V: Material and textual reconstruction of 4Q22 cols. XXXV–XXXVIII

corresponding points of damage reflect four consecutive layers in the rolled-up scroll. Moreover, the incremental growth between layers indicates that the scroll was rolled with the end of Exodus inside and the beginning of the text outside. The suggested reconstruction is in line with Stegemann's conclusion that Exodus was not followed by Leviticus because there is not enough space to include the text of the latter according to the estimated length of the scroll.

Fragments that are located at the top of column XXXVIII, as seen in Figure VI, support the suggested material reconstruction. At first glance, no damage pattern is discernible in these fragments. However, an in-depth look at the fragments when they are located in the appropriate horizontal axis, which is determined by the top margins preserved in the fragments, reveals that they may reflect a recurring damage pattern on their right-hand side. Figure VII illustrates the corresponding points of damage according to this pattern. Indeed, the distance between these points equals 11.2 cm. This is the expected circumference of the scroll between consecutive layers at this point according to the fragments at the bottom of the same column that comprise corresponding points of damage (Fig. VIII).

The estimated distances between the fragments at the top of column XXXVIII and further fragments that preserve top margins strengthen the material reconstruction.[15] According to the reconstruction, the

intercolumnar margins is estimated according to the evidence in the extant fragments. The intercolumnar margins have been fully preserved between cols. XXXV and XXXVI, and partially preserved between cols. XXXVI–XXXVII and XXXVII–XXXVIII. According to the suggested model, the intercolumnar margins' width between cols. XXXVI and XXXVII is 1.4 cm, which is close to the average of 1.6 cm according to the preserved intercolumnar margins in the scroll (cols. VI–VII: 1.8 cm; cols. IX–X: 1.5 cm; cols. XXVIII–XXIX: 1.9 cm; cols. XXXI–XXXII: 1.8 cm; and cols. XXXV–XXXVI: 1.3 cm). The margins between columns XXXVII and XXXVIII include the seam of two separate sheets (Fig. V). According to the suggested model, the width of these margins is 2.8 cm. For comparison, the only entirely preserved margins that include a seam in 4Q22, between columns I and II, include a seam of 2.5 cm.

[15] Although they preserve the top margins, the fragments at cols. XXXV and XXXVII probably do not belong to the same wad of fragments because the

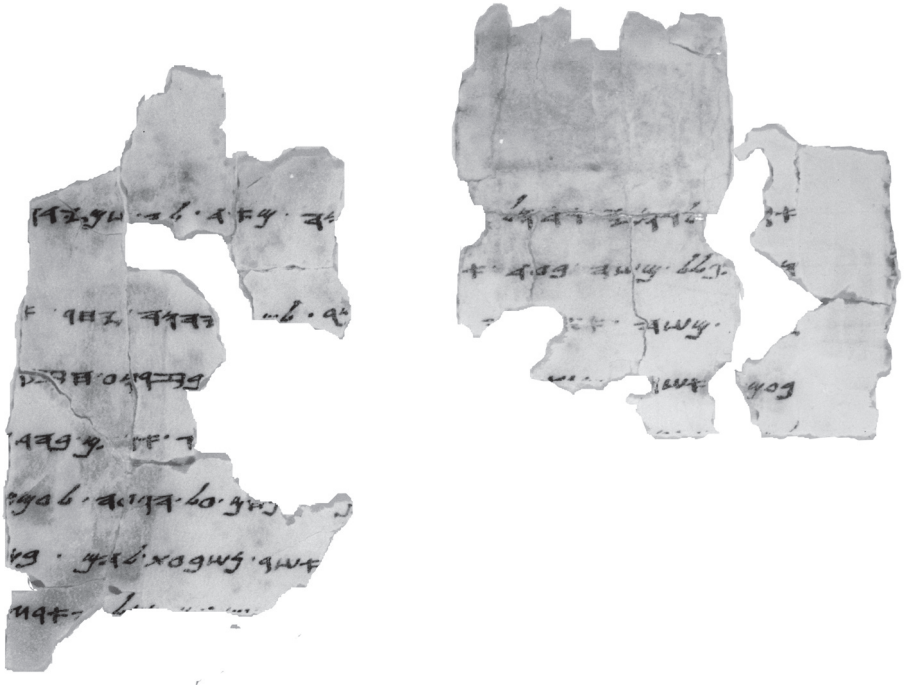

Figure VI: Fragments located at the top of col. XXXVIII

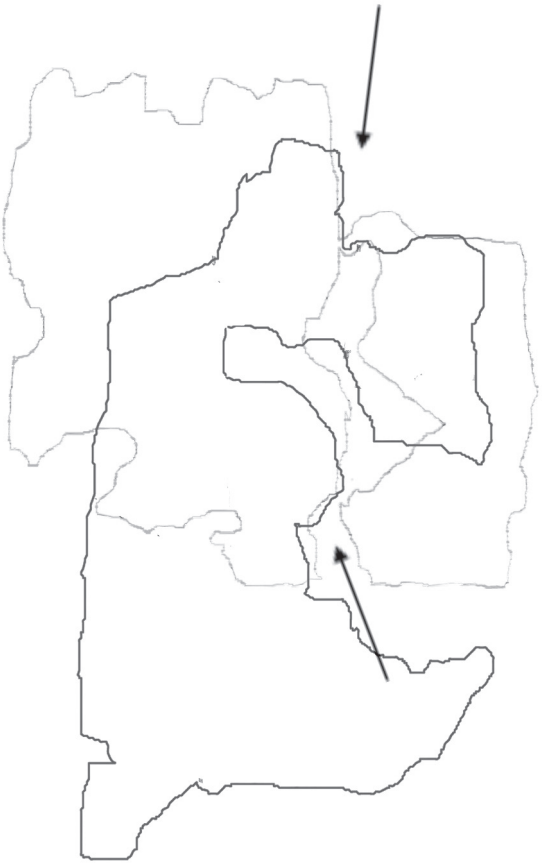

Figure VII: Corresponding points of damage in fragments located at the top of col. XXXVIII

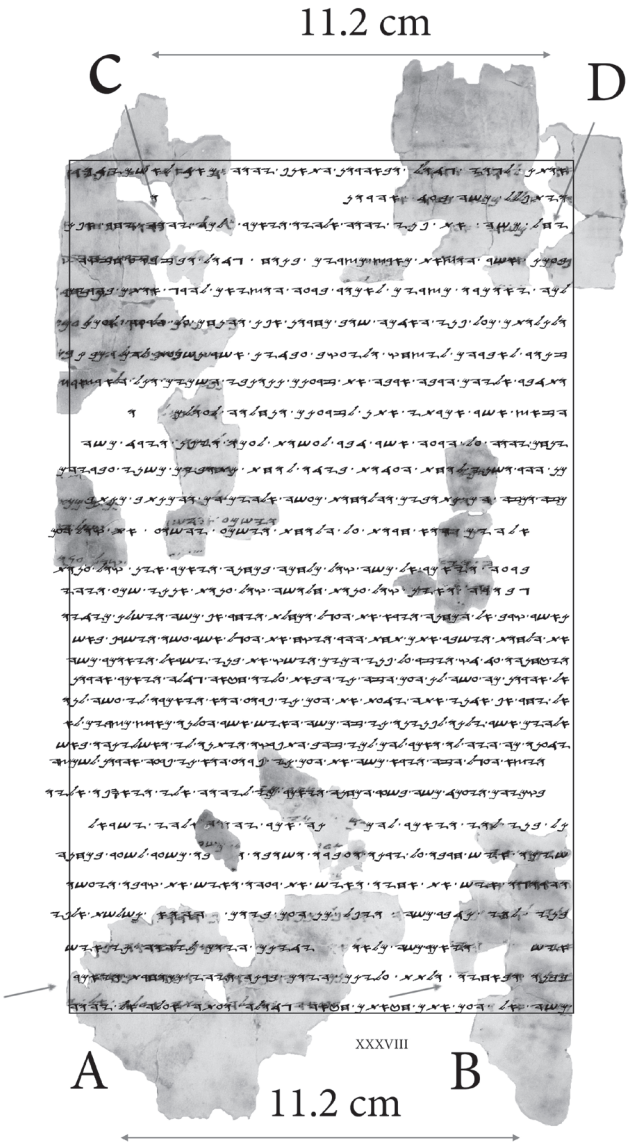

Figure VIII: 4Q22 Col. XXXVIII

distance between the right fragment at the top of column XXXVIII and the fragment at the top of column XXXIII equals 60.5 cm. Remarkably, this is the expected distance according to the application of the Stegemann method if one assumes that there were five rolls of the scroll between the two fragments.[16] Similarly, the distance between the left fragment at the top of column XXXVIII and the extant fragment in col.

distances between the fragments do not fit with the distances according to the model being suggested.

[16] S_n (11.5, 11.8, 12.1, 12.4, 12.7).

AABNER 3.2 (2023)
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XLV equals 95.5 cm, which equals the cumulative circumference of 10 rolls of the scroll according to the suggested reconstruction.[17] Although the distances between the extant fragments are considerable and the data is less certain, they provide additional indicators that tighten the reconstruction proposal.

4Q22 and the Second Tabernacle Account

The material reconstruction of 4Q22 has implications for the question of the version of the second tabernacle account that was originally included in the scroll and the literary growth of this account (Exod 35–40). As stated above, the second tabernacle account is preserved in four versions, those of the MT, the SP, the LXX, and the Old Latin translation. These versions may represent four different stages in its development.

Unlike the first account in chapters 25–31, the second account in the MT and the LXX differ in content, length, and the arrangement of the material. The text of LXX is significantly shorter. It does not mention the making of the frame and bars (MT 36:20–34). In addition, the making of the tent curtains (MT 36:8–19; LXX 37:1–2), as well as the ark, table, and lampstand, and the altar for burnt offerings (MT 37:1–24, LXX 38:1–17; MT 38:1–7, LXX 38:22–24) are reported much more briefly, lacking measurements and further details. A prominent feature of the LXX account is the absence of a report on making the incense altar (MT 37:25–28). Notably, the incense altar is mentioned in LXX chapter 40. On the other hand, the account of small metalwork in this account (LXX 38:18–21) does not have an equivalent in the MT. The arrangement of the material in the MT and the LXX is also different. While the LXX begins with making the priestly vestments, the MT ends with this section. In addition, the tabernacle courtyard appears in the MT between the tabernacle items and the priestly vestments, while in the LXX it appears between the veils and the items.[18]

[17] S_n (10.9, 10.6, 10.3, … , 8.2).

[18] For a fuller overview and discussion, see Aejmelaeus 2007; MacDonald 2023, 38–40, 58–59.

Several attempts have been made to attribute the differences between the MT and the LXX accounts to the Greek translator, whether he is the same one as for chapters 25–31, to another one, or even to a later editor.[19] However, the two-translator hypothesis struggles to explain why the translator of the second account, even if it was not the same person as the translator of the first account, uses an extraordinary free translational approach that is significantly distinct from the rest of the LXX Pentateuchal translations. Anneli Aejmelaeus further points to a difficulty with the later Greek editor hypothesis, according to which the editor moves the text away from the developing MT: the general tendency of LXX editorial activity was usually in the opposite direction.[20]

Therefore, recent scholars cautiously propose that the LXX second tabernacle account goes back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differed from the MT.[21] This *Vorlage* represents a typologically earlier text than the MT. The MT reflects a more developed text that evinces a revision of the tabernacle construction toward the instructions given to Moses in chapters 25–31, particularly MT Exodus 37–38, which bring the construction of the tabernacle furniture closer to the instructions previously given to Moses.

In 1996, Pierre-Maurice Bogaert drew attention to the significance of the Old Latin (OL) Pentateuch in the Codex Monacensis for the textual history of the second tabernacle account.[22] The Codex Monacensis is a fragmentary palimpsest dated to the late fifth or early sixth century CE. It preserves portions of the Pentateuch, including the text of LXX

[19] Finn 1915, 466, argues that LXX version is corrupted, while the MT is "consistent and natural." McNeile 1908, 126; Wevers 1992, 143–46; and Propp 2006, 636, suggest that LXX Exod 25–31 and 35–40 were translated by different hands. See also Wade 2003, 243, 245. Gooding 1959, 21, 26, 40, 41, explains the differences between the MT and LXX versions by changes attributed to a later editor of the Greek version.

[20] Aejmelaeus 2007, 121.

[21] Aejmelaeus 2007, 120; Nihan 2009, 87–88; Zahn 2011, 74; Salvesen 2013, 48–49; Ulrich 2015, 9; MacDonald 2023, 61–62.

[22] Bogaert 1996.

Exodus 36:13–40:32.[23] Although the Monacensis text is naturally closer in content and structure to the LXX than to the MT and the SP, it differs significantly from any known Greek or Latin text. The LXX and OL Monacensis differ, *inter alia*, in (1) the description of the tabernacle's interior; and (2) the equal division of labor between Beseel and Eliab in Monacensis, in contrast to the prominence of Beseel in LXX (where he is qualified as expressly commanded by God) and MT/SP (where Bezalel has the prominent role, being accompanied by Oholiab).[24] Moreover, similar to the LXX, the making of the incense altar is absent in the OL, but significantly it lacks some other mentions of this altar in the second tabernacle account that do appear in the LXX. Bogaert concludes that the Monacensis text reflects a Greek translation that is shorter and older than the Greek version preserved in the Codex Vaticanus. The latter is a translation of a more developed Hebrew text that brings the second tabernacle account closer to the first account.[25]

Although the SP is textually close to the MT, the tabernacle materials in the former reflect an additional stage of textual development. The major variants between the MT and the SP involve two differences in the arrangement of the content in the first tabernacle account—in the instructions for the incense altar (MT 30:1–10; SP 26:35a–35j) and sprinkling on the priestly vestments (MT 29:21; SP 29:28). In both, the SP provides a clearer text in terms of logical sequence.[26] In the second tabernacle account, the SP mentions the making of the Urim and

[23] The palimpsest, which originally included the Old Latin Pentateuch, was reused in the ninth century CE for the text of the Latin Job, Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Ezra, and Esther. Since the layout of the earlier text was larger than the later, the manuscript was cut and many passages of the Pentateuchal text were damaged. Dold 1956 reconstructs the lost text in Exod 36–40 based on further evidence from Old Greek and Latin texts. However, since the text preserved in Monacensis significantly differs from the known Greek and Latin texts, the textual reconstruction is not entirely certain.

[24] For a detailed overview of the similarities and differences between the OL Monacensis and LXX, see MacDonald 2023, 40–49.

[25] Bogaert 1996; Bogaert 2005. Cf. MacDonald 2023, 71–74, who argues that parts of the Latin text are later than the LXX, aiming to fill in gaps in the Greek text.

[26] Dayfani Forthcoming.

Thummim, which are absent in the MT (SP 39:21a), emphasizing that Moses did precisely everything that he was instructed to in the first account. The MT, therefore, stands between the LXX and the SP in the command-fulfillment pattern.

As an interim summary, we have seen that the four versions of the second tabernacle account are assessed as possible evidence for its literary development. The versions represent different stages in the development of this account: the OL Monacensis reflects the oldest text, and the SP reflects the latest and most developed text. How, then, may the evidence of these chapters in 4Q22 improve our understanding of the textual history of the second tabernacle account?

Due to its poor preservation, the extant text of the second tabernacle account in 4Q22 sheds little light on which version the scroll represents. In her seminal study of the text of the scroll, Judith Sanderson states that "the contribution of 4QpaleoExod^{m} is not in chapters 35–40 but rather in chapters 6–32, and particularly to the question of the status of SP."[27] Indeed, 4Q22 is of great importance in understanding the textual history of the SP and its origins. However, it seems that taking a step forward in exploring the materiality of the scroll allows us to validate presuppositions regarding its original text and to draw new conclusions about the complex compositional and textual development of chapters 35–40.

Although chapters 35–40 are scarcely preserved in 4Q22, the fragmentary text that does survive agrees with the MT and the SP. Column XLIV attests to MT/SP Exod 36:21–24.[28] This section records the making of the wooden frames, their bases, and their bars, which is absent from the LXX. This, along with further agreements of 4Q22 with the SP in the tabernacle materials, particularly the location of the incense altar in chapter 26, and the general textual proximity between 4Q22 and the SP, has led many scholars to presume that the scroll originally included a version of the second tabernacle account that is similar to that found in the SP.

[27] Sanderson 1986, 27.

[28] Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, 129.

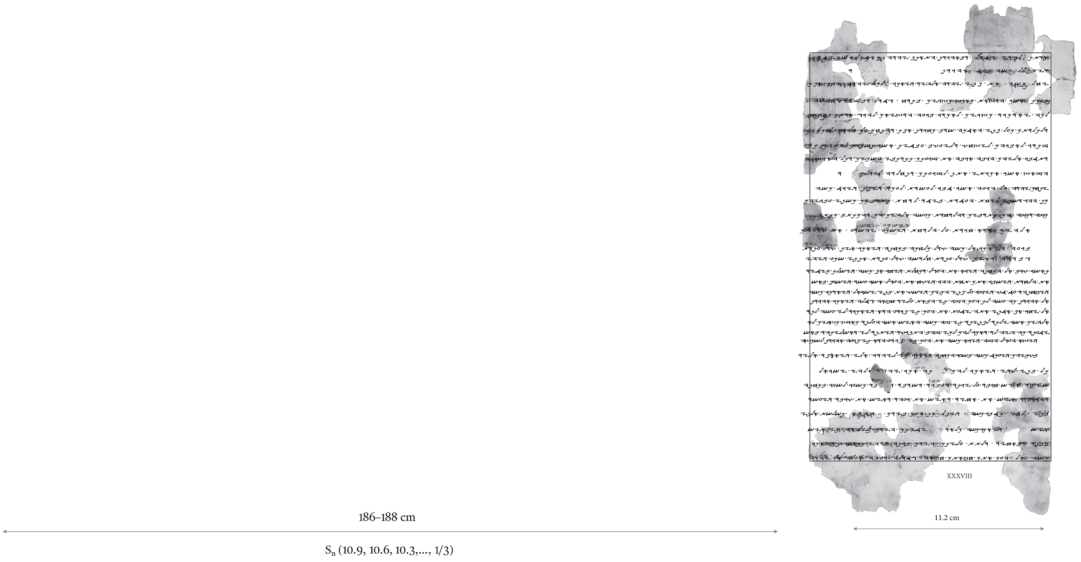

Figure IX: Estimated length of 4Q22 (from col. XXXVIII to the end of the scroll)

The proposed material reconstruction of the scroll strengthens this conclusion. It enables us to estimate the original length of the scroll and particularly the length of its part that included the second tabernacle account. According to the reconstruction, the distance between the fragment furthest to the left that exhibits a corresponding point of damage and the end of the scroll is approximately 186–188 cm. This estimation stems from the summary of the decreasing circumferences of the scroll, from the first identified circumference in the reconstruction (11.2 cm) until the smallest circumference of the rolled scroll, which may vary between 1 and 3 cm, when there is an incremental decrease of 0.3 cm from layer to layer, as proposed above (Fig. IX).[29]

The suggested length according to the reconstruction seems to accord with the longer MT and SP versions of chapters 35–40, rather than the shorter Monacensis and LXX versions. Figure X demonstrates the textual reconstruction of the relevant columns according to the SP version of chapters 35–40. A "zoom out" of the reconstruction reveals that the SP version fits well with the estimated scroll length, presuming that the final column was followed by an uninscribed area of a width of ca.

[29] S_n (10.9, 10.6, 10.3, 10, 9.7, 9.4, 9.1, 8.8, 8.5, … , 1) = 188.

Figure X: Material and textual reconstruction of 4Q22, cols. XXXVIII–XLV

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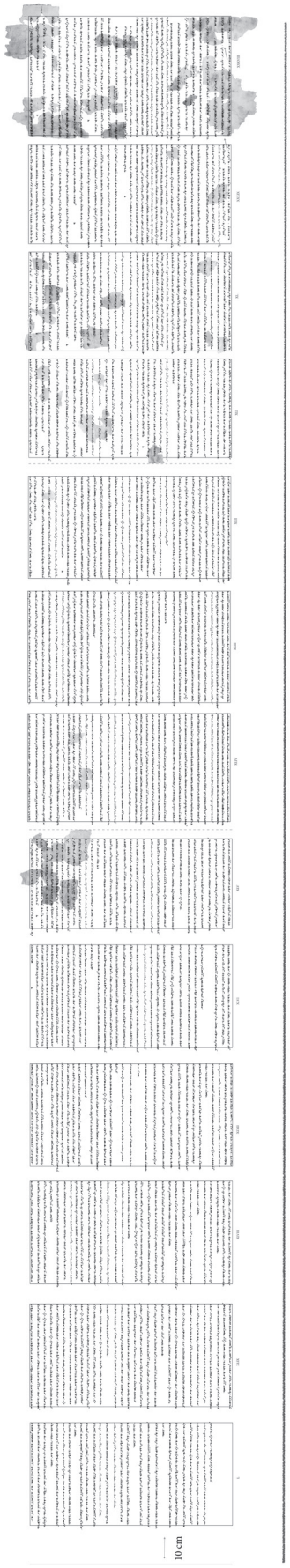


Figure XI: Material and textual reconstruction of 4Q22, cols. XXXVIII–XLV ("zoom out")

10 cm (Fig. XI). Uninscribed areas often appear at the end of scrolls.[30] This is the case, for instance, in 11Q5 (11QPs[a]), 11Q1 (11QpaleoLev[a]), 1QpHab, and 11Q17 (11QShirShabb).

The reconstruction of the final columns (cols. XLII–L) probably has a larger margin of error due to the paucity of evidence in these columns. The relatively more certain data has to do with the width of the columns that include preserved fragments (cols. XLII, XLIV, and XLV). In the remaining columns, I assumed that the width equals the average of 12.5 cm. Similarly, I assumed that the width of intercolumnar margins equals 1.5 cm.[31] Despite the margin of error, the existing evidence is sufficient to draw a conclusion regarding the scope of the missing text, since the number of columns in which the reconstruction is less certain is limited.

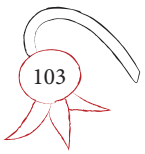
In a rough estimate, the difference in the scope of the text between the MT (and the SP) and the LXX is at least 35 verses. The LXX description of the tent curtains is shorter than the MT description in 10 verses (LXX 37:1–2; MT 36:8–19). Moreover, the LXX lacks the descriptions of the tabernacle frame and bars and the making of the incense altar, which occupy 15 verses and 4 verses in the MT, respectively (MT 36:20–34; MT 37:25–28). Measurements and further details that are unrecorded in the making of the ark, table, and lampstand (MT 37:1–24; LXX 38:1–17) and the altar for burnt offerings (MT 38:1–7; LXX 38:22–24) occupy approximately 10 verses in the MT. On the other hand, the LXX contains a detailed accounting of the metal (LXX 39:1–12; MT 38:24–31) and has a recording of a small amount of metalwork that does not exist in the MT (LXX 38:18–21). In sum, the MT and the SP attest to 39 verses that do not have equivalents in the LXX, while the LXX attests to 4 verses that are unrecorded in the MT and

[30] Tov 2004, 109–110.

[31] Based on the preserved fragments, the average intercolumnar margin width in the scroll equals 1.6 cm (see above, note 13). Since the extant fragment in column XLV preserves seam remnants (Fig. XI), we may conclude that this column is the first column in the sheet. I assume, therefore, that all five reconstructed columns originally belonged to a single sheet.

the SP. Thus, the MT and the SP second tabernacle account versions include approximately 35 verses more than the LXX version.

According to the suggested reconstruction, 35 verses would occupy two columns in the layout of 4Q22. Put differently, a Hebrew text that is similar in length to the LXX version would occupy two columns fewer than the reconstruction seen in Figure X, which leaves too much space in the reconstructed scroll after the end of Exodus. This is in contrast to the texts of the MT and the SP, both of which fit well. We may conclude that 4Q22 originally included a version of the second tabernacle account that is similar to the MT version, or, most probably, to the SP version. The material reconstruction, therefore, which offers insight into the scope of the unpreserved text of 4Q22 indicates that the most developed version of the second tabernacle account already existed in the second or the first century BCE.



4Q22 in View of Further Qumran Evidence

Signs for the existence of a developed version of the second tabernacle account in Second Temple times may be found in 4Q17 (4QExod-Lev^{f}), an additional manuscript of Exodus from Qumran.[32] 4Q17 is one of the most ancient Qumran scrolls, paleographically dated to the middle of the third century BCE.[33] The scroll is highly damaged, attesting to portions of Exodus 38:18–Leviticus 2:1. Significantly, 4Q17 agrees with the SP in its description of the making of the Urim and Thummim in Exodus

[32] Three additional Qumran manuscripts provide evidence for the existence of other versions of the second tabernacle account in Second Temple times: 4Q11 (4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l}), 4Q365 (4QRP^{c}), and 11Q19 (11QT^{a}). 4Q11 and 4Q365 have textual affinities with the MT (for a textual characterization of 4Q11, see Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992a, 23–25; and, more recently, Dayfani 2021). For 4Q365, see, Kim 2002. Although not a scriptural text, 11Q19, a manuscript of the Temple Scroll, includes tabernacle materials as well. Brooke 1990 cautiously pointed to textual proximity between 11Q19 and portions of LXX Exod 36–40.

[33] Cross 1994, 134.

39:21. Therefore, Frank Cross classifies it as a pre-Samaritan scroll.[34] While the original text of 4Q17 was probably not in full agreement with the SP version, the scroll indicates that editorial activity that aimed to record both the command and its fulfillment, which is also reflected in the SP, had already existed at a relatively early stage of the account's development.

The claim I am making in this paper is in line with the textual evidence provided by 4Q17, as the material reconstruction of 4Q22 suggests additional signs for the existence of the developed version of the second tabernacle account in the Second Temple period. Although it is based on a reconstruction rather than on extant evidence, my claim provides insight into the entire version of the relevant chapters rather than evidence that is restricted to a specific preserved reading. Thus, it establishes the second or first century BCE as the *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the most developed version of the second tabernacle account.

Appendix: The Content of 4Q22, Columns XXV–XLV

Column	Verses
XXV	Exod 20:20–23:20
XXVI	Exod 23:20–24:11
XXVII	Exod 24:11–25:22
XXVIII	Exod 25:22–26:8
XIX	Exod 26:8–26:34
XXX	Exod 26:34–27:14 (+MT Exod 30:1–10)
XXXI	Exod 27:14–28:15
XXXII	Exod 28:15–28:39
XXXIII	Exod 28:39–29:17
XXXIV	Exod 29:17–29:34
XXXV	Exod 29:34–30:18

[34] Cross 1994, 136. This is against Lange 2016, 40, who classifies 4Q17 as a non-aligned scroll due to the relatively high number of non-aligned readings that it preserves.

Column	Verses
XXXVI	Exod 30:18–31:7
XXXVII	Exod 31:7–32:10
XXXVIII	Exod 32:10–32:30
XXXIX	Exod 32:30–33:16
XL	Exod 33:16–34:14
XLI	Exod 34:14–34:35
XLII	Exod 34:35–35:26
XLIII	Exod 35:26–36:15
XLIV	Exod 36:15–37:9
XLV	Exod 37:9–37:29

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ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

REWRITING EZEKIEL: *FORTSCHREIBUNG* AND MATERIALITY IN THE EZEKIEL TRADITION

Anja Klein

Source: *Advances in Ancient, Biblical, and Near Eastern Research* 3, no. 2 (August, 2023): 109–158

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Keywords: Ezekiel tradition, Pseudo-Ezekiel, Ezek 37, *merkabah*, historical-critical approach, Fortschreibung, rewriting, revision, reuse

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Abstract

The article investigates how the reuse of scriptural materials in the Qumran Pseudo-Ezekiel composition can inform the understanding of processes of literary development within the scriptural prophetic book. Identifying five specific features of rewriting, the argument makes a strong case for using the historical-critical perspective.

Cet article analyse comment la réutilisation de matériel scripturaire dans la composition du Pseudo-Ézéchiel à Qumran permet de comprendre les processus de développement littéraire du livre prophétique scripturaire. Il identifie cinq caractéristiques spécifiques à cette réécriture et plaide fortement en faveur de l'emploi de la perspective historico-critique.

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REWRITING EZEKIEL: *FORTSCHREIBUNG* AND MATERIALITY IN THE EZEKIEL TRADITION[1]

Anja Klein

Introduction

For scholars of the prophetic book of Ezekiel, it has always been exciting that the findings from Qumran Cave 4 contain a work with—in the words of their first editor John Strugnell—"a notable pseudo-Ezekiel section" (1960, 344). Eventually, scholarship identified a group of six manuscripts as representatives of a Pseudo-Ezekiel composition (4Q385, 4Q386, 4Q385b, 4Q388, 4Q385c, 4Q391).[2] The texts mention

[1] I would like to thank my colleague and friend Dr Mika Pajunen, who commented on a draft of this article, and the anonymous reviewers involved in the forum review process. Their combined feedback greatly helped to improve my argument.

[2] For the official publication of 4Q385, 4Q386, 4Q385b, 4Q388, and 4Q385c, see Devorah Dimant's edition in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (DJD 30, 2001); 4Q391 is published by Mark Smith in DJD 19 (1995), but has been classified as part of the same composition by both scholars (see Dimant 2001, 9; Smith 1995, 153–54; further Wright 2000, 289–98). The forthcoming doctoral thesis of Anna

the prophet Ezekiel by name (4Q385 f4 4; 4Q385 f6 5; 4Q385b 1), and they engage with the materials of the scriptural book by integrating them into a new work. These literary characteristics account for the consideration of Pseudo-Ezekiel in the wider discussions around "rewritten scripture."[3]

From a biblical studies perspective, the connections between the scriptural Ezekiel materials and Pseudo-Ezekiel open up two directions of research. The focus of the first is on the question of how the composition makes use of the scriptural tradition. A number of recent investigations of this issue have demonstrated that the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition represents a form of rewriting.[4] In particular, the study by Molly Zahn on "Prophecy Rewritten" comes to the conclusion that "it is fair to view PsEzek as a reworking and interpretation of earlier Ezekiel traditions that bear some relationship to the versions that have come down to us" (2014, 361). This conclusion touches on the important question about the state of the scriptural prophetic book during the late Second Temple period. My argument proceeds from the current understanding that the ancient author of the Qumran text was clearly familiar with some form of the materials that are part of the existing versions (Masoretic Text, Septuagint, Papyrus 967[5]). However, it should be assumed that the scriptural book in the Second Temple period still

Shirav ("Ezekiel Traditions in the Second Temple Period: The Case of 4QWords of Ezekiel in Its Broader Context") furnishes further proof that the six scrolls are representatives of an independent composition that includes 4Q391.

[3] The composition is allocated to the genre of rewritten bible both in DJD 30 and in the *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; the use of "rewritten scripture" instead of "rewritten bible" reflects the recent history of research, acknowledging that there was no canonical collection in the late Second Temple period (see Zahn 2010, 323–63; 2011, 96; Petersen 2014, 13–48). The terms "scripture" and "scriptural" refer more generally to any text or collection considered sacred and authoritative in this period (Zahn 2011, 96–97).

[4] See Strugnell and Dimant 1988; Dimant and Strugnell 1990; Brady 2005; Schöpflin 2009; Klein 2014; Zahn 2014; Shirav 2022.

[5] The significance of Papyrus 967 as an important witness for the textual history of Ezekiel is widely acknowledged. See Lust 1981, 517–33; Schwagmeier 2004; Lilly 2012; Tooman 2015.

underwent editorial changes, and that different editions circulated simultaneously.[6] Thus, the different textual traditions will have to be considered where appropriate.

The second direction, a rather new avenue of research, is the question of how these documented cases of rewriting in Pseudo-Ezekiel can inform our models of the literary history of the scriptural book. This concerns the wider topic of how materiality—understood here as (external) material evidence—contributes to our understanding of the creation, tradition, and transmission of the scriptural writings.[7] This article will add to this fundamental discussion by offering a case study that assesses the relationship between the scriptural book of Ezekiel and the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition in its significance as a model for undocumented processes of literary growth.

Nearly ten years ago, I addressed this question for the first time with the enthusiasm of a fresh postdoctoral scholar. Focusing on the vision of the dry bones in Ezek 37 and its interpretation in the Qumran work, I concluded with the thesis that "postbiblical" exegesis starts where "innerbiblical" exegesis ends (Klein 2014, 215). The argument suggests a rather linear process of interpretation, following the literary history of Ezek 37:1–14 through to the interpretation in the vision of the bones in the reconstructed work of Pseudo-Ezekiel (Klein 2014, 210–17). Yet in view of the current state of research on both the phenomenon of rewriting and the issue of textual pluriformity in the Second Temple period, it seems time to revisit the argument and change perspective. Instead of extending the scriptural redaction history to the Qumran materials, I will draw my conclusions from the documented cases in

[6] In particular, a shorter version, represented most distinctly by Papyrus 967, and a longer version, represented by the Masoretic Text, existed side by side (Tooman 2015; see here for an overview of the textual history of Ezekiel). On the state of textual pluriformity in the Second Temple period, see Ulrich 1999, 17–33, 79–120; 2013, 83–104; Tov 2012, 169–90.

[7] On this emerging field of research, see in particular the edited volume by Jeffrey H. Tigay (1985) and the studies by Kratz (2011, 2020); Müller, Pakkala, and ter Haar Romeny (2014), and Müller and Pakkala (2022); a more skeptical perspective is offered by the contributions in the volume edited by Raymond F. Person, Jr. and Robert Rezetko (2016).

Pseudo-Ezekiel and reflect on the implications for our models of literary growth. For this purpose, I will start, in the first section, with some methodological considerations that introduce the current framework and clarify the use of terminology. At this point, a significant conversation partner is the recent study on the phenomenon of rewriting in Second Temple Judaism by Molly Zahn (*Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism*, 2020) that paves the way for rethinking critical methodology in biblical studies. The second section comprises the analysis of the use of scripture in Pseudo-Ezekiel, while the third section draws some conclusions on *Fortschreibung* in the Hebrew Bible.

Methodological Considerations

Undeniably, the findings from Qumran have revolutionized the field of biblical studies by providing scholarship with a significant number of works that resemble the scriptures that later became "biblical"—that is, part of the canonical collections. Early on, scholars commented on the various links in topics and technique between the two bodies of literature. However, the development of common terminology and the discourse on shared methodological grounds continue to be compounded by the respective subject-specific standpoints and what Molly Zahn calls "the artificial divide between 'biblical' and 'non-biblical'" (Zahn 2020, 74).[8] In the following paragraphs, I will briefly summarize the current state of research and outline some key methodological considerations.

In biblical studies, historical-critical research goes back to the impact of the Reformation and the Enlightenment, when biblical theology emancipated itself from church dogmatics and considered the scriptures as documents written by humans. The insight that the scriptural texts have a history of literary development led to the quest for the original core that was held in high esteem—the *ipsissima verba* of the historic prophets, the sources of the narratives in the Pentateuch, the oldest law materials, and the original songs and poems. In the course

[8] On the discussion, see already VanderKam 2002, 42–43; Campbell 2014, 50, 58–64; Petersen 2014, 24–27, 28–31.

of this quest, the nineteenth century saw the development of literary criticism; scholars used criteria such as doublets, tensions, and incoherencies to analyze the literary unity of texts and reveal their original core.[9] The aim was to uncover the oldest sources that—in the view of the times—granted access to the inspired historic figures behind the texts, whose words needed to be separated from the inferior work of later epigones (see Becker 2021, 93–94).

Yet the twentieth century saw a gradual change in the assessment of secondary materials that (especially European) scholarship came to appreciate as forms of theological reinterpretation in light of changing historical contexts. This development was accompanied by a new esteem for the redactor as an author in their own right, who takes an active part in interpreting and supplementing the existing *Vorlage*. From the 1970s onward, the approach of redaction criticism / redaction history became prevalent; it complemented the analytical quest of literary criticism with a synthetic approach.[10] The method aims to reconstruct the gradual literary growth of the existing text (under consideration of the different textual versions) and to investigate the theological motifs and historical contexts that stand behind the productive development.

One of the key contributions to this discussion came from Walther Zimmerli, who introduced the idea of *Fortschreibung* ("continuation"/ "supplementation") in his commentary work on the book of Ezekiel (1969; English translation 1979). He used the term to describe the progressive supplementation of a prophetic kernel through later reinterpretation by the prophet's school.[11] While this original understanding of *Fortschreibung* limits the phenomenon to the close literary context of a prophetic word, the related concepts of biblical interpretation and innerbiblical exegesis describe a wider understanding of the phenomenon and denote processes of interpretive supplementation in the closer

[9] On literary criticism in historical-critical perspective, see Schmidt 1991, 211–21; Römer 2013, 393–423; Becker 2021, 48–50.

[10] On definition and the history of research, see Steck 1995, 79–98; Kratz 1997, 367–78; Nihan 2013, 137–89; Becker 2021, 90–113; Berner 2021, 141–59.

[11] See Zimmerli 1979, 68–71 (1969, 106*–9*); 1980, 174–91.

and wider contexts of existing texts.[12] In a specific development, mainly German-speaking scholarship has introduced the reconstruction of systematic revisions through redactional layers that comprehensively reshape earlier versions of a composition.[13] What these different models of literary supplementation have in common, though, is the emphasis on the interpretive aspect of productive literary growth. The redaction history of the texts shows the attempt to actualize the existing scriptural materials for a new context, and thus represents a form of reception history.[14] Consequently, the question of whether or not a *Tendenz* ("tendency"), a specific theological interest, distinguishes different literary layers or individual text elements has become increasingly important for this approach (*Tendenzkritik*).[15]

The literary techniques and hermeneutics that characterize redaction and interpretation within the later biblical texts are not phenomena that are limited to the body of literature known as the Hebrew Bible or the Old Testament. While already Isaac Seeligman (1953) and Michael Fishbane (1985) pointed to the continuations between interpretation in biblical scriptures and later stages of Jewish scriptural exegesis, a number of publications apply the insights from biblical interpretation and redaction history to the interpretation in Qumran materials, describing

[12] Seminal is the study on biblical interpretation by Michal Fishbane (1985). See also the history of research by Schmid 2000, 5–34; Kratz 2020, 209–46, and the case studies on supplementation in the collected volume by Saul M. Olyan and Jacob L. Wright (2018).

[13] See, for example, the idea of the Deuteronomistic History, which was formulated by Martin Noth (1943, 1948), and the redaction-historical studies by Winfried Thiel (1973, 1981) on the book of Jeremiah; Odil Hannes Steck (1985) on the book of Isaiah; Reinhard G. Kratz (1991) on the book of Second Isaiah, and Konrad Schmid (1996) on the book of Jeremiah.

[14] Kratz 1997, 370; 2020, 212; Steck 2000; Berner 2021, 144–45.

[15] While different seminal contributions in German scholarship use the term (e.g., Kaiser 2000, 200–17; Kratz 2020, 245; Becker 2021, 67), a comprehensive definition and description of the approach as part of the method canon is still pending. However, there is some agreement that *Tendenzkritik* or tendency criticism investigates the theological intention of a text element or literary layer.

these processes in terms of "postbiblical exegesis".[16] Scholars have also investigated the connections between materials within the scriptural texts and materials from various other compositions from the Second Temple period from the other side of the subject divide. In 1961, Geza Vermes first coined the term "rewritten bible" for a group of texts that he described as inserting "haggadic development into the biblical narrative" (1961, 95). Since then, the phenomenon has undergone extensive research, with some scholars arguing for a distinct genre and others preferring to speak of an exegetical technique.[17] It should be noted that this definition also applies to the reworking of the books of Samuel and Kings in 1 and 2 Chronicles or the rewriting of the Pentateuchal law in the book of Deuteronomy, which in short represent cases of biblical rewritten bible (Brooke 2000, 778).

The different labels and categories to describe the phenomenon of rewriting both within the later biblical collections and beyond have sparked debate in recent years. The terminology suggests the existence of a "biblical" corpus to describe literary and exegetical processes in times before the canonical collections were consolidated. In many ways, the differentiation between interpretation within the later biblical scriptures ("innerbiblical") and in external compositions ("postbiblical") runs the danger of being anachronistic (Zahn 2020, 75–80). Rather, from a methodological point of view, the decisive differentiation focuses on the question of whether the textual processes concern the continuous transmission of the same literary work (internal *Fortschreibung*), or whether the literary operations create an entirely new composition by rewriting a given tradition (external *Fortschreibung*) (see Müller and Pakkala 2022, 8). In view of this complex problem, the recent definition of rewriting by Molly Zahn offers a more adequate concept to describe the phenomenon. Zahn defines rewriting as "*the deliberate, unmarked reproduction and modification of one text by another*" (2020, 38) and

[16] See Vielhauer 2007, 207–23 (with regard to 4QpHos[a] and 4QpHos[b]); Kratz 2011, 99–145 (on Pesher Nahum); Klein 2014, 18–22 (with regard to Pseudo-Ezekiel).

[17] On the term and scholarly discussion thereon, see Brooke 2000, 777–81; Bernstein 2005; Falk 2007; Zahn 2010, 323–36; 2020, and the contributions in the volume *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years*, edited by József Zsengellér (2014).

distinguishes two forms: while revision results in the production of a new copy of an existing work, reuse leads to a new composition that draws on a source text (2020, 38). In an analysis of various documented case studies from the Second Temple period, Zahn demonstrates that rewriting represents a widespread phenomenon that was the norm rather than the exception.[18]

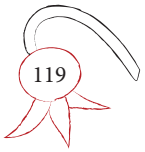
This groundbreaking study presents biblical scholars with a unique opportunity to refine their understanding of and approach to ancient texts. First, Zahn adds a powerful voice to the choir of exegetes who make a strong case for the need to presuppose rewriting also in those cases for which there is no material evidence. Yet at the same time, she states that the documented cases of rewriting challenge traditional scholarly confidence in their ability to offer detailed reconstructions of previous literary stages of existing texts (Zahn 2020, 93). Zahn's concerns coincide with a current crisis taking place in the context of the traditional historical-critical approach. Having been the established method of biblical criticism for the second half of the twentieth century, the historical-critical method has increasingly been replaced by new (literary) approaches[19] and faces fundamental criticism. The latter has three aspects to it: first, how suitable, in general, is an approach that presupposes a history of additional growth but only rarely considers the possibilities of transposition, omission, and editorial work—techniques of rewriting that cannot be reconstructed without documented evidence.[20] This is certainly a valid point and touches on the limits of literary and redaction-historical models, yet a number of studies on material evidence confirm that the expansion of works represents the

[18] See Zahn 2020, 4 ("a widespread, even ubiquitous scribal technique in early Judaism"); and the conclusions in Zahn 2020, 196–32.

[19] In these new approaches, the term "literary" refers to the critical analysis of the scriptural texts as literature and should not be confused with the traditional method of literary criticism as described above.

[20] For a major voice in this discussion, see the study *Kritik des Wachstumsmodells* by Benjamin Ziemer (2020). He concludes that not additional growth but selective interpretation governs processes of rewriting (2020, 697–700). A comprehensive critique of this study is not possible as part of this argument, but see the review by Juha Pakkala (2021).

general disposition of rewriting.[21] Second, the criteria used to question literary unity rely on modern understandings of coherence and incoherence, which leads to the objection that modern scholars project their own understanding onto the ancient scribes and their work.[22] It is certainly a requisite to question our assumptions and reflect on the objectivity of the exegete, but in this question we can only think within the framework of our times: it is "the task of the modern exegete to reconstruct the thinking of the ancient scribe and readers on the basis of available sources and the understanding of his or her times" (Kratz, 2020, 210). Third, the increasing differentiation and specialization of the redaction-historical reconstructions have engendered criticism pertaining to the scholarly ability to reconstruct accurately the different stages of development and to the method's atomizing tendency. However, the historical-critical approach operates on the basis of clearly defined criteria and safeguards the analytical results of literary criticism with the synchronic countercheck of redaction history (see Berner 2021, 148). Thus, complexity is unavoidable and actually desired if the argument can demonstrate that the model is appropriate to explain the problems of the text and gives insight into the world behind it. A synchronistic reading that proceeds from the surface level of a "final form" cannot answer any questions about the historical setting of a text and its developmental contexts. Furthermore, in view of current models of the textual history of the Hebrew scriptures, which describe a transition period in which the rewriting of some works continued while others were already transmitted, the idea of a "final form" is a problematic hypothesis. Even proceeding from the Codex Leningradensis does not offer a safe starting point, as it entails the problem that the manuscript was written in the Middle Ages and—strictly speaking—should only be interpreted against this background. Any attempts to establish an earlier form of the Hebrew text requires critical engagement with the different textual witnesses and necessarily leads to questions of literary development. Thus, I struggle to see any alternative to the use of the



[21] See Müller, Pakkala, and ter Haar Romeny 2014; Zahn 2020; Berner 2021, 145–49; Müller and Pakkala 2022.

[22] On this discussion, see Teeter and Tooman 2020, 94–129; Kratz 2020, 210–14.

historical-critical perspective when engaging in discussions of the literature, theology and history of ancient Israel.[23]

In the following section, I will use the textual evidence represented by the composition Pseudo-Ezekiel to ask how the relationship between the scriptural book of Ezekiel and the Qumran work informs our understanding of the phenomenon of *Fortschreibung*.[24] And I should note that—in the terminology of Molly Zahn—this question considers implications for the reconstruction of rewriting in the form of revision (scriptural book of Ezekiel) by analyzing documented cases of rewriting in the form of reuse (Pseudo-Ezekiel).[25] There is thus a scholarly caveat with regard to the knowledge transfer, but the documented work of ancient scribes is the only point of access that we have to develop and refine our understanding of rewriting in the scriptures—that is, if we do not want to give up on the task altogether.

[23] Lastly, it is a valid point that the increasing specialization of the field poses challenges for knowledge exchange, teaching, and collaboration with other disciplines. However, these challenges do not question the appropriateness of the historical-critical method but rather necessitate improved communication and sustained discourse.

[24] For a similar undertaking, see Pakkala 2015, 101–27, who analyses cases that illustrate editorial processes in the Temple Scroll in order to understand "what these cases tell us about the editorial processes of the Hebrew Scriptures and their authoritative law texts in particular" (106).

[25] In theory, the Qumran composition could also constitute a copy of (scriptural) Ezekiel, thus representing a form of revision rather than reuse. However, Molly Zahn has demonstrated convincingly that the evidence points toward a "new, independent work," referring to a tendency of abbreviation and omission, the small overlap with the text of scriptural Ezekiel, the substantial amount of new materials, and the transmission together with the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C materials (2014, 362).

Rewriting in Pseudo-Ezekiel

Overview: The Composition

As discussed, the Pseudo-Ezekiel materials comprise a group of six manuscripts (4Q385, 4Q386, 4Q385b, 4Q388, 4Q385c, 4Q391). While most materials of the group are fragmentary, seven fragments offer a substantial amount of legible text (4Q385 f2, f3, f4, f6; 4Q385b; 4Q386 f1 col. i–iii; 4Q388 f7). The text preserved offers a mix of materials that show links with prophecies or visions of the scriptural book and "new" materials that were previously unknown (Zahn 2014, 342). With regard to the scriptural materials, three fragments rework the scriptural vision of the bones in Ezek 37 and overlap in parts (4Q385 f2; 4Q386 f1i; 4Q388 f7). Closely connected to this group is 4Q385 f3, which seems to continue the resurrection scene. Another substantial fragment, 4Q385 f6, has clear links with the visions of Yhwh's glory in the scriptural composition (Ezek 1; 10; 43), while 4Q385b engages with Ezek 30:1–5, the lamentation for Egypt. Finally, the badly preserved text in 4Q391 f25 shows some connections with the lamentation over Tyre in Ezek 27–28. When it comes to the new materials, 4Q385 f4 comprises a dialogue between prophet and God, in which God grants the prophet the request to hasten the (end-)days. Another dialogue in 4Q386 f1ii discusses the oppression of the people before they will be gathered and returned, while 4Q386 f1iii compares Babylon to a judgment tool (f1iii 1: ככוס) in the hands of the Lord. Finally, the account in 4Q388 f6 describes an (end)-battle with horse and chariot involved.

In an ideal world, a study of the rewriting of scriptural materials in different parts of Pseudo-Ezekiel should investigate the exegetical processes in light of the materials' setting in the whole composition. That leads to the question of what can be said about the nature and framework of the Qumran work. A number of publications have described the content and material aspects of the fragments, and have discussed a possible reconstruction of the composition.[26] The analysis of the content relies greatly on manuscripts 4Q385 and 4Q386, which between them

[26] Dimant 2000, 18–20; Shirav 2022, 3–17; see also Zahn 2014, 340–42; Klein 2014, 202–10.

contain five fragments with a substantial amount of text and overlap in part. A number of fragments of the 4Q385 group are the starting point for the material reconstruction; they show similar damage patterns, which speaks for a sequential arrangement (Shirav 2022, 9).[27] The initial reconstruction made by Devorah Dimant in DJD 30 (2000, 21) provides for a consecutive sequence that roughly follows Ezek 37–43 (4Q388 f7 – 4Q385 f 2+3 / 4Q386 f1 – 4Q385 f4 – 4Q385 f6). Yet as Anna Shirav (2022, 5) has pointed out, the integration of different scrolls in one material reconstruction is methodologically problematic. In her doctoral thesis, Shirav re-evaluates the evidence and offers a new proposal with the order 4Q385 f4 (accelerating time) – 4Q385 f6 (divine *merkabah*) – 4Q385 f2+3 (revivification of the bones).[28] Furthermore, Shirav (2022, 13–17) identifies 4Q385b as a "replacement sheet" that has preserved the beginning and the title ("Words of Ezekiel") of the composition. I find the idea of 4Q385b as a replacement sheet for the beginning wholly convincing. However, seeing that any material reconstruction relies on a few preserved fragments with substantial gaps in between, I am hesitant to base the following observations on any one model. Decisive is the fact that the rewriting of scriptural materials in the fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel should be considered as part of a larger composition with a clear eschatological orientation: it discusses the timing of the last days, the defeat of the enemies, the restoration of Israel, and the resurrection of the righteous. The following observations will thus focus on the parts of the composition that engage with the scriptural materials, and consider their literary setting when appropriate.

The Revivification of the Bones (4Q385 f2; par. 4Q386 f1i; 4Q388 f7 + 4Q385 f3)

As noted above, the text of the revivification of the bones in Pseudo-Ezekiel is preserved in three overlapping fragments, with the substantial text of 4Q385 f2 offering the blueprint for the reconstruction. The first line in 4Q385 f2 comprises the end of the preceding section where Yhwh presents himself as the redeemer of his people who has

[27] See already Klein 2014, 203–4.

[28] Shirav 2023, 67–171. See also Shirav 2022, 3–17.

given them the covenant (par. 4Q388 f7 2–3); the break is also indicated by a lengthy *vacat*. The section in 4Q385 that comprises the scriptural materials consists of three parts. While the first part (f2 2–4) exposes the central problem in a dialogue between God and the prophet, the second part describes the materialization of the bones (f2 5–9). Finally, the third part ends with another dialogue (f2 9–10), which is, however, only partially preserved.

The text of the first part does not have any direct links in vocabulary with the scriptural materials, but it mirrors the initial dialogue between Yhwh and the prophet in Ezek 37:3 (see Brady 2005, 96). Here, God leads the prophet around the dry bones in the valley and then asks the rhetorical question: "Can these bones live?" (37:3: התחיינה העצמות האלה) —a question that the prophet wisely passes on. The concern in the Pseudo-Ezekiel account is a different one, and it is the prophet who voices it. He states that he has seen "many of Israel (f2 2: ראיתי רבים מישראל) who have loved your name"[29] and wonders about their fate: "And th]ese things—when will they come to be and how will they be recompensed for their piety (f2 3: ישתלמו חסדם)"? God replies that he will make it manifest to the children of Israel, closing with the recognition formula (f2 4: "they shall know that I am the Lord"). The dialogue in 4Q385 f2 is introduced without a specific narrative setting, whereas the scriptural vision locates the events "in the middle of the valley" (Ezek 37:1: בתוך הבקעה). While it is possible that the previous (unpreserved) part of the Qumran work provides some information about the location, the *vacat* at the end of 4Q385 f2 1 and the change of topic indicate a new scene—more likely, the author expects the audience to recognize a rewriting of the scriptural vision.[30] It is only the continuation in the second part 4Q385 f2 5–9 that introduces the bones explicitly and shows that the question for recompense reveals a concern for the

[29] All transcriptions and translations follow the editions of Devorah Dimant (2001) and Mark Smith respectively (1995), accessed through the Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library (https://brill.com/display/package/dsso?language=en).

[30] See Klein 2014, 210. See also Dimant 2000, 531: "Altogether omitted is the biblical scene of a valley of bones. The bones are directly introduced as a familiar subject (*4Q385* 2 5)."

validity of the connection between deed and consequence beyond death. Furthermore, the recompense of the righteous is put into an eschatological context, as the prophet is concerned with the question of when these things will happen (f2 3, 9) (Klein 2014, 211). Thus, the rewriting of the introductory scriptural dialogue in Pseudo-Ezekiel creates a new framework for the revivification of the bones and shows a concern for the fate of the righteous.[31]

With regard to the second part of the Qumran composition, the account preserved in 4Q385 f2 5–9 shows clear links in vocabulary to the vision part in Ezek 37:4–10, yet the use of tenses and the organization of the events differ from the scriptural materials (see Zahn 2014, 345). Both versions describe how Ezekiel prophesies over the bones and how these come to life. The initial address to the prophet[32] and the commission to prophesy in f2 5 (ויאמר [בן אדם הנבה על העצמות ואמרת]) are a close match with the introduction in Ezek 37:4 (ויאמר אלי הנבא על־העצמות האלה ואמרת אליהם) (see Zahn 2014, 345). Yet while the verb אמר introduces direct prophetic speech in the scriptural vision, the account in Pseudo-Ezekiel uses an indirect third-person description of the events, voiced by the deity himself.[33] The direct prophetic speech in Ezek 37 starts from the participial promise that Yhwh will bring back spirit into the bones (37:5: מביא) and continues with a series of perfect consecutivum forms that promise the restoration of body components sinews, flesh, skin, and the spirit (37:6: ונתתי עליכם גדים והעלתי עליכם בשר וקרמתי עליכם עור ונתתי בכם רוח). Following this initial promise that concludes with another recognition formula in 37:6, the account in 37:7–10 describes the fulfilment of the divine promise in two stages, using the perfect consecutivum as narrative tense

[31] This eschatological interpretation in Pseudo-Ezekiel is well established in scholarship, though opinions differ on the question of whether the scriptural vision already presupposes the idea of bodily resurrection. See Dimant 2001, 32; Brady 2005, 96; Schöpflin 2009, 82; Klein 2014, 210; Zahn 2014, 347–48.

[32] While the address in terms of בן אדם ("son of man") is missing in Codex Leningradensis, it is attested in some Hebrew manuscripts, the Old Latin and the recensions of Origen and Lucian; this suggests that the reading of Pseudo-Ezekiel was already attested in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. See Dimant 2001, 26; Zahn 2014, 345.

[33] Dimant 2001, 26; Zahn 2014, 346.

(37:7, 8, 10).[34] In a first act, the prophet witnesses how the bones come together (37:7: עצם אל־עצמו) to be furnished with sinews and flesh and covered with skin (37:8: והנה־עליהם גדים ובשר עלה ויקרם עליהם עור מלמעלה). Yet the lack of the spirit (37:8) initiates a further commission to the prophet: Ezekiel is now told to prophesy to the spirit of the four corners of the earth, which shall breathe upon the slain to bring them back to life (37:9: ופחי בהרוגים האלה ויחיו). The verse 37:10 comprises the realization of this commission.

In contrast, the Pseudo-Ezekiel account in 4Q385 f2 offers a shorter version that distinguishes three stages, each of which closes with a fulfilment formula.[35] It is noteworthy that the wording of the indirect prophetic command draws on the fulfilment of the prophetic action in Ezek 37:7–10 rather than on the formulation of the promise in 37:5–6.[36] First, the instruction that bones and joints shall come together (4Q385 f2 5–6: עצם אל עצמו ופרק [אל פרקו])[37] relates to Ezek 37:7 (עצם אל־עצמו) but adds the "joint" (פרק) as another part of the skeleton. This body component is absent in the Masoretic tradition, but the Greek text (with Papyrus 967) attests to a variant, according to which the bones approach each other, connecting at the joints (καὶ προσήγαγε τὰ ὀστᾶ ἑκάτερον πρὸς τὴν ἁρμονίαν αὐτοῦ). Considering these witnesses, the variant in 4Q385 f2 most likely represents a double reading, reflecting both the proto-Masoretic tradition and the Hebrew *Vorlage* to the LXX (Zahn 2014, 349). In the second part (4Q385 f2 6–7), Ezekiel is

[34] The use of the perfect consecutivum as a narrative tense does not conform to the classical use (see in detail Bartelmus 1984, 366–89) and is usually explained as a later influence from Aramaic (see GesK §112pp; Bartelmus 1984, 375; Joüon and Muraoka 2006, §119z). This phenomenon in Ezek 37 has been used as a literary-critical argument to distinguish a literary layer in 37:7–10. See also note 51.

[35] The first formula in 4Q385 f2 6 (ויה]י כן) can be reconstructed with the help of the parallel in 4Q386 f1i 5–6 (כן] ויהי), yet the other two occurrences in 4Q385 f2 7, 8 rely on restoration.

[36] See Brady 2000, 99; Zahn 2014, 346.

[37] The last two words can be reconstructed with the overlap in 4Q386 f1i 5 (ו]פרק אל פרקו).

again instructed to prophesy, so that sinews[38] shall come up and skin shall cover the bones (ויעלו עליהם גדים ויקרמו עור [מלמעלה]). The vocabulary draws on the wording in Ezek 37:8, but there is a variation in the body components and some alteration in the use of verbs. In Ezek 37:8, the prophet sees not only the materialization of sinews and skin, but also how flesh comes upon the bones, before skin covers these (והנה־עליהם גדים ובשר עלה ויקרם עליהם עור מלמעלה). While the flesh is missing in Pseudo-Ezekiel, the verb עלה refers now to the sinews, the restoration of which the scriptural account describes in a nominal sentence. It is difficult to find an explanation for the alteration of the body components; Dimant (2001, 27) suggests that the Qumran work focuses on two different types of what she calls "body members," hard ones and soft ones. This is a possible explanation, which, however, would also work with the flesh instead of either sinews or skin. It is also noteworthy that the parallel in 4Q386 f1i 7 attests to a variant in place of the fulfilment formula in 4Q385 f2 7. The remaining letters and the size of the *lacuna* in line 7 suggest a longer text that illustrates the growth of sinews and skin in the same way as the scriptural account in Ezek 37:8.[39]

In the third stage of the materialization, the instruction to prophesy over the four winds of the heavens (4Q385 f2 7: אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים ויפחו רוח) summarizes the longer account in Ezek 37:9. In the scriptural vision, however, God instructs the prophet to call the spirit from the four corners of the earth (37:9: מארבע רוחות באי). The difference is subtle but may suggest a changed understanding of the spirit, which in the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition takes the shape of four personified wind spirits.[40] There is also the question of what

[38] Dimant 2001, 27, translates the noun גיד as "arteries" in Pseudo-Ezekiel, referring to the use of the term in two other Qumran texts. However, as the scriptural vision attests to the same noun, it is more likely that the meaning in Pseudo-Ezekiel follows the scriptural use (see also the translations by Brady 2000, 100; Zahn 2014, 346).

[39] See also Brady 2000, 101: "It is possible that such a fuller account was provided in 4Q386 I i as well."

[40] See Klein 2014, 21: "[T]he four winds have undergone a literary upgrading from being mere cardinal points in the biblical vision to becoming agents of salvation in their own right in Pseudo-Ezekiel."

the object of the salvific action is. In Ezek 37:9, the prophet calls on the spirit to blow into the slain ones (בהרוגים), which suggests that the bones are the remains of humans that met with a violent death; these are subsequently revivified and stand up as a great army (37:10: ויעמדו על־רגליהם חיל גדול מאד־מאד).[41] The corresponding line in 4Q385 f2 8 begins with a *lacuna*, but the preserved words speak of the revivification of a large crowd of humans, who bless Yhwh of Hosts[42] (וי[ח]יו עם רב אנשים ויברכו את יהוה צבאות). In her DJD edition, Dimant restores the *lacuna* of 4Q385 f2 8 to read "into the slain ones" (בהרוגים), drawing on the scriptural materials (see Ezek 37:9: בהרוגים).[43] However, the restoration is problematic in the context of the Qumran composition, as the revivification of a large crowd lacks the military connotation of Ezek 37:10 ("a mighty army")—it fits less well with the idea of the bones as remains of humans that have been killed.[44] The initial

[41] The Greek tradition (with Papyrus 967) shows some variants, as it attests the reading συναγωγὴ πολλὴ σφόδρα ("a very great congregation") in 37:10. Similarly, it reads τοὺς νεκροὺς τούτους ("these dead") at the end of 37:9, so that the Greek text does not share in the understanding that the bones are the remains of humans that have met with a violent death. It is safe to assume that "the term for who was raised in the bones-vision was in flux in the Hebrew literary tradition" (Lilly 2012, 115). The different versions attest to different interpretive interests: an interest in either a generalization or a specification of those that are revivified.

[42] This divine title is absent in scriptural Ezekiel, but occurs frequently in other prophetic books (e.g., Isa 1:9, 24; 2:12; Jer 8:3, 9:6, 14).

[43] Unfortunately, the text is also missing in the parallel, 4Q386 f1i, though the size of its *lacuna* and the remaining text suggest a variant. Dimant reconstructs ויפחו בם ("let them blow into them") in 4Q386 f1i, acknowledging that the remaining letters and the size of the *lacuna* require a different reconstruction than in 4Q385 f2 8 (2001, 62).

[44] See García Martínez 2005, 170: "This is the reason why I think that the reconstruction of 'the slain' (הרוגים) with Ez 37:9 by Dimant is incorrect, since the allusion to the military character of the biblical text has been carefully avoided." One might make the point that the scriptural account in 37:11 identifies the bones with "the whole house" of Israel, a designation that similarly has no military connotation. However, the context of 37:11 suggests a metaphorical discussion of resurrection that should be distinguished from the vision in 37:1–10 and most likely represents a different literary layer. See the argument in the following section.

dialogue in 4Q385 f2 that concerns the fate of the pious (f2 3) is further evidence that the Qumran work does not assume the context of a military conflict. Of exegetical interest is, however, the clear addition in 4Q385 f2 8 that sees the resurrected crowd engaging in a blessing of Yhwh of Hosts. The benediction might point to liturgical practices at the time[45] or satisfy the need for an appropriate reaction of the crowd, which gives thanks for their divine salvation.[46]

The third part of the Qumran composition (4Q385 f2 9–10) does not have any links with the scriptural materials, though a second dialogue draws on the initial discussion between God and the prophet. Ezekiel resumes the question of when these things shall come to be (4Q385 f 2 9), but from the divine answer only the enigmatic phrase remains that a tree shall bend and stand erect (4Q385 f2 10).

An interesting case is 4Q385 f3, which connects thematically with the bones materials. The passage f3 2–3 describes a group of people that rise up and stand to thank Yhwh of Hosts (ויקומו כל העם ויע[מד]ו על[רגליהם ולהל]ל את יהוה צבאות). The second and third verb are fragmentary, but it is clear that f3 2–3 repeats the scene in f2 8–9 but with different terminology. The verb עמד offers, however, a clear link with Ezek 37:10 (ויעמדו על־רגליהם). The account in 4Q386 then continues with the note that the prophet spoke to the people (f3 3), before Yhwh commissions him with a message, which is only partly preserved (f3 5–7). Dimant suggests an allusion to Ezek 37:12–13 in her reconstruction: "In the place of their burial] they will lie until [(f3 4: במקום קבו]רֹתם ישכבו עד אשרֹ[) from] your [grave]s and from the earth (f3 5:] מקב]רֹיכם ומן הארץ [ ])" (2001, 29–30). However, the verb שכב does not occur in Ezek 37:12–13, and the reading of "your graves" (קבו]רֹתם) relies on one (poorly) preserved consonant of the lemma in question. While it is tempting to assume the sequence of events in Ezek 37:1–14 as continuous intertext for the sequence of 4Q385 f2 and f3 (thus Dimant 2001, 30), I find that this thesis lacks support. What

[45] Thus Dimant 2000, 533; 2001, 34.

[46] See Tromp 2007, 74, who comments: "one could say that blessing the Lord after having regained life is no more than the decent thing to do, either in reality, or in a vision."

we are left with is a doublet of the scene where the people rise up and thank their God, which is, however, continued with a different divine message in each fragment. As both fragments will have been part of the same work, we can surmise a repetition within the storyline of the composition.[47] From a historical-critical perspective, this looks like a classic case of *Wiederaufnahme* (literary resumption) that evidences a prior *Fortschreibung*. The resumption of the scene and the back reference that the prophet (previously) engaged with the people in 4Q385 f3 2–3 could have served to integrate the addition of a new divine oracle following in 4Q385 f3 5ff. On that assumption, the copy of the Qumran work preserved in scroll 4Q385 would attest to an earlier process of revision. However, this hypothesis must remain highly speculative due to the small amount of text preserved in 4Q385 f3.

Described poignantly as "a kind of commentary" (Dimant 2001, 32), the interpretative interest of the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition in the scriptural materials in Ezek 37 is obvious. It is thus time to ask how the documented cases of reuse in this passage of the Qumran work can inform our understanding of the processes of revision that we assume for the scriptural tradition. From a phenomenological perspective, the differences between the two works present as cases of addition, omission, abbreviation, and alteration.[48] The most significant addition in Pseudo-Ezekiel's rewriting is the new hermeneutical framework in 4Q385 f2 2–3, 9–10 that actualizes the scriptural idea of resurrection for a new time and a new context.[49] It draws on the initial dialogue between God and the prophet in Ezek 37:3 and does not only introduce the recompense for the righteous, but it also inquires about the question of timing.

[47] Both Dimant and Shirav assume a direct sequence of 4Q385 f2 and f3 in their material reconstructions; while Shirav 2022, 6, suggests a space of roughly ten lines between the two fragments, there is a smaller space in Dimant's model (2001, 18).

[48] See Dimant 2001, 31–37, who distinguishes these four techniques in her analysis of 4Q385 f2 and f3. I find this a useful template to classify the different uses of scripture in the Qumran work, though my argument differs in the choice and description of examples.

[49] Brady 2000, 93; Dimant 2001, 33–34; Klein 2014, 210–11; Zahn 2014, 347–48.

There is, however, some evidence to suggest that the scriptural account in Ezek 37:1–14 already comprises different ideas of resurrection. While the section in 37:11–14 promises a metaphorical resurrection of Israel in exile by restoring the people to their homeland, the vision segment in 37:7–10 describes the resurrection of physical bodies. The thesis that Ezek 37:7–10 speaks of bodily resurrection is further strengthened by a number of allusions to the creation accounts such as the word that sets the recreation in motion (Ezek 37:7, 10; see Gen 1) and the creation verb נפח that is used to describe the bestowal of the (life) spirit (Ezek 37:9; see Gen 2:7).[50] These allusions to the creation accounts are acknowledged in Pseudo-Ezekiel and continue through the addition of the fulfilment formula (see Gen 1) and the resumption of the verb נפח (4Q385 f2 7). There has been an extended discussion in scholarship about how to account for the inconsistency that the bones are scattered on the face of the valley in Ezek 37:1–10 and God's promise that he will raise the bones from the graves in 37:11–14.[51] In my own analysis, I suggest that a basic vision account about the restoration of Israel (37:1–6*) was supplemented first with the symbolic idea that Israel will be "resurrected" from their graves in exile (37:11–14*), before the promise of bodily resurrection—and its associated imagery—was inserted in 37:7–10.[52]

The rewriting in Pseudo-Ezekiel thus adds a further chain to the scriptural *Tendenz* that focuses on changing ideas about who the bones represent and what their materialization symbolizes. The Qumran

[50] On the links with creation in both Ezek 37:1–14 and Pseudo-Ezekiel, see Klein 2014, 200; Dimant 2000, 532.

[51] See the overview in Klein 2008, 273–76.

[52] For a detailed analysis, see Klein 2008, 270–83; 2014, 197–201. My analysis here also relies on the use of the perfect consecutivum as a narrative tense in 37:7–10 to distinguish a late literary layer in these verses; on the classification of 37:7–10* as latest literary layer in Ezek 37:1–14, see further Bartelmus 1984, 385–89; Ohnesorge 1991, 287–93; Wahl 1999, 223–28; Schöpflin 2009, 82. Most of these scholars distinguish between a metaphorical idea of restoration on earlier stages of the development and a later *Fortschreibung* with the idea of bodily resurrection; see Bartelmus 1984, 385–89; Ohnesorge 1991, 336–38; Pohlmann 2001, 497; Schöpflin 2009, 76–80.

composition draws specifically on the promise of bodily resurrection in Ezek 37:7–10, but limits revivification to the group of the pious and discusses it in its significance for recompense beyond death.[53] The addition of the prophet's question about when these things will happen (4Q385 f2 3, 9) and the final blessing of the resurrected crowd (4Q385 f2 8) further develop the theme. The rewriting does not want to present a new version of the vision of the bones, but it *reuses* the materials in order to discuss a new problem. Finally, my analysis has also considered some smaller additions such as the insertion of the prophet's address and the joints as additional body parts. Here, the different variants in the versions suggest that the text was still in flux, and the results thus advise caution in giving too much exegetical weight to these additions.

Notable as well is the omission of certain elements of the *Vorlage* in the rewriting of Pseudo-Ezekiel. One first notices that the rewriting seems to draw exclusively on the imagery of the bones scattered throughout the valley and does not show any clear links with the materials in Ezek 37:11–14.[54] The most likely explanation for this is that the authors recognized the different ideas of restoration in the scriptural materials and made the choice to focus on the imagery that illustrates bodily resurrection.[55] It is also interesting that the remaining text of the Qumran vision does not contain the characterization of the bones as being "dry" (יבש). This feature is the only link that connects the vision part of the scriptural account in 37:1–10 (37:2: והנה יבשות מאד; 37:4: העצמות היבשות) with the prophecy about the graves in 37:11–14 (37:11: אמרים יבשו עצמותינו). There is, however, good reason to suggest

[53] Thus Klein 2014, 210–17; Schöpflin 2009, 82. Differently, some scholars argue that the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition reworks "a symbolic scene of Israel's national revival into a scene of real resurrection as eschatological recompense for individual piety" (Dimant 2000, 532); similarly Puech 1993, 611–16; Zahn 2014, 347–48; Evans 2015, 75.

[54] See, however, the discussion of possible links between Ezek 37:11–14 and 4Q385 f3 above.

[55] Similarly, García Martínez 2005, 170, who comments on the fact that the author of the account in 4Q385 f2 does not consider Ezek 37:11–14: "For him, the vision is no longer a promise of national restoration and return from exile, but a promise of individual resurrection from the dead."

that the adjective originally belongs to 37:11–14, as the idea of being dry fits better with the situation of hopelessness expressed in the saying in 37:11.[56] With regard to the Qumran account, it could simply be the case that the adjective was not preserved in the remaining text. However, the rewriting of the commission to prophesy clearly draws on the commission in the first half of Ezek 37:4b and not the second half in 37:4b that addresses the bones as dry ones (4Q385 f2 5; 4Q386 f1i 4). The easiest explanation, then, is that the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel made a conscious decision to omit the aspect of dryness, as it does not contribute to the illustration of the fate of the pious.[57]

The difference between omission and abbreviation is fluid, as each abbreviation is technically also a case of omission. Focusing on clear cases that still correspond to the scriptural version but present a shorter text, it is foremost the account of the materialization that has been abbreviated in Pseudo-Ezekiel. What is a rather convoluted and repetitive description of a promise and a two-stage fulfilment in Ezek 37:4–10 has been rewritten as a concise three-stage process in the Qumran work. Furthermore, the actual materialization of the stages that the prophet envisions after each of his prophecies in Ezek 37 has been replaced with the fulfilment formula. The formula enhances the links with the creation accounts and supports the interpretation in terms of bodily resurrection. The continuous abbreviation of the materialization account suggests that the audience was familiar with the scriptural events, so that a full repetition was unnecessary. This might also explain why the author of the Qumran work altered the genre of the vision that now presents as an indirect account with short summaries. Instead of the different uses of the perfect consecutivum, the Qumran account relies

[56] In contrast, there is evidence to suggest that the use of the adjective in 37:2 and 37:4 goes back to later redactional work. See Klein 2008, 279–80.

[57] Among Qumran scholars, only Popović 2009, 234–35, comments on the omission of the adjective "dry" in Pseudo-Ezekiel, which he interprets as an attempt to strengthen the interpretation as bodily resurrection and to avoid a metaphorical (mis)interpretation. It has become established, though, to refer to this part of the Qumran work as the vision of the "dry bones." See, e.g., Dimant 2001, 41; Zahn 2014, 344.

on indirect jussive forms in the instruction parts and the imperfect consecutivum as narrative tense. Overall, the abbreviation of the account makes it seem a lot more coherent, as it presents a shorter and well-ordered sequence.

The final group of literary phenomena concerns alterations. As a working hypothesis, alterations differ from additions insofar as they change or emphasize the scriptural materials without adding new elements. This concerns first the position of the prophet, who has a much more active role in the Qumran work. Ezekiel takes to the floor twice: it is the prophet who starts the dialogue at the beginning and at the end of the account, and who asks the decisive questions (4Q385 f2 2–3, 9). If we also consider the witness of 4Q385 f3, the prophet addresses the crowd following their resurrection. This contrasts first with the introductory dialogue in the scriptural vision, in which the prophet plays a minor part—he replies meekly to Yhwh's rhetorical question in Ezek 37:3. Yet he takes a more active role in the vision sequence in 37:7–10, when Ezekiel functions as a mediator between Yhwh and the spirit.[58] The function of the spirit has also undergone some changes. The scriptural vision starts with a general promise of the spirit of life (37:5–6) that in 37:7–10 emanates from the four winds (37:9) and appears as a hypostasis. In 37:14, however, the prophecy speaks decidedly about the divine spirit (37:14: רוחי), which connects with the initial promise in 37:5–6.[59] The description in Pseudo-Ezekiel comes closest to the conception of the spirit in Ezek 37:7–10, and continues the idea that God acts through intermediaries. The prophet now prophesies to the four winds of the heavens, who have turned into agents of salvation (4Q385 f2 7).

In summary, the reuse of the scriptural bones materials in Pseudo-Ezekiel confirms first that rewriting relies on additional growth. While the direct comparison of the two works has shown some cases of omission, the account in Pseudo-Ezekiel presupposes the scriptural materials and thus represents an external *Fortschreibung*. The two compositions

[58] Ohnesorge 1991, 292; Bartelmus 1984, 381; Klein 2008, 277.

[59] On the different manifestations of the spirit in Ezek 37:1–14, see Klein 2008, 277.

might even have been transmitted side-by-side, but Pseudo-Ezekiel is dependent on the scriptural vision, which confirms the suggestion that it represents a case of reuse rather than revision. Second, the rewriting shows a clear *Tendenz*. The Qumran composition continues the scriptural discussion about resurrection that begins in the redaction history of Ezek 37:1–14, and reconceptualizes it against the discourse of the recompense of the righteous. Third, there is some evidence to suggest that the rewriting connects with concerns in later stages of the text's literary development. The idea of bodily resurrection, the more active role of the prophet, and the conception of the spirit as an independent agent draw especially on the materials in 37:7–10, a part of the scriptural vision that can be considered to be the latest literary layer.[60] It is unlikely that the ancient author of Pseudo-Ezekiel was an excellent redaction-critical scholar who spent their time reconstructing the literary development of their *Vorlage*. Yet it is reasonable to suggest that their concerns were more representative of the theological interests that arose during later stages of the scriptural transmission.

The Merkabah Vision (4Q385 f6)

The fragment 4Q385 f6 has preserved a rewriting of the prophet's visions of Yhwh's glory in the book of Ezekiel that focuses mainly on the introductory vision in Ezek 1 and elements in Ezek 10; 43. The first four lines are fragmentary and comprise the end of a divine speech that focuses on the inner state of the people. It also touches on the idea that there is little time left until the end (4Q385 f6 3: "conceal yourself for a little while").[61] The shift to a third person account about the "vision that Ezekiel saw" (המראה אשר ראה יחזק[אל]) in line 5 introduces the section about the *merkabah* vision. The closest parallel for this formulation is the introduction of the Temple vision in Ezek 43:3 (וכמראה המראה אשר ראיתי), when Ezekiel sees the return of Yhwh's glory to the Temple in the new city.[62] In contrast, the introduction to the first

[60] See above, note 51.

[61] Dimant 2001, 49, sees in this formulation an allusion to Isa 26:20.

[62] Similarly, Dimant 2001, 21, connects the *merkabah* vision in 4Q385 f6 with Ezek 43:3: "However, Ezek 43:3 suggests that the vision of the final eschatological

vision in Ezek 1:1–3 presents a specific historical setting in times of the first *golah*—referring to King Jehoiachin's exile—and locates the experience in exile at the River Chebar. The easiest explanation for the shorter introduction in 4Q385 is the position of the *merkabah* vision in the reconstructed composition, which most likely stood in the middle or at the end of the work.[63] However, none of the texts preserved in the Qumran work seems to discuss the first *golah* setting that is characteristic of the scriptural book. Similarly, the putative opening of the work in 4Q385b 1 starts from the simple phrase "the words of Ezekiel" and does not present a specific setting in the history of Israel. While the Qumran audience will have known that scriptural Ezekiel was affiliated with the first *golah*, I want to suggest that—as in later layers of the scriptural book—it was not relevant for their transmission of Ezekiel traditions.

Furthermore, while the vision in Ezek 1 starts with a dramatic theophany experience (1:4), the account in 4Q385 f6 6 replaces this visual event with a statement of what Ezekiel saw, namely "a radiance of a chariot" (נגה מרכבה). The term מרכבה is only in later texts used for the divine means of transport (e.g., Sir 49:8) and suggests an established tradition that the author of 4Q386 f6 reapplied to the scriptural vision in Ezek 1.[64] A similar development shows the Greek text of Ezek 43:3, which attests καὶ ἡ ὅρασις τοῦ ἅρματος οὗ εἶδον ("the vision of the chariot which I saw"), while the Hebrew has a shorter text that does not mention the chariot (כמראה אשר ראיתי). Most likely, the Hebrew text represents the earlier reading, while the Greek variant reflects the later identification of the prophet's visionary experience with the appearance of the chariot (see Zimmerli 1969, 64, 1071). The use of the noun נגה ("shine") that forms a construct relationship with מרכבה in 4Q385 f6 6 draws on the scriptural use. While in the scriptural vision the shine accompanies

temple revealed to Ezekiel also involved a vision of the Merkabah." She goes so far as to consider a Temple setting for the Qumran passage (51).

[63] Dimant 2001, 18–20, places 4Q385 f6 in the last column of her reconstruction, while Shirav 2022, 5–6, places the fragment in the middle section.

[64] Similarly Zahn 2014, 351: "It is more likely that by the mid to late Second Temple period, the object seen by Ezekiel in his vision was becoming generally known as מרכבה (as attested by Sir 49:8 [B]…)."

the cloud (1:4: ונגה לו), radiates from the fire between the living beings (1:13: ונגה לאש) or from the glory of Yhwh himself (1:27–28; 10:4), in the account of Pseudo-Ezekiel the shine has been transferred onto the chariot that transports the deity.

The further account in 4Q385 f6 continues with the description of the four living beings in f6 6 (וארבע חיות) and their manner of movement in lines 6–7. Thus, the author of the Qumran composition brings together the initial mention of the four living beings in Ezek 1:5 (דמות ארבע חיות) and the description of their movements, which follows in 1:7 and 1:12. The first description in 1:7 focuses on the straight legs of the living beings (ורגליהם רגל ישרה) and the soles of their feet, while 1:12 describes how they move forward without turning (לא יסבו בלכתן). In 4Q385 f6, the preserved noun אחור ("back") at the beginning of line 7 suggests that the preceding *lacuna* in line 6 should be restored with a similar description of the beings not turning;[65] however, the noun represents an addition in the Qumran composition. The further description of the creatures' movement in line 7 specifies that they are moving on two legs (ושתי רגל[יה]). This detail similarly has no counterpart in the scriptural vision, but it might originate from the notion that the creatures have human form (Ezek 1:5), which suggests walking on two feet (see tentatively Zahn 2014, 351). The following line 4Q385 f6 8 is fragmentary at the beginning, but in its second half reports the presence of a spirit (נשמה), before it proceeds to the introduction and description of the four faces of the creatures (line 8–9). The noun נשמה does not occur in the scriptural book, and the vision materials only engage with a "spirit/wind" (רוח: 1:20, 21, see also 10:17) that controls the movement of the wheels. The lemma could possibly refer to the breath of life that makes the creatures living beings, a use that is established in Qumran (see 1QS V:17; 11Q19 LXII:14), but Dimant and Strugnell summarize poignantly: "In the present state of preservation it is difficult to reconstruct the complete context of the original phrase."[66] Differently, the description of the four faces in 4Q385 f6 9 draws clearly on the *Vorlage* in Ezek

[65] Dimant 2001, 43, 46, opts for the restoration ובלכתן לא יסבו ("and while walking they would not turn"). See also Zahn 2014, 350.

[66] Dimant and Strugnell 1990, 228; Dimant 2001, 46.

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1:10 that mentions human, lion, ox, and eagle on specific sides of the appearance (פני אדם ופני אריה אל־הימין לארבעתם ופני־שור מהשמאול לארבעתן ופני־נשר לארבעתן). The (shorter) Qumran version attests a different sequence of faces (lion—eagle—calf—human) and lacks the information about the positioning of the faces (4Q385 f6 9: הפ[נים אחד ארי אח]ד נשר ואחד עגל ואחד של אדם). The restoration further suggests a variant word for the lion,[67] while the preserved text has the noun עגל ("calf") in the place of שור ("ox"). The Greek tradition in Ezek 1:10 follows the sequence preserved in the Masoretic tradition but attests the reading "face of a calf" (πρόσωπον μόσχου), which corresponds to the variant in 4Q385 f6. It is difficult to make a case for a specific exegetical interest in the Qumran rewriting; one should rather assume some flux in the order and species of living beings that allowed for some variation.

The text at the end of the line 4Q385 f6 9 is not preserved (f6 9: וה[יתה), so that the context for the noun אדם at the beginning of line 10 is unclear (f6 10: אדם מחברת מגבי החיות ודבקה ב[כנפיהן). Dimant (2001, 47) reconstructs אדם [ידה] וה[יתה, with reference to the mention of a single human hand in Ezek 10:8 (see further the plural forms of יד in 1:8; 10:21).[68] However, unlike the scriptural account, this restoration assumes that the hand is located on the backs of the creatures, attached to the wings (f6 10), rather than under the wings as consistently stated in Ezek 1:8; 10:8, 21. In any case, 4Q385 f6 10 can be considered a rewriting of Ezek 1:8–9, 11 that recognizes something human attached to the creatures and their wings. Both verbs in line 10 have some connection to scriptural materials: while the participle מחברת links with the use of *qal* forms of the verb חבר in Ezek 1:9, 11, the verb דבק describes in 2 Chr 3:12 how one wing of a cherub touches the wing of another in the Solomonic Temple.[69]

[67] See Dimant 2001, 46: "This sequence and the space in the *lacuna* call for the restoration ארי."

[68] See also Dimant and Strugnell 1990, 335.

[69] The use of the latter verb has led to the reconstruction of the wings at the end of the line. See Dimant and Strugnell 1990, 341.

The next section in 4Q385 f6 11 describes the wheels, focusing on the details that these are joined to each other and that something emanates from the two sides of the wheels (אופן חובר אל ופנים]אופן בלכתן ומשני עברי הא). In contrast, the scriptural *Vorlage* comprises a lengthy description of the wheels in Ezek 1:15–22 that presents as a new section through the resumption of the verb ראה at its beginning (1:15: וארא). Both characteristics that describe the wheels in 4Q385 f6 do not occur in the scriptural vision. Yet the idea that the wheels are attached to each other resumes the verb חבר from the previous line 4Q385 f6 10 and shows some interest in matching the description of the wheels with the other components. The following line, line 12, gives a rather enigmatic description of living creatures that are in the middle of the coals, burning like coals of fire (והיה בתוך גחלים חיות כגחלי אש). The text is clearly a conflation of the passage in Ezek 1:13–14.[70] The author combines the notion that something with the shine of burning coals moves between the living beings (1:13: מתהלכת בין החיות) and identifies the phenomenon with the living beings that dart back and forth (1:14: והחיות רצוא). Similarly, the Temple vision in Ezek 10:1, 6, 7 suggests the existence of coals and fire in the middle of the cherubim. While the Pseudo-Ezekiel account does not explicitly make the identification of the living beings with the cherubim, the idea of coals in the middle of the living beings seems to allude to the motif in Ezek 10 (thus Brady 2000, 127). The first half of 4Q385 f6 13 continues the topic, mentioning the living beings and the wheels, but the text is too fragmentary to derive its meaning.

With the second half of line 14, the composition transitions to the description of the throne plate that in the scriptural vision comprises Ezek 1:22–25. In 4Q385 f6 14, two elements are preserved. First, the text mentions the "terrible ice" (הקרח הנור]א) that in Ezek 1:22^{MT} describes the appearance of the dome (כעין הקרח הנורא).[71] Second, the noun קול suggests a rewriting of Ezek 1:25 that refers to the divine voice from

[70] See Dimant and Strugnell 1990, 343; Brady 2000, 127.

[71] The LXX reads ὡς ὅρασις κρυστάλλου ("as the appearance of crystal") and does not have an equivalent for the participle הנורא, thus missing the aspect of fear or awe. This might suggest an affinity of 4Q385 f6 for the proto-Masoretic tradition.

above the dome (קול מעל לרקיע).[72] All that can reliably be said is that the rewriting of the scriptural passage presents a condensed version that assembles motifs that in the scriptural *Vorlage* stand several verses apart (see Zahn 2014, 353).

In summary, the rewriting in 4Q385 f6 fits in many respects with the different cases that have been identified in the Qumran version of the vision of the bones (4Q385 f2). The text of 4Q385 f6 shows an acquaintance with the three major visions of Yhwh in the scriptural book (Ezek 1; 10; 43) but draws mainly on the sequence and description of the introductory vision in chapter 1. In Pseudo-Ezekiel, the vision materials take the form of an "exegetical abridgement" (Dimant and Strugnell 1990, 346) or a "condensing paraphrase" (Zahn 2014, 353). While it is clear that the text deals with the same events as the scriptural vision(s), the account lacks detail and omits several redundant elements. Thus, the components of the vision broadly follow the sequence of the scriptural vision, but each element occurs only once, before the account proceeds to the next component. Remarkably, the "streamlined" version in 4Q385 f2 is a surprisingly close match with the reconstruction that Walther Zimmerli in 1969 identified as the original core of the scriptural vision.[73] Furthermore, the lengthy description of the wheels in Ezek 1:15–22 that has long been identified as a later addition[74] has been integrated into the sequence of the other components. The question is what to make of these observations. I do not want to suggest that the ancient author looked for a "core" or acknowledged literary seams. However, in the case of 4Q385 f2, their decisions in abridging the sequence and rearranging the components matches with modern redaction-critical models.

Considering that the remaining fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel do not make specific reference to the first *golah*, I consider the shorter

[72] On this connection, see Dimant and Strugnell 1990, 343; Brady 2000, 128; Zahn 2014, 353. The noun קול also occurs in Ezek 1:24 to describe the sounds that the wings of the creatures make, which is "like the thunder of the Almighty" (1:24: כקול־שדי).

[73] Zimmerli 1979, 108 (1969, 33–34).

[74] Zimmerli 1979, 104–5 (1969, 28–29); Keel 1977, 167; Pohlmann 1996, 59–62.

introduction in 4Q385 f6 5 to be a case of omission. It suggests an actualization that allows the appropriation of the *merkabah* vision by the Qumran audience—it makes the visionary experience timeless and placeless. When it comes to additions, the most remarkable supplement is the mention of the chariot (מרכבה), which demonstrates that the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel understood the scriptural vision to be part of a by-then established tradition about the deity's appearance and means of transport. Furthermore, the mention of the breath (נשמה) is clearly an addition. The use might harken back to the idea that the beings were alive and reflect a preference of Qumran-specific terminology. Some minor alterations are noticeable. The idea that the living beings walk on two feet represents an exegetical inference of the scriptural idea that they had the appearance of humans. Furthermore, the variation in the animal faces most likely points to a flux in the textual traditions or to some degree of creative freedom.

The similarities with the exegetical techniques observed in 4Q385 f2 confirm the notion that these two fragments are part of the same composition. First, the rewriting of the *merkabah* vision similarly shows a general tendency to omit redundant details and streamline the description of the elements. Yet it is difficult to detect a comparable tendency for the rewriting of the *merkabah* materials. While the vision does not have an opening function for the Qumran composition—as it does in Ezek 1—it would certainly be helpful to have a clearer idea about its contextual setting. Shirav positions the vision in her reconstruction immediately before the vision of the bones in 4Q385 f2.[75] This setting would emphasize the significance of the resurrection scene and imply the presence of the divine *merkabah* during the action.

The Oracle against Egypt (4Q385b)

The text of the fragment 4Q385b engages with the oracle of judgment against Egypt and other nations in Ezek 30:1–5. In the scriptural book, the oracle is part of a larger series of prophetic words against the

[75] Shirav 2002, 12. In her unpublished PhD (Shirav 2023, 202–3), she suggests that the *merkabah* vision symbolizes a "diasporic" revelation prior to the resurrection scene.

pharaoh and Egypt that comprise Ezek 29:1–30:26. The Qumran version begins with a double introduction. The first heading רי יחזקאל [ואלה דב] (4Q385b 1: "These are the words of Ezekiel") does not have a match in the scriptural oracle and most likely forms the beginning of the whole composition.[76] The second introduction (4Q385b 1–2: ויהי דבר יהוה אל[י]לא[מר בן אדם הנב]א ואמרת) is a close match with the introduction in Ezek 30:1–2a, reusing the word event formula and the instruction to prophesy. The close match allows the reconstruction of the prophetic address in terms of the "son of man" (Dimant 2001, 73). The remainder of line 2 in 4Q385b comprises the central message and announces that a day of destruction is coming for the nations (הנה בא יום אבדן גוים). Dimant (2001, 73) has suggested that the line comprises "a condensed and somewhat altered version" of the corresponding oracle in Ezek 30:3. Here, however, the argument should consider the different textual traditions. The Hebrew text in Ezek 30:3 announces the day of Yhwh in four nominal sentences. These describe the day as approaching (30:3aα: כי־קרוב יום) and specify it further as the impending Day of Yhwh (30:3aβ: וקרוב יום ליהוה), a day of clouds (30:3bα: יום ענן), and a time for the nations, suggesting a time of judgment (30:3bβ: עת גוים יהיה). The Greek version attests to a shorter variant in 30:3, comprising only two statements. The first part announces that the Day of the Lord is near (ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου), while the second statement declares "a day, an end of the nations" (ἡμέρα πέρας ἐθνῶν ἔσται). Established rules of textual criticism suggest that the (shorter) LXX variant represents the older text (*lectio brevior potior*).[77] On this assumption, the variant in the proto-Masoretic text of 30:3a presents as a dittography, while the addition of ענן in 30:3b might be an attempt to

[76] Already considered by Zahn 2014, 355, and demonstrated convincingly by Shirav 2022, 13–17.

[77] Scholarship differs on this question. While Zimmerli 1980, 122–23, argues for the priority of the Masoretic Text variant, Allen 1990, 112–13, speaks of a dittography and prefers the Greek text in 30:3a.

restore a more balanced style, possibly establishing a connection with the subsequent context in 30:18.[78]

Turning to the first statement in 4Q385b 2, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that the author draws on a specific textual representative. It is clear, however, that the first phrase יום בא replaces a statement about the approaching day (כי קרוב יום/ ὅτι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου). The form בא can be read either as a participle ("the day is coming") or as a finite verb *qal* perfect third person ("the day has come"). In either form, the prophecy in Pseudo-Ezekiel reveals an intensification, suggesting that the day has already arrived.[79] It is noteworthy that the formulation הנה באה occurs in Ezek 30:9, which similarly addresses a day of doom for Egypt; here, it adds to "a more clearly eschatological passage" (Lilly 2012, 143). This suggests that the author of 4Q385b drew on a *Vorlage* in the immediate literary context of Ezek 30:3 to actualize the prophecy with a sense of doom that has already begun. The second statement in 4Q385b 2 shows a clear connection with the Greek tradition, which leads to a Hebrew *Vorlage* יום קץ גוים (ἡμέρα πέρας ἐθνῶν ἔσται) (see Dimant 2001, 73). The use of the term אבדן in 4Q385b in the place of קץ is noteworthy; the root אבד appears in the scriptural materials to describe impending doom.[80] As the term אבדן also occurs in 4Q391 f25 5, another manuscript of the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition, the use might reflect a particular preference of the author.

The next section in 4Q385b 3–4 draws on Ezek 30:4 that announces judgment against Egypt and Cush, but the version in 4Q385b uses fewer words and has a slightly different sequence (see Zahn 2014, 356). It speaks of trembling in Put instead of Cush (4Q385b 3: ותהי חלחלה[ ]בפוט; see Ezek 30:4: והיתה חלחלה בכוש), and introduces the notion of a sword in Egypt (ותהי חרב במ[צרים]), while the scriptural prophecy speaks of the slain ones falling in Egypt (30:4). It is safe to assume, though, that the scriptural image suggests a judgment carried

[78] Ezek 30:18 comprises the announcement that clouds will cover Egypt (ענן יכסנה), a threat that is also transmitted in the Greek tradition of 30:18 (καὶ αὐτὴν νεφέλη καλύψει).

[79] Similarly, Zahn 2014, 355, characterizes the rewriting in 4Q385b 2 as "tersely".

[80] Ezek 6:3; 7:26; 12:22; 19:5; 22:27; 25:7, 16, 17; 28:16; 30:13; 32:13; 34:4, 16; 37:11.

out by the sword, which is a frequent instrument of judgment in the book.[81] Finally, the formulation of "throwing down the foundations" in Ezek 30:4 (ונהרסו יסודתיה) is in 4Q385b 4 rendered with the verb form ת]תקלקל ("will be shaken"): "It might represent additional material, or it might constitute an alternative formulation of נהרסו" (Zahn 2014, 356). The divergences in the identification of the nations concerned continue through the remaining lines in 4Q385b. The scriptural text in Ezek 30:5 announces that Cush, Put, Lud, the whole "mixture" (of the nations), Cuv, and the sons of the land of the covenant shall fall by the sword. In contrast, the version in 4Q385b 4–6 announces judgment against Cush, Pul, the mighty ones of Arabia, and the sons of the covenant.[82] The Greek text of Ezek 30:5 adds to the geographical confusion by naming the Persians, Cretans, Lydians, and Libyans; the mixed multitude and the children of God's covenant. It is thus safe to assume that different textual representatives had different lists of nations, perhaps increased by different conventions about peoples, their names, and their locations.[83]

The passage 4Q385b 4–6 is also one of the few cases in which the Qumran composition attests a longer text with a significant plus. While the oracle in Ezek 30:5 makes the general statement that the nations shall fall by the sword (בחרב יפלו), the text in 4Q385b 5 specifies an exact location for their defeat: יפולו בשער[י]מצרים ("they will fall at the gates of Egypt"). The location שער מצרים is without parallel in the scriptural materials and has only one further occurrence in 4Q385a f13 3, where, however, the context is not preserved. Dimant (2001, 74–75) suggests that the formulation refers to a specific site and connects it with the defeat of the Ptolemaic army at Pelusium (at the gates of Egypt) by the Seleucid army of Antiochus IV in 169 BCE. If this assumption is

[81] See Ezek 5:2, 12, 17; 6:3, 8, 11, 12; 7:15; 11:8, 10; 12:14, 16; 14:17, 21; 16:40; 17:21; the so-called "Song of the Sword" in 21; 23:10, 25, 47; 24:21; 25:13; 26:6, 8, 11; 28:7, 23; 29:8; 30:4, 5, 6, 11, 17, 21, 24–25; 31:17, 18; 32:10–12, 20–32; 33:2–4, 6, 26; 35:5, 8; 38:8, 21; 39:23.

[82] This relies on the restoration of ב]ני הברית in 4Q385b 4–5. See Dimant 2001, 72; Zahn 2014, 355.

[83] See the comments of Dimant 2001, 74, on these verses.

correct,[84] the rewriting of the materials of Ezek 30:5–6 in 4Q385b 4–6 evinces an actualization of the scriptural prophecy, which is rewritten as a prophecy *ex eventu*. Further support for this understanding offers the interpretation in 4Q385b 2, which conveys an immediacy of the day of doom (בא יום). Finally, line 6 repeats the mention of the sword of Egypt together with the verb שדד (בחרב מצר[ים]תשדד○). While this verb is not used in Ezek 30:1ff., it occurs in Ezek 32:12 to announce the ruin of the pride of Egypt (ושדדו את־גאון מצרים). This confirms that the horizon of rewriting does not only focus on one specific text, it also makes use of links to the literary context of the *Vorlage*.

In summary, the cases of rewriting in 4Q385b conform in many ways to the patterns discussed in the preceding sections of this study. There is some evidence to suggest that the addition of the location "at the gates of Egypt" (4Q385b 5) shows an exegetical interest in actualizing the prophecy. Thus, the author of the Qumran composition updates the prophecy of a near day of doom for the nations to refer to a specific historical event that must have been known to the audience.[85] This thesis also fits with the intensification of the announcement in 4Q385b 2, suggesting that the day of doom has already dawned. There is some variation in the names of the nations in the rewritten prophecy. In this case, it is difficult to argue for a specific exegetical interest; rather, the changes might point to different conventions about peoples and their geographical locations. Scholarship agrees that the rewriting in 4Q385b presents the scriptural materials "in a summary fashion" (Brady 2000, 86).[86] Yet the abbreviation is less sweeping than in the cases of the bones vision or the *merkabah* vision. While there is a general lack of detail, all the verses in Ezek 30:1–5 have a correspondence in 4Q385b, and the two compositions are comparable in length. Matching the preserved words in 4Q385b with the scriptural materials in Ezek 30:1–5, the tally

[84] Zahn 2014, 356, is certainly right in pointing out that "this is a great deal of conjecture to base on one small phrase," but she refers to 4Q386 1ii, which provides some support by showing that the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel may be placing *ex eventu* prophecies in the mouth of Ezekiel.

[85] See the deliberations of Zahn 2014, 356–57.

[86] See also Zahn 2014, 355.

shows 38 to 52; considering the safe reconstructions in 4Q385b and the shorter text of the LXX, the numbers come even closer with 42 to 47. While these counting exercises are of limited value and there is a small range of preserved text, the rewriting is still unique in following the scriptural materials verse by verse. It might show the specific significance of the passage for the Qumran authors that needed a new interpretation in view of historical change. Considering that there is good reason to suggest that 4Q385b has preserved the beginning of the composition, the Qumran work opens with a day of doom for the gentiles that has already arrived.

The Lamentation over Tyre (4Q391 f25)

My final example is the papyrus fragment 4Q391, which has been classified as part of the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition. This manuscript comprises 78 fragments, most of which are only poorly preserved. However, 4Q391 f25 shows some possible links with the oracles against Tyre in Ezek 27–28.[87] In the following, I will give a short overview about the materials in order to discuss how the exegetical observations contribute to the overall discussion about rewriting in the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition.

4Q391 f25 shows five lines with discernable text. The preserved words are not enough to reconstruct the content of the passage, but they allow for the matching of the remaining text with parallels in the scriptural Tyre materials. The first line attests five (partly) preserved words, which can be translated as "in your midst shall fall all the" (f25 1:]○ה כל יפלו בקרבך ה[). These words can be linked with Ezek 27:27, where the prophet announces that the possessions and the whole company of Tyre will fall into the middle of the sea (בכל־קהלך אשר בתוכך יפלו בלב ימים). The connection relies on the resumption of the noun כל and the third person plural form of נפל, while the noun תוך is replaced with the noun קרב. The line 4Q391 f25 2 reads

[87] On the connection with the scriptural Tyre materials, see Wright 2000, 292–93; Zahn 2014, 357–59. On the other hand, Brady 2000, 517–18, focuses on links to a wider range of materials in the scriptural books without arguing that 4Q391 f25 represents a rewriting of the Tyre oracle in the book of Ezekiel.

the four words על הארץ ויעלו אפר ("on the earth and they will bring up dust"), which matches the account in Ezek 27:29–30. Here, the mariners stand on the shore (27:29: אל־הארץ יעמדו), after they have left their ships. They throw dust on their heads (27:30: ויעלו עפר) and roll in ashes (27:30: באפר יתפלשו). Apparently, the Qumran composition presents a condensed account of these acts of desperation. The next line 4Q391 f25 3 uses vocabulary of lament to describe the fate that shall befall an addressee (ועליך קינות ובכי). The line resonates with the content in Ezek 27:31 (ובכו אליך) and 27:32 (ונשאו אליך בניהם קינה), yet the rewriting in 4Q391 seems to have turned the verb בכה into a noun to match the preceding noun קינה. The single preserved word לאבדן in 4Q391 f25 4 similarly has no match in the Tyre oracles, but it occurs also in 4Q385b 2, where it denotes the coming doom. This might demonstrate an overarching exegetical interest that connects the rewriting of different materials in Pseudo-Ezekiel. Finally, the last preserved line in 4Q391 f25 comprises a commission to speak to the king (אמור למל[ך]). Scholars have connected this line with the address of the Prince of Tyre in Ezek 28:2 (אמר לנגיד צר).[88] While this assumption allows the conclusion that 4Q391 f25 offers a rewriting of the specific passage Ezek 27:27–28:2, it disregards the fact that there is an identical match with the Qumran address in the following context in Ezek 28:12, when the prophet is commissioned to raise a lament over the King of Tyre (שא קינה על־מלך צור). The identification as lament (קינה) strengthens the match of Ezek 28:12 with the address in 4Q391 f25 5—both texts assume the context of a lamentation. There is good evidence to suggest that Ezek 28:1–10 and 28:11–19 represent different literary layers in the oracles against Tyre.[89] However, as the preserved Qumran text breaks off at this point, it cannot be deduced if it continued with the rewriting of either of these passages in particular. In any case, the author in 4Q391 opts for the address of the king and avoids the designation of

[88] Thus Wright 2000, 293; Zahn 2014, 357–58.

[89] Hölscher 1924, 140–43, and Pohlmann 2001, 389–95, suggest that 28:11 is the beginning of the oldest oracle in Ezek 28, while 28:1–10 represents a later insertion; Saur 2008, 98–106, however assumes a more complex history of literary growth.

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prince. This shows that the rewriting of Ezek 27:27ff. took place against the background of its scriptural context and that the author felt free to vary the addressee, as the context offered a different option.

Finally, I would like to note a problem in the textual sequence that appears in both the *Vorlage* and the rewriting. Both texts attest to the enigma that all (warriors) will fall (Ezek 27:27; 4Q391 f25 1), only for the mariners to stand (quite alive) on dry land in the subsequent context (Ezek 27:29; 4Q391 f25 2). In the scriptural oracle, a literary-critical differentiation of Ezek 27:27 and 27:29 offers a possible solution,[90] but this explanation does not work for the version in Pseudo-Ezekiel. The context of this statement in the Qumran work is unfortunately too fragmentary to give any indication as to whether the author addressed this issue in any way.

Fortschreibung Revisited

This argument started from the question of how the reuse of scriptural materials in the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition can inform our understanding of processes of literary development within the scriptural book. The investigation of four major passages in Pseudo-Ezekiel has shown five specific features of rewriting. First, the reuse of scriptural materials in the Qumran work is characterized by a clear interpretive interest—an exegetical agenda that aims at actualizing the scriptural ideas, phrases, and themes to address issues of relevance to the historical audience.[91] While it is important to acknowledge that all forms of rewriting are broadly interpretive, there is a difference between the regrouping of known materials in new collections and the reconfiguration of scriptural traditions with a clear interpretive agenda or tendency. A tendency can be detected in nearly all cases of rewriting in the Pseudo-Ezekiel materials with the exception of the reuse of the

[90] Both Pohlmann 2001, 383, and Saur 2008, 66–71 offer a redaction-historical model of Ezek 27, in which verses 27 and 29 are allocated to different literary layers.

[91] See also the conclusions in Brady 2005, 104–8; Zahn 2014, 361–64.

lamentation Ezek 30:1–5 in 4Q391 f25, which is too fragmentary to allow for reliable conclusions.

To start with the interpretation of the bones vision in 4Q385 f2 and f3, this rewriting uses a new hermeneutical framework and actualizes the scriptural resurrection of the dead to answer the questions of how and when the pious will receive recompense. In the rewriting of the *merkabah* vision in 4Q385 f6, the omission of the scriptural introduction reflects the intention to actualize the message for the Qumran audience, who did not identify with the concerns of Ezekiel's first *golah*. Furthermore, the function of the vision has changed: while in the scriptural book, the appearance of God opens the composition and the deity reappears at important points in the plot, in Pseudo-Ezekiel the *merkabah* stands in the main body and most likely precedes the resurrection of the bones. Instead, the Qumran work starts from the prophecy in 4Q385b that comprises a word of doom over the gentiles. Its reuse of Ezek 30:1–5 reveals an interest in identifying the day of doom with the defeat of the Ptolemaic army, which turns the oracle into a prophecy *ex eventu*. The rewriting offers a hermeneutical lens for the following events that now take place against the background of Yhwh's judgment, which has already begun. Considering the Qumran composition as a whole, the results point to an eschatological framework for the reconfiguration of the scriptural materials. The authors strengthen the apocalyptic features already present in the book of Ezekiel and add further elements such as the interest in the timing of the final events, the presence of mediating agents, and increased dialogue between God and the prophet, who becomes the recipient of special knowledge. In the process of rewriting, new materials blend with the rewritten scriptural texts and thus contribute to the growth of the Ezekiel tradition. Coming back to the question of what can be gained for the understanding of processes of revision within the scriptures (internal *Fortschreibung*), the results of my analysis demonstrate, first, the significance of *Tendenzkritik* or tendency criticism, and support the idea that redaction history represents a form of reception history. Further research should work toward an established definition of tendency criticism and integrate this approach fully into the method canon of biblical studies.

Second, all of the rewritings in Pseudo-Ezekiel offer a shorter and simplified version of the scriptural passages that they reuse.[92] Consistently, the authors have omitted repetitions and redundancies in the scriptural materials to present a streamlined sequence. This is true to a lesser extent for the rewriting of the oracle against Egypt in 4Q385b, which offers a verse-by-verse interpretation of the scriptural *Vorlage*. However, this might be explained by its specific position at the beginning of the composition. The general tendency of abbreviation is relevant in two respects. Focusing on the wider question of transmission of the Ezekiel tradition, the rewriting in the Qumran work represents first a new chain in the history of transmission. This substantiates the idea that interpretation takes place through processes of productive supplementation. Yet considering the methodological distinction between revision and reuse, the picture is more complex. While the rewritten work comprises a new addition to the transmission, it forms an independent composition, and its relationship with the scriptural *Vorlage* is characterized by omissions and changes. The fact that this phenomenon is wide-ranging and occurs quite consistently throughout the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition suggests that the technique was established and did not just arise when the rewriting processes led to the production of new works.[93] Consequently, while we should have confidence in reconstructing processes of revision through models of additional growth, these models should take into account occasional omissions and changes—processes that will be out of reach for the redaction-historical reconstruction (see Berner 2021, 146). Furthermore, the phenomenon of shortening and simplifying in the rewriting of Pseudo-Ezekiel touches upon the question of coherence. It is certainly right to assume that the ancient authors did not share modern understandings of coherence. However, the comparison of cases of rewriting in Pseudo-Ezekiel with the scriptural materials shows that abbreviation occurs especially with regard to passages

[92] On this characteristic, see Dimant and Strugnell 1990, 346; Brady 2005, 97; Zahn 2014, 361–62.

[93] Similarly, cases where we have access to several textual versions of the same work demonstrate that occasionally redactors omitted parts or streamlined accounts. For a thorough study, see Pakkala 2013.

that are the product of complex literary growth in the scriptural book, such as the account about the materialization of the bones (Ezek 37) and the description of God's appearance (Ezek 1). Further case studies are necessary, but abbreviations in the rewriting of complex scriptural passages might serve as external evidence with which to identify redactional work in the scriptural books. This concerns cases in which successive additions and later explanations have resulted in overly detailed or convoluted accounts.

Through the lens of the theology of history, however—and this is my third point—the selection and arrangement of materials in rewritten texts point to topics and ideas that were of relevance to later authors. It is more likely that these authors and their communities were interested in issues discussed closer to their own times, meaning in later stages of the development of the scriptural texts. In this case, the interpretation of Ezek 37:1–14 in 4Q385 f2 offers a good example. The rewriting focuses on the bodily resurrection of the bones described in Ezek 37:7–10, which I consider to represent the latest literary layer. A continuing discussion emerges that leads from the promise of metaphorical restoration and bodily resurrection in Ezek 37 to a specification, promising resurrection as a reward for individual piety in 4Q385 f2. Thus, the selection and arrangement of materials in rewritten scriptures can also shed light on the reconstruction of the history of theology.

Fourth, while I have identified specific "base texts" for each of the different parts of rewriting in Pseudo-Ezekiel, the authors drew also on texts in the context of their specific *Vorlage* (e.g., 4Q385b f2; 4Q391 f25 5), while some of the references point to texts outside of the scriptural Ezekiel tradition. This indicates that the source texts are discussed in light of a wider scriptural discourse (see also Zahn 2014, 359). While we do not know exactly what collection of scriptures the ancient authors had access to, it is safe to suggest that these exceeded the later canonical books and included several other writings that were considered important in the authors' respective communities. This insight—while hardly surprising for any scholar of Second Temple literature—strengthens the idea that redaction history should not only focus on the close literary context, but also work on the assumption that a wider body of scriptural materials was in the focus of the ancient redactors. In consequence, the

phenomenon of innerbiblical exegesis or biblical interpretation might be more dominant than some redaction-historical models acknowledged in the past. In keeping with recent developments in scholarship, however, I propose using the term "scriptural interpretation" in the future.

Finally, some vocabulary used in Pseudo-Ezekiel differs from the (Hebrew) scriptural book, and the composition shows a number of smaller additions and changes. Clear examples are the blessing of the revivified crowd in 4Q385 f2 8, the different ideas of creatures in 4Q385 f6 9, and the use of אבדן instead of קץ in 4Q385b. While most of these cases qualify as interpretive, the decisive question is whether they go back to the authors of the Qumran composition, or whether the authors relied on a different version of the scriptural materials, so that the change originated in a prior stage of transmission. In a few cases, the existing versions of the book of Ezekiel offer variants that are also attested in the Pseudo-Ezekiel composition, but in even more cases, we do not have documented evidence. Concurring with Molly Zahn, there is no clear preference for either the proto-Masoretic text or the Greek version(s) (Zahn 2014, 362–63); rather, the Qumran composition is a witness to the pluriformity of textual traditions in the Second Temple period. This assumption is of some relevance for the hermeneutics of the historical-critical approach. The results advise caution in placing too much weight on small deviations in content or differences in vocabulary that lead to detailed linear reconstructions of editorial changes. Rather, literary criticism and redaction history should continue to embrace the inclusion of textual history and acknowledge that changes might be due to diverse textual representatives, some of which have not been preserved.

To sum up, this study of the use of scripture in Pseudo-Ezekiel concludes with a strong recommendation in favor of using the historical-critical approach. Even though there is the necessity to reflect constantly on our methodological toolbox and embrace new findings in research, this approach remains the most appropriate method to date. It does not rely on models of modern literary theories but acknowledges hermeneutics and principles as far as we can gather these from the work of ancient authors and scribes. The historical-critical perspective

is thus the only available method that leads to informed claims about the circumstances of ancient scriptural texts in their historical contexts. It is the only way to reach back to the theology, literary history, and religion of ancient Israel and its neighbors. Responsible scholarship means, however, that we should reflect critically on the limitations of this approach and be prepared to adapt and revise our models as needed. After all, this is discourse in the humanities at its best.

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ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

THE MATERIALITY OF ANCIENT HEBREW PSALM COLLECTIONS

Drew Longacre

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Keywords: Psalms, Dead Sea Scrolls, Material Philology, Scribal Practices, Paleography

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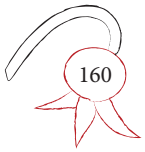
Abstract

The Dead Sea Psalm scrolls have played a crucial role in ongoing scholarly debates about textual pluriformity, the nature of Hebrew psalmody, and ancient Hebrew book culture. In this article, I argue that the materiality of ancient Hebrew Psalm collections provides important clues for rightly interpreting textual diversity and resolving critical questions in the field. First, I propose two examples of how material limitations placed constraints on the compilation of Psalm collections. Second, I provide examples for how manuscript form and layout can yield valuable information for interpreting the intended functions of the Psalm scrolls and for reconstructing their production processes. And third, I argue that paleographic evidence offers further tools for classifying different types of manuscripts and how they functioned in textual history. The combination of this evidence recommends an explanation of the diverse Dead Sea Psalm scrolls that is thoroughly grounded in the material realia and the conventions evident in ancient Hebrew material book culture.



Les rouleaux des Psaumes découverts à Qumran ont joué un rôle crucial dans les discussions actuelles à propos de la pluriformité textuelle, de la nature de la psalmodie hébraïque et de la culture hébraïque du livre dans l'Antiquité. Cette contribution affirme que la matérialité des recueils de Psaumes en hébreu datant de l'Antiquité fournit des indications importantes pour interpréter correctement la diversité textuelle et résout des questions importantes dans ce domaine. Tout d'abord, je propose deux exemples qui montre les limitations matérielles imposées à la compilation des collections de Psaumes. Ensuite, je donne des exemples quant à la façon dont la forme et la disposition des manuscrits fournissent des informations précieuses pour interpréter les fonctions attribuées aux rouleaux des Psaumes et pour reconstruire leurs processus de production. Enfin, je montre que les indices paléographiques offrent des outils supplémentaires pour classer les différents types de manuscrits et comment ces derniers ont fonctionné dans l'histoire textuelle. La mise en commun de ces éléments favorise une explication des divers rouleaux des Psaumes à Qumran fondée sur les realia matérielles et sur les conventions qui apparaissent dans la culture hébraïque du livre dans l'Antiquité.

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THE MATERIALITY OF ANCIENT HEBREW PSALM COLLECTIONS[1]

Drew Longacre

Introduction

The significance of the diverse Dead Sea Psalm scrolls for writing the early history of the Hebrew Psalter has been fraught, to say the least. Countless scholars have weighed in with opinions ranging from complete fixity and canonization in the Persian period to complete indeterminacy into the common era. These vastly different perspectives on such a central question to the field of biblical studies as the formation and reception of the Psalter highlights both the crucial importance and frustrating ambiguity of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls. It is my contention that careful attention to the materiality of ancient Hebrew Psalm collections—particularly, but not exclusively, those closely related to the

[1] The research for this article was carried out under the ERC Starting Grant of the European Research Council (EU Horizon 2020): The Hands that Wrote the Bible: Digital Palaeography and Scribal Culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls (HandsandBible #640497).

traditional Hebrew Psalter[2]—may provide crucial additional evidence to complement literary arguments and help resolve this longstanding impasse.

Recent discussions on the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls have emphasized the need to account for the function of each individual manuscript in order to explain the textual diversity evident in the corpus.[3] A number of scholars have begun to investigate the relationship between material form and function, yielding mixed results.[4] In this short survey article, I will highlight some of the most significant developments in the material study of the Psalm scrolls that I argue have a bearing on literary-critical questions about the formation and nature of Hebrew Psalm collections.[5] These include how material factors affect the compilation of Psalm collections, as well as how manuscript format and paleography contribute to determining the function and proper interpretation of individual witnesses.

Material Factors in Compiling Psalm Collections

The first set of material factors to consider relate to the editorial process of compiling Psalm collections. The contents of written Psalm collections are integrally connected to their physical forms, the textual artifacts that embody the texts. Physical forms entail both technological possibilities and limitations that constrain (or at least influence) producers' choices when compiling Psalm collections. Careful analysis and familiarity with ancient Jewish material book culture, therefore, ensure realistic controls on literary-critical speculation and at the same time

[2] For further reflections on the materiality of other prayer manuscripts that may also be relevant, see especially Falk 2014.

[3] Fabry 1998, 159–60; Jain 2014; Pajunen 2014, 163; Mroczek 2016, 32; Willgren 2016.

[4] Jain 2014; Krauß 2018; Pajunen 2020; Longacre 2022a; 2022c.

[5] For a useful, expanded definition of "literary criticism" that encompasses both formative literary processes (*Literarkritik*) and the evaluation of resulting works as literature, see Hendel 2019.

invite new insights into formative processes. In recent articles, I have worked out two case studies where material constraints shed significant new light on the literary history of Psalm collections.

The Proto-Qumran (11Q5) Psalter

In a recent article, I argued that material constraints and other pragmatic concerns had a major impact on the formation of the 11Q5 (11QPs[a]) Psalter (Longacre 2022a). After demonstrating that the 11Q5 Psalter (the underlying collection, not the manuscript 11Q5) was dependent upon a base text similar to the proto-MT Psalter,[6] I examined the formation of the 11Q5 Psalter as an empirical example of documented editorial work, namely a revised and expanded version of the written Psalter tradition. The processes required to create the 11Q5 Psalter from the proto-MT Psalter appear to have been conditioned both by the material constraints of the technology of scroll production and a limited set of conventional editorial techniques. Among the default modes of production, I identified a concern for efficiency, the consistent preservation of source material, linear progression through both the primary exemplar and the revised draft, the use of a limited number of exemplars, and an openness to rearranging an existing anthology. The four main editorial techniques include the expansion of Psalms, the insertion of new texts, the movement of Psalms, and the use of secondary appendices. The creation process of the 11Q5 Psalter, therefore, demonstrates how its compiler interacted with written sources and balanced both material and editorial concerns in determining the final product.

This profile of the 11Q5 Psalter has multiple ramifications for literary criticism. First, it provides documented examples of editorial techniques like the expansion, supplementation, and rearrangement of Psalms that have long been suspected for the undocumented prehistory of the proto-MT Psalter. Second, it suggests that material factors likely

[6] "All of the major editorial features of the proto-MT psalter seem to be presupposed in the 11Q5 psalter, including: 1) all 150 MT psalms in their MT forms (including superscriptions, with very few exceptions), 2) in roughly the same general order, 3) with many of the same groups of psalms, 4) ending with Pss 149→150, and 5) with the book-dividing doxologies (cf. Ps 89:53 in 4Q87)" (Longacre 2022a, 88).

also constrained the earlier formation and structure of the Psalter, as in the question of book size mentioned below. And third, it demonstrates the dynamicity of the written Psalter tradition, which continued to be reformulated even after the completion of its proto-MT version. As I have assessed the 11Q5 Psalter, it cannot be adequately explained as a generically secondary liturgical collection (e.g., an incipient *siddur*), but appears rather to have been a revised and expanded version of the full Psalter that was predominant in circles associated with Qumran. Let us therefore call this henceforth the "proto-Qumran Psalter." While the proto-Qumran Psalter clearly illustrates textual pluriformity in the tradition, its existence actually serves to reinforce the concrete material and textual reality of the written Psalter tradition against those who suppose a largely indeterminate body of psalmody in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Thus, the documented example of the proto-Qumran Psalter provides key fodder for many literary-critical questions about the early history of the Hebrew Psalter.

Book Size and the Compilation of the Psalter

One of the critical questions in the formation of the Psalter is the nature of its five-book division and when and how this structure came into being. The Hebrew Psalter has often been considered small enough that there was no material need to subdivide it into five books (i.e., scrolls).[7] Indeed, in the formats of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls of the Hellenistic period, the various "books" of the Psalter would have filled only very short scrolls around 1–2 meters in length, and the entire proto-MT Psalter would only have filled around 6–7 meters of scroll; this hardly indicates a material necessity for division. Neither is there any compelling evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls that the "books" of the Psalter were inscribed on separate scrolls during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[8] As such, most scholars have supposed that the

[7] For example, Haran 1989, 494–97; 1990, 165–69.

[8] Jain (2014, 127–130, 152–58) suggests reconstructing 4Q94 as containing book 4 of the Psalter and 8Q2 as containing book 1, but I do not find either of these reconstructions sufficiently compelling. On the other hand, many of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls transgress the book divisions.

five-book division is a late, secondary, immaterial subdivision of the full Psalter that was made in order to create a structural parallel with the Pentateuch.

But in light of recent developments in our understanding of material book culture, possible material factors need to be reconsidered. In an article on cross-cultural influences on the Hebrew/Aramaic writing tradition, I made the observation that Persian-period Hebrew and Aramaic scripts were made with rush brushes (rather than fine-tipped reed pens) and were thus generally much larger than the typical book scripts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Longacre 2021a, 12–20, 22–24). In a forthcoming article entitled "Size Does Matter," I make the argument that this observation has crucial relevance for the study of book sizes in the formation history of the Bible, using as examples the books of the Pentateuch and the books of the Psalter. If we consider the Psalter's book divisions in light of conventional formats evident in the formative Persian period (e.g., the Elephantine Aḥiqar manuscript), the larger scripts would have necessitated much larger surface areas than the Hellenistic-period Dead Sea Psalm scrolls mentioned above. In this situation, the books of the Psalter would each have required between 3 and 7 meters of scroll material, and the entire proto-MT Psalter would have been considerably longer than expected for a single scroll. Thus, the MT "book" sizes correspond well with expected scroll sizes for comparable material from the Persian period, which vary from about 3.5 to 7 meters in length.[9]

Thus, if the Persian period was indeed a crucial formative time in the early history of the Psalter,[10] then material factors may have played a

[9] P. Amherst 63 is about 3.5 meters long, but the text continues on to cover about 60 percent of the back. The Aramaic copy of the Bisitun Inscription from Elephantine was also about 3.5 meters in length, plus around 1 meter of the text continued on the back. The Elephantine Aḥiqar may have been about 7 meters long.

[10] The critical importance of the Persian period seems inescapable, even if allowing for later editorial work. Some—particularly continental—scholars argue for late Hellenistic dates for some Psalms, and many scholars place the final form of the proto-MT Psalter in the Hellenistic period or later. But most of these scholars still recognize the importance of the Persian period.

significant role in the compilation of the Psalter. Based on this circumstantial evidence from material book culture and the observation that the book divisions align with editorial seams and prior subcollections, I argue that the five-book division of the Psalter was not a late and artificial division in imitation of the five-part Pentateuch, but rather an early remnant of the composite formation of the Psalter from smaller subcollections. The book divisions may have started out as material divisions in the form of separate volumes (i.e., scrolls), and only later in the Hellenistic period did it become feasible to include the entire Psalter on a single scroll. The book divisions would thus provide important evidence for the material compilation of the Psalter from smaller Psalm collections.

Manuscript Format, Layout, and Functional Distinctions

While many scholars now agree on the need to assess the function of each Psalm scroll in its own right, only a few studies have actually attempted to do so, and most of these are concerned primarily with the textual contents of the scrolls. Those who have dedicated focused attention to material form have yet to achieve consensus on how to explain the relationship between form and function.

Manuscript Format

With regard to manuscript format, Eva Jain (2014) attempted reconstructions of all of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls but was unable to discern general patterns in the relationship between form and function. Anna Krauß (2018) likewise found no correlation between format/layout and textual contents. Mika Pajunen (2020) considered spacing and legibility, noting that some manuscripts would have been more amenable to public reading.

In a recent article, I have argued for distinguishing between large copies of the Psalter and smaller, *ad hoc* Psalm collections based on generalizable patterns in form and function (Longacre 2022c). Script

formality, manuscript format, and textual contents seem to correlate in a meaningful way that suggests that these different types of manuscripts were in some sense conventional and recognized by their producers and readers. Large copies of conventional contents (i.e., a version of the Psalter or large portions thereof) were typically written with fine, professional calligraphy. On the other hand, smaller scrolls were often written less formally and frequently contained unique, customized selections and configurations of Psalms drawn from the Psalter.

This variegated interpretation helps explain both the diversity of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls and the considerable manuscript and textual evidence for the early formation and transmission of the Psalter. The Dead Sea Psalm scrolls do indeed evince a bewildering variety of textual forms, but diversity of material form and function elegantly explain much of the textual diversity. This is fairly obvious for scrolls that seem to have contained only a single Psalm (e.g., 4Q89, 4Q90, 4Q93, 4Q98g, and 5Q5).[11] But most—if not all—of the Psalm collections varying from the proto-MT and proto-Qumran Psalters also appear to have been small, relatively informal, *ad hoc* productions that were never intended to serve as versions of the full Psalter for further transmission (e.g., 4Q84, 4Q86, 4Q88, and 4Q92). If this is the case, these small scrolls with diverse contents do not undermine the existence of an established Psalter tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, contrary to what is now commonly supposed. They rather attest to dynamic reuse of the Psalms based on—or at the very least in parallel to—the full Psalter. Thus, material form is crucial for rightly sorting and interpreting the manuscript evidence for the early transmission of the Psalms and has dramatic literary-critical repercussions.

Stichometry

One particularly noteworthy feature of layout is the stichometry visually indicated in several of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls. Stichometric layouts in the Hebrew manuscripts have been discussed by several scholars without arriving at any consensus about the development of the

[11] See, e.g., Krauß 2018, 36–38.

tradition or its significance for literary-critical questions.[12] Some scholars have also extended this study to early Greek Psalm manuscripts, some of which share similar layouts to Hebrew scrolls and could have relevance for the history of the Hebrew text.[13]

The situation can be briefly summarized as follows. Most of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls are not written stichometrically, except for Ps 119, which—as seems almost required by its size and structure—is exceptionally written stichometrically in all six surviving examples, even those that elsewhere use prose formats (1Q10, 4Q89, 4Q90, 5Q5, 11Q5, and 11Q6). Four scrolls have very narrow columns with one hemistich per line (4Q84[except Ps 118:1–24], 4Q86[Ps 104:14–15, 22–25, 33–35], 4Q93, and 4Q98h[14]). Five scrolls have stichometric arrangements that can generally (with exceptions) be described as two hemistichs per line separated by a blank interval (4Q85, 8Q2, 5/6Ḥev1b, and Mas1e; cf. 4Q84[Ps 118:1–24]), which apparently served as the model for later Masoretic codices (Gentry and Meade 2020). There are also minor differences between scrolls within these general categories (Miller 2017b), and Mas1f uniquely has a running text with space between each hemistich without respect to its position in the narrow columns.

Krauß has suggested a chronological development from early non-stichometric arrangements to the later tradition of stichometry, with the change influenced by the intermediary "prototypical" special layout of Ps 119.[15] I have suggested, rather, that the introduction of stichometric layouts may have been under the influence of contemporary Greco-Roman aesthetics for poetic layouts (Longacre 2021a, 42). With regard to the development of the tradition, all of the examples of the developed stichometric layout (two hemistichs per line with spaces between hemistichs) are from the first century BCE or later.[16]

[12] Tov 1996, 2004, 2012; Miller 2015, 2017a, 2017b; Davis 2017; Krauß 2018; Gentry and Meade 2020; Krauß and Schücking-Jungblut 2020.

[13] Gentry and Meade 2020; Wasserman and Nilsson 2022.

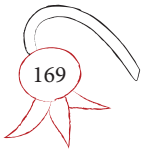
[14] For 4Q98h, see Tigchelaar 2020a.

[15] Krauß 2018, 113–15; Krauß and Schücking-Jungblut 2020, 21–25.

[16] Gentry and Meade (2020) suggest tracing the tradition even further back in time to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Old Greek translation, which may have shared many stichometric features in common with the Greek tradition.

Furthermore, all copies from outside of Qumran and the medieval Masoretic tradition have or presuppose this arrangement, whereas no copies of what I have above termed the "proto-Qumran Psalter" do.[17] This may suggest a relationship between form and textual tradition and that stichometric arrangement was more common around the turn of the era than the Qumran evidence illustrates.

In one further way, I argue that the stichometric layouts may provide indirect clues for the production processes of Psalm collections. Of the four unique Psalm collections that differ from both the proto-MT and the proto-Qumran Psalters (i.e., 4Q84, 4Q86, 4Q88, and 4Q92), two of them have awkward layout anomalies that may suggest they were copied from large-format scrolls. Most of 4Q84 is written in narrow columns, but in column XXXIV and the first part of column XXXV it follows the stichometric format characteristic of many of the largest scrolls. This suggests to me that the scribe was consciously departing from the format of his exemplar in favor of the small-format arrangement chosen for his new manuscript but temporarily messed up the system due to interference from the exemplar, which presented the text in the typical large format of two hemistichs per line. The switch from prose to narrow stichometric arrangement in 4Q86 should probably be similarly explained. These inconsistencies not only highlight the relative informality of these manuscripts, but also hint that they were produced based on large, written exemplars of the Psalter. The odd hybrid form of Mas1f likely indicates that it too was taken from a large manuscript with stichometric layout, which was not fully adopted in the narrow columns of the new copy.[18] All of this suggests to me that the Psalm scrolls reveal a highly text-based context for the production of Psalm excerpts and small Psalm collections from large written repositories of Psalms, as opposed to drawing on Psalms from a largely ethereal body of Hebrew psalmody (*contra* Mroczek 2016).



[17] In my assessment, the combined witnesses to the "proto-Qumran" Psalter include 4Q83, 4Q87, 4Q98, 11Q5, and 11Q6 (Longacre 2020).

[18] Tigchelaar (2021) has recently argued (probably correctly) that Mas1f was a small manuscript containing only Ps 150. The narrow columns and unusual layout support this suggestion.

Paleographic Evidence

If, as I have suggested, material form and function are closely related and jointly illuminating for textual interpretation, the handwriting on a manuscript can be particularly informative. The script can reveal important information about who wrote a manuscript and when and how it was written, which in turn helps situate the manuscript and its text responsibly within the broader tradition.

Dating

Gerald Wilson (1985, 116–22) famously argued that the dates of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls may indicate a certain diachronic trajectory of increasing stability and conformity to the proto-MT. Peter Flint (1997, 135–49), on the other hand, saw little relationship between the dates of the documents and their contents, instead arguing for a diachronic development whereby the earlier parts of the Psalter stabilized earlier. While I question the use of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls to support both of these diachronic arguments, the material evidence for the dates of the scrolls has a direct bearing on Wilson's hypothesis.

Scholarly attempts to date the Dead Sea Scrolls paleographically have a long history (Tigchelaar 2020b). The ERC project "The Hands that Wrote the Bible: Digital Palaeography and Scribal Culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls" at the Qumran Institute of the University of Groningen has used new radiocarbon dates and digital paleographic tools to assess the influential paleographic typology of Frank Moore Cross (1961). Preliminary date predictions using this tool sometimes align with Cross's typology, but they also differ at points.[19] In a recent presentation, I reevaluated the dates of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls in light of this digital approach (Longacre 2021b). One interesting observation is that 4Q83—the oldest Psalm scroll—may actually be somewhat older than commonly supposed, perhaps from the late third or early second century BCE. Otherwise, it seems to me that most of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls are roughly contemporary (within tolerable margins of error), and so diachrony does not explain the diversity of the Psalm scrolls well

[19] For example, Dhali et al. 2020; Popović 2021.

at all (Longacre 2022c, 83–84). This state of affairs forces scholars to look for synchronic explanations for the diversity of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls, and it reinforces my argument for functional differentiation.

Script Formality and Professionalism

The relative formality of manuscript production is evident especially in the script inscribed on the manuscript. This important indication of manuscript context and function has been underutilized in previous scholarship and provides substantial additional support to my argument above based on format for different modes of manuscript production that entail different functions and significances for textual history.

I have devoted considerable attention to the stylistic classification of different types and levels of Hebrew script (Longacre 2019). As noted above, I detect a correlation between manuscript format, script formality, and textual contents (Longacre 2022c). Large copies of the Psalter are almost always written in fine calligraphy, whereas smaller, *ad hoc* manuscripts are often written less formally. Based on a survey of all the Ornate Rectilinear formal hands in the Dead Sea Scrolls (i.e., the highest quality of Cross's Herodian "formal" hands), I suspect increasing professionalism and standardization in the Roman period (Longacre 2022b). This seems to fit well with the large, beautiful copies of the Psalter known from the period, whereas the smaller, informal manuscripts often do not attain to the same high professional standards. The sheer time, effort, and narrowly focused attention required to produce high-quality scrolls seem to discourage high-level cognitive engagement with the contents that would be required for composing or revising texts, suggesting rather a more mechanical approach to text copying. The less formal productions, on the other hand, are easier, quicker, and cheaper to produce and are more appropriate for manuscript contexts that require creative engagement with the texts. Paleography, therefore, is a primary indication for the context of production and intended function of a manuscript, even if it is not the only one.

Writer Identification

And finally, one of the greatest limitations to the study of texts and scribal practices is lack of comparative material to control analyses of

individual documents. An important avenue for future material research is the identification of different manuscripts written by the same individual, which can then be used to refine studies of the contributions of individual writers in relation to their exemplars, broader traditions, and personal working habits.

The "Hands that Wrote the Bible" project has developed sophisticated tools for data-mining the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus for matches in handwriting across different fragments and scrolls.[20] Using these tools and surveying the principal editions, I have identified several other manuscripts that I believe to have been written by the same writer as one of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls. As a result of this research, Brent Strawn and I (2022) have identified the fragment of 4Q98c as part of the same manuscript as 4Q85, which decreases the number of Psalm scrolls by one, but expands the scope of preserved fragments from this important manuscript. And in a forthcoming monograph on the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls and the formation of the Psalter, I will demonstrate several new identifications and use the expanded oeuvres of these scribes to better profile their working practices and the contributions they made to the traditions they copied. Thus, yet again, careful micro-historical study of the material artifacts can yield considerable new insight into the history of the texts.

Conclusion

This brief article has only touched on some of the key issues in the study of the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls and the development of the Hebrew Psalter tradition. Nevertheless, bringing together into one place the many assorted ways that material studies of ancient manuscripts can contribute to literary criticism of the Psalter is in itself an important synthesis with relevance for the study of other manuscript and textual traditions. The resulting picture—I contend—is a highly developed and differentiated textual culture with conventions (if not strict standards) that guided manuscript production and the use of manuscripts. By

[20] Dhali et al. 2017; Popović, Dhali, and Schomaker 2021.

placing the Dead Sea Psalm scrolls and the formation of the Psalter into this material book culture, we can now explain the diverse manuscript evidence better than we have been in able to in the past.

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ADVANCES IN ANCIENT BIBLICAL AND NEAR EASTERN RESEARCH

CONTEXTUALIZING 4QISA^{O} (4Q68) IN THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF ISAIAH: MATERIAL, ORTHOGRAPHIC, AND EXEGETICAL ASPECTS

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Keywords: Qumran Isaiah Scrolls, 4Q68, Qumran Hebrew, Biblical Interpretation, Isaiah 14:31, Isaiah 15:1

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Abstract

4QIsa^{o} or 4Q68 survives in a single—though composite—fragment that preserves Isa 14:28–15:2. The present paper discusses its material, scribal, orthographic, linguistic and text-critical aspects, attempting to contextualize this scroll fragment within the history of the book of Isaiah. Analysis of the material properties and scribal features suggests that they are incompatible with the assumption that the fragment originates in a full copy of the scriptural book. Rather, it may derive from a small-scale scroll containing only a subsection of the book, though its precise scope cannot be determined. A philological analysis of the textual variants witnessed by 4Q68 indicates that they are exegetically motivated, i.e., they reflect a scribal attempt to clarify or disambiguate interpretive cruxes inherent in its (Proto-Masoretic) *Vorlage*. If so, 4Q68 may contribute to the textual (and perhaps even compositional) history of the scriptural book as well as its interpretive reception in the late Second Temple period.

4QIsa^{o} (ou 4Q68) est transmis sous la forme d'un fragment unique, bien que composite, qui préserve És 14,28–15,2. Cette contribution en examine les dimensions matérielle, scribale, orthographique, linguistique ainsi que les questions de critique textuelle et cherche à contextualiser ce fragment de rouleau dans l'histoire du livre d'Ésaïe. L'analyse des propriétés matérielles et des caractéristiques scribales indiquent qu'elles sont incompatibles avec l'hypothèse selon laquelle le fragment trouve son origine dans une copie entière du livre biblique. Il pourrait plutôt provenir d'un rouleau de petite taille qui ne contient qu'une sous-partie du livre, sans que l'on puisse en déterminer l'étendue exacte. Une analyse philologique des variantes textuelles attestée par 4Q68 indique qu'elles sont dépendantes de raisons exégétiques, c'est-à-dire qu'elles reflètent une tentative du scribe de clarifier ou de désambiguïser certaines difficultés interprétatives propres à sa *Vorlage* (proto-masorétique). Si c'est bien le cas, 4Q68 contribue à comprendre l'histoire textuelle (et peut-être même compositionnelle) du livre biblique ainsi que sa réception interprétative à la fin de la période du Second Temple.

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CONTEXTUALIZING 4QISA^{O} (4Q68) IN THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF ISAIAH: MATERIAL, ORTHOGRAPHIC, AND EXEGETICAL ASPECTS[1]

Noam Mizrahi

Introduction

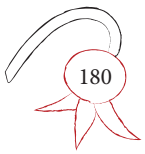
According to the official count, eighteen copies of the book of Isaiah were identified among the fragments found in Qumran Cave 4 (4Q55–69b).[2]

[1] This study stems from the research project "Revealing the Sealed Document: Revisiting the Qumran Isaiah Scrolls," which was generously supported by the Israel Science Foundation (ISF 1000/20). I am indebted to the members of my research group with whom I investigated the pertinent scrolls, including the one analyzed here: Dr. Asaf Gayer, Dr. Adi Amsterdam, Dr. Nevo Shimon Vaknin, Beatriz Riestra, Chananya Rothner, and Tomer Shani. An earlier version of this article was presented at a conference in honor of Professor Emanuel Tov's 80th birthday, which was held at the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in October 2021. I wish to thank the participants for their feedback.

[2] See Skehan and Ulrich 1997. Cf. the recent survey of manuscripts in Fuller 2017. An early survey of variant readings in the Isaiah scrolls from Qumran, based on

To be sure, the precise number of such scrolls and their exact scope are subject to change as research progresses (Tigchelaar 2020).[3] Still, about half of these manuscripts are represented by only one or two fragments; it is by no means certain that each such manuscript originates in a copy of the scriptural book. It is theoretically possible that at least some manuscripts originally contained only select passages of Isaiah as excerpts or quotations embedded within non-scriptural works.

The data that can be culled from single fragments is limited at best, making it difficult to hypothesize what the content of the original manuscript might have been. In some cases, though, material properties and textual information can supply circumstantial evidence in favor of one option. Forming such a hypothesis is useful not only in and of itself; it could also affect the general evaluation of textual variants recorded in such fragments, thereby allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the textual history of Isaiah in the late Second Temple period. From a purely text-critical point of view, each variant should be considered individually, so that its merits within the scriptural context can be weighed. Still, the typological characterization of any textual witness as a whole is an important factor in evaluating the likelihood that it preserves original readings or witnesses mostly secondary variants, which can then be better placed within the transmission and reception history of the book.



The present analysis focuses on a composite fragment published under the siglum of 4Q68 or 4QIsa^{o} (Skehan and Ulrich 1997, 135–37, pl. XXIII).[4] The DJD edition includes two fragments under the siglum of 4Q68. However, the editor notes that the two fragments do not appear to belong to the same manuscript.[5]

Skehan's preliminary transcriptions, is provided by Morrow 1973; an updated discussion is provided by Parry 2020.

[3] Cf. Puech 2012.

[4] Cf. Lange 2009, 274.

[5] The Museum Inventory of 4Q68 is Plate 261. Unfortunately, as the DJD edition reports, frag. 2 is no longer found on this plate, and its current location remains unknown. Accordingly, it is missing from the most recent image of Plate 261: IAA B-298222 (from January 2012), available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298222. According to the plate's Treatment Card,

Admittedly, frag. 2 is very small, containing the remains of only four or five letters. But these scant remains indicate that its scribal hand is incompatible with that of frag. 1. The letters of frag. 2 are generally thinner than those of frag. 1, and the best-preserved letter on frag. 2, the final *mem*, is written differently compared to frag. 1. In frag. 1, the upper horizontal stroke of the *mem* is written as a straight line, sometimes with a tiny angular form at the left starting point, where the reed first touches the leather. In contrast, in frag. 2 the same stroke begins with a distinctive curl (Fig. 1). Furthermore, the scribe of frag. 1 began the left vertical stroke at a point above the upper horizontal stroke, and this vertical stroke is slightly curved to the right, whereas the scribe of frag. 2 wrote it as a straight line that begins at the meeting point with the upper horizontal one.

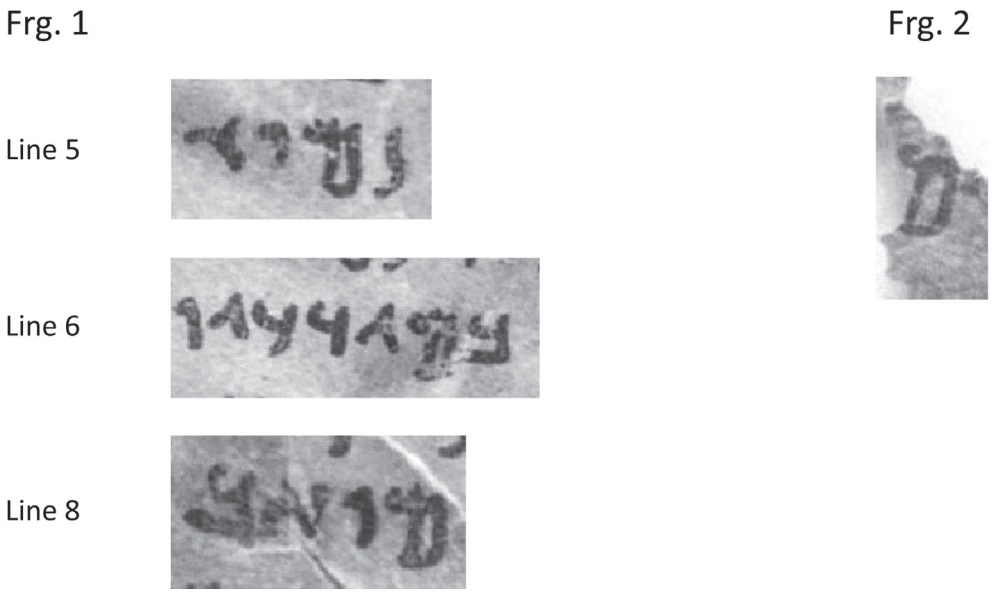


Figure 1: Shapes of *Mem*

opened by the restoration experts at the Israel Museum in December 1976, this was already the case when the plate was transferred to the Israel Museum in the 1970s (I am indebted to Beatriz Riestra for this information). Thus, frag. 2 was removed from the plate sometime between 1959 and 1976 (most likely in the early 1960s).

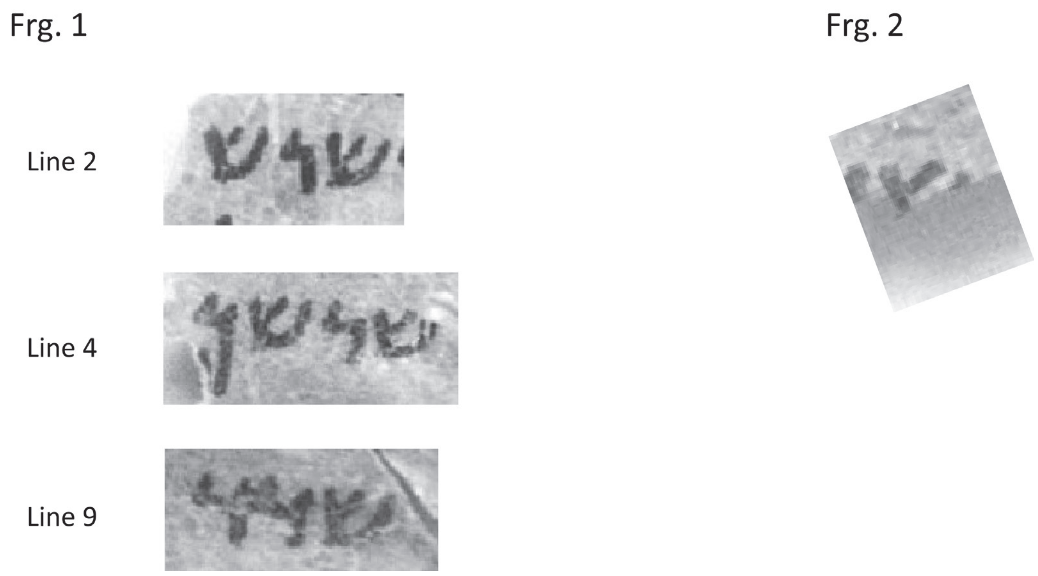


Figure 2: Shapes of *Shin*

Although the *shin* of frag. 2 is not so well preserved, it appears to be written differently than frag. 1 concerning its middle vertical stroke. In the hand of frag. 1, it is short and sometimes of a triangular shape, suggesting that it was customarily done by pressing the reed at the upper point and gradually lifting it while descending leftward (Fig. 2). In contradistinction, in the hand of frag. 2 the middle stroke is an elongated straight line, consistent in its thickness all throughout its course.

Moreover, the reading of frag. 2 does not necessarily require its identification with the text of Isaiah. Patrick Skehan (1978) originally transcribed the text as [נכא]י̊ם[כי]שד̊מ̊[ות] (Isa 16:7–8). But of the first word, only the plural ending survives; the last preserved trace of ink is minute and could fit several letters, while the preceding trace better fits ב than it does ד. Thus, the reading שד̊מ̊[ות], on which the entire identification depends, is unlikely. Moreover, the lacuna between the final *mem* and the *shin* is of one to two letter spaces, which excludes Skehan's restoration; most probably, only a space should be restored following the final *mem*.

Skehan's reading and restoration might be partly explained by the slight—yet conclusive—difference between PAM 42.029 (April 1956) and PAM 43.013 (July 1959). Frag. 2 consists of an elongated part to the right (preserving the final *mem*) and an angular part to the left (preserving the next two letters), which are connected at a very narrow part

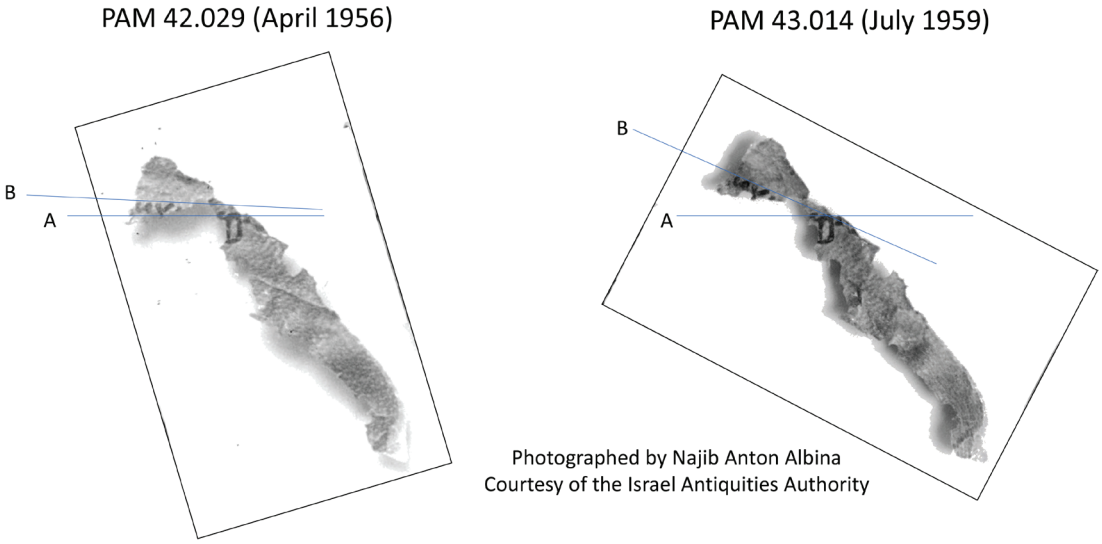


Figure 3: Photographs of Frag. 2

of the leather. In the early photograph, the two parts are connected in such a way that the general shape of the fragment is somewhat curved, allowing the restoration of only one to two letter spaces between the two words. In the later photograph, by contrast, the two parts have been straightened, which distances them from each other (Fig. 3). The latter arrangement, however, is probably wrong because the roofs of the letters confirm a straight line only in the early photograph. In contrast, the later photograph features a concave contour of the line.

The resulting alternative reading [...]○שׁבְּ[ ]יֹם[...] could fit two other passages in Isaiah (Isa 14:5, [משלים]שׁבְּטֹ[ ]יֹם[רשע]; Isa 24:8,]יֹם[עליז] [משוש]שׁבְּתֹ[), but it could also fit various other passages both within the Hebrew Bible and outside of it, so there is no inherent reason to insist on its identification as a fragment of Isaiah.[6] Even if it is retained in the inventory list of the Qumran Isaiah scrolls, it should probably be divorced from frag. 1.

To the DJD report, one can add that the early photographs show that frag. 1 comprises three smaller pieces that were joined at the scrollery

[6] This assessment is based on the fact that the sequence שב ים occurs 40 times within verses throughout the Hebrew Bible and 10 more times within lines of the non-scriptural Qumran scrolls. If verse or line boundaries are ignored, then these numbers might even grow.

(see below). Accordingly, they will be noted in the following discussion, from right to left, as frags. 1A, 1B, and 1C.

Photographic History

The early photographic history of 4Q68 frag. 1 (Table 1) reveals two main stages in the process of its identification and sorting. The earliest photographs of 4Q68 are part of a series documenting fragments recovered from Qumran Cave 4 during the archeological excavation conducted there in September 1952: the E series (PAM 40.962–985), taken in February 1954 (see Tov and Pfann 1995: 80).[7] This means that the original place of deposition of 4Q68 frag. 1 is known for certain, unlike most of the other Qumran fragments, which were purchased from the Bedouins through antiquities dealers, thereby obscuring the precise loci of their discovery. The three small pieces now comprising frag. 1 were first recorded separately in different photographs of the E series: PAM 40.967 (frag. 1B),[8] PAM 40.975 (frag. 1C),[9] and PAM 40.979 (frag. 1A).[10] All three pieces comprising frag. 1, therefore, were undoubtedly found in Qumran Cave 4, but their relationship to each other was not yet identified in this first stage.

[7] The fragments excavated at Qumran Cave 4 were initially sorted by Frank Moore Cross in the summer of 1953. It was only in the summer of 1954 that Skehan joined the Cave 4 team, and Cross divided his lot, sharing it with his former epigraphy teacher (Fields 2009: 180, 506). Since PAM 40.962–985 were taken in February 1954, they likely reflect Cross's initial sorting done earlier. This is confirmed by the fact that the glass plate recorded in PAM 40.967 holds only fragments of scriptural texts, or what appeared as such at the time.

[8] IAA B-279113, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-279113 (bottom row, middle fragment).

[9] IAA B-279122, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-279122 (middle of the plate). This fragment was identified by Eibert Tigchelaar (and the information was provided by Asaf Gayer).

[10] IAA B-279126, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-279126 (fourth row from the bottom of the plate, fourth fragment from the left). This fragment too was identified by Eibert Tigchelaar.

Table 1: Photographic History of 4Q68

PAM	40.967	40.975	40.979	42.029	43.014		
Date	Feb. 1954	Feb. 1954	Feb. 1954	Apr. 1956	July 1959	June 2012	June 2012
Series	Series E	Series E	Series E	Skehan	Cross 29c	Color	IR
IAA	B-279113	B-279122	B-279126	B-280481	B-284255	B-362276	B-362277
Content	frag. 1B	frag. 1C	frag. 1A	frag. 1 frag. 2	frag. 1 frag. 2	frag. 1	frag. 1

The next photograph capturing 4Q68, comprising stage 2, is PAM 42.029, taken in April 1956[11] as part of a series of photographs documenting Skehan's lot of 4Q fragments (PAM 42.012–029).[12] At that time, frag. 1 was joined from all three pieces and accompanied by frag. 2 (which was not included among the former group of fragments discovered by the archeologists in Qumran Cave 4).[13] Both fragments are also extant in the "final" photograph of PAM 43.014, which was taken in July 1959.[14] This photograph, which records the contents of Museum Plate 261 at the time it was taken, consists mostly of fragments of various Isaiah scrolls.[15]

That Skehan indeed grouped frags. 1 and 2 under the same siglum is further corroborated by two additional pieces of information. First, a survey of the scriptural scrolls published by Skehan in 1978 includes a list of the Isaiah scrolls, according to which 4QIsa^{o} includes Isa 14:28–32; 15:1; and 16:7 (1978, 811). Second, Francis Morrow's (1973,

[11] IAA B-280481, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280481.

[12] Tov and Pfann 1995, 86. Identificatory labels are attached to some of the fragments.

[13] To the best of my knowledge, this is the first recorded appearance of frag. 2 in the PAM photographs, suggesting that it arrived at the Rockefeller Museum separately from frags 1A–C.

[14] IAA B-284255, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284255 (Tov and Pfann 1995, 90).

[15] According to Tov and Pfann's (1995) data, this photograph is included in a series of 4Q manuscripts assigned to Cross (43.004–016). However, the glass plate bears a label that reads "29^{c}," which better fits Skehan's lot.

7) earlier dissertation from 1973, written under Skehan's supervision, explicitly notes "4Q^{o}" next to the passages of Isa 14:23–32; 15:1; and 16:7–8, though the last one is followed by a question mark.

To summarize, the photographic evidence indicates that frags. 1A–C were discovered during the archeological excavation of Qumran Cave 4, thereby ensuring their depositional context. They were joined sometime between early 1954 and mid-1956. By April 1956, frag. 2 was grouped with frag. 1. This grouping was maintained in the official publication from 1997, although Eugene Ulrich—who assumed the editorial responsibility for the 4Q Isaiah fragments after the passing of Patrick Skehan—acknowledged that the two fragments were unrelated and that the textual identification of frag. 2 remained dubious. The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library also contains two more recent, multispectral, images of frag. 1, which were taken in June 2012.[16]

Color and IR images of 4Q68 were photographed by Shai Halevi (June 2012). Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

Figure 4: 4Q68

[16] Full color: IAA B-362276, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362276; infra-red: IAA B-362277, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362277. Note that 4Q68, frag. 1 is marked there as Plate 261, frag. 2.

Transcription

Examination of all the photographs, including the most recent ones, allows one to slightly improve the transcription of the text written on the fragment (Fig. 4), though it generally confirms the DJD readings.

4Q68, frag. 1: Isa 14:28–15:2

top margin

1′ הזה [14:29] אׄ[ל תש]מׄ[חי פלשת כלך כי נשבר שבט מכך כי]

2′ משרש [נחש]יׄצא צפׄעׄ[ופריו שרף מעופף [30] ורעו]

3′ [בכו]רי דלׄים ואביוׄ[ני]ם[לבטח ירבצו *vacat*]

4′ [והמ]תׄי בׄרׄעב שרשך וׄשׄאׄ[ריתך יהרג [31] הילילי שער]

5′ זׄעׄקי עיר נמוג פלׄשת כׄ[לך כי מצפון עשן בא ואין]

6′ בודד במידעיו [32] וׄמה יענ[ה מלאכי גוי כי יהוה]

7′ יסד ציון ובה יחסו עׄ[ני עמו *vacat*]

8′ [15:1] משׄא מואב כי בלילה[שדד ער מואב נדמה כי]

9′ [ב]לׄילה שדד קיר מוׄ[אב נדמה [2] עלה הבית]

10′ [ודיבן]הׄבׄמוׄתׄ[ ]לבכׄ[י על נבו ועל מידבא]

Restoration of the missing text, following the MT, suggests that two blank spaces should be reconstructed in lines 3′ and 7′. The latter corresponds to the MT's "open" paragraph preceding Isa 15:1 (see further below). The former is more difficult to explain, since it occurs in the middle of Isa 14:30. To be sure, the reconstruction is merely conjectural, and other possibilities can be entertained; for instance, the scribe might have erred while copying and deleted the miscopied text in such a way that nothing else could be written over it.[17]

Still, if the proposed reconstruction of a blank space is plausible, at least as a working hypothesis, then it is worthwhile to note its correspondence with the literary transition that takes place within the

[17] Compare, for example, 4QQoh^{a} (4Q109) iii 1 (Ulrich, DJD 16: 225, pl. XXVI).

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passage: v. 30a is a divine promise that likens the poor and needy ones to a flock that will graze in safety, whereas v. 30b turns into a threat that God will smite Philistia by famine, likening it to a root that will dry up.[18] The sudden shift from a positive promise to a negative threat and the change of imagery from fauna to flora could both be served by dividing the two versets by a blank space. If so, the scribe—or the tradition his copy represents—did not act mechanically; rather, the scribal work betrays sensitivity to the content of the text, as its format is adapted accordingly. This conclusion is in line with the results of the textual analysis of 4Q68 as detailed below.

Material Properties

Some material properties of 4Q68 make one wonder about the nature and function of the scroll from which this single fragment derives.

Layout

The fragment preserves the top and right margins. In the right margin, guide dots (*points jalons*) marking the line ruling are discernible and possibly also stitching holes. Thus, 4Q68 derives from the first column of a leather sheet, which must have been preceded by at least one previous sheet (or more). The column width is conspicuously narrow with only about 7–9 words per line.[19] By comparison, the corresponding col. XIII in 1QIsa[a] contains 9–13 words per line. Since this fragment is all that remains from 4Q68, it is impossible to know whether this column was exceptionally narrow or whether it was standard in its width. But if the latter option is assumed, then one would need to assume further unusually high columns for containing the full text of a long book such

[18] The mixed imagery used in this prophecy (beginning with v. 29) may betray reliance on practices of protective magic, as suggested by Ronnie Goldstein (2013: 10–11) based on a Neo-Assyrian prophetic parallel. For a different perspective, see Kotzé 2013.

[19] Since the width of the extant fragment of 4Q68 is 5.3 cm (Skehan and Ulrich 1997, 135), the restored column width can be estimated to be c. 10–10.5 cm.

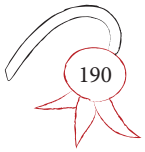
as Isaiah. While not completely impossible, this would be an uncommon format, leading one to doubt whether the scroll from which 4Q68 derives was indeed a copy of the entire book of Isaiah.[20]

Could 4Q68 come from a non-scriptural scroll, such as an exegetical work? Interestingly, Pesher Isaiah C (4Q163, frags 8–10) quotes and interprets select passages of the oracles against the nations, particularly the ones dealing with Babylonia (Isa 14:8, quoted in lines 1′–4′; Isa 14:26–27, quoted and interpreted in lines 4′–10′) and Philistia (Isa 14:28–30, quoted in lines 11′–13′), as well as Egypt (Isa 19:9–12, quoted in frag. 11 ii). Unfortunately, the last quotation breaks in the middle of Isa 14:30, and the fragmentary state of preservation precludes knowing whether the work continued into a quotation of the oracle against Moab (beginning with Isa 15:1) or moved to another passage. Very fragmentary remains of quotes from the oracles against Babylonia (Isa 14:19), Moab (Isa 15:4–5), and Dumah (Isa 21:10–15) survive in Pesher Isaiah E (4Q165): frags 3, 4, and 5, respectively. Thus, the Isaiah Pesharim testify to an interest, on the part of sectarian exegetes, in the oracles against the nations as part of their treatment of (select portions of) the book of Isaiah.

On the other hand, the content and format of 4Q68 are not easily compatible with the hypothesis that it originates in a non-scriptural work that merely quoted from Isaiah. The text copied in 4Q68 consists of two consecutive yet different prophetic units: the oracle against Philistia (Isa 14:28–32) and the opening of the oracles against Moab (Isa 15–16). It would be strange for an exegetical work not to treat these two units separately, as they differ in content and reference. Their sequential quotation, therefore, is less likely to be found in an exegetical

[20] Such a consideration, of course, can only be very schematic at best in light of the variability in column size exhibited by the Qumran scrolls, including the scriptural ones (Tov 2004, 82–99). The above hypothesis is based on the common practice that "the wider columns often occur at the beginning of sheets … By the same token, narrow columns often were positioned at the end of sheets" (Tov 2004, 83, with reference to examples in 1QIsa^{a}, 1QM, and 11QPs^{a}), but an opposite trend is also recorded: "Narrow columns are often drawn at the beginning of sheets in an attempt to conserve space" (Tov 2004, 84, though with no reference to specific examples).

work. Moreover, the restoration of the missing text requires the reconstruction of a blank space in line 7′, namely, one that separates the two units, in correlation with the MT's "closed" paragraph placed at this very point. Such paragraphing may be expected in a copy of the scriptural text but perhaps less so in a quotation embedded within a work of another kind. Although the evidence is too scanty to allow us to reach a safe conclusion, one should at least take into consideration the theoretical possibility that 4Q68 is a scriptural scroll, but not of the entire book of Isaiah. It could be a scroll covering a subsection of it, such as its first half (chapters 1–33),[21] or the collection of oracles against the nations (chapters 13–23, which form a compositional unit), or merely select excerpts (cf. 4Q176).



Script

The script is "Hasmonaean, thick and bold, with semicursive tendencies," datable "roughly to the first half of the first century BCE" (Skehan and Ulrich 1997, 135)"—that is, c. 100–50 BCE.[22] The semicursive tendencies notwithstanding, the scribal hand appears to be well trained. The writing meticulously follows both the horizontal ruling of the lines as well as the vertical ruling of the column, indicating careful preparation of the leather sheet for writing and adherence to professional norms while copying.[23] This aspect aligns with understanding 4Q68 as

[21] This possibility rests upon the evidence that during the Second Temple period the textual transmission of the book of Isaiah could take the form of a scribal bisection of the book into two portions of equal length (chapters 1–33 and chapters 34–66), each of which could have been copied independently. See especially Brooke 2005.

[22] Perhaps the most peculiar feature of the scribal hand of 4Q68 is its employment of only one form of *mem*, similar to the word-final variant found in other varieties of the Jewish script. This is also the case in the semicursive hand of 4QDan^{c} (4Q114), which is dated to the late second century BCE. However, since it is not patently used for marking a word-final variant, it is transcribed above as מ.

[23] Contrast the case of 4QIsa^{n} (4Q67), also represented by a single fragment, whose script was similarly characterized as Hasmonean "with semicursive tendencies" (Skehan and Ulrich 1997, 133). Its general impression, however, is much less orderly: the hand is highly inconsistent, and the lines are anything but

a scriptural scroll, one that is a carefully produced copy of a sacred text held to be important and worthy of prudent scribal treatment.

Scribal Intervention

The scribe's work, albeit generally thoughtful, is not without fault. In line 4′ (Isa 14:31), he mistakenly omitted the *resh* in בערב ("by famine"), adding it supralinearly. The error was probably phonetically motivated, as other Qumran scrolls witness the omission of /r/ in various phonetic environments, indicating a weakening of its pronunciation in the Hellenistic-Roman period (Qimron 2018, 110–12, §B3).[24]

At the same time, the scribe's otherwise fine work allows one to consider the possibility that his original reading was not entirely senseless, as the lexical influence of a nearby passage may have facilitated it.[25] 4Q68 may have originally contained other oracles against the nations, several of which use the noun עב "cloud." And the same may have especially been the case in the preceding oracle against Babylonia (Isa 14:14), as well as in the following oracles against "the land of whirring wings" (18:4) and Egypt (19:1). To be sure, in the context of Isa 14:30 the term רעב "hunger, famine" is more appropriate than עב "cloud" (NRSV: "But

straight, apparently not following any ruling. In my opinion, 4Q67 is less likely to have been a copy of Isaiah (Mizrahi 2021). [After the submission of this paper in January 2022, a new analysis of the scribal features of the Isaiah scrolls was published by Mladen Popović (2023). According to his classification, the scribal hands of 4Q62–4Q68 all fall under the category of "substandard script" (Popović 2023, 221, 224–226). In addition, he independently entertains the possibility that 4Q68 was "a collection of excerpts, not meant for trade but for private circulation" (225).]

[24] Elisha Qimron notes that "it was omitted far more than any other non-guttural root-consonant (though in most cases it was inserted above the line). Such omissions occur for the most part near a guttural" (110), which is indeed the case here, as the *resh* is omitted in the vicinity of *ʿayin*. One wonders whether this state of affairs is suggestive that the *resh* was pronounced as a pharyngealized consonant [r^{ˤ}]—a realization that is also known from the Tiberian reading tradition, though there it is conditioned by very specific phonetic environments (Khan 2020, 1.223–234, §I.1.20), which do not match those recorded in Qumran Hebrew.

[25] This point develops an observation made by Chananya Rothner.

I will make your root die *of famine*, and your remnant I [MT: he] will kill"). However, the scribe could still have been influenced by the word עב that he had copied one or two columns beforehand.

Orthography

The term "orthography" is sometimes used in scholarly discussions in different ways, requiring an explanation of exactly how I understand it.

General Considerations

The inherited writing system of Hebrew famously gives precedence to the orthographic representation of consonants. Vowels are only partially marked, mostly in the word-final position, while word-medial vowels are less often marked. This feature is rooted in the grammatical architecture of Hebrew as a Semitic language, in which the bi- or triconsonantal root is the main carrier of lexical meaning. In contrast, vowels and uniconsonantal affomatives more commonly express grammatical distinctions. Since most words are spelled "defectively," with little or no marking of their vowels, the spellings of many of them—especially content words—are inherently ambiguous and could be vocalized in more than one way. Admittedly, the context plays a crucial role in disambiguating many cases, but much room remains for conflicting interpretations. Accordingly, different vocalizations are reflected in the ancient versions and sometimes by the medieval notations of oral reading traditions.

The versions show that some of the diversity in vocalization goes back to the Second Temple period. But when it comes to the scriptural scrolls from the Judean Desert, it is very difficult to discern differences in vocalization as long as the scribe copied the scriptural text conservatively, that is, by sticking to its traditional, very imperfect marking of the vowels. In the late Second Temple period, however, some scribal schools no longer considered this situation viable and sought ways to enhance the marking of vowels both qualitatively (i.e., explicitly marking different vowels) and positionally (i.e., not only in the word-final but also in the word-medial position). This was achieved by extending

the secondary use of some letters as vowel markers (*matres lectionis*). Such orthographic means had their roots already in the monarchic period. Both inscriptions and various scrolls testify that vowel marking had spread into the word-medial position. However, this was still more common with some vowels (especially the rounded ones; i.e., /u/ and /o/) than with others. In even more developed orthographies, vowels could be pleonastically marked by two or three vowel letters (digraphs and trigraphs) to render the vowel and its quality explicit.

Such extended orthographies, however, were not universally accepted. Among the Qumran Isaiah scrolls, 1QIsa^{a} appears to be the only one applying—more-or-less consistently—a system that extensively uses digraphs and trigraphs. The reason for this rarity seems to be the cultural value attached to orthographic profiles as markers of religious reverence toward the scriptural text. On the one hand, adding letters to the inherited scriptural text reflects a less conservative approach to its textual transmission. On the other hand, *matres lectionis* only render explicit vowels that any reader must supply in any case. Thus, in theory, the orthographical adaptation of the scriptural text represents a relatively low-ranked intervention: it makes the transmission of the linguistic utterance more intelligible while minimally tampering with the so-called "consonantal text." In reality, however, the preference for an extended orthography was socially and culturally marked as less conservative when it came to scribal approach.

Orthographic Profiles

The orthography employed in MT Isa 14:28–15:2 (or, rather, in the Proto-Masoretic tradition represented by the so-called "consonantal text" of the MT) is not particularly "defective" (Table 2). Still, in several instances it does avoid the explicit marking of vowels, which can be classified according to the vowel quality (rounded vs. non-rounded) and the vowel's position in the word (medial or final). In virtually all such instances, 4Q68 adheres to the "defective" spelling, whereas 1QIsa^{a} prefers a *plene* spelling:

A closer linguistic examination of these cases indicates that a distinction should be made between two groups of cases. First, rounded, word-medial vowels originating in historically short **u* are not

Table 2: Orthographic Variants

		MT	4Q68	1QIsa[a]
Rounded vowels				
word-medial:	Isa 14:29	כֻּלֵּךְ	---	כולך
		מִשֹּׁרֶשׁ	מׄשרש	משורש
	Isa 14:30	שָׁרְשֵׁךְ	שרשך	שורשך
		יַהֲרֹג	---	אהרוג
	Isa 14:31	כֻּלֵּךְ	כ[לך]	כולך
		(בְּמוֹעָדָיו)	במידעיו	במודעיו
	Isa 15:1	שֻׁדַּד$_1$	---	שודד
		שֻׁדַּד$_2$	שדד	שודד
Non-rounded vowels				
word-medial:	Isa 15:2	הַבָּמוֹת	הׄבׄמׄוׄתׄ	הבאמות
word-final:	Isa 14:29	(מַכֵּךְ)	---	מככה
	Isa 15:1	(בְּלֵיל$_1$)	בלילׄה	בלילה
		(בְּלֵיל$_2$)	[ב]לׄילה	בלילה

orthographically represented in the Proto-Masoretic tradition and 4Q68, whereas 1QIsa[a] marks them with a *waw*, thus applying to nouns whose historical nominal pattern is **qutl* (i.e., **šurš* > Tiberian *šóreš*; **kull* > Tiberian *kol*); verbs of the prefix conjugation whose historical form is **yaqtul* > Tiberian *yiqtol*; and the thematic /u/ vowel of verbs in the passive stems (e.g., שדד in the passive G or D stems and probably also מידעיו, assuming that it should be parsed as a plural participle of the passive D stem; 1QIsa[a]'s מודעיו appears to be a plural participle of the passive C stem).26

By contrast, the spelling of rounded vowels originating in other vocalic qualities (historically long **ā* and **ū*, and the diphthong **aw*) is also *plene* in the MT and 4Q68, such as the active participle of the G stem (**qātil* > Tiberian *qotel*, e.g., בודד), or the plural ending (*-*āt* > -*ot*, e.g., במות).

[26] Note that this analysis makes no premise about the actual phonetic realization of the vowel—that is, whether the scribes realized it as [u] or [o] (as in Tiberian Hebrew).

Thus, for Second Temple readers—who were not historical linguists—the Proto-Masoretic tradition and 4Q68 evince the lack of orthographic consistency: some rounded vowels are explicitly marked by a *waw*, whereas others are not. A scribal dilemma, therefore, presented itself as a function of the extended systems of spelling: scribal conservatism comes at the cost of orthographic inconsistency, whereas orthographic consistency can only be achieved by diverging from the inherited, more "defective" orthography. This problem is amplified because certain vocalizations—lexical or grammatical interpretations of ambiguous spellings—can only be made explicit by resorting to *plene* orthography. As a result, even conservative scribes, who generally preferred to stick to their *Vorlage* over applying a *plene* orthography more consistently, were still forced to face the dilemma for each case of potential ambiguity: should it be explicated orthographically or be left as it is?

If the Proto-Masoretic text—which represents a relatively conservative orthography in the book of Isaiah—is taken as a benchmark, 4Q68 and 1QIsa^{a} represent two opposing approaches. 1QIsa^{a} levels out the orthographic representation of all rounded vowels by marking them with a *waw* across the board. Therefore, its preference for orthographic consistency translates into a less conservative approach. In contradistinction, 4Q68 generally maintains the inherited orthography, retaining the "defective" spelling of only the historically short **u* vowel. It can therefore be classified as more conservative in its scribal approach.[27] In either case, the representation of the rounded vowels in general and the historically short **u* vowel in particular are indeed purely orthographical—namely, it only pertains to the explicit marking (or non-marking) of an underlying vowel.

[27] This conclusion may be taken as indirectly supporting the characterization of 4Q68 as a scriptural scroll. To be sure, the relation between a scroll's particular orthography and its content is by no means simple. As demonstrated by 1QIsa^{a}, a scriptural scroll can exhibit a (highly) extended orthography. Nonetheless, the inherited, "defective" orthography is more likely to be retained when producing a copy of the scriptural text, whereas quotations embedded in works of other kinds are more easily adapted in terms of their orthography.

Second, the cases of non-rounded, word-final vowels are fundamentally different because the final vowels marked in מככה (only in 1QIsa[a]) and לילה (in both 4Q68 and 1QIsa[a]) are absent from the corresponding forms in the MT (מַכֵּךְ and לֵיל, respectively). This means that these two cases are not essentially orthographic. Rather, they reflect a difference in the level of morphology. The forms ליל and לילה are morphological variants of the same lexeme, differing in their grammatical ending. Similarly, the spelling ־כה testifies to the existence of a final vowel that is absent from the MT's ־ךָ; whether the two spellings represent allomorphs of the same pronominal suffix (2f. sg.)[28] or different morphemes marking a contrast in gender (2f. sg. in the MT, 2m. sg. in 1QIsa[a]) can be debated, but, at any rate, they cannot be taken as witnesses of the same grammatical form. Thus, both cases stand for another kind of scribal intervention, which goes beyond the mere orthographic explication of the underlying vocalization.[29]

Philological Analysis

Although only a little amount of text survives in 4Q68, it witnesses a few intriguing variants vis-à-vis the other textual witnesses. Upon first glance, they might appear to pertain to relatively small details. Moreover, each such variant can be explained individually as reflecting a distinct

[28] A sporadic use of the spelling ־כה for the 2f. sg. Pronominal suffix was first suggested by Hannah Cotton and Elisha Qimron (1998, 110–11). Cf. Qimron 2018, 139–40, §B12.1. But note the counterarguments of Steven Fassberg (2012, 98–100; I am indebted to Dr. Chanan Ariel for this reference).

[29] This appears to be true also for the single case of a *plene* spelling for a non-rounded, word-medial vowel, namely, the *aleph* in 1QIsa[a]'s הבאמות. The fact that the *aleph* was added supralinearly indicates that the scribe or a later corrector took particular care in explicating that the word-medial vowel is /ā/. This would make sense only if an alternative vocalization was possible. Kutscher (1974, 368–69, no. 12) hypothesizes that the corrector wanted to clarify that the underlying form of the noun is בָּמָה rather than בֹּמֶת. Intriguingly, the latter form is reflected in other places in 1QIsa[a]. See especially XII 16, בומתי עב (MT Isa 14:14, בָּמֳתֵי עָב); XLVIII 11, בומתי ארץ (MT Isa 58:14, K במותי, Q בָּמֳתֵי).

phenomenon, the like of which can be found elsewhere in the Qumran scriptural scrolls or other textual witnesses.[30] But if one reflects on the question of *why* these variants occur *where* they do, then it would make more sense to view them holistically as sharing a fundamental common denominator: they can all be explained as being exegetically motivated. Put differently: every variant can be viewed as attempting to solve an inherent interpretive difficulty that was present in the scribe's *Vorlage*.[31] Explicating one's interpretation of a passage often takes the form of interference with the text being transmitted, necessarily distancing the product from its master copy.[32]

In the first case to be discussed (Isa 15:1), this means the disambiguation of a clause or phrase that could be parsed in multiple ways. I propose that the scribe—or the interpretive tradition he represents—wishes to clarify which construal is to be preferred. In the second case (Isa 14:31), the interpretive task is more complex: the crucial word is

[30] This is the approach taken by Donald Parry (2020), as demonstrated by his presentation of the material in apparatus form, which necessarily treats each lemma and variant separately.

[31] By "exegetical variants," I refer to the (potentially) interpretive motivation of individual readings in localized contexts (Mizrahi 2016, 29–31). For different approaches, which attempt to identify overarching tendencies that go throughout an entire scroll (1QIsa^{a}), see Koenig 1982, section II; Pulikottil 2001. Neither Jean Koenig nor Paulson Pulikottil discuss Isa 14:31 and 15:1, which are the focus of the present discussion. See also the detailed typology of Tov 2012, chapter 4, "Copying and Transmitting the Biblical Text." Tov classifies "exegetical changes" (together with "theological changes") among "readings reflecting content changes" (240–262), which stand together with "differences created in the course of the textual transmission" (221–239). While this distinction is conceptually and didactically helpful, it seems to me that exegesis motivates much of the "mechanical" variants as well; indeed, exegetically motivated variants are a necessary function of the cognitive mechanisms underlying the psycholinguistic processing of text while copying it, on the one hand, and of the cultural mechanisms entailed in the handing down of sacred literature by scribal tradition, on the other hand. Various modes of interpretation are inextricably infused into the acts of reading and writing, affecting even the most technical, inadvertent minutiae of copying. [See now Einav Fleck (2022 and 2023).]

[32] Cf. the seminal observations of Shemaryahu Talmon (1989).

lexically ambiguous and semantically out of context in whatever lexical sense one prefers.

4Q68, Lines 8′–9′ = Isa 15:1

A repeated variant occurs in Isa 15:1 (4Q68, lines 8′–9′). Following the superscription of the oracle against Moab (משא מואב), the verse breaks into two parallel, nearly identical, hemistichs, which the Proto-Masoretic text reads as follows:[33]

v. 1a כי בליל שדד ער מואב נדמה
v. 1b כי בליל שדד קיר מואב נדמה

The syntax of each such verset, though, is anything but clear.[34] How should one construe and parse their internal structure into clauses and phrases? The problem becomes immediately apparent with the second word בליל: should one take the noun to be in the absolute state, that is, take the prepositional phrase בליל to be an independent adverbial

[33] The only difference between the two versets is the interchange between the forms ער (v. 1a) and קיר (v. 1b). Historically, both are dialectal forms of common nouns meaning "town, city": עָר is akin to עִיר (and translated accordingly by Aquila and Symmachus), and קִיר is a masculine biform of קִרְיָה (both are etymologically related to the common noun קִיר "wall"; cf. the ancient versions *ad loc.*); it is the standard word for "town, city" in Moabite (see the Mesha Stele, lines 11–13, 24, where it is spelled "defectively" as קר). The two forms are formalized as proper nouns, the names of major cities in Moab: Ar is mentioned in Num 21:15; Deut 2:9, 18, 29, and Kir is sometimes assumed to be an abbreviated form of the toponym קִיר חֶרֶשׁ (Isa 16:11; Jer 48:31, 36) or 2) קִיר חֲרֶשֶׁת Kgs 3:25; Isa 16:7). For these names, and for the conflicting interpretations of their mention in Isa 15:1, see Weippert 1998. The semantic gap between the two usages is played at in Num 21:27–29. For the poetic effect of the rhetorical devices employed in our passage, see Couey 2015: 21–22, 26–27.

[34] For a detailed exploration of the various difficulties encountered in Isa 15:1, including the linguistic ones, see Jones 1996, 163–75. But I remain skeptical of his solution, which revocalizes key terms (נָדַמָּה < נִדְמָה; שֹׁדֵד < שֻׁדַּד) to produce the following translation: "Indeed, in the night of the destroyer the cities [Israelite term] of Moab lament. Indeed, in the night of the destroyer the cities [Moabite term] of Moab lament" (174, 203).

expression: "*At night*, Ar/Kir was robbed; Moab was laid waste"?[35] Or is it in the construct state, with the following nominalized relative clause functioning as the *nomen rectum*: "*In the night in which* Ar/Kir was robbed, Moab was laid waste"?

The syntax could affect the historical conceptualization of Moab as portrayed in the passage. According to the former option, the passage could describe a continuous process of deterioration leading to destruction: the Moabite cities surrender, one by one, to robbers operating in the dark, eventually leading to Moab's downfall. By contrast, according to the latter option the downfall of Moab seems to be understood as happening in a short period, resulting from one cataclysmic event, namely, the destruction of its capital cities.

A grammatical factor complicates this problem. The Tiberian vocalization of the MT generally distinguishes between the two states: לַיִל in the absolute (e.g., Isa 16:3) vs. לֵיל in the construct (e.g., Isa 30:29). However, the form לֵיל is also found once in the clause-final position, necessitating its interpretation as being in the absolute state (Isa 21:11, in parallelism with the biform לַיְלָה). Thus, the form לֵיל is both morphologically and syntactically ambiguous, and its contradictory linguistic interpretations yield different syntactic construals of the prepositional phrase בליל in the context of both versets.[36]

[35] Some commentators take בליל to mean "in *a* night," that is, within a single night (e.g., Kaiser 1974, 57; Childs 2001, 128; cf. Smothers 1996, 70, 73, "overnight"). This sense, however, is more transparently conveyed by the phrase בֶּן לַיְלָה (Jon 4:10).

[36] This ambiguity persists in the MT, as the parsing implied by the cantillation tradition is similarly equivocal. Although the word בליל has disjunctive accents in both versets, they are low-ranked (בְּלֵ֣יל, *gershaim*, and בְּלֵ֖יל, *tevir*), and it remains unclear whether the word is to be read as an independent adverbial complement or rather as the *nomen regens*, which is bound to the following words. This was indeed a matter of debate among some medieval Jewish commentators, such as David Qimhi (ואמר 'בליל' בדרך הסמיכות – אולי חסר הנסמך, רוצה לומר: בליל פלוני. או בא סמוך במקום מוכרת, כמו 'אל חזקיהו בחיל כבד, "and he said *bə-lêl*, in the construct form; either the *nomen rectum* is missing, as if he were to say, '*at the night of* so and so', or that the construct replaces an absolute form, as in the case

The solution of 4Q68 for this problem is employing the biform לילה, which is morphologically unambiguous, as it can only mark the absolute state:

v. 1a [שדד ער מואב נדמה] **כי בלילה**
v. 1b [כי ב]**לילה שדד קיר מו**ֹ[אב נדמה]

The substitution of בליל for בלילה clarifies the syntax of the verse, as it requires the reader to construe it as having a pre-posed adverbial expression: "*At night*, Ar/Kir was robbed; Moab was laid waste."

Significantly, the syntactic implication of this particular variant is not peculiar to 4Q68 but rather represents a broader interpretive tradition. Not only is it in agreement with the renditions offered by all the ancient versions (LXX, Vulgate, Peshitta, and Targum Jonathan),[37] but the same variant, with the same effect, is also recorded in 1QIsa[a] XIII 6–7:

v. 1a כי בלילה שודד עיר מואב ונדמה
v. 1b כי בלילה שודד עיר מואב נדמה

Eduard Kutscher explained 1QIsa[a] differently: "לילה is the standard prose form, and ליל the poetical one. Thus, the commoner form replaced the rarer one in xv 1" (1974, 377, no. 38). Admittedly, this stylistic factor could have been operative as well, though the adverbial expression "by night" always takes the form בלילה and not בליל, and this is so even in poetry (e.g., Isa 26:9; Jer 6:5, 49:9; Job 24:14).[38] But the fact that the same replacement is found in another scroll (of which Kutscher could not be aware when writing his book) favors identifying a deeper motivation, namely, the syntactic disambiguation described above.[39]

of *ḫêl* [for *ḫayil*] in 2 Kgs 18:17") and Joseph Kaspi (בליל' אינו סמוך', "*bə-lêl* is not a construct form"). See Cohen 1996, 110–11.

[37] According to Goshen-Gottstein 1975, נח, all the versional readings presuppose בְּלַיִל rather than בְּלֵיל, but this reconstruction disregards the aforementioned fact that לֵיל can also be an absolute form.

[38] As observed by Arnold Ehrlich (1912, 58). But Ehrlich himself preferred to emend the text to כְּלִיל "wholly."

[39] 1QIsa[a] also witnesses other variants in this verse, at least one of which similarly attempts to disambiguate its syntax. By introducing the second verb

Finally, the substitution of בליל for בלילה is found elsewhere within the Masoretic tradition in the form of a *ketib/qere* interchange in Prov 31:18 and Lam 2:19. In both cases, the written (*ketib*) form בליל is morphologically ambiguous, as it could also function as the allomorph marking the construct state, whereas the context requires the absolute state. Hence, the reading tradition (*qere*) replaced it with בלילה.[40]

Thus, 4Q68's and 1QIsa^{a}'s בלילה might appear to be merely stylistic variants, but they differ in terms of their grammatical marking of the nominal state and, as such, they imply different syntactic construals. While ליל is grammatically ambiguous, לילה is not; by preferring the latter over the former, Second Temple scribes could explicate their interpretive tradition regarding the syntax of the verse and hence its historical image of the downfall of Moab. This tradition is shared with the ancient versions, even though it is not self-evident and is by no means the only conceivable way of parsing the underlying text.

Despite the difference in their grammatical transparency, however, both ליל and לילה are still morphological variants of the same lexeme. Their lexical identity is crucial, since this aspect allowed ancient copyists to act as latent exegetes. Various scribes (using different scribal approaches) differed from one another in terms of the freedom they

with conjunction (ונדמה), it forces the reader to construe עיר מואב as a construct phrase that functions as the subject of the verb שודד: "At night, the towns of Moab were robbed, and it was laid waste" (עיר מואב is to be taken as a collective singular, referring to all Moabite towns). In contradistinction, and despite the lack of grammatical agreement in gender, the Proto-Masoretic text might be construed differently, separating ער and קיר (as the subject of שדד) on the one hand and מואב (as the subject of נדמה) on the other: "At night, Ar/Kir was robbed; Moab is/was laid waste." Interestingly, the Tiberian cantillation tradition agrees with the syntactic construal of 1QIsa^{a}, though by different means: it places conjunctive accents on עָר (*mahpach*) and קִיר־ (*maqqeph*), and a disjunctive accent on both occurrences of מוֹאָב) מואב, *pashta*, and מוֹאָב, *tifcha*).

[40] Cf. Gordis 1971, 126 (List 42: "Miscellaneous Variations in Nouns") with 180, n. 224. That the *ketib* בליל (vocalized as either בְּלֵיל or בְּלִיל) in Prov 31:18 is more original than the *qere* בלילה is assumed by many critical commentators of Proverbs (e.g., Toy 1908, 546; Fox 2009, 1066). This is also implied by some commentators of Lamentations (e.g., Salters 2010, 172).

allowed themselves in injecting their interpretive traditions into the transmitted text. But even those who adhered to a relatively minimalist approach (like the one represented by the extant fragment of 4Q68) would have found it difficult to resist the temptation to explicate the text by making such a slight grammatical adjustment as replacing one form of a word with an otherwise semantically equivalent biform, thereby surgically removing a syntactic obstacle that hampers the comprehension of the passage.

4Q68, Line 6′ = Isa 14:31

A more complicated challenge is posed by the concluding clause of Isa 14:31 within the oracle against Philistia. The passage first describes the pending destruction of Philistine cities, urging Philistia—personified as a wailing woman—to lament her devastated urban centers and city gates that have presumably been broken open (הילילי שער זעקי עיר נמוג פלשת כלך, "Wail: 'O gate!' Cry: 'O city!'; melting in fear, O Philistia, all of you!").[41] The power inflicting this calamity, though, is only hinted at metonymically in v. 31b by referring to the smoke that comes out of the north (כי מצפון עשן בא), and even this subtle representation is made without explicating which army is referred to, the Judean or the Assyrian.[42]

[41] The apparent lack of grammatical agreement in gender between the verbs and the nouns in the clause הילילי שער (f. sg. verb followed by a noun in the masculine) is most simply solved by assuming that שער "gate" and עיר "city" are not the grammatical subjects but rather the objects, namely, quotations of the words of laments pronounced by the bewailing Philistia. As for נמוג פלשת, as recognized by many, the verbal form נָמוֹג should not be parsed as a finite verb but rather as an infinitive absolute (compare נָסוֹג in Isa 59:13, which is contextually unambiguous because it is embedded within a list of other infinitives).

[42] This ambiguity is related to the problem of how to contextualize this oracle historically, which has been much discussed in scholarship. See, in addition to the critical commentaries, for example, Irwin 1928; Jenkins 1980; Vargon 2015. More recent scholarship tends to follow from the assumption that the prophecy (and the oracles against the nations more generally) is more theologically than politically oriented (e.g., Beuken 2006; Aster 2014).

The reference to this unnamed army concludes with an enigmatic clause, which the MT reads as וְאֵין בּוֹדֵד בְּמוֹעָדָיו. The form בּוֹדֵד (an active participle of the G stem) is usually translated as “lonely” (see Hos 8:9; Ps 102:8).[43] Syntactically, an assertion that “there is no lone person” could perhaps be compared to similarly phrased statements in other oracles against the nations, such as the one concerning Babylonia: כִּצְבִי מֻדָּח וּכְצֹאן וְאֵין מְקַבֵּץ, “like a banished gazelle, and like sheep with no one to gather (them)” (Isa 13:14; cf. Jer 49:5; Nah 3:18). But within the context of Isa 14:30, one might have expected something closer to Isaiah’s depiction of the Assyrian army: אֵין עָיֵף וְאֵין כּוֹשֵׁל בּוֹ לֹא יָנוּם וְלֹא יִישָׁן, “Among it, there is no one who is weary and no one who stumbles; none slumbers or sleeps” (Isa 5:27).

Yet the most perplexing word is מוֹעָדָיו for several reasons. The default reading of the unvocalized form מועדיו could be expected to be מוֹעֲדָיו, “his festivals” (as indeed read by the Peshitta: ܘܠܝܬ ܕܝܚܝܕܝ ܒܥܐܕ̈ܘܗܝ, “and there is no lonely at his festivals”), but this makes little sense in the immediate context. The Tiberian vocalization מוֹעָדָיו is careful to notify the reader that a different noun is employed here: מוֹעָד is a verbal noun related to the G stem (cf. מוֹרָד “descent, downhill,” deriving from ירד “to descend, go down”). Its nominal pattern **maqtal* is very common for infinitival forms or for designating places and locations, leading lexicographers and commentators to interpret מוֹעָד metaphorically as an “appointed place (of a soldier in the army) … i.e., his ranks.”[44] This interpretation, however, remains doubtful, as the word is a *hapax legomenon*.

The doubts regarding its sense are well reflected in the ancient versions. The LXX represents the clause with καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ εἶναι, which is as perplexing as the Hebrew, but in any case it does not seem

[43] Cf. the adverb בָּדָד “alone” (e.g., Lev 13:46; Isa 27:10; Lam 1:1).

[44] So Brown–Driver–Briggs 418a. Cf. NRSV Isa 14:31, “and there is no straggler in its ranks.” It is sometimes connected to a feminine form recorded in Josh 20:9 in the phrase עָרֵי הַמּוּעָדָה, “the cities appointed (for refuge).” However, the /u/ vowel suggests a participle of the passive C stem, not a feminine counterpart of the verbal noun מוֹעָד.

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to reflect either בודד or מועדיו.[45] Targum Jonathan cleverly renders וְלֵית דְמאַחַר בְמִזְמְנוֹהִי, "and there is none that delays in his assemblies" (Chilton 1987, 33), reading the word as מוּעדיו, that is, a participle of the passive C stem, relating it to the verb יעד in the sense of "meet, assemble." At the same time, it maintains an indirect trace of מוֹעֲדָיו in the sense of "appointed times."[46] A similar understanding is implied by the addition of συντεταγμένοις αὐτοῦ in Symmachus and Theodotion. This participial form is derived from συντάσσω, "put in order together, esp. as a military term; draw up, put in array" (Liddell–Scott–Jones).[47] Significantly, this form is employed elsewhere in the Greek Bible for rendering another derivative of יעד, namely, הנועדים "those who assemble" (LXX^{A} 1 Kgs [3 Kgdms] 8:5).[48] The Vulgate, *et non est qui effugiat agmen eius*, "and there is none that shall escape his troop" (Douay-Rheims-Challoner), follows the lead of the Greek revisions while adapting it even further to the context.[49] These renditions testify

[45] Richard Ottley (1904–1906, 1.121, 2.183) translates "and there is no means to continue," explaining that "some words seem to have dropped out from the Greek, in rendering or in transmission," further speculating about the original text of the Old Greek. Moisés Silva (2007, 836) translates "and there is no way to live," but notes that this rendition is "uncertain." Ken Penner (2020) translates it literally: "and there is nothing for being" (115), noting that "as the text stands, it expresses the absence of τοῦ εἶναι, which if understood as something that has to be as its purpose, would mean what aims at existence does not exist. In context, it would probably be understood that what is needed for existence is not there" (450).

[46] For במזמנוהי, see Ribera Florit 1988, 108. Alexander Sperber (1962, 32) reads בזמנוהי, though he mentions במזמנוהי in his apparatus. במזמנוהי is likely the original reading, whereas בזמנוהי is a later adjustment to the MT. Cf. Speier 1965.

[47] Aquila's συντετα[ρα]γμένοις αὐτοῦ may be an inner-Greek corruption; συνταράσσω means "to throw (or be thrown) into confusion," which is less fitting for the context here.

[48] Brooke, McLean, and St. John Thackeray 1930, 234 (apparatus for v. 5).

[49] Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein (1960) considers the possibility that the Vulgate witnesses the reading ואין נודד בנועדיו, noting that *fugiens* stands for נודד in Isa 16:1 and that 1QM XV 3 employs נועדים as a military term designating the soldiers assembled into troops for war. In his opinion, this retroverted reading is linked—either phonetically or graphically—to 1QIsa^{a}'s ואין מודד במועדיו. An alternative understanding, at least of the final word of the verse, is indicated by Jerome's

to the exegetical difficulty inherent in the concluding clause of v. 31 in general and in the obscure word מועדיו in particular.[50]

This exegetical dissensus supplies an essential background for understanding the variant readings witnessed by 4Q68 and 1QIsa^{a}. 1QIsa^{a} witnesses two interrelated variants: ואין מודד במודעיו as against the Proto-Masoretic ואין בודד במועדיו. The replacement of בודד "lonely one" with מודד "one who measures" may well have a phonetic background, as both /b/ and /m/ are labial consonants that can easily alternate.[51] Furthermore, this peculiar reading might have been introduced, by alliteration (so Kutscher 1974, 511, no. 3), under the influence of the following word, which similarly contains /b/, /m/, and /d/. The meaning of מודד in the present context, however, is elusive. The graphic link between the MT's מוֹעֲדָיו (a verbal noun derived from יעד) and 1QIsa^{a}'s מודעיו (presumably מוּדָעָיו, a passive C participle derived from ידע, literally "those that were made known") is clear enough, as one reading could have developed from the other by way of simple metathesis.[52] But

commentary on this passage of Isaiah, which suggests that the term *agmen* relates to the column of the "smoke coming from the north" (Scheck 2015, 321–22). Although this usage of the term *agmen* is rare, it is well rooted in Classical Latin: Vergil employs it for describing the "clouds of dust following any thing in rapid motion as men, animals, etc." (Lewis and Short 1879: 72c, with a reference to Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.154). One might be tempted to speculate that underlying the Vulgate at this point is the variant reading עמודיו, but this is not borne out by the fact that agmen never translates עמוד elsewhere in the Vulgate, not even in the related phrase עמוד הענן "the pillar of cloud" (e.g., Exod 13:21–22).

[50] This difficulty also begged conjectural emendations on the part of critical scholars and modern commentators. See, for example, the proposals surveyed by Hans Wildberger (1997, 89).

[51] Compare, for example, the inner-Masoretic variant for the name of one of the two chief rivers of Damascus: K אבנה, Q אֲמָנָה (2 Kgs 5:12).

[52] Note the paleographic observation in Skehan and Ulrich 1997, 136: "Comparison of the *dalet* and *ʿayin* … makes the transposition readily understandable." Cf. Parry 2020, 130: "or a scroll belonging to the 1QIsa^{a} tradition accidentally transposed the *dālet* and *yôd* to read במודעיו." The formal difference in the second letter of מידעיו and מודעיו, that is, the alternation between *waw* and *yod*, would have posed only a little, if any, difficulty to scribes of the late Second Temple. These letters alternate not only graphically (depending on the precise paleographic profile of

again, commentators have struggled with understanding what it means in the present context.

4Q68 not only fits into this complicated picture but also helps to clarify it. Although it reads בודד in agreement with the MT, it diverges from it in reading מידעיו, which is best explained as a participle of the passive D stem. An identical spelling is found in 2 Kgs 10:11: "Jehu killed all who were left of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, all its senior officials (גְּדֹלָיו), *those known to be related to it* (מְיֻדָּעָיו, literally, "its known ones"), and its priests until he left it no survivor." Semantically, מְיֻדָּע denotes here a *person* who is well known (i.e., a political or social celebrity)—probably for his relation to the royal dynasty or court. 4Q68's מידעיו is very close to 1QIsa[a]'s מודעיו: both are derived from ידע (rather than the MT's יעד), and both are participles of passive verbal stems. The semantics of both forms is so close that they alternate even within the MT as *ketib/qere* readings: "Sing praises to the Lord, for he has done gloriously; this is made known (K מידעת, Q מוּדַעַת) in all the earth" (Isa 12:5). Semantically, מוּדַעַת refers not to persons but rather to *things*, that is, to God's deeds, which have become well known throughout the world.[53]

the scribal hand) but also in various grammatical functions to the extent that they could be seen as essentially interchangeable variants of each other.

[53] A related—though not identical—interchange is attested for the derived noun מוֹדָע: "And Naomi had a *kinsman* (K מידע, Q מוֹדָע) on her husband's side, a prominent rich man, of the family of Elimelech, whose name was Boaz" (Ruth 2:1; cf. 3:2). The *ketib* appears to reflect the passive D participle מְיֻדָּע, but the *qere* is vocalized מוֹדָע (rather than the expected מוּדָע, i.e., a passive C participle, for which compare, e.g., מוּצָק in 1 Kgs 7:23 || 2 Chr 4:2, derived from יצק "to pour, cast"), and should thus be analyzed as a verbal noun (cf. מוֹצָא, מוֹרָד, מוֹשָׁב, etc.). In terms of its nominal pattern, מוֹדָע is comparable to מוֹעָד, the form underlying MT Isa 14:31. Semantically, though, מוֹדָע in Ruth 2:1 refers to a *person* (Elimelech's kinsman), rather than to a *place* (as in מוֹשָׁב "seat, place of inhabitance," from ישב) or *state* (as in מוֹרָא "fear," from ירא), which are the more common uses of the **maqtal* pattern (but compare מַלְאָךְ "messenger," from לאך). Parry (2020: 130) hesitantly suggests that "perhaps the Qumran scrolls read 'kinsman,' based on 'your root' and 'your remnant' of v. 30b." But this makes little sense in the implied military context of v. 31b.

The fact that the two participial forms of the passive stems interchange with one another enables us to surmise that 4Q68 and 1QIsa^{a} share a common tradition, which interpreted the curious מועדיו by applying the technique of anagram, turning it into מודעיו (1QIsa^{a}) or its related variant מידעיו (4Q68), both of which mean "his/its[54] known ones." Contextually, the "known ones" could refer either to things (implying notorious atrocities committed by this army) or to people (implying the soldiers enlisted into this army, famous for their victories or infamous for the havoc they bring) described within the immediate context.

In this respect, both scrolls went one further step beyond the exegetical treatment one finds in most of the ancient versions: except for the LXX, which does not reflect the wording known from other witnesses, the versions—like the Proto-Masoretic text—presuppose מועדיו, differing from each other only in their vocalization of the word. The Qumran Isaiah scrolls, by contrast, exercise a slightly more daring approach by allowing themselves to transpose the letters within the confines of a single graphic word.

On top of this exegetical technique, 1QIsa^{a} took an additional step further by changing the enigmatic בודד to the similarly sounding מודד. The latter can be interpreted in the light of one of two conspicuous usages of either the derived noun מִדָּה "measurement" or the verb מדד "to measure."

1QIsa^{a}'s assertion that "there is none who measures" (ואין מודד) could perhaps be understood in light of the phrase לאין מדה (literally, "to no measurement"; but more idiomatically, "immeasurably"), which is thrice employed in the Thanksgiving Scroll for expressing the superlative:[55]

1QH^{a} XIII 22–23: כי גבורתכה לאֹ[ין ק]ץ וכבודכה **לאין מדה**
"for your strength is witho[ut en]d and your glory *without measure*"

[54] The 3m. sg. pronominal suffix could refer either to the "smoke" in the preceding verset (v. 31: עָשָׁן), which signifies the enemy's army, or to "the one who strikes you" mentioned earlier (v. 29: מַכֵּךְ), referring to the nation that is hostile to Philistia (or its king).

[55] Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom 2009, 168 and 180, 182 and 196, 226 and 232, respectively.

1QH[a] XIV 6: וְ֯הווה לאין חקר וְ֯כלה **לא֯י֯ן֯ מ֯ד֯[ה]**
"and destruction without limit and annihilation *without measu[re]*"
1QH[a] XVII 16–17: וכגב֯ו֯ר֯ת֯כ֯ה֯ אין בכוח ולכבודכה אי֯ן֯[... ו]לחכמתכה **אין מדה**
"But compared with your st[ren]gth there is none (equal) in power, and your glory has no [... and] your wisdom *has no measure*"

All three passages describe qualities that exceed measurement: God's glory and wisdom on the one hand and the pending destruction on the other. The notion of immeasurability can thus function as an expression of immense, overwhelming power—a usage that fits well the approaching army alluded to in Isa 14:31. According to 1QIsa[a], then, the enormous order of battle is so enormous that no one can measure it (ואין מודד).[56]

Alternatively, the phrase ואין מודד could be illuminated by the pragmatics of the verb מדד. The verb is generally employed (in the G stem) in neutral contexts, denoting the act of taking a measurement, usually of length or volume. But, once in biblical literature, it is also found in a patently military context: "He (David) also defeated the Moabites and, making them lie down on the ground, measured them off (וַיְמַדְּדֵם) with a cord; he measured (וַיְמַדֵּד) two lengths of cord for those who were to be put to death, and one length for those who were to be spared. And the Moabites became servants to David and brought tribute" (2 Sam 8:2). The verb still has its lexical sense of "to measure," though it is uncommonly inflected here in the D stem to highlight the multiplicity of objects (cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 409–10, §24.3.3). Pragmatically, however, measuring the length occupied by the lying, defeated Moabites is equivalent to deciding their fate: most are about to be executed, while only a minority is spared. Seen against this background, 1QIsa[a]'s reading of Isa 14:31 can be interpreted as predicting an even harsher fate for the Philistines: in the case of David's war with the Moabites, a third of the prisoners were spared while the other two-thirds were sentenced to death. In the case of the pending war against Philistia, there will be

[56] Cf. Kaiser 1974, 55: "The sense of the Hebrew text of the great Qumran manuscript is that the army is so numerous that no one can count it."

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no one to "measure," implying that all Philistines are doomed and that none will survive.

To sum up this case, the Proto-Masoretic reading ואין בודד במועדיו was incomprehensible to ancient readers and translators. 4Q68, in essential agreement with 1QIsa^{a}, employs a slightly more invasive exegetical technique than the one encountered in the above-mentioned case. It more-or-less maintains the letters of the word מועדיו while transposing them into מידעיו (1QIsa^{a} מודעיו), thereby producing a term that is a bit more comprehensible, perhaps under the influence of the occurrence of an akin form earlier in Isa 12:5 (though outside the oracles against the nations).

1QIsa^{a} represents an even more extensive degree of embedding interpretation within the transmission of the scriptural text. It further intervenes with the preceding word בודד, substituting a single letter with another, which stands for a phonetically similar sound: מודד. The lexical meanings of בודד ("lonely") and מודד ("one who measures") are very different. Still, within this particular context and as part of a negative expression (אין בודד/מודד) they come close to each other: "there is no lonely one" and "there is no one to measure" can both describe a huge, cohesive army, all soldiers of which march together, with no apparent stragglers.

Conclusion

4Q68 is a composite fragment preserving a portion of Isa 14:28–15:2. But despite its modest size, its analysis in comparative perspective vis-à-vis the other textual witnesses of Isaiah sheds light on the textual history of this prophetic book in antiquity, illuminating its development through the embedding of interpretation within the transmitted text during the process of copying.

Scrutiny of the material properties of 4Q68 supports its classification as a scriptural scroll in the sense that it originally contained a continuous text of Isaiah. At the same time, evidence suggests that the scroll originally encompassed only a subsection of the book, though its precise scope remains unknown. At any rate, the scribe's work—as

demonstrated by the scroll's script, layout, and manuscript format—appears to reflect both respect and sensitivity to its content. These same features align with the scribal attempt to clarify exegetically ambiguous or unintelligible passages by surgically adapting the inherited text at particular points. Such interventions were executed with precision. While they target specific words or even morphemes, they affect the interpretation of the entire clause or verse. Thus, the preference for one morphological variant of the word for "night" over another disambiguates the otherwise baffling syntax of the two parallel versets of Isa 15:1. And the transposition of two letters in one participial form in Isa 14:31—taking it as the result of purposeful anagram rather than a case of inadvertent metathesis—results with replacing an enigmatic word with a term that could be fit into the context.

It is possible to consider each scroll as a unique exemplar of a particular scribe's personal or *ad hoc* interpretation. But I prefer to assume that the scribal activity was regulated on a broader, social basis. Even if one leaves room for idiosyncratic exceptions, it is likely that the professional production of scriptural literature was generally constrained by a range of social norms and cultural conventions introduced in the course of scribal education and initiation into the art and perpetuated by the expectations of peers and customers. In this light, agreements between different textual witnesses in exegetically motivated readings could be taken as evidence of broader interpretive traditions or trajectories.

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