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DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT · XIV

QUMRAN CAVE 4

IX

DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT · XIV 14

QUMRAN CAVE 4

IX 9

DEUTERONOMY, JOSHUA, JUDGES, KINGS

BY

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CONTENTS

TABLE OF PLATES	ix
FOREWORD	xi
ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA	xiii
INTRODUCTION	1
28. 4QDeut ^a (Pl. I) <i>Sidnie White Crawford</i>	7
29. 4QDeut ^b (Pl. II) <i>Julie Ann Duncan</i>	9
30. 4QDeut ^c (Pls. III-IX)	15
31. 4QDeut ^d (Pl. X) <i>Sidnie White Crawford</i>	35
32. 4QDeut ^e (Pl. XI) <i>Julie Ann Duncan</i>	39
33. 4QDeut ^f (Pls. XII-XV)	45
34. 4QDeut ^g (Pl. XVI) <i>Sidnie White Crawford</i>	55
35. 4QDeut ^h (Pls. XVII-XVIII) <i>Julie Ann Duncan</i>	61
36. 4QDeut ⁱ (Pl. XIX) <i>Sidnie White Crawford</i>	71
37. 4QDeut ^j (Pls. XX-XXIII)	75
38. 4QDeut ^{k1} (Pl. XXIV)	93
38a. 4QDeut ^{k2} (Pl. XXV)	99
38b. 4QDeut ^{k3} (Pl. XXV)	107
39. 4QDeut ^l (Pl. XXVI)	109
40. 4QDeut ^m (Pl. XXVII) <i>Julie Ann Duncan</i>	113
41. 4QDeut ⁿ (Pls. XXVIII-XXIX)	117
42. 4QDeut ^o (Pl. XXX)	129
43. 4QDeut ^p (Pl. XXXI) <i>Sidnie White Crawford</i>	135
44. 4QDeut ^q (Pl. XXXI) <i>Patrick W. Shehan and Eugene Ulrich</i>	137

47.	4QJosh ^a (Pls. XXXII–XXXIV) <i>Eugene Ulrich</i>	143
48.	4QJosh ^b (Pl. XXXV) <i>Emanuel Tov</i>	153
49.	4QJudg ^a (Pl. XXXVI)	161
50.	4QJudg ^b (Pl. XXXVI)	165
54.	4QKgs (Pl. XXXVII) <i>Julio Trebolle Barrera</i>	171
	INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES	185
	INDEX OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS	187
	PLATES	189

TABLE OF PLATES

I.	28.	4QDeut ^a
II.	29.	4QDeut ^b
III-IX.	30.	4QDeut ^c
X.	31.	4QDeut ^d
XI.	32.	4QDeut ^e
XII-XV.	33.	4QDeut ^f
XVI.	34.	4QDeut ^g
XVII-XVIII.	35.	4QDeut ^h
XIX.	36.	4QDeut ⁱ
XX-XXIII.	37.	4QDeut ^j
XXIV.	38.	4QDeut ^{k1}
XXV.	38a.	4QDeut ^{k2}
	38b.	4QDeut ^{k3}
XXVI.	39.	4QDeut ^l
XXVII.	40.	4QDeut ^m
XXVIII-XXIX.	41.	4QDeut ⁿ
XXX.	42.	4QDeut ^o
XXXI.	43.	4QDeut ^p
	44.	4QDeut ^q
XXXII-XXXIV.	47.	4QJosh ^a
XXXV.	48.	4QJosh ^b
XXXVI.	49.	4QJudg ^a
	50.	4QJudg ^b
XXXVII.	54.	4QKgs

FOREWORD

FRANK MOORE CROSS and Patrick W. Skehan are primarily responsible, together with Jozef T. Milik and John Strugnell, for the identification and placement of virtually all the fragments of the gigantic puzzle that this volume represents, as well as those published in the other biblical volumes. Moreover, Cross supervised the dissertations which resulted in the editions of the Deuteronomy scrolls and charted the nuanced palaeographic analysis and typological system of dating of all the manuscripts.

Eugene Ulrich, responding to Cross's invitation in late 1985, began organizing and overseeing the completion of the editions and the volume as a whole. With Cross, he selected additional colleagues to edit the full corpus of biblical volumes expeditiously. He worked closely with each of the editors on the content, accuracy, and clarity of the editions, attempting to achieve a proper balance between the varying character of the individual manuscripts, the different views and approaches of each editor, and the consistency of the final volume. The process was a rewardingly collaborative experience.

Patrick W. Skehan had published an edition of 4QDeut^a as early as 1954, now updated by Ulrich. Sidnie White Crawford and Julie Ann Duncan produced the editions of the remaining Deuteronomy manuscripts. Ulrich edited 4QJosh^a, Emanuel Tov 4QJosh^b, and Julio Trebolle Barrera, who has published widely on the text of Kings, edited 4QJudg^a, 4QJudg^b, and 4QKgs.

Colleagues and friends too numerous to name have contributed to the multifaceted effort represented in this work. Emanuel Tov and Weston W. Fields deserve the gratitude of the public as well as of the editors for their work in securing funding to make the publication process possible. Émile Puech, with his expertise in palaeography and his customary generosity, helped several of the editors refine their difficult readings. Hartmut Stegemann and his student, Hans-Günther Waubke, enhanced the editions of 4QJosh^a and 4QKgs with their methodological expertise in positioning fragments through study of the patterns of deterioration. T. S. Muraoka and Jeffrey H. Tigay made a number of helpful suggestions for the Deuteronomy editions.

Our long-term graduate assistants, Peter W. Flint, Robert A. Kugler, Curt Niccum, and, especially for this volume, Catherine M. Murphy and Leslie W. Walck, have earned our lasting gratitude for their years of careful work and devoted enthusiasm. Special thanks also go to Beverly Fields, the initial formatter of the electronic editions. This volume was prepared for camera-ready publication by the authors and Fields in the early stages and in the final stages by Ulrich, Walck, and Murphy.

We are highly grateful to Her Majesty the Queen Doña Sofía of Spain for making possible the congress *Manuscritos Mar Muerto Madrid, 18-21 March 1991*, and to Professors Julio Trebolle Barrera, Luis Vegas Montaner, and Javier Fernández Vallina for their thoughtful work in organizing it. The congress, as rich in elegant hospitality as in academic productivity, succeeded in providing a significant impetus to the publication of the scrolls as well as a new level of valuable interaction and communication of knowledge among the individuals in the various countries publishing and interpreting the scrolls.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge with special appreciation for their long-term financial support the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency in the United States; the Yarnton Fund for the Qumran Project of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies; and the University of Notre Dame's Department of Theology, Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, and Office of Advanced Studies. The authors are also grateful for support from Albright College, the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Harvard University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Princeton Theological Seminary, as well as the American Council of Learned Societies, the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Pennsylvania (formerly the Annenberg Research Institute), and the George Barton Fellowship Fund through the American Schools of Oriental Research.

Acknowledgement for technical help is offered to Philip Payne of Linguist's Software, whose generous gift of the Hebrew, Palaeo-Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and diacritical fonts add to the handsome appearance of this volume; and to Tsila Sagiv of the Rockefeller Museum, and Bruce and Kenneth Zuckerman, Greg Bearman, Marilyn Lundberg, and Sheila Spiro of the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center for their photographic skill and artistry and for their innovative work in producing digitized images of the scrolls. We are also grateful to General Amir Drori, Mrs. Ayala Sussmann, Joe Zias and the curators of the Rockefeller Museum, and to Claire Pfann who facilitated communications and the transfer of new photographs between Jerusalem and Notre Dame.

The editorial and technical staff at Oxford University Press—Hilary O'Shea, Jenny Wagstaffe, Rachel Woodforde, and Jane Williams—provided the expertise, friendly co-operation, and patience essential for producing a volume as complex as this.

All the authors wish to join in paying an affectionate tribute to Frank Moore Cross an outstanding teacher, mentor, and treasured friend. We also wish to offer a personal expression of our grateful appreciation to: Laura and Megan Ulrich, Ivan Hall, Sabrina Odessa, Evelyn and Jim Whitehead, Catherine Mowry LaCugna, Patricia Hackett, Dan Crawford, Robert L. and Betty Duncan, and Lika Tov. We also give warm thanks for the hospitality of our hosts and friends at the École Biblique et Archéologique Française and the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem.

Notre Dame, Indiana, March 1995

EUGENE ULRICH

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

THE abbreviations and sigla used in this volume are similar in general to those used in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* and in the Göttingen and Brooke-McLean editions of the Septuagint, with adaptations considered useful or necessary. Additional abbreviations of Qumran sigla are found in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert: Companion Volume* (ed. E. Tov with S. J. Pfann, S. A. Reed, and M. J. Lundberg; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill and IDC, 1995) and in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (rev. ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 1–8. Abbreviations of journals and other sources and reference works are in accord with the 'Instructions for Contributors' in the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 46 (1984) 393–408 and the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107 (1988) 579–96.

Ⓜ Ⓝ Ⓟ	certain letter, probable letter, possible letter, respectively (for discussion see the INTRODUCTION)
◦	a letter which has ink traces remaining but cannot be confidently identified
[]	space between fragments or where the surface of the manuscript is missing
<i>vacat</i>	interval, indicating that the writing space was intentionally left blank
Ⓜ	<i>setuma</i> , a closed section in Ⓜ; used to denote a new section of text beginning on the same line as the end of the previous section
Ⓜ	<i>petuḥa</i> , an open section in Ⓜ; used to denote a new section of text beginning on the line below the end of the previous section
ⓂⓂ	designation of the space used to mark the end of a section of text in the Samaritan Pentateuch
(4) 20	indication in the margin of the transcription that verse 4 begins somewhere in line 20
20 f 6	indication in the margin of the transcription that frg. 6 begins in line 20
||||	crasure or damage on the manuscript
+	additional word(s)
>	word(s) lacking
\	division between lines in a manuscript
=	is equivalent to
≠	is not, does not equal
*	original or reconstructed form
c	corrected reading
1', 2'	first, second occurrence of a form
L. 2 ^{sup}	(word or letters written) supralinearly above line 2
II 4–5	the second extant column of the manuscript, lines 4–5
frg. 10 ii 4–5	fragment 10, column 2 (where frg. 10 preserves two columns), lines 4–5
2:23 ^{int}	at the beginning of v 23
2:23 ^{fin}	at the end of v 23
2:23[24]	the number in brackets is usually the Greek verse number
ⓂⓂⓂⓂ	ⓂⓂⓂⓂ occurs twice

ℳ	the Massoretic Text (as in <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>)
ℳ ^A	The Aleppo Codex
ℳ ^L	Codex Leningradensis
ℳ ^{ed}	the edition of the Massoretic Text (as in <i>BHS</i>)
ℳ ^{ms(s)}	Massoretic manuscript(s)
ℳ ^q	<i>qere</i> for the Massoretic Text, as opposed to ℳ (= <i>ketib</i>)
Ⲙ	the Samaritan Pentateuch, ed. von Gall
Ⲙ ^{or}	the Samaritan Pentateuch, ed. Kennicott
Ⲙ ^{vGall}	the Samaritan Pentateuch, ed. Sadaqa
Ⲙ ^{Ken}	a correction in a Samaritan manuscript
Ⲙ ^{Sad}	reading of manuscript(s) attested in the critical apparatus of an edition
Ⲙ ^{ms(corr)}	second part of verse 2 in chapter 10
Ⲙ ^{sp} , Ⓞ ^{sp} , Ⓞ ^{sp}	additional part of a verse, usually in the Samaritan text, as numbered by von Gall
10:2b	fragments from the Cairo Geniza (cited from <i>BHS</i>)
10:2b	the Old Greek (as in the text of the Göttingen editions, where possible, but the Brooke-McLean edition for Joshua-Kings)
Ⲙ	the (reconstructed) original reading of the Old Greek
Ⓞ	the reading in the Göttingen or Brooke-McLean edition in contrast to an alternate reading considered to be the original Old Greek reading
Ⓞ*	a reading in the critical apparatus
Ⓞ ^{ed}	Codex Alexandrinus
Ⓞ ^{sp}	a marginal reading in Codex Vaticanus
Ⓞ ^A	Codex Alexandrinus and other manuscripts
Ⓞ ^{B^{ms}}	Codex Vaticanus and manuscript 93
Ⓞ ^{A+}	a few (<i>pauci</i>), many (<i>multi</i>), or very many (<i>plurimi</i>) manuscripts
Ⓞ ^{B v1}	the hexaplaric recension of Origen
Ⓞ ^{pc mlt, pl}	the Lucianic text
Ⓞ ^O	the catena group
Ⓞ ^L	the Peshitta, ed. the Peshitta Institute, Leiden
Ⓞ ^C	the Targum, ed. A. Sperber
S	Targum Onqelos
Ⓞ	Targum Neofiti
Ⓞ ^I	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Ⓞ ^N	the Palestinian Targum
Ⓞ ^J	Fragmentary Targum (manuscripts Paris, Vatican Ebr. 440)
Ⓞ ^P	the Vulgate, ed. Monachi Sancti Benedicti
Ⓞ ^{I(P.V)}	attestations to the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the Seventy
D	the Hebrew text of Origen
α' ο' θ' ο'	the Arabic version
εβρ'	the Armenian version
Arab	the Bohairic Coptic version
Arm	the Coptic version (= Bo + Sa)
Bo	the Ethiopic version
Co	witness to the Old Latin version
Eth	the Sahidic Coptic version
La	the Syrohexapla
Sa	
Syh	

NOTE(S)	the note(s) to the transcriptions in the individual editions
VAR.	the variant(s) listed after each fragment or column in the editions
Orth.	the section on orthography in the introduction to individual editions
orth.?	a form that may show (only) an orthographic difference
var.?	a form that may be a variant
aliter	otherwise
delevit	deleted
gr	a manuscript in Greek
hab	the witness has the reading
litt	<i>littera(e)</i> , letter(s)
mend	<i>mendaciter</i> , falsely
om totum comma	the entire verse is omitted
point(s) jalon(s)	dot(s) made to guide the ruling of a manuscript
pr	<i>praemittit</i> , -unt, placed before
rell	<i>reliqui</i> , the rest of the manuscripts
tr	<i>transpose(ndum)</i> -it, -unt, the letters or words are (to be) transposed
v(v)	verse(s)
vid	<i>ut videtur</i> , as it appears from the evidence available
vs.	versus
Mus. Inv. 265	Museum Inventory number
PAM 43.291	Palestinian Archaeological Museum photograph number
IAA 225.837	Israel Antiquities Authority photograph number
Cross	Frank Moore Cross. 'The Development of the Jewish Scripts', <i>The Bible and the Ancient Near East</i> . Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961.
Cross, ALQ	Frank Moore Cross. <i>The Ancient Library of Qumrān and Modern Biblical Studies</i> , rev. ed. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1961.
DSS Microfiche	<i>The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert: Companion Volume</i> , ed. E. Tov with S. J. Pfann, S. A. Reed, and M. J. Lundberg. 2d ed. Leiden: Brill and IDC, 1995.
Duncan	Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition of Deuteronomy Manuscripts from Qumran, Cave IV: 4QDt ^b , 4QDt ^c , 4QDt ^d , 4QDt ^e , 4QDt ^f , 4QDt ^g , 4QDt ^h '. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University [University Microfilms], 1989.
Madrid	<i>The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991</i> , 2 vols.; ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill/Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992.
QHBT	<i>Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text</i> , ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975.
Qimron	Elisha Qimron. <i>The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . HSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
THGD	J. W. Wevers. <i>Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy</i> . Göttingen, 1978.
White	Sidnie Ann White, 'A Critical Edition of Seven Manuscripts of Deuteronomy: 4QDt ^a , 4QDt ^c , 4QDt ^d , 4QDt ^f , 4QDt ^g , 4QDt ^h , and 4QDt ^o '. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University [University Microfilms], 1988.

INTRODUCTION

THIS volume continues the publication of the series of biblical manuscripts in the Jewish script from Qumran Cave 4. It presents the manuscripts of the Books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and Kings. An earlier volume, *DJD XII*, contains those of Genesis to Numbers, while *DJD IX* contains the biblical manuscripts written in the Palaeo-Hebrew script and those in the Greek language.

Many of these manuscripts are older by a millennium than those which previously held claim to being the most ancient Hebrew manuscripts of particular biblical books. The importance of these scrolls, however, is due not only to their great antiquity, but principally to the new and richly illuminating advances they provide for our knowledge about the text of the Bible, the complex history of the biblical text, and the process by which the Scriptures were composed and transmitted to posterity. Thus, they will be permanently valuable, providing a more sound basis for the Hebrew text of the Bible and for the translation of the Bible into modern languages.

The System of Naming and Numbering the Qumran Scrolls

For a convenient description of the system for designating the scrolls, see *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert: Companion Volume* (ed. E. Tov with S. J. Pfann, S. A. Reed, and M. J. Lundberg; 2d ed.; Leiden: Brill and IDC, 1995) and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (rev. ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 1–8. It may be helpful to mention here several points with regard to the manuscripts contained in this volume.

The manuscripts are both sequentially numbered and descriptively named, with the numbers 4Q1–127 assigned to the biblical manuscripts from Cave 4. For example, one manuscript of Deuteronomy has the number '4Q29' and the name '4QDeut^b'. The latter denotes a Hebrew manuscript from Cave 4 at Qumran, which contains Deuteronomy, and is the second (= a, b, c, . . .) exemplar of Deuteronomy from that cave. Manuscripts 4Q45 and 4Q46, 4QpaleoDeut^{r,s}, missing from the numerical sequence in the Table of Contents are already published in *DJD IX*, while manuscripts 4Q51–53, 4QSam^{a,b,c}, will be published in *DJD XVII*.

Moreover, decisions had to be made about the classifications and titles of manuscripts although at times the evidence could not have been fully certain in the early years after the discoveries. For example, some manuscripts survive in only a single fragment or a few small fragments and are so small that they could conceivably derive, not from a biblical manuscript, but from a commentary or from another work which simply cited or excerpted a few verses. But, due to the paucity of evidence, they are here treated as biblical scrolls. Again, certain collections of fragments, after having received a manuscript designation, were discovered to include fragments that actually belonged to more than one manuscript (e.g. 4QDeut^{k1, k2, k3}). Yet others which include only biblical text were recognized as being, not manuscripts of biblical books, but manuscripts with excerpted texts for liturgical or other purposes (e.g. 4QDeut^{h, k1, n}).

Archaeological Provenance and Dating

The archaeological data concerning Cave 4 at Qumran has been presented by Roland de Vaux in *DJD* III. 3–36 and *DJD* VI. 3–29; see also his description of Cave 1 in *DJD* I. 2–40, and see *DJD* IX. 2. Though most of the fragments were purchased from the Bedouin, the manuscripts can nevertheless be definitively linked with Cave 4, because certain scrolls are constituted by fragments which derive from both sources. For example, a number of fragments of 4QDeut^c were among those purchased from the Bedouin, while other fragments that are manifestly integral pieces of the same scroll were unearthed in the official excavation of the cave. Thus, the archaeological dating of the site establishes a *terminus ante quem* of 68 CE for all these manuscripts, and indicates a period from the middle of the second century BCE to that *terminus* for the manuscripts copied by the community at Qumran. No *terminus a quo* emerges for those which were copied elsewhere and brought into the community. In 1991 and again in 1995, the dating of the scrolls generally and of selected scrolls specifically was confirmed by radiocarbon tests.¹

Introductions to the Individual Editions

Because of the diverse nature of the various manuscripts collected in this volume, most of the specific introductory information will be found, not in this general INTRODUCTION to the volume (which will be designated by small capital letters), but distributed in the introductions to the individual editions (which by contrast will be designated, for example, as ‘the Judg^a introduction’). These will provide information on the physical details and dimensions of the preserved fragments, as well as the contents, palaeography, orthography, scribal peculiarities, errors, and corrections.

Bibliography. Bibliographic data, where directly pertinent to an individual manuscript, are presented at the beginning of that edition. Although many of the manuscripts have previously been published, often there is no extensive bibliography directly related to them, and no attempt at an exhaustive list has been made, though the more relevant works are usually listed. For general bibliography, see the microfiche edition and the work of Fitzmyer mentioned above, as well as the burgeoning literature on Qumran. For bibliographic items briefly noted within the editions the full details may usually be found in the ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA or at the beginning of that particular edition.

Physical details. Since many questions—for example, regarding criteria for deciding which scrolls were copied at Qumran—remain unanswered, observations on the physical details of the manuscripts are recorded. Measurements are usually made from ruled lines where possible. Thus, the depth of a bottom margin, for example, is measured from the last ruled line of script (i.e. the tops of the letters, since Hebrew writing was suspended from the lines) to the deepest extant part along the bottom edge. For purposes of reconstruction, the number of letters per line and lines per

¹ See G. Bonani, M. Broshi, I. Carmi, S. Ivy, J. Strugnell, and W. Wolfli, ‘Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls’, *Atiqot* 20 (1991) 27–32, and A. J. Timothy Jull, Douglas J. Donahue, Magen Broshi, and Emanuel Tov, ‘Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert’, *Atiqot* (in press).

column is estimated where possible. The calculation of the number of letters per line includes the spaces between words.

Biblical contents. The biblical contents of the manuscripts are listed both in the introduction to each manuscript and in the comprehensive Index of Biblical Passages and Index of the Contents of the Manuscripts.

Palaeography. The palaeographic descriptions of the manuscripts in the Jewish scripts and the dates assigned to them are based primarily on the programmatic study by F. M. Cross, 'The Development of the Jewish Scripts'.² Specific information will normally be referred to as, for example: (Cross, p. 137, Fig. 1, Line 3).

Orthography. The orthographic profile of each manuscript is provided in the introduction to that manuscript. So that the textual character of each scroll can be more clearly grasped, simple differences in orthography, where no change in meaning is involved, should be distinguished from textual variants, which do involve meaning. Thus, the orthographic differences are listed in the introduction, whereas the textual variants are catalogued within the edition, in the VARIANTS section following the transcription of each fragment or column. In accord with this line of reasoning, some data that are properly morphological, such as variation in the pronominal suffixes (e.g. ׀- vs. ׀-), are listed for convenience with the orthographic differences in the introduction, not in the VARIANTS section.

Scribal corrections. Noteworthy peculiarities of the scribe or the manuscript are described, including errors as well as corrections or insertions made by the original scribe or by a later hand.

Textual character. Some of the manuscripts are textually quite interesting, others less so. In assessing the textual character, the editors have differed somewhat in approach. In the editions the lists of VARIANTS are presented as objectively as possible. But to different extents we, as editors, have offered our assessment of the textual character resulting from our study and experience of the manuscripts, in the hope that this can aid the reader.

Identification. At the end of the introduction to each manuscript the museum inventory (Mus. Inv.) number and the photograph numbers are given, so that researchers may locate the original manuscript in the Rockefeller Museum and know the photograph numbers assigned originally by the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM) or more recently by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), and can check, for example, in the microfiche edition. Often only the most useful photograph numbers are listed, usually reflecting those primarily used by the editor and represented in the Plates. For a subsequent, more comprehensive list, see the *DSS Microfiche*.

Transcriptions, Notes, and Variants

Transcriptions and Reconstructions. The transcriptions are made from a comparison of the original manuscripts with the published photographs and with older photographs where possible. The originals, of course, sometimes clarify features that are ambiguous on the photographs. On the other hand, the writing is often more clearly visible on the

² F. M. Cross, 'The Development of the Jewish Scripts', *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961) 133-202

infrared photographs than on the ancient skin. Yet again, the older photographs sometimes show parts of letters, especially around the edges of manuscripts, which have since broken off. Thus, occasionally readings are presented in the transcriptions with a higher degree of certainty than they appear to warrant on the strength of the published plates.

Letters are transcribed according to four degrees of certainty. Though there are many more shades of difference and though subjective judgement necessarily plays a role, an effort has been made to apply the following system and terminology consistently.

Letters that are 'certain' or virtually certain are simply transcribed. Letters are considered 'probable' if the ink traces very probably form one particular letter though they could also form a second or third letter with features identical to the preserved strokes; these are indicated by a dot above the letter (e.g. $\dot{\text{א}}$). Letters are considered 'possible' if some ink is preserved and it conforms to the suggested letter but could also form any of several other letters sharing that feature; these are marked with a circlet above the letter (e.g. $\dot{\text{א}}$). Claims made for letters so marked can be only as solid as the empirical basis supporting them. 'Unidentifiable' letters, that is, those for which ink remains on the manuscript but which cannot be identified with confidence, are indicated by circlets in the middle of the line (e.g. \circ). As regards the unidentifiable letters, an attempt has been made to reflect the number of letters by the number of circlets, but this remains ambiguous, because at times it is difficult to determine whether, for example, two ink traces formed parts of one letter or of two.

Similarly, there are different types of reconstruction which require different types of interpretation. Letters and words placed within square brackets are not preserved but are restored according to the editor's judgement for the convenience of the reader. In biblical manuscripts some unproblematic words or parts of words are supplied for context, if there is no strong reason to doubt that they had originally been in the manuscript. For example, the remainder of a partly extant word is routinely supplied for context if מ , א , and ע are in agreement. Similarly, if only a word or two is missing between fragments, the lost text is sometimes supplied in order to establish the relative arrangement of the fragments. The reconstruction of individual words in the text was guided by the following criteria: first, by comparison with other extant parts or features of the particular scroll; secondly, by comparison with מ , א , or ע , depending upon the scroll's characteristic affinity, whether in orthography or text.

For certain manuscripts the entire text is reconstructed. Such filling in of missing but unproblematic text should be regarded as an aid to the reader and not as a conclusion by the editor that the scroll agreed with the text of מ , א , or ע in every detail.

Less frequently, there are reconstructions suggested at places where the text is problematic. For example, when the various textual traditions are compared and especially quantitative variants emerge as possible, sometimes the spatial evidence preserved on the fragments indicates that the scroll probably agreed with one tradition and disagreed with another. On occasions when the evidence is sufficiently clear, the indicated reading is reconstructed and the evidence is supplied in a NOTE. When מ , א , or ע disagree in more serious matters and the reading of the scroll is difficult to

determine, the text has either been reconstructed and explained in the NOTES or left unreconstructed.

Left and right margins are signalled by the lack of brackets for text printed at the respective margins. Top and bottom margins are indicated as such if a sufficient amount of the margin is preserved. They are indicated in square brackets if the margin is certain despite the lack of immediate evidence (if, for example, a contiguous column has the corresponding margin); they are listed with a question-mark if there is cause, but not proof, to suggest their occurrence.

Space that was intentionally left blank by the scribe to mark a sense-division or paragraph-division is usually denoted by *vacat*. Often there is an accompanying NOTE which lists how the \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{u} traditions divided the text. In certain cases in the transcription, the distance between fragments has been reduced in order to fit the format of these pages.

Notes. Following the transcriptions, the NOTES provide various types of information. Sometimes, as dictated by the material, a general NOTE describes features of the fragment or column as a whole or in relation to the larger arrangement of the scroll. The NOTES on individual lines or readings serve a variety of functions. First, they clarify physical problems (for example, whether a dark line is ink as opposed to shadow, or whether a blank spot is a blemish on the skin prior to the scribe's writing or simply an area where the surface layer with the writing has been lost from the skin). Secondly, they contain textual speculation regarding reconstructed—that is, not extant—variants, including instances in which clues preserved on the manuscript indicate that the scroll probably differed from \mathfrak{M} , \mathfrak{u} , or \mathfrak{G} , even if the crucial evidence does not survive. Thirdly, they record data about space intentionally left blank to mark paragraph-divisions; often the comparative data describing divisions in \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{u} , as relevant, are also provided. Where the traditional type of division is unknown, simply the general term 'interval' is used. In this connection it may be useful to consult in Kittel's Foreword to *BH³* (§I e; see also the *BHS* Foreword, §I.2) his note about the divisions in \mathfrak{M} on the basis of manuscript *Leningradensis* (see *DjD* IX. 6).

Variants. The catalogue of VARIANTS lists only those readings where the manuscript is extant (certain or highly probable on the scroll) and differs from one of the major Hebrew texts—other Qumran scrolls, \mathfrak{M} , or \mathfrak{u} . Ideally, \mathfrak{G} should also be included as one of the criteria, and some editors systematically have, while others have not, made variation from \mathfrak{G} a criterion for inclusion in the catalogue of VARIANTS. In the latter case, however, the NOTES often mention some of the more significant divergences from \mathfrak{G} . Reconstructed variants are either mentioned only in the NOTES or are listed separately after the VARIANTS section. Again, purely orthographic differences are noted in the section on orthography in the introduction to individual editions and are not listed among the VARIANTS.

Readings from \mathfrak{M} are based on *BHS*, and those from \mathfrak{u} are based on von Gall's edition. Readings from \mathfrak{G} are based on Wevers' Göttingen critical edition for Deuteronomy and on the Brooke-McLean editions for Joshua, Judges, and Kings. There is no attempt to present an exhaustive list of variants from all the Greek manuscripts but only those which may have relevance for the Qumran text. Testimony of the fragments from the Cairo Geniza (\mathfrak{C}) is provided on the basis of the critical apparatus in *BHS*; for further

evaluation of that material, see M. C. Davis, *Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts in the Cambridge Geniza Collection* (Cambridge, 1978).

Photographs and Plates

The attempt was made to reproduce the photographic plates on a scale of 1:1, but where this has not been possible, scales are provided. The relative distance between separate fragments on a plate, however, has at times been reduced to fit the format of these pages. Occasionally, new or simply different photographs were used for the plates in contrast to those which served as the basis for the transcription and NOTES; most differences or improvements have been entered into the editions, but it was impractical to revise the entire volume in light of these slightly divergent photographs.

28. 4QDeut^a

(PLATE I)

Preliminary publication: Sidnie Ann White, 'A Critical Edition of Seven Manuscripts of Deuteronomy: 4QDt^a, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, 4QDt^e, 4QDt^f, 4QDt^g, and 4QDt^h' (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1988 [University Microfilms]) 9–18. 'Three Deuteronomy Manuscripts from Cave 4, Qumran', *JBL* 112 (1993) 23–42, esp. 23–8. 'Special Features of Four Biblical Manuscripts from Cave IV, Qumran: 4QDt^a, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, and 4QDt^e', *RevQ* 57–58 (1991) 157–67, esp. 158–60.

ONLY a solitary fragment, containing portions of Deut 23:26–24:8, is preserved from this manuscript. Of average thickness, and yellowish-brown in colour with darker stains in spots, its height is 10 cm and its width 13.9 cm at the broadest points. The surface of the leather was originally well-prepared; now some wrinkling and shrinkage have occurred, leaving some cracks on the surface. The right side of the fragment has a sewn edge, and the width of the margin to that edge is 1.25 cm. The regularity of the lines of script indicates that the manuscript had been ruled, although the dry lines are no longer visible. The average distance between the lines is 0.9 cm, and the reconstructed width of the column can be estimated at 12.75 cm, with 51–61 letter-spaces per line.

Palaeography establishes this formal hand in the transitional period from the Archaic to the Hasmonaean, c.175–150 BCE (Cross, p. 166). The letter size is variable; for example, the *ʾalep* can be quite small, and the *taw* is still fairly large, while in later Hasmonaean scripts (e.g. in 4QDeut^c and 4QSam^a) letter-size becomes standardized. Thick and thin pen strokes (e.g. in *yod* and *mem*) are still in use in this hand. The script is slightly later than that of 4QSam^b and 4QJer^a, but earlier than that of 4QSam^a; for example, the bending to the left of the leg on medial *šade* in 4QDeut^a does not occur in either 4QSam^b or 4QJer^a.

The orthography of 4QDeut^a is usually archaic in character. *Yod* is used as a *mater lectionis* only for * \bar{y} and **ay* > \bar{e} . *Waw* is regularly used for * \bar{u} , **aw* > \bar{o} , and the suffix of the third masculine singular, and it is occasionally used to mark * \bar{a} > \bar{o} when accented (cf. לְדוֹח in line 6), but not for any short *u* vowel (cf. עֵבֶר in line 8). This manuscript also displays the short pronominal forms ה-, ך-, and הוּא. The following is a list of merely orthographical variants found in 4QDeut^a:

- 24:3 (4) מִן כִּרְיֹחַ] מִן כִּרְיֹחַ מ
 24:4 (7) הַחֲמַט] הַחֲמַט; הַחֲמַט; הַחֲמַט; הַחֲמַט; הַחֲמַט; הַחֲמַט; הַחֲמַט (orth. and var.)
 24:5 (9) מִן נִקְיָא] מִן נִקְיָא מ

The scribe left three short intervals to mark paragraph-divisions in lines 1 (before 24:1), 8 (24:4–5), and 10 (24:6–7), but none at line 9 (24:5–6) where מ also lacks an interval, but מ has ם (see NOTES). On the basis of the small amount of extant evidence, it is impossible to assign 4QDeut^a to a textual tradition.

Mus. Inv. 256. PAM 43.102; 41.143, 41.192, 43.070.

Deut 23:26–24:8

<i>vacat</i>	תני[ן] על [קָמַת רַעַךְ	]	1
	תמצא] חן בעיניו כי מצא בה ערות ²⁴	]	2
	ו[שלחה מביתו ² והלכה והיתה לאיש	]	3
	ו[כתב לה ספר כרתת ונתן בידה ושלחה מביתו ³	]	4
	[אשר לקחה לו לאשה ⁴ ולא יוכל בעלה הראשון]	]	5
	[לשוב לקחתה להיות לו לאשה אחרי אשר הממאה כי	]	6
	[ותעבה ה']א לפני יהוה ולא החסא את הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך	]	7
	[נחלה]] כי יקח איש אשה חדשה לא יצא בצבא ולא יעבר עליו [כל]	]	8
	[דבר] גקי יהיה לביתו שנה אחת ושמח את אשתו אשר לקח[ה] ⁶ לא חתב[ה]	]	9
	[רחים] ורכב כ' נפש הוא חבל ⁷ כי ימצא איש נבל	]	10
	[ישראל] ודת[עמר בו ומכרו ומח הגלב	]	11
	[השמו] בנגע ה[צרתה לשמו] מאד ול[עשות	]	12
	[צו]אם	]	13

Part of the right margin with stitched edge has been preserved. It is certain that the words at the left of the fragment are at the left margin, since both the last word of line 9 and the first word of line 10 are partly visible.

L 1 (23 26) There is a short interval at the end of the line before chapter 24; σ III, σ קמ, ω .

L 2 (24 1) Spacing does not allow the inclusion of the longer ω text ובא אליה (אשה).

L 5 (24 4) הראשון] To the left of *sin* there is an ink trace which appears to be the head of *waw*, although it could conceivably be interpreted as a *nun* (ראשון).

L 8 (24 4-5) There is a short interval before v 5, σ III, no interval ω .

L 9 (24 6) תוכי. The 2nd masc. sing. form of the verb (with Θ S) is correct in this negative commandment (cf σ III ϵ II ϵ I). There is no interval before v 6; σ III, no interval ω .

L 10 (24 6) There is a short interval before v 7, σ III, σ קמ, ω .

L 13 (24 8) צו]אם The head of final *mem* is extant on the leather. To its right traces of ink are discernible, reconstruction of the text according to the number of letter-spaces available suggests *taw*.

VARIANTS

24 1-2 (3)	הלכה] ו[שלחה מביתו ² והלכה] 4QDeut ²² M ω Θ ϵ ;
	ω (BHS note 2 ^{a-2} errs)
24 4 (7)	יהוה] κυριου του θεου σου Θ
24 4 (7)	חמסא] ω החסיא ⁸ Θ (orth. and var.)
24 5 (8)	כלל] ω ϵ Θ ϵ Θ ϵ Θ כלל]
24 8 (12)	לעשת] ω ϵ Θ ϵ Θ ϵ Θ לעשת (cf 15 5)

29. 4QDeut^b

(PLATE II)

Preliminary publication: Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition of Deuteronomy Manuscripts from Qumran, Cave IV: 4QDt^b, 4QDt^c, 4QDt^d, 4QDt^e, 4QDt^f, 4QDt^g, 4QDt^h, 4QDtⁱ' (Ph D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1989 [University Microfilms]) 9-31 and Pls. 1-1A.

EIGHT fragments from three contiguous columns of this manuscript survive, preserving portions of Deut 29:24-27; 30:3-14; 31:9-17, 24-30; and 32:1-3. The leather is of average thickness, prepared on the recto but untreated for writing on the verso. Its colour varies from light beige to a deep reddish brown. On frg. 5 the leather is cracked and wrinkled, while the other fragments have also suffered, at various points, considerable damage to the surface with some effacing of script. Dry lines for ruling are no longer evident.

There are two margins preserved on these fragments. Frg. 2 preserves a margin between two columns which fluctuates from 0.4 to 0.8 cm, since the left margin of col. I is uneven. Frg. 5 displays a top margin virtually intact, measuring 1.3 cm.

Although only those two marginal clues survive from this manuscript, their arrangement is such that the approximate height, width, and quantity of text per column may be deduced. Reconstruction according to $\aleph\omega\theta$ suggests that the width of the columns varies somewhat: col. I has 82-88 letters per line, col. II averages 73, and col. III averages 64. The width of col. III can be estimated at c.10.5 cm. A calculation of text as in $\aleph\omega\theta$ between the corresponding lines of col. I and col. II indicates approximately 26 lines per column. The broad top margin of col. III pinpoints where col. II must have ended, suggesting that the words at the top of frg. 2 were from line 8 of the column. The average distance between lines of script is 0.7 cm, and thus the estimated height of the inscribed column is c.15.5 cm, and of the scroll c.18 cm.

4QDeut^b displays an early Hasmonaean book hand, dating c.150-100 BCE. Letter-size is not yet uniform; compare especially *taw* and *kaph*, which can be, on occasion, quite large. *Aleph* is still high and small, as is the *ayin*. The *waw* and *yod* are often distinguished by length in this MS, e.g. ידוה frg. 5 2, and היים 5 4. The forms of *mem*, medial and final, can still be quite long, primitively so in some instances. There is little, if any, thickening of the letters for ornamentation (see Cross, pp. 175-81).

The orthography of 4QDeut^b generally conforms to the patterns of \aleph and ω (see Table 1). Unaccented $\delta < *a$ is usually not represented: מצוהוי col. I 12, אלוהיך I 15, נשאים II 8, אכני III 3, ושפטים III 5, but cf. the fem. pl. endings in אבורם I 1, and קחוי I 14. Accented $\delta < *a$ is represented in האליל I 11, but cf. הוואר III 1. לא is always written without *waw*, with the exception of הלאו II 18. $\delta < *u$ is not marked, either in accented or in unaccented syllables: כל e.g. II 12, לאמר I 17, and לבחב III 1. $\delta < *aw$ is always marked (הזריה III 1, מווי III 4) with the exception of במער II 9, cf. מ. **u* is always marked (הואה II 18 and 3rd masc. pl. verbs). *Matres lectionis* are always used to mark $\delta < *ay$ (e.g. אלהיך I 15, דברי II 12, אחריי III 4) and η (e.g. ברוח III 2, אכני III 3, מווי III 4, כי e.g. I 13, and masc. pl. endings) but cf. להבעט III 8. The scribe employs the short forms of independent pronouns (וא, etc.) as well as of pronominal suffixes (ך-, ה-, etc.).



TABLE 1: Orthography

Col., line	Deut	4QDeut ^b	III	III ^{ed}	III ^{ms}
I 1	29:24	אבותם	אבתם	אבותם	אבותם
I 14	30 10	והקתיו	והקתיו	והקתיו	והקתיו
I 16	30:11	רחקה	רחקה	רחקה	רחקה
II 9	31:10	במעד	במעד	במעד	
II 18	31:17	הלא	הלא	הלא	הלא
III 4	31:27	הייתם	הייתם	הייתם	
III 8	31 29	להבעטו	להבעטו	להבעטו	להבעטו

4QDeut^b is not extant at any point where III III have displayed a paragraph-division. At frg. 5 9, however, a reconstructed paragraph-division corresponding to III III and III III is a virtual certainty, and at frg. 2 ii 13 a probability (III III, III III; see NOTE at 2 ii 14). Moreover, the position of the extant words in frgs. 5–8 10–13, containing the song of Moses, indicates that the scribe arranged the song stichometrically, with two hemistichs to a line (cf. 4QpaleoDeut^a in *DJD* IX. 131, 147).

There are deliberate marks in the margin in frg. 2 (see NOTES at I 15 and II 15), as well as possible corrections by the original scribe at 31:16 and 31:17 (see NOTES at II 16, 17).

The variant at 31:11 with III against III III indicates that this is a Judean, not Samaritan, form of the Book of Deuteronomy.

Mus Inv. 1089. PAM 43.064. IAA 204.599.

Col. I: Frgs. 1, 2 i, 3 Deut 29:24-27; 30:3-14

	<i>top margin?</i>		
[	אבותם לרח	]	(25) 1
[	ולא חלק להם ²⁶	]	2
[	אורמתם ]	]	(27) 3
	<i>[lines 4-7 missing]</i>		
	העמים אשר	]	8 12
	ומשם יקחך והביאך	]	(4) 9
	את לבבך ואת לבב	]	(6) 10
	אלהיך את כל האלות האלה	]	(7) 11
	את כל מצותיו אשר אנכי	]	(8) 12
	ובפרי אדמתך ובפרי בהמתך לשובה כי טוב	]	(9) 13
	אשר ישן]מצותיו והקתיו הכתובים	]	(10) 14 13

* [מִצָּד הַיָּם]	] חָשׁוּב אֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל לִבְבְּךָ	] (11) 15
[	] וְלֹא יִחְזַקֶּה הוּא מִמֶּךָ ¹² לֹא בְשִׁמְלִים	] 16
[	] וְלֹא ¹³ מֵעֵבֶר לִים הוּא לֹאמַר מִי יֵעֲבֹר	] 17
[	] הַדָּבָר מֵאֵד [בְּפִי]ךָ וְזָלַגְתָּךְ וּבִידֶךָ לַעֲשׂוֹתוֹ ¹⁵	] (14) 18

The left margin is preserved for this first extant column of the manuscript. Reconstruction suggests that frg. 1 began on line 1 or 2 of the column and that frg. 2 began on line 8. The column was wide, and frg. 3 would have been more distant both from the right margin and from frg. 2 than appears in the format of the transcription.

L. 12 (30:8) מצווי. There has been surface damage to the leather, resulting in the loss of parts of the *waw*, *taw*, and *yod*.

L. 12 (30:8) אב. Most of the *yod* has been lost due to surface damage.

L. 13 (30:9) ובפרי ארמך ובפרי בהמך. Although homoioteleuton is a possibility, spatial reconstruction indicates that this MS contained the complete phrase with $\mu\theta$. For the sequence in \mathbb{M} see 28:11 where $\mu\mu\theta$ all read *בפרי ארמך ובפרי בהמך*.

L. 13 (30:9) ישוב. The head of *yod* is visible above the hole. Surface wear has destroyed most of the *šin*, but the tops of the right and left strokes can still be seen.

L. 14 (30:9) אשר. In PAM 43.064 there appear traces to the right of *alep*, but they are on a separate, tiny piece which does not belong to this fragment.

L. 14 (30:10) הכוזבים. Small pieces have been rejoined to the fragment incorrectly. The stroke above the bottom stroke of *kap* (which is placed too high) may either be the top of that letter, or of the *taw* following. The right side of *taw* has been lost with the surface. A trace of the tip of *waw* is discernible just above the leg of *taw*; the rest of the letter would have been on a small piece which is no longer joined to the fragment. Part of the top stroke of *bet* has been swallowed in the crack, making it appear more narrow; most of the bottom stroke has been lost with the surface, but the end of the stroke is just visible under the *yod*.

L. 15 (30:11) * הים. Smearing of ink has occurred around the *he*. There are three strokes of ink at the end of this line which are not part of a letter but which appear to be deliberate, rather than accidental. These markings do not correspond in kind to any of the para-textual elements discussed by Malachi Martin in *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1958) 1. 144–203.

L. 16 (30:12) בשלמים. The baseline of *mem* is discernible just under the gap in the leather.

VARIANTS

29:24 (1)	לָרַח] pr $\mu\mu$; cf $\theta\epsilon\varsigma$
30:4 ^{bin} (9)	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ] $\mu\mu\theta^{AO\epsilon\varsigma\delta}$ + θ^{BCdn}
30:9 (13)	בפרי ארמך ובפרי בהמך] $\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma\delta$ (see NOTE)
30:9 (13)	בפרי ארמך ובפרי בהמך] $\mu\mu\theta^{O\epsilon\varsigma}$ > θ^{ABCn}
30:10 (14)	יִמְשַׁמְּפוּ +] $\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma\delta$
30:10 (14)	הַכּוֹזְבִים] cf $\epsilon^{O\varsigma}$
30:11 (16)	הוּא] $\mu\epsilon$
30:11 (16)	מִמֶּךָ] θ > $\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma$
30:13 (17)	הוּא] $\mu\epsilon$
30:14 (18)	וּבִידֶךָ] θ > $\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma\delta$

Col. II: Frgs. 2 ii, 4 Deut 31:9-17

[	(לוי) הנשאים] את ארון	(10)	8
[	במועד שנת 0	(11)	9
[	יבחר תקראו]	(12)	10
[	והספ וגרך]		11
[	את כל דברי התורה	(13)	12
[	]		13
[	ו]יאמר יהוה		14
[	עמד העץ פתח האהל] 0	(15)	15 14
[	א]לדו נ]א) כר הארץ]] 16		16
[	]בו ביום הווא 000	(17)	17
[	]ואמר ביום הווא הלוא על 0		18

The right margin of this column is partly preserved, continuing from the previous column. The first extant part of frg. 2 ii is line 8, which aligns with the equivalent line in col. I (frg. 2 i). Frg. 4 could fall either on line 15 or line 16, depending on whether the intervening text corresponded to ממ or to the slightly longer text of ט . The material evidence seems to favour the former option: the similar contours of the top and left edges of frgs. 3 and 4 indicate that the line reading פתח האהל (frg. 4 15) is in horizontal alignment with the one containing יהוה אל ידה אלהך בכל לבבך (frg. 3 15). There are several indistinct traces on this fragment; in particular the reading of line 16, where the surface has been much eroded, is now impossible to determine with any certainty. The letters which can be identified are distorted and, in some instances, are unevenly spaced (for instance, 000 הווא in line 17, and הלוא in line 18). These factors suggest that the scribe may have been writing on a damaged surface.

L 12 (31 12) התורה The surface has been lost where the short angular base of *taw* should be visible.

L 14 (31 14) ויאמר Reconstruction indicates that the extant *toaw* and *yod* belong to the first word of verse 14 The reconstructed text between the last extant part of line 12 and this point is somewhat short of filling two lines, suggesting the possibility of an interval in the MS; ממ , ט , א .

L 15 (31 14) The two strokes seen at the margin here are ink; they appear to be deliberate rather than accidental The horizontal stroke resembles a paragraphos, but it would apparently occur in the middle of v 14 The lower stroke may well be the initial letter in line 15, perhaps *waw* of ויציצבו (compare the *waw* immediately above)

L 15 (31 15) העץ For medial *nun* here, compare ב]עי]י, frg. 5 8 (see esp. IAA 204.599; cf. ג]ען also in 4QDeut¹ at col III 1, 5:22) The faint lines to the right of medial *nun* in the photograph are not ink, the surface of the leather has been entirely destroyed here. (The dark trace in the photograph, above and to the right, is not ink)

L 15 (31 15) האהל The traces appear to be the remnants of *he*, *'alep*, *he*. The right leg of the first *he* is visible, the crossbar of the letter is caved in, and the left leg has been destroyed with the surface.

The lower left leg, and the diagonal of *'alep* are visible. Most of the second *he* is rubbed away, but the lower tips of the legs remain.

L. 16 (31:16) כִּי (א)כִּי. Much of the surface in this line has been lost, which may reflect an attempted erasure. The proposed decipherment would suit the spacing of the fragment but is problematic palaeographically, though the tail of the final *šade* in the following וְאָרָץ helps anchor it. The clearest ink strokes, 1 cm in from the right edge, are best seen as *kap*, and the following oblique stroke as *reš*. The letter preceding *kap* is smudged, with a diagonal stroke emerging from the bottom left, suggestive of *'alep*. The top half of a possible *nun* is preserved just before the smudge. Both the possibility of an erasure and the traces suggestive of *'alep* indicate that the scribe may have begun writing אֱלֹהִים (אלהי), as in vv 18 and 20, for אֱלֹהֵי of this verse.

L. 17 (31:17)]¹⁰⁰⁰. The only thing which can be said with certainty is that 4QDeut^b is not reading עֲבָדִים (cf. 31:17). The strokes appear to have been overwritten, perhaps in an attempt at correction; note in particular the first letter (*waw* or *reš*?) following הָרָמָה. The vertical stroke seen above this letter is ink. A possible reading is <ו>נְחִיזִים, taking the stroke above the line as a supralinear *zayin* (cf. Zech. 10:6, which reads כְּאִשֵּׁר לֹא נִחְזָזִים). This proposal is problematic from a palaeographical standpoint as the head of the *waw* is oversized (but compare frg. 5 6, וְאֶעֱלֶהּ) and the right leg of *het* somewhat long; considerable distortion of the letters, however, must be assumed in any case, since they suit no identification well.

VARIANTS

31:11 (10)] 31:11 (10)] 31:15 (15)]

31:11 (10)] 31:11 (10)] 31:15 (15)]

31:15 (15)] 31:15 (15)]

Col. III: Frgs. 5–8 Deut 31:24–32:3

[	לְמַשָּׁה לְכַתֵּב אֶת דְּבַרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת עַל סֵפֶר עַד תָּמַס ²⁵ יֵצֵאוּ מִשָּׁה אֵת]	]	1
[	בְּרִית יְהוָה לְאָמֵר לִקַּח אֶת סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת וּשְׂמָחָם אֹתוֹ מִצִּוְיָ]	]	2
[	אֱלֹהִים וְהִיא שֵׁם צֶדֶק לְעַד ²⁷ כִּי אֲנֹכִי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת מִרְיָךְ וְאֶת עֵרְפֶךָ וְהִקְשָׁה]	]	3
[	עַלְלָם הַיּוֹם מִמְרִים הַיְיָ עִם יְהוָה וְאָף כִּי אֲחִירִי מוֹתִי הִקְלֹהִיל ²⁸	]	4
[	שְׁבִטֶיךָ חִקִּיכֶם] וּשְׁפָטֶיךָ וּשְׁמִירֶיךָ וְאֲדַבְרֶיךָ בְּאֹזְנֵיךָ]	]	5
[	הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֶעֱלֶהּ בָּם אֶת הַשְּׁלֵמִים וְאֶת הָאֲרָץ ²⁹ כִּי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת־יְהוָה]	]	6
[	אֶשְׁחַחֲוֹן] וּסְרַחֵם מִן הָאֲרָץ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֶתְכֶם וְקִרְאתִי]	]	7
[	הַיְיָ] כִּי תַעֲשֶׂה אֶת הָאֲרָץ בְּעֵינָי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִסוּ]	]	8 f.6 (30)
[	קָה] יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת הָאֲרָץ הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת] עַד תָּמַס	]	9
[	הַזֹּאת] יִשְׂרָאֵל] וְהַשְּׁמֵעַ הָאֲרָץ אֶת־יְהוָה פִּי	]	10 f.7 vacat
[	יִעֲרַף כְּמַסַּךְ לִתְלִי תוֹל כְּסָף אֲמַרְתִּי]	]	11 f.8 vacat
[	כְּשַׁעֲרִים עָלַי דְּשֵׁא וְכַרְבִּיבִים עָלַי עָשָׂב]	]	12 vacat
[	כִּי שֵׁם יְהוָה אֲקִרָא הַבּוֹ] גִּדְּלֵה לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ	]	13 vacat

On this piece the leather is blackened in some areas and its surface is corrugated and occasionally cracked and split. Photographs 42.064 and 204.599 [partial] should both be consulted; 204.599, which is more recent, shows a new join of two small pieces near the end, but at three points (see lines 6 and 8) small bits of leather are no longer extant. This column averages about 64 letter-spaces to a line. The extant material in lines 10-13 of the song of Moses indicates that the scribe was writing stichometrically, with two hemistichs to a line (cf. 4QpaleoDeut^r in *DJD* IX. 131, 147).

L 4 (31:27) עֲלֵבֶט. The surface near the edge of the leather has been almost entirely destroyed; the lower left portion of medial *mem* is visible, as well as the head and downstroke of *kap*. Only a trace of the top of final *mem* remains.

L 5 (31:28) טִבְטִיכֵם. The tips of the right and middle arms of *šin* are evident, as well as the base-stroke of *bet*.

L 6 (31:28) הַאֵלֶּה. Most of the *'alep* has been destroyed with the surface, but a part of the left leg remains (for *he* see PAM 42.064).

L 7 (31:29) הַשְּׁמִירִים. The top of *nun* is just discernible.

L 7 (31:29) הֵי. Only the left leg of *he* is visible.

L 8 (31:29) הַשְּׁמִירִים. The stroke below the *het* of הַשְּׁמִירִים (line 7) is tentatively identified as the top of final *mem*.

L 8 (31:29) בְּנֵינִי. The faint lines following the gap in the photograph are the traces of *nun* and *yod*.

L 9 (31:30) קָהִי. The stroke of *lamed* is barely visible on the edge of the leather.

L 9 (31:30) דָּלֵט. Only the head of *dalet* is visible. The downstroke of *bet* is split, and part of the lower stroke has been lost. *Yod* has been distorted due to numerous cracks running through the leather at this point.

L 9-10 (31:30^h-32:1) The exant letters in line 10 indicate that the scribe left the end of line 9 blank and began a new line with the beginning of the poem in 32:1; קָהִי, דָּלֵט, יוֹד.

L 10 (32:1) הֵי. The first trace may be the *šin* of הַשְּׁמִירִים. The third circlet represents two traces of ink, which are virtually one on top of the other.

L 10 (32:1) וְאֵרְבֵּי. There are two dots of ink, one above the tear and one below, which are probably part of the *he* (cf. וְאֵרְבֵּי הַיָּמִים).

L 10 (32:1) הַיָּמִים. Most of the *'ayin* has been swallowed in the crack. Of the *he* only the right side (note the evidence of the breakthrough) and the left corner remain on the leather.

L 11 (32:2) כִּסְּףֵי אֲמִרְתִּי. The reading of *'alep* is doubtful, but the rest of the letters in this word are more certain. The preceding trace of ink high above the line and below the *tav* of הַיָּמִים in line 10 is *lamed*.

L 12 (32:2) עֲטִיב. A small part of the right arm of *'ayin* has been lost, but the reading is certain.

L 13 (32:3) גְּדוּלָה. The left side of *gimel* is preserved (typically in this MS the left leg joins the downstroke near the top, see עֲנַךְ frg. 2 u 11). The head of *dalet* is slightly distorted by a crack in the leather. The head of *tav* is just visible on the edge of the leather, as is the top of *lamed*.

VARIANTS

- 31:26 (2) לקחו] מ לקח μ cf. $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\delta$
 31:26 (2) הזה] $\Theta\epsilon$ הזה] $\mu\mu\Theta\sigma$
 31:27 (4) יהיה] $\mu\mu\Theta^{448}$ יהיה] $\Theta^{ABOC\delta\mu}$
 31:28 (5)] Θ] $\mu\mu\Theta\sigma$
 32:3 (13)] גְּדוּלָה] $\mu\mu$ גדל (cf. Ps 145:3, 6, 2 Sam 7:21, 23)

30. 4QDeut^c

(PLATES III-IX)

Preliminary publication: Sidnie Ann White, 'A Critical Edition', 19-132; 'Special Features', 160-62.

THE LARGEST Deuteronomy manuscript from Cave 4 is 4QDeut^c. It has the greatest amount of text from the most number of chapters, and consists of 55 identifiable fragments, and eleven which have not yet been identified. The original colour of the manuscript was a yellowish brown, now greyish brown on certain fragments, yellow with darker stains on others, and dark brown on others. The leather was of medium thickness and well-prepared, but now it is quite dry and cracked, so that the surface is extremely damaged at certain points. A certain amount of wrinkling and shrinkage has occurred. On some fragments (e.g. frg. 51) the leather has become so black that the letters are barely visible, while on others (e.g. frgs. 37-41) they are worn and faded. Vertical and horizontal dry lines are visible on the manuscript (e.g. frg. 5).

Portions of 23 columns are represented in this manuscript, having *c.* 27 lines per column. There appear to be two column widths in the manuscript: a shorter width of approximately 36-46 letter-spaces, and a longer width of approximately 47-58 letter-spaces. Frg. 54 col. ii is a special case because it contains, in its one extant line, part of Deut 32. On the basis of the number of lines that column must have contained (estimated from the bottom line of frg. 54 col. i), chap. 32 seems to be written stichometrically, with one stichos of poetry (one-half verse in Hebrew) per line.

Five fragments have two partially extant columns: 3, 25?, 32, 45, and 54. Two fragments have an extant top margin: 4 and 46. Frgs. 16, 27, 45, 53, and 54 have preserved a bottom margin. A right margin is present on frgs. 5 (with remains of stitching), 27, 41, and 50, and a left margin on frgs. 5, 6, 20, 29, 36, 47, and 53 (with remains of stitching). The average distance between columns is 1.35 cm. The average distance from line to line is 0.9 cm.

The surviving fragments preserve portions of the following text of Deuteronomy:

3:25-26	11:3, 9-13, 18	26:19-27:2
4:13-17, 31-32	12:18-19, 26, 31	27:24-28:14, 20,
7:3-4	13:5, 7, 11-12, 16	22-25, 29-30,
8:1-5	15:1-4, 15-19	48-50, 61
9:11-12, 17-19	16:2-3, 6-11	29:17-19
9:29-10:2	16:21-17:5, 7	31:16-19
10:5-8	17:15-18:1	32:3

The hand of 4QDeut^c is a typical Hasmonaean book hand, to be dated *c.* 150-100 BCE (roughly the same date as 1QIsa^a). This is a clear, precise script, with letters of uniform size and very little thickening of the letters for ornamentation. The letters which give the clearest indication of Hasmonaean date are: *dalep*, *gimel* (on which the left leg joins where the right leg curves inward), *het*, *kap* (which can sometimes have a straight downstroke), *mem* (which can sometimes have a straight downstroke), *nun*, *sade* (where the bend of the tail has become a base stroke on the medial form), and *res*, all of which have become standard sized.

4QDeut^c, in its extant portions, uses a fairly full orthography (see Table 1). It consistently uses *matres lectionis* to mark *aw > ō (e.g. יוסיפו frg. 24 2, א 32 ii 7), *ay > ē (e.g. בני 10 2, דב"י 55 i 7), *ī (e.g. כי 5 5) and *ū (e.g. 3rd masc. pl. verbs, but cf. שבעה 32 i 7). The manuscript uses a waw to mark *ā > ā when it is accented (e.g. שמע 15 8), however, unaccented *ā > ā (e.g. all forms of אלהים) is not marked. לא is never written with a *mater lectionis*. Short *u, *a, and *i are never marked with *matres lectionis*. 4QDeut^c uses the short forms of the pronominal suffixes, ווא, דא, דך, etc.

TABLE 1: Orthography

Frg., Line	Deut	4QDeut ^c	III	III ^{ed}	III ^{ms}
2-3 i 2	4:14	ואווי	ואווי	ואווי	
2-3 i 3	4:14	לעשוהם	לעשוהם	לעשוהם	
5 2	8:2	הוליכך	הליכך	הוליכך	הוליכך
5 3	8:2	לסוחדך	לסוחדך	לסוחדך	
5 4	8:3	וירעבך	וירעבך	וירעבך	
5 4	8:3	ויראכלך	ויראכלך	ויראכלך	ויראכלך
5 4	8:3	אבוהך	אבוהך	אבוהך	אבוהך
5 5	8:3	הודיעך	הודיעך	הודיעך	הודיעך
7-8 2	9:18	כראשנה	כראשנה	כראישנה	
9 2	10:1	הראשונים	כראשנים	כראישנים	
12-15 4	11:10	ברגלך	ברגלך	ברגלך	
12-15 6	11:12	אחה	אחה	אחה	
12-15 8	11:13	שמע	שמע	שמע	
16 2	11:18	למספוח	למספוח	למספוח	למספוח ^{5ad}
21 i	13:5	ואוולן	ואווי	ואווי	
24 2	13:12	יוסיפו	יוספו	יוספו	יוסיפו
32 i-33 6	16:9	שבעה	שבעה	שבעה	
32 i-33 8	16:10	נרבה	נרבה	נרבה	
35 i	17:7	בראשנה	בראשנה	בראישנה	
36-41 10	17:20 (orth. or var.?)	רום	רום	רום	רום
43-45 i 5	28:1	שמע	שמע	שמע	
43-45 i 6	28:1	אנכי	אנכי	אנכי	
43-45 i 7	28:2	והשיגך	והשיגך	והשיגך	
43-45 i 10	28:6	בבואך	בבאך	בבאך	
43-45 i 11	28:7	אויבך	אויבך	אויבך	

Intervals to mark paragraph-division in 4QDeut^c appear at the following places:

Frg. 32 i 6 (16:8) interval] III, קנה III

Frg. 35 2 (17:7) interval] III, קנה III

Frg. 42 2 (26:19) interval] III, קנה III

Frg. 54-55 i 4 (31 17) interval after וצרות] no interval III, קנה III^{ms}

It can be said with assurance that 4QDeut^c is not a manuscript of the Samaritan tradition, since, in the one instance in the chapters represented by this manuscript where μ purposely revises its text to agree with the parallel text of Numbers (chap. 10), 4QDeut^c does not agree with μ , but follows the text of \mathfrak{M} and Θ .

Mus. Inv. 237, 238, 243.

PAM 43.065, 43.067, 43.069; 40.610, 40.968, 41.189, 41.592, 41.939, 42.006, 42.630, 42.705, 42.716, 44.016.

Fig. 1 Deut 3:25-26

[	דאר[ן] דמ[ו]בה	]	1
[	ודלב[נ]ן ²⁶ ויחעב[ר]	]	2
[	י'הו[נ]ה	]	3

Figs. 2-3 col. i Deut 4:13-17

	לח[ו]ת אבנים	לע[שה] עש[ר]ת	1	13
	חקים ומשפטים	י'ו[או]תי צ'נה	2	
	ה'ירדן שמה	לעשוחכם א[נ]וחם	3	
	י'איתם כל חמלתה	]	(15)	4
	פן תשח[ו]תון ועשיתם	]		5
	בהמה אשר	]	(17)	6

VARIANTS

4:14 (3)] ה'ירדן] > $\mathfrak{M}\mu\Theta\mathcal{E}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{D}$ (cf 4:26)

4:15 (4)] חמלתה] $\mathfrak{M}\mu\Theta^{A1}\mathcal{E}\mathcal{S}$] $\sigma\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\sigma\Theta^{ABC\mathcal{S}}$

Fig. 3 col. ii Deut 4:31-32

[		אשר נשבע]	(32)	2
[		אשר [ב'רא]		3

L. 2 נשבע]. The original scribe wrote *bet*, perhaps correcting from a *kap*.

Frg. 4 Deut 7:3-4

	<i>top margin</i>		
	[	לבנך כני	] 1
	[	אף יודה אלהיכם	] 2

VARIANT

7:4 (2) [אלהיכם] > $\text{m.}\omega\text{t}\epsilon\text{S}\text{D}$; ο θεος θ^V

Frg. 5 Deut 8:1-5

		(2)	1
	[	] אלהיך אשר נשבע	1
	[	דוליך יודה אלהיך זה ארבעים שנה	2
		נסתך ולדעה אח אשר בלבך החשמר מצותיו אם לא יייעךך	3
		וירעיבך ויאכילך את המן אשר לא ידעת ולא ידעו אבותיך	4
		למען הוריעך כי לא על הלחם לברו יחיה האדם כי על כל מוצא פי	5
	[	יחיה יחיה האדם שלמתך {ך} לא בלחה מעליך	6
	[	זה ארבעים שנה וירעת עם לבבך	7

Fig. 5 contains a right margin with the remains of stitching and a left margin at line 4.

L 6 (8 4) Directly to the left of שלמתך is a faint, erased *kap*.

VARIANTS

8 1	(1)	[אלהיך]	+ αγαθη θ^{AC}
8 2	(2)	[זה ארבעים שנה]	> $\theta^{ABC} L_a$
8 2	(3)	[נסתך]	και εκπειραση σε θ ; $\text{m.}\omega\text{t}\epsilon\text{S}\text{D}$
8 2	(3)	[ולדעת]	$\text{m.}\omega\text{t}\epsilon\text{S}\text{D}$
8 2	(3)	[אח אשר]	δυσχερως, $\text{m.}\omega\text{t}\epsilon\text{S}\text{D}$
8 3	(4)	[המן]	+ εν τη ερημω $\theta^{B^m\text{max}}$
8:3	(4)	[ידעך]	ουκ ηδειςαν θ
8.3	(5)	[מוצא]	quod egreditur θ
8 4	(6)	[שלמתך]	$\text{m.}\omega\text{t}\epsilon\text{S}\text{D}$
8:4	(6)	[בלחה]	ουκ επαλαιωθη απο σου τα υποδηματα σου ου κατετριβη θ^B ; - $\text{m.}\omega\text{t}\epsilon\text{S}\text{D}$

Fig. 6 Deut 9:11-12

אלי	]	1
ידוה אלי	]	(12) 2
אשר	]	3

Frgs. 7-8 Deut 9:17-19

[	ואשלכם מעל שתי	]	1
[	ידוה כראשונה	]	(18) 2
[	לא שתיחי	]	3 f 8
[	לעשות דרע בעיני	]	4
[	אשר קצף ידוה	]	(19) 5

bottom margin?

VARIANTS

- 9:17 (1) [אלי מ m Ⓞ^{BDt} L^{CD}] > Ⓞ^{AC}
 9:18 (2) [ידוה מ m L^{CD}] + Bevrepon Ⓞ

Fig. 9 Deut 9:29-10:2

[	דגמיוה ¹⁰¹ בעת	]	1
[	אבנים הראשונים	]	2
[	אשר ידוה	]	(2) 3

The identification of this fragment is dubious. Of all possible loci in M, the fragment fits Deut 10:1-2 the best, but it contains variants not found in any of the other witnesses.

L. 1 (9:29) דגמיוה. There is a trace of ink extant to the right of *bet* which may be *he*.

L. 3 (10:2) אשר M. This is a supralinear correction. The *res* is clear on the leather. The left down-stroke and upper arm of *sin* are faintly visible. If *alep* was visible, it has completely faded off the leather. This word would appear to be the אשר of 10:2 which occurs after *drbrim*. If this is the case, it would strengthen the argument that ידוה is a mistake for דו (see below), since if אשר was omitted by parablepsis, the natural place for its restoration would be over the following word. It is also possible that this correction signals a large haplography in the text after עץ at the end of v 1. The reconstruction of the text would place עץ at the end of line 2, a line of 45 letter-spaces (line 1 contains 44). This does not leave room at the beginning of line 3 for all of הדברים אשר ידוה (assuming that ידוה is a mistake for דו). Therefore, most of this text must have been written, with אשר, above the line.

VARIANTS

10:1 (2) מִמְּטָה כְּרִמְסִים] הַרְאִשְׁוֹנִים

10:2 (3) יָדָה] > מִמְּטָה. This is a unique variant. According to the amount of space available in lines 2 and 3, יָדָה should stand approximately where the other witnesses read דְּבַרֵי יָדָה in 10:2. It is possible that this is a variant text reading דְּבַרֵי יָדָה. Slightly later in the verse דָּו appears. It is also possible that יָדָה is a scribal error for דָּו. It should be noted that earlier in the verse, Θ^B has a 2nd person verb, $\gamma\psi\alpha\psi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, instead of the 1st person verb וְאֶכְרַב. If 4QDeut^c had a 2nd masc. sing. verb, the subject of which would be Moses, the phrase יָדָה דְּבַרֵי would make better sense. However, the text of Θ^B is $\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, in agreement with \mathfrak{M} et al. Finally, in v 4 we find the phrase יָדָה דְּבַרֵי, with the verb וְיִכְתֹּב. Therefore, יָדָה here may be an anticipation of יָדָה in v 4.

Fig. 10 Deut 10:5-8

[	בְּאֵרֶוֹן] (אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי]	1
[	וְלִבִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל נֹאֵעַ] ⁶ <i>eacat</i>	2
[	וְיִקְבֵר שֵׁם וְיִזְכֹּר]	(7) 3
[	וְלִפְנֵי הַגְּדִירָה]	(8) 4
[	שֵׁם]	5

L. 2 (10:5) Although it is unusual to find an interval at the beginning of a line, there probably was one at the beginning of line 2 before וְלִבִּי, the first word of v 6 (cf. similarly at 28:1), since there is a trace of final *nun* from בְּאֵרֶוֹן at the beginning of line 1, and v 5 ends at the end of line 1; interval \mathfrak{M} , נֹאֵעַ \mathfrak{M} .

VARIANTS

10 6 (2-3)] > מִמְּטָה] (מִסְרָה שֵׁם מִן אֲדָרִין וְיִקְבֵר שֵׁם וְיִזְכֹּר אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן חֲזַחִין]

10-7 (4)] מִמְּטָה] (וְלִפְנֵי הַגְּדִירָה]

Fig. 11 Deut 11:3

[	וְיִזְכֹּר אֶת־יְיָ]	1
[	מִלֶּךְ מִצְרַיִם]	2

VARIANT

11 3 (2)] > מִמְּטָה] (מִלֶּךְ מִצְרַיִם]

Frgs. 12–15 Deut 11:9-13

[	נ]שבע ל'ז'ז'ן לא]ב'ח'יכם	]	1
[	א]בה חלב ורפש ¹⁰ כי ה]א'רץ	]	2
[	מ]צ'רים היא אש'ן	]	3
[	כ]ן ה'רק ב]רנ'ך ¹¹ ה]א'רץ	]	4
[	ה]רים ו]בקע' f למס'ר	]	(12) 5 f.13
[	י]ד'ה אלה'ך דרש או]ת'ן	]	6 f.14,15
[	השנ'ה ועד או]ר'ת'ה	]	7
[	שמוע חש'נ'עו	]	¹³ 8
[	]	o []	9

L. 2 (11:9) א]בה חלב. The left side of *het* is visible on the plate. After the photograph was taken, a small piece with the preceding word ו]ב'ח was joined to the fragment in the museum.

L. 4 (11:10) כ]ן ה'רק. The *yod* is marked by correction dots, indicating that the correct reading is ברנ'ך, as in III . The original scribe inserted כ]ן supralinearly, and presumably the final word ה'רק as well.

VARIANTS

11:10 (3) III הוא] מ] (הוא) 4QDeut^{k1} היא

11:10 (4) III הוא] מ] (הוא) 4QDeut^{k1} ברנ'ך] מ] ברנ'ך = ב]רנ'ך
 S כ]ן ה'רק (orth. or var.?)

Frg. 16 Deut 11:18

[	דבר'ך אלה על	]	1
[	וה'ך לשומפ'ת בין עינ'כם ¹⁹	]	2

bottom margin

VARIANT

11:18 (1) III דבר'ך אלה] מ] S ταυτα ταυτα θ; פ'מ'ט'א; S S

Frgs. 17-18 Deut 12:18-19

[	וב[הך]	]	1
[	אלהיך בכל]	בלשעריך]	2 f 18
[	האר[בת]	לך פן תעוב אה]	(19) 3

bottom margin

VARIANTS

12.18 (2)	בלשעריך]	εν ταις πολεσιν(דבקריך) σου(μμωθ ^{IN})	θ ^{ON} NS
12.19 (3)	האר[בת]	ס ^{ON} ארמחך]	μμθ ^{ON} τ

Frg. 19 Deut 12:26

[תדרריך חשא וב[אח]	26]	1
---	-------------------	-----	---

Frg. 20 Deut 12:31

oo[	]	1
שנא[	]	2

The identification of this fragment is made on the basis of palaeography and physical characteristics. There are only two places in Deuteronomy where שנא appears, at 12:31 and 16:22. This fragment cannot fit at 16:22, since the reconstruction of frgs. 32 and 34 col. 11, which preserve part of chap. 16, demands that שנא appear in the middle of a line. This fragment preserves a left margin after שנא; therefore it must be identified as 12:31.

Frg. 21 Deut 13:5

[אלהיכם חלכון ואוחיו]	5]	1
[לבו (לדבקון)]	2

VARIANT

13.5 (1)	חלש]	חלכון
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Frgs. 22–23 Deut 13:7

[בן אביִן] או בן אמך] או בןך או אשתך]	1
[אשר כנפִשך בסתר לאמִי וללכה]	2

VARIANTS

13:7 (1)	שׁוּשׁוּ בן אמך] שׁוּשׁוּ בן אביִן] או בן אמך]
13:7 (1)	שׁוּשׁוּ בןך או בןך או אשתך] בןך או אשתך

Frg. 24 Deut 13:11-12

[	מצרים מבִּית	]	(12) 1
[	יוֹסִיפוּ לַעֲשׂוּהָ	]	2

VARIANT

13:12 (2)	שׁוּשׁוּ] מֵעַס] יוֹסִיפוּ עִדָּה AOC ^{dat} ; προσθησαι επι σ ^B
-----------	---

Frg. 25 col. i

] חֲחִלְ	]	1
]ֹ	]	2

It is not clear whether this fragment really contains two separate columns, or if the original join is correct. Since the first part of the fragment is unidentified, we have presented it as two separate columns for the convenience of the reader.

L. 1 חֲחִלְ. The letter on the right is tentatively identified as *samek* because of the loop on its left. The letter identified as *dalet* may have a trace of a left downstroke as well as a right downstroke; if this is the case, then the letter might be identified as *he*.

Frg. 25 col. ii Deut 13:16

[	ואח בהמחה]	]	1
[	]ֹ [ ]ֹ [ ]ֹ	]	2

VARIANT

13:16 (1)	שׁוּשׁוּ] וְאַחַח בְּהַמְחָה] > σ
-----------	-------------------------------------

Frgs. 26–27 Deut 15:1-4

[	]	<i>vacat</i>	[	]	1
[					2
[					3
[					(3) 4
[					(4) 5
[					6
[					7

bottom margin

VARIANTS

15 2 (3)	בעל $\text{m} \omega \text{CS}$] > Ⓞ
15 2 (4)	$\text{m} \omega \text{ESD}$: τον αδελφον σου ουκ απαιτησεις, οτι επικαλεηται Ⓞ] Ⓞ לא יש כי קרא] Ⓞ לא יש כי קרא
15 2 (4)	$\text{m} \omega \text{AOC}^{\text{det}} \text{CS}$] η αφεισις Ⓞ ^B] Ⓞ לא יש כי קרא] Ⓞ לא יש כי קרא
15 3 (5)	$\text{m} \omega \text{CS}$] + παρ αυτω Ⓞ
15 4 (6)	ברוך m] ברוך m ברך

Frgs. 28–30 Deut 15:15-19

	[	א]ח הרב[ר]	]		1
	[	כ]ף אול[בך]	]	(16)	2
	[	באזנ]	]	(17)	3 f 29
	[	א]קשה	]	(18)	4
	[	מ]שלה (שכר שכר	]		5
	[	בכל אשר תעשה	]		6
	[	א]בקרך]		19]	7 f 30

VARIANTS

15 18 (5)	מ]שלה $\text{m} \omega \text{CS}$] εφετειου Ⓞ
15 18 (5)	שכר m] שכר

Frg. 31 Deut 16:2-3

[	צאן וּבְקָרָן]	(3)	1
[	האכל עליו חֹמֶץ]		2

VARIANT

16:3 (2) מִסְעֵהוּ מִסְעֵהוּ] מִסְעֵהוּ מִסְעֵהוּ^N

Frgs. 32 col. i, 33 Deut 16:6-11

אלהיך לשכן שמו	]	1
[מִן־אֶרֶץ]	]	2
וְהוֹדָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בּוֹ	]	3
שֶׁבַע יָמִים מִצֹּאת הָאֱכָלוֹ	]	4
לִידוֹ הָאֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה בּוֹ כָל	]	5
מִלֵּאכָה	]	6
שֶׁבַע שָׁבָעָה שְׁבַעֲתָה הַסֵּפֶר	]	7
לְסֵפֶר שֶׁבַעָה שְׁבַעֲתָה וְעֵשִׂיתָ	]	8
מִלֵּוֹת נְדֻבֹת יָדְךָ אֲשֶׁר תַּחֲנוּן	]	9
כִּי־אֲשֶׁר בֵּרַכְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְשָׂמַח־תָּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	]	10
וְהָרַג הַזֶּהוּם וְאֶלְמָנָה	]	11
וְהָלֹוִי אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁעֲבֶכָּ	]	12
בְּקִרְבְּךָ בְּמִקְוָם	]	13
אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא־שָׁכַן	]	14

L. 1 (16:6) אֱלֹהֶיךָ. The head of a *kap* is discernible to the right of the *lamed* of לשכן. Although it is quite low on the line, it is too high to belong to line 2.

L. 2 (16:6) [מִן־אֶרֶץ]. The bottom right corner of *mem* is extant. Based on the amount of space available, it is probable that 4QDeut^c read [מִן־אֶרֶץ] with $\Theta^{AOC}La$, and not מִן־אֶרֶץ with $\Theta^{Bnt}ESD$, since, if we restored מִן־אֶרֶץ at the end of line 2, the beginning of line 3 would not be properly filled out. This reading in 4QDeut^c may be a reminiscence from v. 3.

L. 6 (16:8) The scribe left an interval before v. 9; Θ , Σ , Ω , Ψ , Φ . There is space available that would permit the longer readings of μ , Θ or Σ , although with the interval it is unlikely.

L. 8 (16:10) מִלֵּוֹת. The texts of Ω and μ read מִלֵּוֹת. The final *taw* is clear on the leather. However, the traces to its right cannot be interpreted as *samek*. *Samek* has a loop at the left, moving into the crossbar; this trace is a slightly curved downstroke. It is, in fact, the same height and shape as the downstroke of the neighboring *taw*. Therefore, we have interpreted it as *taw*, and have restored מִלֵּוֹת, which fits the context (see VAR).

L. 9 (16:10) כִּי־אֲשֶׁר בֵּרַכְךָ. It is difficult to determine whether this MS had בֵּרַכְךָ with Θ or בֵּרַכְךָ with μ ; Θ is similarly ambiguous with $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (fut. or aor.?), although $\Theta^{AFM}M^{ms}$ have $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ (ν).

L. 10 (16-11)] בשעריפ is crossed out, so the the MS now agrees with $\Theta^B \mathcal{E}^N$ (see VAR.).

L. 10 (16-11)] דגרי היזום ואלמנה is written supralinearly.

VARIANTS

- 16:6 (1)] איה סמי] איה סמי \mathbb{M}
- 16 8 (4)] טבעת $\mathbb{M} \Theta \mathcal{E} \mathcal{S}$
- 16 8 (4)] מצוה האכלו $\mathbb{M} \Theta \mathcal{E} \mathcal{S} \mathcal{D}$
- 16.8 (5)] א ב כ ל > $\mathbb{M} \mathcal{E} \mathcal{D}$; \mathbb{M} ב כ ל \mathcal{S}
- 16 9 (6)] טבעת $\mathbb{M} \Theta^B \text{La} \mathcal{E} \mathcal{S} \mathcal{D}$] + ολοκληρους $\Theta^{AOC \text{ det}}$
- 16 10 (8)] אלה $\mathbb{M} \Theta \mathcal{E} \mathcal{S}$, καθοτι Θ ; oblationem \mathcal{D} (see NOTE)
- 16 10 (8)] נדבה ירך $\mathbb{M} \Theta^{AC \text{ det}} \mathcal{E} \mathcal{D}$; η χειρ σου $\Theta^B \text{La}$
- 16 10 (8)] $\mathbb{M} \Theta^{MS} \mathcal{E} \mathcal{S} \mathcal{D}$] $\delta\omega$ σοι Θ ; $\delta\omega\sigma\epsilon\iota$ Θ^{MS}
- 16 11 (10)] איה > Θ^B איה $\Theta^{AOC \text{ det}} \mathcal{E} \mathcal{S} \mathcal{D}$; \mathbb{M} איה ובנך] איה בלך
- 16 11 (10-11)] 4QDeut^c: חלזי אשר בשעריפ] $\Theta^B \mathcal{E}^N$ חלזי ודגרי היזום ואלמנה אשר | בקרבך $\mathbb{M} \Theta \mathcal{E} \mathcal{S} \mathcal{D}$ חלזי אשר בשעריפ Θ (εν ταϊς πολεσιν Θ) ודגרי היזום והאלמנה אשר בקרבך

Frgs. 32 col. ii, 34 Deut 16:21-17:5

[	]oo	1
[	לא חסע לך ²¹	2
[	תעשה לך ²² וללא	3
]	לא תובח ליהוה ^{17 1}	4
[	דבר רע כי תועלב	5
[	כי ימצא בקרבך?	6
[	איש או אשה אשר]	7
[	כריתו ילדך	8
[	לירח אנו	9
[	ודרשח הינסב	10
[	בישראל (והוצאת את) האיש]	11 f 34
{	אשר עשו את הדבר הרע הזה אלך	12
[	]o[	13

L. 3 (16 21) חמשה *Taw* is written thickly, apparently correcting a *he* or a *ref*.

L. 11 (17 4-5) Reconstruction results in a very short line of only 39 letter-spaces. Since the beginning of line 12, אשר, is on the leather, it cannot be moved to the end of line 11. There are no variant texts which would suggest a longer reading to fill out the line.

VARIANTS

- 16:22 (3) אַממס] ou Ⓞ
 17:2 (6) אַממס] εav δε Ⓞ
 17:2 (6) אַממסⓄ?] > Ⓞ^B; Ⓞ^NArab
 17:5 (12) אַממס] > Ⓞ

Frg. 35 Deut 17:7

[	בראשנה]	]	1
[	vacat]	]	2

L. 2 (17:7) The scribe left an interval before v 8; Ⓞ, Ⓞ, Ⓞ.

VARIANT

- 17:7 (2) אַממס] εξ αυτου Ⓞ = Ⓞ

Frgs. 36–41 Deut 17:15–18:1

[	]Ⓞ [	]	1
	בלך לא תוכל לחת	]	2
[	לא אחיך הוא ¹⁶ רק לא ירבה לו ]	]	3 f 37
[		]	4
[	] הזה עדן ¹⁷	]	5 f 38
[	ירבה לו בְּאֵד ¹⁸	]	6
[	משנה התורה הוא על אספר מלפני	]	(19) 7 f 39,40
[	בת כל ימי חייו למען ילמד	]	8 f 41
[	לשמר את כל דברין התורה והואת ואתן	]	9
[	לבלתי רום ללבבו מאחיו ולבלתי	]	10
[	יאריך ימים	]	11
[	לא ילדה ^{18.1}	]	12
[	אשן	]	13

Line 2 preserves a left margin, while lines 10–13 preserve a right margin.

VARIANTS

- 17:15 (3)] ש' מן אוזוכן; Sad; אודי] $\text{m} \cdot \text{u} \cdot \text{Gall} \cdot \text{S} \cdot \text{C} \cdot \text{S}$ אודין
 17:19 (8)] בו] $\text{m} \cdot \text{b} \cdot \text{h}$
 17:20 (10)] $\text{m} \cdot \text{r} \cdot \text{m}$ רם] $\text{m} \cdot \text{r} \cdot \text{m}$ רם; $\text{m} \cdot \text{r} \cdot \text{m}$ (orth. or var.?)

Fig. 42 Deut 26:19–27:2

[	לשם וללהלה ולחפארה	]	1
[	לך ²⁷ vacat ²⁷ ויצו לנשה	]	2
[	כל]למצוה הזאת	]	3
[	תעברו את ה'ירדן	]	4 ²

L 2 (26:19) The scribe left an interval before 27:1, o m, קצה m.

VARIANTS

- 26 19 (1)] לשם וללהלה ולחפארה] $\text{m} \cdot \text{L} \cdot \text{S} \cdot \text{D}$ לחולה ולשם ולחפארה
 26 19 (2)] $\text{m} \cdot \text{u} \cdot \text{S} \cdot \text{C} \cdot \text{D}$] $\text{m} \cdot \text{u} \cdot \text{S} \cdot \text{C} \cdot \text{D}$ לך
 27 1 (3)] $\text{m} \cdot \text{u} \cdot \text{S} \cdot \text{D}$; $\text{p} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{s} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{s}$ $\text{t} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{c}$ $\text{e} \cdot \text{n} \cdot \text{t} \cdot \text{o} \cdot \text{l} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{s}$ $\text{t} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{v} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{t} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{s}$ $\text{e} \cdot \text{t} \cdot \text{h} \cdot \text{e} \cdot \text{t}$ ($>$ $\text{p} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{s} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{s}$ $\text{e} \cdot \text{t}$;
 $>$ $\text{t} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{v} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{t} \cdot \text{a} \cdot \text{s}$ $\text{e} \cdot \text{t}$ L_a)] כל]למצוה הזאת

Figs. 43–45 col. i Deut 27:24–28:7

[	א ²⁴ רור ]	]	1
[	א ²⁵ רור לקח שחר	]	2 f 44
[	א ²⁶ רור א ²⁶ ר	]	3
[	הוא ²⁴ ל]ע]תות אותם ו]אמרו כל העם אמן	]	4 f 45
[	vacat ^{28 1} ו]היה אם שמעו חשמע בקול יהוה אלהיך לעשות את	]	5
[	אנוכי מעדך היום ונתת יהוה אלהיך	]	6
[	הארץ ² ובואו עליך כל הברכות האלה והטני]ך	]	7
[	אל]יך ³ ברוך אותה בעיר וב]רך אותה	]	8
[	פר]ך ⁴ בשנך ופרי אדמתך ופרי בהמתך שגר אלפיך	]	9
[	ב]רוך שנאך ומשאר]ך ⁴ ב]רוך אותה בבוואך	]	10

Frg. 48 Deut 28:12-14

[	רבים ואחרון]	(13)	1
[	והיית רק] למעלה ולא תהיה		2
[	אנכון מצדך היום]	(14)	3

L. 2 (28:13) וְהִיִּית רַק] למעלה. The *he* and the *yod* of וְהִיִּית are clear on the right edge of the fragment. After that, the leather is split and shrunken, before the shrinkage occurred, there must have been a larger space for the missing letters.

Frg. 49 Deut 28:20

[	]°°[	(19)	1
[	יִשְׁלַח יְהוָה ²⁰		2
[	בְּכָל מַעֲשֵׂי		3

Frg. 45 col. ii Deut 28:22-25

[	בְּשֹׁמֶרֶת וּבְקִרְדָּתָהּ		1
[	יִרְדְּפֶךָ עַד]	(23)	2
[	אֲשֶׁר חָזַקְתָּךְ	(24)	3
[	הַשָּׁמַיִם יִדְרֶךָ	(25)	4
[	בְּדִרְגָּתְךָ אֶתְרֶךָ		5
[	לְכָל		6

VARIANT

28 22 (2) וְיִרְדְּפֶךָ] 3 וְיִרְדְּפֶךָ 4QDeut*116, וְיִרְדְּפֶךָ 5, et persequatur D. The *yod* of 4QDeut* is certain

Frg. 50 Deut 28:29-30

[	בצהרים כִּנְאָשֶׁר	1
[	עֲשׂוֹק וּגְדֹלָה] (30)	2
[	יִשְׁנֹאֲלָה בְּיָחַד	3

VARIANT

28:30 (3) יִשְׁנֹאֲלָה] אֶסְרָה] אֶסְרָה שִׁכְבָּה μ ; εξει Θ^{sd} ; ληψεται (cum var) Θ^{ms} (cf Isa 13:16)

Frg. 51 Deut 28:48-50

[	יִשְׁלַחנִי יְיָ בְּרִעַב וְלִצְמָא	1
[	לְצֹאֲרֵךְ עַד הַשְּׂמִימֹן] (49)	2
[	וְהֶאֱרַץ כְּאֶשְׁחָר] (50)	3
[	לְפִיָּה] (51)	4

L. 1 (28:48) בְּרִעַב. The 'breakthrough' of *'ayin* is extant next to the base of *bet*. The tops of both letters have moved to the left of their bottom portions, owing to the split in the leather.

L. 1 (28:48) לְצֹאֲרֵךְ. The leather is split at this point, so that the tops of the letters are to the left of their bases. A portion of the head of *waw* and a portion of its downstroke are extant. The head of *bet* is clear, and a portion of its base is extant.

L. 2 (28:48) הַשְּׂמִימֹן. The sharp corner of the right shoulder of *dalet* is present on this letter, but there is also a bend to the left at the bottom of the downstroke. We have assumed that this is a ligature to the following *waw*.

VARIANTS

28:48 (1) יִשְׁלַחנִי יְיָ בְּרִעַב] > Θ^A

28:48 (1) יִשְׁנֹאֲלָה וְהֶאֱרַץ 4QDeut^c אֶסְרָה שִׁכְבָּה] > Θ^B

Frg. 52 Deut 28:61

[וְלֹא מֵכָה]	1
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Frg. 53 Deut 29:17-19

לעבֿי]	1
יִהְיֶה בְּשִׁמְעוֹ]	2
כִּי יִהְיֶה לִי כִי]	3
לֹא יֵאָבֵד יְהוָה]	4
וְהָיָה כִּי יִבְרַח]	5

bottom margin

The fragment contains a left margin with stitching.

L 5 (29:19) The leather is brittle and has cracked in several places. Although on the photograph, the first letter appears separated and goes beneath the baseline, the leather is joined and aligned more exactly in the museum, so that *יהוה* (*יהוה*) is quite possible.

VARIANTS

29 19 (4) יהוה *יהוה*] ο θεος θ

29 19 (5) וברח *ו, ורבעו, ו, και κολληθησονται θ; וידבקן; ε; <αδ>αδ<αδ*

Frgs. 54-55 col. i Deut 31:16-19

[יָקָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְנָהַל אֶת־רִיבִי ]	]	1
[שָׁמָּה בְּקִרְבּוֹ וְעֹבְדֵי וְהִפְרוּ אֹתוֹ בְּרִי'תָן ]	]	2
כִּי־יִהְיֶה הַיּוֹם וְעֹבְדֵיךָ וְהִסְתַּרְתִּי פָנַי	]	(17) 3
לֹא־אֶכְלֵם וְנִצְאָדוּ (יָעִוּ רַבּוֹת וְצָרוֹת וְאָמְרוּ	]	4 f 55
יְהוָה בְּקִרְבִּי מִצְּאוֹנֵי הָרְעוֹת הָאֵלֶּה) (אֶל־הַיְיָ	]	5
פָּנַי מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי־יִהְיֶה עַל כָּל הָרְעָה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ	]	6
יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחָבוֹ לְכֶם אֹתוֹ (דָּבַר הַשִּׁירָה	]	7
יִשְׂרָאֵל שִׁמְחָה בְּפִיהֶם לְמַעַן יִזְכְּרוּ לִי	]	8

bottom margin

L 5 (31 17) There are only c 14 letter-spaces at the beginning of line 5 before *יהוה*, and this would not be enough space for all the words in *יהוה* et al.

L 5 (31 17) *אלהי* The *alep*, and presumably all of *אלהי*, was written supralinearly, apparently by the original scribe.

VARIANTS

- 31:16 (2) [מִמָּוֶת אֲדוֹמֵי עַד] > ⑥^B La
 31:16 (2) [מִמָּוֶת אֲדוֹמֵי עַד] > ⑥^B; בִּידוּן; ע = $\sqrt{\text{מג}} = in ea D$
 31:16 (2) [וְיִשְׁכַּח(וּ) תּוֹבֵי] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי. A definite pattern emerges in 4QDeut^c at this point to use the 3rd common pl. verb and 3rd masc. pl. suffixes, except at 31:18, where it appears to read, against all the other witnesses, מָמוּ.
- 31:16 (2) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי
 31:17 (3) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי
 31:17 (4) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי
 31:17 (4) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי
 31:17 (5) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי
 31:18 (6) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי. Mem, mem and nun are extant; מָמוּ is the least difficult reading.
- 31:19 (7) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי > ⑥^B; $\sqrt{\text{מג}}$ S
 31:19 (7) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי > ⑥; $\sqrt{\text{מג}}$ S
 31:19 (7) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי
 31:19 (8) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי; $\sqrt{\text{מג}}$ GalS; και διδάξατε αὐτοὺς ⑥

Fig. 54 col. ii Deut 32:3

[] הבן גרל לאלהיו 1
bottom margin

On the basis of the number of lines that this column must have contained (estimated from the bottom of the previous column to this extant bottom line), chap. 32 seems to be written stichometrically, with one stichos of poetry (one-half verse in Hebrew) per line (see the 4QDeut^c introduction).

VARIANT

- 32:3 (1) [וְהָיָה] מִמָּוֶת תּוֹבֵי

Unidentified Fragments

The unidentified fragments were placed by the original team of editors with 4QDeut^c on the basis of similarities in handwriting.

Fig. 56

את עבן 1
 יף לזהו 2

Fig. 57

יף לזהו 1

Frg. 58

]ֹּהַּ לַלְּ 1

L. 1 The tip of *kap* can be seen below the lamed.

Frg. 60

]מַחַ [1

] לַמַּעַן [2

The two pieces that appear as frg. 60 have been fitted together on the basis of the similarity of the leather, but it is not clear that this join is correct

Frg. 62

]אִשָּׁה [1

]ֹּהַּ [2

L. 1]אִשָּׁה A trace of the downstroke of a letter remains, which could well have been *ref*.

Frg. 64

]ֹּהַּ [

]ֹּהַּ לַא [

Frg. 65

]בַּח [

] לַךְ [

Frg. 59

]ִי 1

]ִי יְהוֹ 2

L. 1]ִי Traces of the crossbar and the downstroke of a letter remain, which could be *ref*, or *dalet*.

Frg. 61

]ֹּהַּ [1

] אֱלֹהֶיךָ [2

Frg. 63

]ֹּהַּ לַמַּח [1

] אֱלֹהֶיךָ [2

L. 1]ֹּהַּ לַמַּח. The second letter could be *mem* or *bet*.

Frg. 66

]ִי 1

]ִי יְהוֹ 2

]ִי 3

31. 4QDeut^d

(PLATE X)

Preliminary publication: Sidnie Ann White, 'A Critical Edition', 133–54. 'Three Deuteronomy Manuscripts', *JBL* 112 (1993) 28–34. 'Special Features', *RevQ* 57–58 (1991) 163–4.

THE MANUSCRIPT is yellowish-brown, now stained grey in some places and blackened in others. The leather was of average thickness and well-prepared, but a certain amount of wrinkling and shrinkage has taken place, causing some damage to the surface.

Two partially damaged, contiguous columns containing portions of Deut 2:24–36 and 3:14–4:1 are preserved. There is a sewn edge at the left margin of col. II, and horizontal dry lines are visible. The height of the preserved part of the manuscript is c.16.9 cm. The average width of the inscribed column is 10.8 cm; col. I contains 59–68 letters per line, and col. II has 53–63. The width of the left margin of col. II from the inscribed text to the edge of the fragment is 1.0 cm, while the width of the margin between the columns is 1.2 cm. The distance between lines of script averages 0.8 cm, and reconstruction suggests c.27 lines per column.

Palaeographical study of this manuscript places it in the middle Hasmonaeen period, c.125–75 BCE. The letters are of standard size and unornamented. The script is characterized by the use of ligatures for certain letters, particularly medial *nun*. Several features of the script are important for dating: the base-stroke of *bet* is penned from right to left; *dalet* has a very deep-cornered head, typical of the Hasmonaeen form; *tet* is made in two strokes, with a slight spur formed by the juncture of the base and the right downstroke; and *yod* is short, with a triangular head. Medial *kap* appears in two forms, with the late Hasmonaeen form of a straight, slightly slanted downstroke predominating. Finally, the flaring tick common on the head of *qop* in earlier scripts has practically disappeared.

The orthography of 4QDeut^d is consistently shorter than the traditions of either \aleph or μ (see Table 1). The manuscript regularly uses *matres lectionis* to indicate **aw* > δ (e.g. עיר col. II line 17). However, this usage is not clear for the *Hip'il* of verbs I-*yod* (e.g. חקף II 16). A *yod* is used to mark **ay* > δ (e.g. בני II 3, בערים II 7, עיניך II 10) and \aleph (e.g. כי I 11, and סיון I 7). A *waw* is usually used to mark * \aleph (e.g. עש I 9, אסור I 8, נבול II 3). Accented * \bar{a} > δ is sometimes indicated by a *mater lectionis* (e.g. חשבון I 7), but this usage is not consistent: accented * \bar{a} > δ is consistently not marked with *waw* in verbs III-*he* (e.g. הריאן II 10). Unaccented * \bar{a} > δ is never marked with *waw* (e.g. לא, all forms of אלהים, and all examples of the participle). A *mater lectionis* is not used to indicate **u* > δ (e.g. כל II 6). The manuscript consistently displays the short forms of the pronominal suffixes (ן-, ך-, etc.).

The only extant interval to mark paragraph-division in 4QDeut^d appears at 3:29 (II 20). No intervals occur corresponding to those in $\aleph\mu$ at 2:30; 3:17; or 3:22 (see NOTES).

Mus. Inv. 323.

IAA 204.600; PAM 43.221; 41.195, 41.198, 42.165, 42.630, 42.706, 43.066, 43.160.

TABLE 1: Orthography

Col., line	Deut	4QDeut ^d	Q	III	III ^{ms}	III ^{ed}	III ^{ms}
I 7	2:26	קדמח		קדמח		קדמח	קדמח, קדמח
I 7	2:26	סחון		סחון		סחון	
I 8	2:27	ושמאל		ושמאל		ושמאל	
II 5	3:18	חלצים		חלצים		חלצים	
II 6	3:19	ומקבם		ומקבם	ומקבם	ומקבם	ומקבם
II 9	3:21	יחשע		יחשע		יחשע	
II 10	3:21	הראח		הראח		הראח	
II 11	3:21	המלכות		המלכות		המלכות	
II 11	3:22	חיראם (orth or var ?)		חיראם	חיראם	חיראם	חיראם
II 13	3:24	החלח		החלח		החלח	
II 13	3:24	לחראח	לחראח ^{4Q}	לחראח		לחראח	
II 14	3:25	נא		נא		נא	
II 15	3:25	הסכה		הסכה		הסכה	
II 16	3:26	חסף		חסף		חסף	חסף
II 17	3:27	הצפנה		הצפנה		הצפנה	
II 19	3:28	יחל (orth or var ?)		יחל		יחל	יחל, יחל
II 19	3:28	אחם		אחם		אחם	

Col. I Deut 2:24-36

[(וה)ִגְר בו מלח(מה) ²⁵]	5
[השמים אשר ישמעון אנה שמעך]	6
[מדבר קדמח אל סחון מלך חשבון]	7 (26)
[בדרך בדרך אלך לא אסור ימין ושמאל ²⁸ אכל בכל(בכס)ף]	8 (27)
[ושתיחי רק אעברה ברנלי ²⁹ כאשר עשו לי]	9
[והישיבום בלילן עד אשר אעבר אף הירדן]	10
[אל(דא)ִיץ אשר יהוה אלהינו נתן לנו ³⁰ ולא] אבה סחון מלך חשבון הִעברנו בו כי]	11
[הקשה יהִיִן]	12
[ארצו החל רש לִישת את ארצו]	13
[ייתִדו יהוה אלהינו] ³² וג]	14
[ערִי בעת הִהִיא ותחרם את כל]	15 (34)
[רק] הבהמות בוזנו לנו ושלל העִרים]	16
[והעִיר אשר בנוחל ועד הגלעדן לִיא הִלח]	17 (36)

The left margin is partly extant, continuing over to the next column. The line numbers correspond to those of col. II.

L. 6 (2:25) אִן. \aleph reads שִׁמְעֶךָ אִן, while \aleph reads שִׁמְעֶךָ. The traces of the letter cannot be *sin*, with a stroke coming down from the left, but this can be the downstroke of *'alep*.

L. 12 (2:30) יִהְיֶה. There are two traces of ink extant on the bottom of the fragment. Spatial reconstruction suggests *waw* and *he*.

L. 12 (2:30) No interval follows ν 30 in this manuscript; σ \aleph , נָפָה.

L. 14 (2:33) אֶל. Two ancient variants are attested: \aleph in $\aleph^{\text{ABOC}} \epsilon \varsigma$, and \aleph in $\aleph^{\text{ABOC}} \epsilon \varsigma$, and \aleph in $\aleph^{\text{ABOC}} \epsilon \varsigma$, and \aleph in $\aleph^{\text{ABOC}} \epsilon \varsigma$; they are conflated in some Hexaplaric mss. It is impossible to tell which of the variants was present in this MS, but it did not contain the conflate text.

L. 15 (2:34) אִלֵּיָם. The cross-bar of each *he* is extant. A trace of ink is discernible to the left of the second *he*. The confusion between \aleph and \aleph , which is found in \aleph , does not occur in this MS.

VARIANTS

2:25	(6)	שִׁמְעוּ אִן	שמעו אן
2:25	(6)	אִן שִׁמְעֶךָ] שִׁמְעֶךָ אִן (see NOTE)	אן שמעך] שמעך אן (see NOTE)
2:27	(8)	בְּדֶרֶךְ אִן שִׁמְעֶךָ] בְּדֶרֶךְ אִן שִׁמְעֶךָ	בדרך אן שמעך] בדרך אן שמעך
2:31	(13)	שִׁמְעוּ אִן שִׁמְעֶךָ] κληρονομησαί σ (cf S)	שמעו אן שמעך] κληρονομησαί σ (cf S)
2:33	(14)	וְיִחַדְוּ אִן שִׁמְעֶךָ] και παρεδωκεν αυτους σ^C	ויהדוּ אן שמעך] και παρεδωκεν αυτους σ^C
2:34	(15)	אִלֵּיָם אִן שִׁמְעֶךָ] אִלֵּיָם אִן (see NOTE)	אליהם אן שמעך] אליהם אן (see NOTE)
2:36	(17)	בְּדֶרֶךְ אִן שִׁמְעֶךָ] 4Q364	בדרך אן שמעך] 4Q364
2:36	(17)	אִלֵּיָם אִן שִׁמְעֶךָ] και ειως ορους του Γαλααδ σ	אליהם אן שמעך] και ειως ορους του Γαλααδ σ

Col. II Deut 3:14–4:1

חֲזִיתָ יְאִיר עַל הַיַּם הַזֶּה]	1
[וְלִגְדֶיךָ] נַחֲלֵי מִן הַגֵּלְעָד עַד נַחֲלֵי]	2
הַנַּחֲלָה גְבוּל בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן ¹⁷ וְהַעֲרַבָה וְהַיַּרְדֵּן וּגְבוּל]	3
[מִכְּנַרְתָּ וְעַד יַם הָעֲרָבָה יָם הַמִּלַּח חֹזַח אֲשֶׁרְחָה אֲשֶׁרְחָה מִזֹּלְחָה ¹⁸ וְאֲצִוּ אֹחֵיכֶם]	4
[בְּעַמּוֹן הַיָּם לְאֹמֶר יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם נָתַן לְכֶם אֵת הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְרִשְׁתָּהּ חֲלָצִים]	5
[אֲחֵיכֶם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל בְּנֵי חֵיל ¹⁹ רָקָה נְשָׁלְכֶם] מִפְּנֵיכֶם וּמִקְּנֵי יַדְעֵיךָ]	6
[כִּי מִן קֶנֶת רַב לְכֶם יֵשְׁבוּ בְּעַרְיֹכֶם אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְכֶם ²⁰ עַד אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא יְהוָה לְ[אֹחֵיכֶם]	7
[כֹּכַב] וּרְשׁוּ גַם הֵם אֵת הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם נָתַן לָהֶם בְּעַבְרֵי הַיַּרְדֵּן]	8
[וּשְׂבַחְתֶּם אִישׁ לְרִשְׁתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְכֶם ²¹ וְאֵת יְהוֹשֻׁעַ צִיְהִי בְּעַתָּה הַהִיא]	9
[לְאֹמֶר עֵינֶיךָ הִרְאָתָה אֵת כָּל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לְשָׁנֵי הַמַּלְכִּים הָאֵלֶּה]	10
[כִּן יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה לְכָל הַמַּמְלָכָה אֲשֶׁר אֲחֻזָּה עִבְרָ שָׁמָּה ²² וְאֵת חֲזִירָאִים כִּי יִדְוֶה]	11
[אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְלֹא תִגְלַחְתֶּם לְכֶם ²³ וְאֲחַתְּנֶנּוּ אֵל יְהוָה כְּעַתָּה הַהִיא לְאֹמֶר ²⁴ אֲדַרְי]	12
[יְהוָה אֲחֻזָּה הַחֲלָח לְהִרְאָתָה אֲחֻזָּה עַבְדְּךָ אֵת גְּדֻלְךָ וְאֵת יְדֹכְךָ הַחֲזֹקָה אֲשֶׁר]	13
[מִי אֵל בְּשָׁמַיִם בְּאֶרֶץ] ²⁵ אֲבֹרָה נָא וְאֲרָאָה]	14

32. 4QDeut^e

(PLATE XI)

Preliminary publication: Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition', 34–50.

THE SURVIVING fragments of this manuscript preserve portions of Deut 3:24, 7:12–16, 7:21–8:4, and 8:5–7, 10–11, 15–16. In its pristine form the leather was light beige with a matte finish, but the back of the leather was untreated for writing. Most of the fragments have been stained to a deep brown with a glossy surface, and some have a corrugated surface. There are no dry lines visible, but the regularity of the inscribed lines indicate that the manuscript had been ruled.

4QDeut^e consists of two large fragments and six small ones, three of which remain unidentified. Frgs. 2–5 preserve portions of three contiguous columns, with frg. 2 preserving the lower part of the first column, frgs. 3 and 4 the lower part of the second column, and frg. 5 the top of the third column. Frg. 1 preserves a top margin measuring 1.7 cm, while frg. 5 preserves a top margin of 1.5 cm and a right margin extending 1.4 cm. Frgs. 2 and 3 are wide enough to preserve intercolumnar margins, which vary from 1.0 to 1.7 cm, since left margins in this manuscript are ragged. Frg. 2 preserves a bottom margin of 2.0 cm, and frg. 4 one of 1.8 cm. The average distance between the tops of lines is c.7 mm. Column-width ranges from 48 to 60 letter-spaces. The text between the last preserved line at the bottom of col. I and the beginning of the extant material in col. II is estimated to have required 7 lines. Adding that to the 15 preserved lines in col. II indicates 22 lines per column for this manuscript.

4QDeut^e is written in a formal script, showing some degree of semiformal influence, which may be dated to the late Hasmonaean period (c.50–25 BCE). The most advanced features in the palaeography of this hand are to be seen in *bet*, the base-stroke of which is clearly drawn left to right in some forms; *tet*, which has achieved the broad base of the Herodian form and is drawn in two strokes; *qop*, the tail of which is drawn upward and loops into the head; and *sin* whose right arm is regularly bent back. The earliest palaeographical forms may be seen in *dalet*, which appears still to be made in a single motion; *samek*, which is still unclosed; and final *kap*, in which the head is ticked and generally remains narrow. More generally, the letters are suspended from a ceiling line rather than ruled by a baseline, and letter size, while becoming more uniform, still vacillates, as is particularly evident in the slightly oversize *taw* and *mem*.

The orthographic practice of 4QDeut^e corresponds to that of III (see Table 1), with one exception: the הדיחא with waw against הדיחא III at 3:24 (frg. 1 i). *Matres lectionis* are used to mark ay (e.g. בריך I 20, מרומה II 11, הוא II 14, and 3rd masc. pl. verbs) as well as ay (וירשך I 19, איש II 12 and masc. pl. endings) and ey (לאבריך I 18 and שנאך I 22, etc.). But ay in unaccented syllables is not represented, e.g. לאבריך I 18, שנאך I 22, אלהך II 14, מצדו II 19, and the negative particle לא is always spelled without *waw* (e.g. I 22, etc.). Nor is ay marked with *waw* in unaccented syllables (e.g. בכל I 20, 21, and גרלה II 11); no instances of ay are preserved in accented syllables. 4QDeut^e uses the short forms of the independent pronouns (e.g. הוא) and of the pronominal suffixes as well (e.g. ך-, ך-, etc.).

TABLE 1: Orthography

Col., frg., line	Deut	4QDeut ^e	4QDeut	מ	מ ^{ms}	מ ^d
I 1	3:24	החלה	4QDeut ^d החלה	החלה	החלה	החלה
II 2 ii, 3 i, 4 10	7:22	כלחם	4QpaleoDeut ^f כלחם	כלחם	כלחם	כלחם
II 2 ii, 3 i, 4 11	7:23	מזומה	4QpaleoDeut ^f מזומה	מזומה	מזומה	מזומה
II 2 ii, 3 i, 4 11	7:23	השמרים	4QDeut ^f השמרים	השמרים	השמרים	השמרים
			4QpaleoDeut ^f השמרים			
II 2 ii, 3 i, 4 19	8:2	מצות	4QDeut ^f מצות	מצות	מצות	מצות
II 2 ii, 3 i, 4 20	8:3	ידען	4QDeut ^e ידען	ידען	ידען	ידען
			4QDeut ^f ידען			

* Orth or var?, cf also 4QDeut^g, 28 24 (10 4)

† See Qimron §322.141.

Fig. 3 9 displays an interval before 7:22, although מ have none at that point (see NOTE). Spatial reconstruction at col. III 16 also suggests that this manuscript contained an interval before chapter 8; מ מ, קט, ח.

4QDeut^e preserves one correction at 7:23 (fig. 3 i 11), where final *mem* appears to be written over another letter (see NOTE).

Mus. Inv. 233. PAM 43.068.

Fig. 1 Deut 3:24

top margin

[יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַחַלָּה לְהַרְאוֹת אֵלַי] 1

Fig. 1 preserves a top margin.

L 1 (3 24) לְהַרְאוֹת. The edge of the leather on which *taw* is written is partially destroyed.

Col I Fig 2 i Deut 7:12-16

[וְשָׁמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְךָ אֵת] 17

[(נִשְׁבַּע) לְאַבְחִיךָ¹³ וְאוֹהֲבֶיךָ וּבְרִיכֶיךָ וּבְרִיכֶיךָ] 18

[דְּגַנְךָ וְחִירְשְׁךָ וְיִצְהַרְךָ שְׁגַרְךָ אֶלְפִיךָ וְעִשְׂתָּרְךָ צִאנְךָ עַל הָאֲדוֹמִי] 19

אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לְאַבְחִיךָ לַחַת לְךָ בְּרוּךְ תְּהִיָּה מִכָּל הָעַמִּים לֵאמֹר אֵלֶּיךָ 20

כִּי עָקַר וְעִקְרָה וּבְבַרְמִתְךָ¹⁵ וְהִסִּיךְ יְהוָה מִכָּל חַלֵּי וְכָל מַרְי מִצָּרִים 21

הָרְעִים אֲשֶׁר יַדְעַת לֹא יִשְׁלַמְם [בְּךָ וְנִתְּנָם בְּכָל שְׁנָיִךָ¹⁶ וְאוֹכַל אֵח 22

bottom margin

Fig. 2 i preserves a right margin, a left margin, and a bottom margin, while traces from the following column are preserved on lines 20, 21, and 22 (see col. II). The fragment is from the first of three partly preserved contiguous columns. The lines are numbered on the assumption of 22 lines per column (see the 4QDeut^e introduction).

L. 19 (7:13) רגלך. The letter preceding *kap* is damaged but may be identified as *nun* (versus *yod*, cf. m^{ms}); a split in the leather has destroyed the middle part of the stem of *nun*, creating a distortion in the photograph.

L. 21 (7:15) מרדי. Part of the surface around the *mem* has been destroyed.

VARIANTS

7:13	(19)	והירשך] סט $\Theta^{\text{ABCOdnt}} \Theta^{\text{OS}} \text{m}$ חירשך
7:13	(20)	לאבחדך] $\text{m} \text{m} \Theta^{\text{CESD}}$ Θ^{ABOdnt} יהיה pr
7:15	(22)	אשר 5QDeut ^e $\text{m} \text{m}$] + 5QDeut ^{corr} ראחה ואשר $\text{s.m.} \Theta(\text{sub} + \Theta^{\text{G}} \text{Syh})$

Col. II: Frgs. 2 ii, 3 i, 4 7:21–8:4

	21	לא תערין מפנידם	]	8	f 3
	22	והנשלה יהיה] $\text{v a} [\text{c a t}$	]	9	
		מע]ש מעש לא תוכל כל[ח]ם] מ]זר פן חרבה	]	10	
		[בירך רחם מלומד]]ללה עד השמים	]	(23)	11
		מ]זרח השמים לא יחיצב איש	]	(24)	12
		חשר]פין באש לא תחמד כסף	]	(25)	13
		חוע]בת יהיה אלהיך הוא 26 ולא	]	14	
		שק]ץ חשקצנו חעב תחעבנו	]	15	
		מצו]ך היום תשמרון	]	(8 1)	16
		אח הא]רין אשר נשבע [יהיה]	]	17	
		אלהיך] זה ארבעים שנה	]	(2)	18
		הח]שמר מצותו אם לא	]	19	
		ידע]ן אב[ח]ך	י]ןעך	20	f 2
		[	למ]ען	21	
		[	יהיה יהיה האדם 4ש]לחך לא בלחה מע]ליך	22	f 4

bottom margin

[	]	6
[	]	7
[	]° (10)	8 13
[	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ (11)	9
[	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְבַלְחֵי	10
[	מִצֹּנֶךָ הַיּוֹם ¹²	11
[	]	12
[	]	13
[	יִתְמַלֵּיכְךָ ¹⁵	14
[	אֲשֶׁר אֵין (16)	15
[	כֵּן בְּמִדְבָּר	16
[	לְתַיִסְבֵּךְ בְּאַחֲרֵיתֶיךָ ¹⁷	17

Fig. 5 preserves the top and the right margins. Traces from the beginnings of lines 8–11, and 14–17 of this column are preserved on the left edge of frg. 3; their relationship to the material preserved on frg. 5 is indicated in the transcription.

L. 1 (8:5) וַיִּדְעוּן. The peculiar traces at the edge of the leather are explained by surface damage, which has destroyed part of each of the legs of *taw*, creating an impression of two thin legs with hooks.

L. 3 (8:7) כֵּן. The surface on the edge of the leather has been stripped away, with the result that only a trace remains of the upper part of *kap*.

Unidentified Fragments

Fig. 6

דְּמוּנָב וְאוֹת הָן

A comprehensive examination of the text of Deuteronomy indicates that this fragment must preserve one of two passages:

30:15 אִישׁ הַדְּיִים וְאִישׁ הַמִּזְרָב וְאִישׁ הַמִּזְמַח וְאִישׁ הָרֶעַ
 or 34:3 וְאִישׁ הַגִּבּוֹר וְאִישׁ הַלְּכָבֵד בְּקִעַר יָדָיו.

Fig. 7

[והלכתן]

The downstroke of the letter at the edge of the leather appears shorter than it is owing to surface loss; it can be identified as part of the right corner of *taw*. The fragment preserves one of the following verses:

8:19 אֵת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְהִלַּכְתָּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים
 14:25 וְעַתָּה הִסַּף בְּיָדְךָ וְהִלַּכְתָּ אֶל הַמָּקוֹם
 or 16:7 וּפְתַח בְּבִקְרֵי וְהִלַּכְתָּ לְאַחֲרָיִךְ (cf. also 26:2, 29:9).

Fig. 8

]oo o[
]oo o o o[

This fragment apparently preserves the space between two lines, but the letters are not identifiable.

33. 4QDeut^f

(PLATES XII–XV)

Preliminary publication: Sidnie Ann White, 'A Critical Edition', 155–214.

4QDEUT^f consists of thirty-five identifiable fragments and six which have not yet been identified. The original colour of the manuscript was between a yellowish and a reddish brown, now faded to buff or yellow in some places and blackened in others. The surface of the leather, which is of average thickness, was originally smooth and glossy; it has wrinkled in places, and some shrinkage has occurred. The surface is worn and faded in spots. One unusual feature of the leather is that it is sprinkled with small black dots which are not ink, but on the photographs these can be misleading. Horizontal dry lines are visible on certain fragments (e.g. 1, 6, 9, 13, 17), and a vertical dry line on frg. 39.

There are at least twelve partially extant columns. Top margins are preserved on frg. 2 measuring 1.5 cm and on frg. 9 measuring 1.1 cm, and possibly one bottom margin on frg. 6 although not enough leather remains to be sure. Right margins are extant on frg. 4 measuring 1.5 cm, frg. 9 measuring 2 cm, and frg. 39, and left margins are present on frgs. 13 and 22. Frg. 9 displays a stitched right edge, and frg. 38 preserves portions of two columns. The distance between tops of lines ranges from 0.6 cm to 0.8 cm. The columns preserved generally tend to have a width of either c.43–53 or c.53–63 letter-spaces per line. Two columns are exceptions, however, having greater widths: the column with frgs. 29–31 has c.66–69 letter-spaces, and the column with frgs. 32–35 has c.75–88.

The surviving fragments preserve portions of the following text of Deuteronomy:

4:24–26	18:6–10	23:21–26
7:22–25	18:18–22	24:2–7
8:2–14	19:17–20:6	25:3–9
9:6–7	21:4–12	26:18–27:10
17:17–18	22:12–19	

Palaeographical study places 4QDeut^f in the late Hasmonaean period (c.75–50 BCE). The letters are generally uniform in size, although final *mem* can be quite large, and *ayin* slightly smaller than normal. Letters tend to be broad and squat, with a thick ductus. The latest letter-forms present in the manuscript are *bet* (in which the base is penned in a separate stroke from left to right), *gimel*, and medial *mem*, which is made in one stroke, with a tick being added to the left oblique. There is no difference between the medial and final forms of *sade* in this hand.

The orthographic practice (see Table 1) of this scribe is to use *matres lectionis* for **au* > *ō* (e.g. וְהַמְצִיאֵן 6 16, but וְהַרְרִידוּ 17 1), **ay* > *ē* (e.g. מַלְכֵיהֶם 2 3, אֱלֹהִים 10 1), **ū*, **ī*, and sometimes **ā* > *ō* when accented (e.g. עַלְלֵלוּ 20 2, but cf. לֹא). *Matres lectionis* are not used for unaccented **ā* > *ō* (e.g. וְנָן 9 4), **u* > *o* (e.g. כֹּל), **a* and **i*, nor does the scribe use the long forms of verbs, pronouns, or suffixes.

TABLE 1: Orthography

Frg., line	Deut	4QDeut ^f	4QDeut	III	III ^{MSA}	III
1 4	4:26	העידתי		העידתי		העידתי
2-3 3	7:23	(orth. or var.?) השמרים	השמרים 4QpaleoDeut ^f השמרים	השמרים		השמרים
4-6 2	8:2	מצותיך		מצותו	מצותו	מצותו
4-6 10	8:9	במסכתו		במסכתו		במסכתו
4-6 12	8:10	השובתך		הפכה		השובה
9 3	18:8	ממכריו		ממכריו		ממכרו
17-19 1	21:4	זהיריו		זהיריו		זהיריו
17-19 4	21:6	הקריבים		הקריבים		הקריבים
17-19 7	21:9	תלכך		תכך		תכיא
20-23 2	22:14	[עלילה]		עלילה		עלילה
26-28 2	24:3	כריחתו		כריחתו		כריחתו
32-35 5	27:3	חבא		חבא		חבוא

Intervals to mark paragraph-division appear at the following places:

Frg. 4-6 7 (8 6) interval] no interval III

Frg. 13-16 5 (19 21) interval] o III קנה III

Frg 17-19 8 (21.9) interval] o III קנה III

Frg 24-25 3 (23:21) interval] o III קנה III

Six supralinear scribal corrections have been preserved: מעל'ך to מעלך (4-6 s), נפן to נפן (4-6 9), נ'שח to נ'שח (4-6 11), דנער to דנער (20-23 4), ושח to ושח (26-28 7), and מצה to מצה (32-35 7). 4QDeut^f cannot be placed within any textual tradition.

Mus. Inv. 317, 322. PAM 43.062, 43.058, IAA 204.600; PAM 42.636, 42.709, 43.065.

Frg. 1 Deut 4:24-26

[	]o[	]	1
[	vacat קנא	]	2
[	ונשנת)ם ב'אד'ך והשחחם (ע)ש'תם פסלן	25]	3
[	י'תוה אלהיך להכעיסו 26 העידתי בכפן	]	4
[	ג'הר מעל הארץ אשר אוהם עב'רים	]	5
[	ע'ל'יה כי ה'עלמר ח'ש'מ'ד'ן 27	]	6

VARIANTS

4 25 (4) י'תוה אלהיך] אלהיכם III o III NSD; του θεου εγωμ III^C

4 26 (5) ג'הר III o III NSD] > o

Frgs. 2–3 Deut 7:22–25

top margin

[	אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֹת הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה בְּפִיךָ	]	1
[	חֲרַבְתָּהּ עֲלֶיךָ חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וְזַנְתָּם יְהוָה	]	2
[	גִּדְלָתָהּ עִדֵּי הַשָּׂמֶרֶם וְזַנְתָּן מִלְכֵיהֶם	]	3
[	אֶל־פִּיךָ אֶדְוֶה שְׂמֹרֶךָ	]	4
[	עֲלִיהֶם וְלִקְחָתָהּ	]	(25) 5 f.3
[	]⋅⋅[	]	6

The top margin of this column is preserved.

L. 5 (7:25) וְלִקְחָתָהּ. There is an apparently unintentional dot of ink above the hook of the *lamed*.

VARIANTS

7:22	(1)	מ האל] מ האלה
7:23	(3)	השָׂמֶרֶם 4QDeut ^f] השָׂמֶרֶם 4QpaleoDeut ^f (orth. or var.? cf. 7:24 ^{fn} ; 4QDeut ^f at 28:24 ^{fn} ; Josh 11:14)
7:24	(4)	שְׂמֹרֶךָ בְּפִיךָ] מ שְׂמֹרֶךָ בְּפִיךָ

Frgs. 4–6 Deut 8:2–14

[	אֱלֹהֶיךָ זֶה אֲרַבְעִים שָׁנָה	]	1
[	אֲשֶׁר בִּלְבָבְךָ הִחְשַׁמְרָה מִצְוֹתַי	]	(3) 2
[	הַמֶּן אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַעַת וְלֹא יָדַעַת אֶלְבְּחֶיךָ	]	3
[	לְבָבְךָ יִתְּנָה הָאָדָם כִּי עַל־כֵּן	]	(4) 4
[	מֵעַל־ךָ לֶךְ וּרְגַלְךָ לֹא בִצְקָה זֶה אֲרַבְעִים	]	(5) 5 f.5
[	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	]	(6) 6
[	וּלְיָדָאָה אֲחֹרָיָה <i>v a c</i>	]	7 f.6
[	אֲרַבְעִים שָׁנָה וּרְחַבְתָּ אֲרַבְעִים	]	8
[	אֲרַבְעִים חֹסֶה וְשֹׁעֵרָה בְּפִי וְהִיא	]	9
[	לֹא בְּמַסְכְּנוֹת תֹּאכַל בָּהּ לֶחֶם וְלֹא	]	(9) 10
[	בְּרוֹזֶל וּמִדְּרִיחַ חֲחֻצַּב נִשְׁתָּהּ וְאֹכְלָהּ	]	11
[	הָאֲרַבְעִים הַמִּיּוֹבֵל	]	12

Fig. 8 Deut 17:17-18

[	[נשים] לא יסור	1
[	[לד] אור ¹⁸ וזניה	2

L. 2 (17:17-18) אור וזניה. This line is difficult to restore. The head of *dalet* seems clear, and the last two traces of ink on the line may be interpreted as the head of *he*. Therefore we have restored according to the other witnesses, but the restoration is very tentative.

Fig. 9 Deut 18:6-10

top margin

[	אשר הוא גל	(7)	1
[	בשם יהוה אלהיו	(8)	2
[	יאכלון לבר ממכריו	(9)	3
[	אלהיך נתן לך לא תלמד	(10)	4
[	בנו זבוח באש קסם		5

The top margin and stitched right margin of this column are preserved.

VARIANTS

- 18:8 (3) [מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ]
 18:8 (3) [מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ]
 18:10 (5) [מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ]

Frgs. 10-12 Deut 18:18-22

[	[בפיו דבר אליהם את]	(19)	1
[	[ידבר בשמי אנכי אורש מעמנו] ²⁰		2 f.11
[	[לא צייתו לדבר ואשר ידבר בשם אלהי]		3 f.12
[	הרבר אשר לא תברו	(21)	4
[	יבוא הוא הדר	22]	5

VARIANTS

- 18:19 (2) [מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ]
 18:20 (3) [מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ] מ. S^{ad}ⓄⓈ]

Frgs. 13–16 Deut 19:17–20:6

[	והשפיע] אשח	]	(18)	1
[	ו]אנה עד שקל ו]עד [שקר] ענה [בא]חיו ¹⁹	]		2 f.14
[	לא]חיו ובערת הרע מקרבך ²⁰ והש[א]ר]ים	]		3
[	לע]שות עוד כ]דבר ה]דע הזה בק]ב]ך ²¹ לאן	]		4 f.15
[	[ב]עין שן בשן] יד ביד ורגל ברגל [vacat ]	]		5
[	למ[ח]מה על א]ביך ו]לכב ועם רב]	]	²⁰	6
[	מאר]ן מצרים ² יהיה	]		7
[	א]ל]יהם] שמעה	]	(3)	8
[	א]ל	]		9
[	]	]	(4)	10 f.16
[	להל]ם לכם עם איב]ים	]	(5)	11
[	א]מ]ר מי האיש אשח	]		12
[	במל]מה ואיש אחר]	]	(6)	13
[	ויש]ב לב]ו	]		14

The left margin of this column is preserved.

L 5 (19 21) interval] ם ן, קא, ן; add ם (see VAR.).

VARIANTS

19 19 (3)	רעה ןװ ם ^{Bdnt} La ןD] εξαριτε ם ^{AOC} , חכברח
19 19 (3)	קרברך ןװ ןD] εξ εμυ αυτεω ם
19 20 (4)	עוד לעשות עוד ןװ ןD]
19 20 (4)	ב]ב]ך] ןװ ןD] εν υμυ ם; חכברח. The reading of ם (מקרבכם) is materially impossible in this MS
19 21 (4)	לא ןװ ןD] ולא ןװ ןD]
19 21 (5)	[ברגל] ןװ ןD ^{Bn} La ןD] + καθοτι αυ τις δω μωμου τω πληθου ουτως δωσете αυτω ם ^{ACdt}
20 1 (6)	עם ןװ ןD] עם ןװ ןD]
20 3 (8)	שמעה] שמע ןװ (see Qimron, p. 47)

Frgs. 17–19 Deut 21:4–12

[	ז]הרירו זק]ני] הע]יר] הה]לא את] העגל]ו] אל] נחל]	]		1
[	ו]לא ירע וערפו שם אוח] העגלה בנחל ⁵ ו]גשו ולכרבים	]		2

[	(ב)זר יהוה אל(ה)יך (לשרתו זלברן) בשם יהוה ע(ל)	3	f 18,19
[	נ(ע) וכל זקני העיר הדי(א) הקרבים אל החלל]	4	
[	[ י(י)נו לא שפכו את הד(ם)]	5	(7)
[	פ(י)ת יהוה ואל חתן ד(ם)]	6	8]
[	ו(א)ת(ה) תבער דם ת(נ)קי ב(ק)רבך]	7	
[	vacat] ¹⁰ כי תצא למלח(מ)ה	8	
[	ב(ש)ביה אש(ת)]	9	(11)
[	ו(ג)ל(ה)ה]	10	(12)

L. 8 (21:9) interval] מ מ, פק, מ

VARIANTS

21:4 (1)	מ דודא] מ ¹⁰ דודא
21:4 (2)	ממCS וערש שם] και νευροκομησους θ
21:5 (3)	La *לשרה; מ; לשרח ולברך] מ ¹⁰ CS (לשרח ולברך)
21:5 (3)	יהוה] ετι τω δευτερευου αυτου θD. This MS has the final <i>mem</i> , so it must have agreed with M ^a .
21:7 (5)	ממCS שפכו] מ ⁹ CS θCD
21:8 (6)	יהוה] + εκ της αλυττου θ ^{AOCdt} LaCS θ ^B
21:9 (7)	ד(ם) ת(נ)קי] ד(ם) ת(נ)קי 1QDeut ^b ממCS (דקיא)CS; ε ^O אשרי דם זכי
21:10 (8)	ממCS כי] εαν δε θS
21:11 (9)	ממCS ב(ש)ביה] מ בשבי

Frgs. 20–23 Deut 22:12–19

[	ת(כ)סה ב(ה) ¹³]	1	
[	14] ל(ה) ע(ל)ללות דברים ז(ת)ציאו	2	
[	ל(ה) בת(נ)לים ¹⁵] (ה)א(ת) לקחתי ואקרב]	3	f 21
[	אל זקנ(י)] (א)ב(י) הע(ר) ואמה ז(ת)ציאו	4	
	ג(ל)איש הזה ל(א)שה ¹⁶	5	f 22
	ל(א)מ(ת)ן לא מצאתי ג(ל)ב(ח)ך]	6	f 23 (17)
	ג(ל)פני זקנ(י) הע(ר) ¹⁸ ולקחתו]	7	
[	כ(ל)פ(י)ן]	8	(19)

The left margin of this column is preserved.

L. 2 (22:14) [עליליה]. On the right, the bottom of the hook of *lamed*, with its diagonal line, is extant. To its left, what appears to be the damaged hook of the second *lamed* is extant. It is possible that this damaged letter is in fact two letters, i.e. *yod* and *lamed*. If this is the case, then 4QDeut^a has spelled עליליה with a *mater lectionis* for **ʿ*, in accordance with the spelling practices of this MS.

L. 3 (22:14) [הואו]. The leather is split, with the top shifted slightly to the right and down. When properly aligned, the letter before *taw* is *ʿalep*; cf. הוואו frg. 7 1.

L. 4 (22:15) דערה^ה. The second *he* is written supralinearly.

VARIANTS

- 22:15 (4) מו הנער] מו^המ^הערה^ה
 22:15 (4) מקדומו הו] מו^המ^הערה^ה ואל
 22:17 (7) מו^המ^הערה^ה] +εκελευς^εAC

Frgs. 24–25 Deut 23:21-26

[	]o[	]	1
[	למען יברכך יהוה]	21]	2
[	אלרשזה] <i>v a c] a t</i>	]	3
[	חאוור לשלמו כי דרש]	22]	4
[	לגור לא יהיה בך חמא ²⁴	]	(23) 5
[	נרבה אשר רבה]	]	6
[	שבעך ואל	רע]ן	25]
[	אלא	בקמ]ו רעך וקמפח	26]
			7 1 25
			8

L. 3 (23 21) interval] מו מקרה מו

Frgs. 26–28 Deut 24:2-7

[	] והלכה והיותו]	2]	(3) 1
[	כריתוח ונתן בידה ושלחה]	]	2
[	אלקחה לו לאשה לא יוכל]	]	3
[	אמר]	]	4
[	חמשי]א אוח דארין]	]	5 1 27
[	יקוח איש אשה חרשה]	]	(5) 6
[	] יהיה אלקחיו שנה אחת ושח אוח	]	(6) 7 1 28
[	כף זמנא]	]	8

L. 7 (24:5) וְשִׁחַ Mem is written supralinearly.

VARIANTS

24:3	(2)	εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς θ	יְדַיָּהּ] םϞϠ בידה
24:4	(5)	θ μ ἡχοῖα	יִחְסִיָּא] 4QDeut ^f (חחסיא) םϞϠ ןחחסיא

Frgs. 29–31 Deut 25:3-9

[		] לעינין]	(4,5)	1
[		] מהב		2
[		] לאשה ויבנה ⁶ יהיה הבכור א]שר תלדן		3 f 30
[		] מישראל ⁷ ואם לא יחפן איש]לקחת אתן		4
[		] לקחים לאחיו שם ב]שראל ל]א	(8)	5
[		] ואמר לא ח]פצתי לקח]תה ⁹ ו]תנשה		6 f 31
[		] יירקה בפניו		7

Frgs. 32–35 Deut 26:18–27:10

[		] ו]שמר א]ת	(19)	1
[		] ליהו]ה אלהיך כאשר ד]בר		2
[		] את]העם לאמר ש]מר	27 1)	(2) 3
[		] אשר יהוה		4
[		] חז]א	2)	5 f 33
[		] חלב ודב]ש		6 f 34
[		] אנכ] מצוה ת]יום		7
[		] ברזל ⁶ אבנים]	(7)	8
[		] ואכ]לת שם ושמו]ת לפני יהו]ה א]להיך ⁸ יכ]תבת על האב]נים		9 f 35
[		] מ]שה ותכ]תים ה]ללים א]ת כל יש]ראל	9)	10
[		] א]להיך ¹⁰ ושמע]ת ב]קול]		11

L. 7 (27:4) אתכם is written supralinearly (= םϞϠ).

VARIANTS

- 26:18 (1) רשעו] ממשׁעסד] +σε θ^{int}
 26:18 (1) כל הן כל] כל ממשׁע, πασας θ^{AOCint}; > θ^B; רכלכלס; *omnia* D
 27.1 (3) עמ] ממשׁעסד] > θ^{ABC}
 27.1 (3) רכר ממשׁעסד] > θ^B; רכלכלס
 27:6 (8) יהוה ממשׁעס] κυριω τω θεω σου θ, *Domino Deo tuo* D
 27.7 (9) עס ממשׁעסד] και φαγη εκει και εμπλησθηση θ^A; και φαγη και εμπλησθηση εκει
 θ^{Cint}; και φαγη και εμπλησθηση θ^B
 27.9 (10)]רא[ממשׁעסד] τω λαω θ^C

Unidentified Fragments

These fragments were placed with 4QDeut^f by the original team of editors on the basis of similarities in handwriting

Frg. 36

ל] 1
 ε acat 2
]ים 3

Frg. 37

]ם ר] 1
]ם ר] 2
]לבי] 3

Frg. 38 cols. i, ii

ב] 1
 ביה] 2
 בני] [3

Frg. 39

ואר] 1
 יהו] 2

Frg. 40

]יעקב] 1

Frg. 41

]ר יה] 1
]ים יה] 2

34. 4QDeut^g

(PLATE XVI)

Preliminary publication: Sidnie Ann White, 'A Critical Edition', 215-40. 'Three Deuteronomy Manuscripts', *JBL* 112 (1993) 35-42. 'Special Features', *RevQ* 57-58 (1991) 165-7

THE ELEVEN fragments of this manuscript come from four columns of text preserving portions of Deut 9:12-14; 23:18-20; 24:16-22; 25:1-5, 14-26:5; 28:21-25, 27-29. The leather of the manuscript was well-prepared, and its original colour was yellowish brown; it is now faded to grayish brown in some places, stained a darker brown in others, or so blackened that letters are no longer visible. Some shrinkage and wrinkling has occurred, so that the leather has become very thick in places, and the surface has deteriorated. Horizontal dry lines are visible on frg. 3, and the average distance between lines of script is 0.7 cm. The column-width is c.12.5 cm, with 52-67 letter-spaces. Frgs. 1, 3, and 11 preserve bottom margins (the last, of 5.7 cm), frgs. 2 and 9 left margins, and frg. 6 a right margin. Frgs. 2-3 come from the same column, frgs. 4-9 from the next, and frgs. 10-11 probably come two columns later.

The palaeographical study of 4QDeut^g establishes its hand in the middle Herodian period, c.1-25 CE. The letter-size has become equal (cf. especially *taw*). Many letters are distinguished by *keraii* or are thickened at the top (note particularly *alep*, *gimel*, *zayin*, *tet*, *nun*, *'ayin*). Several features of the script mark it as Herodian: the base stroke of *bet*, which is penned from left to right, breaks through slightly at the corner of the downstroke; the crossbar of *het* projects to the right; *yod* is much shorter than *waw*, which is a decisive characteristic of later Herodian scripts (compare, for example, the *yod* and *waw* of 4QDeutⁿ); the head of final *kap* loops into the downstroke at the right shoulder; and the usual form of medial *mem* is penned with the late Herodian technique, the left oblique being drawn upward to the right shoulder, then down into the downstroke and base, with a tick added on the left. Note especially that in one instance this tick breaks through the left oblique (אמחה 1 3).

The orthographic practice of 4QDeut^g never varies from that of the Massoretic text. Only two instances of variation from *aw* are preserved: 25:14 (6-9 ו) נדרלה 4QDeut^g מ, *aw* נדרה *ay*; and 25:15 (6-9 2) אריבן 4QDeut^g מ, יארבן *u*. *Matres lectionis* are used to indicate **ay > ē*, e.g. שנים 2 3 and עליך 10 4, **ū*, e.g. סרו 1 1 and חשב 3 4, and **i*, e.g. ראייהן 1 2 and כ 3 2; there are no extant examples of **aw > δ*. A *mater lectionis* is used to mark **ā > ō* when accented, e.g. אלהים 3 1 and ליהוה 3 4, but not when unaccented, e.g. אנכי 3 3 and all forms of *lā* is consistently spelled defectively. However, *aw* 2 2 is spelled with a *waw* in 4QDeut^g, as in מ and *u*. The manuscript does not use *matres lectionis* to indicate any proto-semitic short vowels, i.e. **a*, **i* or **u*. It uses the short forms for all pronominal suffixes and endings (e.g. ך-, ה-, ם-).

Intervals to mark paragraph-division in 4QDeut^g appear at the following places:

Frg. 3 5 (24:19) interval] interval מ, no interval *u*

Frg. 3 6 (24:20) interval] ם מ, no interval *u*

Frgs. 6-9 3 (25:16) interval] ם מ, no interval *u*

This manuscript stands squarely in the proto-rabbinic tradition in both text and orthography. 4QDeut^s never differs from M (with one possible exception: $\text{ישׁ} \text{M}$ or $\text{ךְשׁ}^* \text{O} 2 +, 23:20$); therefore, 4QDeut^s is to be considered a member of the same textual family as M.

Mus. Inv. 400.

PAM 43.063; 40.967, 41.190, 41.297, 42.001, 42.636, 42.713, 42.732, 43.160.

Fig. 1 Deut 9:12-14

[	ממצרִים סרו]	(13)	1
[	ידוה אלי לאמר ראיִת]	(14)	2
[	לאִמְחָה אִת]		3

bottom margin

L. 2 (9:13) According to the space available, there is no room in the MS to accommodate the longer text of O (see VAR), since the reconstruction of line 1 takes up ≈ 60 letter-spaces already, compared to 59 in line 2 and 52 in line 3 below. Further, the presence of לאמר in 4QDeut^s indicates that it does not agree with S.

VARIANTS

- 9:12 (1) $\text{וְיָדוּהוּ מִמֶּנּוּ}^{\text{ABOderCS}}$] και παρεβησαν O^c . $\text{מִמְצָרִים} \text{S}$
 9:13 (2) $\text{וְיָדוּהוּ מִמֶּנּוּ}^{\text{ABOderCS}}$] $\text{וְיָדוּהוּ אֵלַי לֵאמֹר}$] S , κυριος προς με λελαλχη σε απαξ και δις λεγων O
 (see NOTE)

Fig. 2 Deut 23:18-20

	לֵא תהיה ¹⁸	]	1
	זנה ¹⁹ אִתְּנֶנּוּ	]	2
	אִלְהֵיךָ גַם שְׂנִיִּים	]	3
	יִשְׁךָ ²⁰	]	4

L. 2 (23:18) At the end of $\chi 18$, O has οὐκ ἔσται τελεσφορος ἀπο θυγατέρων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οὐκ ἔσται τελεσκομενος ἀπο υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ (> MwCSO) 4QDeut^s did not have space for that longer text.

L. 2 (23:19) זנה This word, written in the same hand, is slightly smaller than the others, perhaps because it was first omitted, then added in the margin at the end of the line.

L. 4 (23:20) יִשְׁךָ There is a small trace of ink visible on the right edge of the fragment, which could be either *yod* (יִשְׁךָ M) or *taw* (יִשְׁךָ* O , see VAR).

VARIANTS

- 23:18 (1) $\text{וְיָדוּהוּ מִמֶּנּוּ}^{\text{ABOderCS}}$] $\text{וְיָדוּהוּ אֵלַי} \text{w}$
 23:20 (4) $\text{וְיָדוּהוּ מִמֶּנּוּ}^{\text{ABOderCS}}$] $\text{εκαδεντοισ} (+\tau\omega \text{αδελφω σου } \text{O}^{\text{der}}) \text{O}$, S S (see NOTE)

Frg. 3 Deut 24:16-22

[	א]בת איש בחשאנו	(17)	1
[	(בג)י אלמנה ¹⁸ וזכרה כי עבדך (א)ליית		2
[	כ]ן אנכי מצוך לעשות את הרבר הזל	(19)	3
[	עמר בשדה לא תשוב לקחחו לגר ליתום		4
[	(יהוה) ולהיך בכל מעשה ידיך ²⁰ vac כי תחבש ליתך		5
[	(ליתו)ם ולא למנה יהיה ²¹ vac כי חבצר כרמך לא		6
[	(יהוה) וזכרה כי עבד היית בארץ מצרים		7

bottom margin

The leather of this fragment is split and shrunken; therefore some letters are split and their relative positions have become distorted. There are very short intervals before vv 20 and 21. Reconstruction suggests that there was little or no space for intervals before vv 17 and 19, both σ in \aleph but no interval in \aleph (24:18 is marked by a $\eta\sigma\alpha$ in \aleph).

VARIANTS

24:19 (4)	$\aleph\mu\theta^{BOE}$] εν τω αγρω σου θ^{ACdt} ; > S
24:19 (4)	$\aleph\mu\theta$] לגר ליתום ולא למנה יהיה aduenam et pupillum et viduam D
24:19 (5)	$\aleph\mu\theta^{OENSD}$] τοις εργασις των χειρων σου θ^{ABC} (cf S ^O)
24:20 (5)	$\aleph\mu\theta S$] εαν δε θ (cf S)
24:20 (6)	$\aleph\mu\theta^{OESD}$] + και ησηθημεν οτι ουκτης θηθα εν ηγ Αιγυπτου δια τουτο εργα σου εντελλομαι ποιειν το ηγμα τουτο θ^{ABC}
24:21 (6)	$\mu\theta S$] εαν δε θS

Frgs. 4-5 Deut 25:1-5

top margin?

[	(1)כי יהיה ריב		1
[	(והר)ש(יע) את הרשע ²		2 f5
[	[ כרי רשעתו במספך ³		3
[	(ונק)לה אחיך לעניך ⁴		4
{	(ומ)ת אחד מזלם	(5)	5

The space at the top of frg. 4 may possibly be the top margin. Also, כי may have been at the right margin because the new chapter probably began a new section.

VARIANT

25:3 (4) m^{ms} תקלי] m^{ms} תקלה

Frgs. 6-9 Deut 25:14-26:5

[	ג]דולה ו]קטנה	(15)	1
[	]אריכז]	(16)	2
[	כל]עשה אלה כל עשה עול <i>vacat</i> זכור]את את	3	17
[	בדרך בצאחכם מ]צרים ¹⁸ אשר קרך ב]דרך ויזנב בך כל]	4	
[	ואחה עי]ן ו]ע ולא] ירא אלהים ¹⁹]יהיה	5	18
[	אי]ביך מסכי]ב באר]ן	6	
[	]זכר עמל]ק מחדת ה]שמים	7	
[	]ו ²⁶]א	8	
[	]	(2)	9
[	]יה]ה א]ל]א]יך]	10	19
[	]אמרת אליו הגדתי	(3)	11
[	]נשבע יהוה לאב]חוני לחת	12	
[	]י]הוה א]להיך ⁴]וענית ואמ]רת	13	
[	]וי]גר שם במח]י	14	
[	]ו[	15	

Parts of the right and left margins are preserved. The top of frg. 6 is much damaged; the reading is certain, but the leather is split and shrunken so that the letters are split and distorted.

L 13 (26 4) א]להיך The 'alep, written by a later hand in thicker strokes, is large and bold and without *kerata*. There is a trace of ink beneath the 'alep which seems to be a correction dot.

VARIANTS

- 25 17 (4) m^{ms} m^{dnt} L^{S}] e εκπορευομενου σου e
 25 18 (4) m^{ms} O^{d} L^{S}] > e e
 25 19 (6) m^{ms} L^{a} L^{S}] e κικλω σου e

Frg. 10 Deut 28:21-25

[	לִישָׁנָה ²²	]	1
[	וּבְשׁוֹרֵי פֶּן וּבִירְקוֹן וּרְדֵי פֶן	]	(23) 2
[	אֲשֶׁר תַּחְתִּיךְ בְּרוּל ²⁴ יִחַן	]	3
[	אֲלֵיךְ עַד הַשְּׂמֹרֶךְ ²⁵ יִתְנַךְ	]	4

VARIANTS

- 28:22 (2) 4QDeut^a ירשך] טסצסזזרדלפך
 28:24 (4)] > θ^B טסצסזזגלך
 28:24 (4)] טסצס ער השמרך ; εν עד εκτραψη σε και εως αν απολεση σε (+ εν ταχει θ^B) θ
 (cf. 4QDeut^{a,f} 4QpaleoDeut^a at 7:23; מ at 7:24^{fm}; Josh 11:14).

Frg. 11 Deut 28:27-29

[	וּבַעֲפִלִּיָּם	]	(28) 1
[	בְּחַמְזוֹן ²⁹	]	2
[	אֵלֶּא תַצְלִיחַ אֶת הַרְכִּיבָן	]	3

bottom margin

L. 1 (28:27) וּבַעֲפִלִּיָּם. A portion of the base of final *mem* is extant. Reconstruction suggests וּבַעֲפִלִּים (ממט^o) or possibly בְּחַמְזִים (cf. מ^oמ^oמ^oמ^oמ^oט^o; εν ταῖς εβραῖς θ^{AOC^{int}}; ην εβραν θ^B).

VARIANTS

- 28:29 (3)] טס הצליח את ; ευδοκασει (+ τότε θ^{int}) θ
 28:29 (3)] טסצסזזרדכין ; א אחרשך לֵא ; א אחרשך לֵא

35. 4QDeut^h

(PLATES XVII-XVIII)

Preliminary publication: Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition', 34-50; 'New Readings for the "Blessing of Moses" from Qumran', *JBL* 114 (1995) 275-92. Esther Eshel and Michael E. Stone, 'A New Fragment of 4QDeut^h', *JBL* 112 (1993) 487-9.

See also F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, 'The Blessing of Moses,' *JBL* 67 (1948) 191-210.

4QDEUT^h consists of fifteen fragments which preserve material from the beginning and end of the scroll, as well as a few lines from Deuteronomy 4 and perhaps 19 (see Table 1). Frgs. 11-15 preserve parts of fourteen verses of the Blessing of Moses; the lines of the poem are not arranged stichometrically.

The leather of the fragments is stained a reddish brown colour, and the surface is glossy. Some of the pieces are discolored with both very light and very dark patches. On frgs. 11-15 horizontal dry lines are visible, and on frgs. 7, 10, and 12 vertical dry lines mark the right margin. Top margins are preserved on frgs. 5 and 7 (the latter measuring 2.0 cm). Right margins are preserved on frgs. 2, 7 (measuring 1.0 cm), 8, 9, 10 and 12. Left margins are extant at frgs. 1, 4, and 5. A bottom margin is preserved on frg. 4 (measuring 2.3 cm).

TABLE 1: *Contents of 4QDeut^h*

Fragment	Passage	Fragment	Passage
1	1:1-17	8	4:31-34
2-4	1:22-24, 29-39	9	19:21?
5-6	1:41, 43-46; 2:1-6	10	31:9-11
7	2:28-30	11-15	33:8-22

The letters of 4QDeut^h are in a small (2 mm high), precise script, and the average distance between lines of script is 0.7 cm. Most of the fragments attest a column-width of either 85-95 or 75-85 letter-spaces. Two of the fragments suggest exceptionally narrow columns: on frg. 7 the width of the reconstructed column averages 38-43 letter-spaces, and on frg. 8 it is 45-55. The occurrence of a bottom margin approximately 30 lines down from Deut 1:1 suggests either 30 or, less likely, 15 lines per column.

4QDeut^h is inscribed in a formal hand which may be dated to a transitional period between the late Hasmonaean and early Herodian periods, c.50-1 BCE. For the orthographic differences between this manuscript and III and IV, see Table 2. Archaic spelling practices are evident, particularly in the poetic material of Deuteronomy 33, although it should be noted that the practices of the scribe are not consistent.

Intervals occur on frgs. 11-15 after vv 11, 17, and 21, corresponding to paragraph-divisions in III (v) and IV (ⲙⲡ). In addition, reconstruction of frg. 6 indicates that an interval preceded 2:2, corresponding to III (v) and IV (ⲙⲡ). At two places (frgs. 1 9, 12 11)

TABLE 2: Orthography

Frq. , line	Deut	4QDeut ^h	III	III ^{ms}	III ^{ed}	III ^{ms}
1 3	1.3	אלהם	אלהם		אלהים	
1 3	1.4	סחון	סחון		סחון	סחון
1 3	1:4	ישב	ישב		ישב	
1 4	1:4	בעשורה	בעשורה		בעשורה	
1 4	1:5	הואיל	הואיל		הואיל	הואיל
1 5	1:6	בחרב	בחרב		בחרב	
1 6	1:7	הגדל	הגדל		הגדל	
1 9	1.11	אבותים	אבותים		אבותים	אבותים
1 9	1.11	יסקי	יסקי		יסקי	
1 10	1.13	ונבנים	ונבנים		ונבנים	
1 12	1.15	עשרה	עשרה		עשרה	
2-4 19	1.22	נבוא	נבא		נבוא	
2-4 29	1.37	תבוא	תבא		תבוא	
5-6 8	2.3	סב	סב		סב	
5-6 8	2.3	צפונה	צפנה		צפונה	
5-6 9	2.4	ויראו (orth or var ?)	ויראו		ויראו	
7 1	2.28	חשברני	חשברני		חשברני	חשברני
7 3	2.29	היושבים	היושבים		היושבים	היושבים
7 5	2.30	סחון	סחון		סחון	
8 6	4.34	ובמפתים	ובמפתים		ובמפתים	ובמפתים
10 3	31.10	אחם	אחם		אחם	
11-15 2	33.9	ראחון (orth & var)	ראחון		ראחון	
11-15 3	33.9	בנו (orth or var ?)	בנו	בנו	בנו	
11-15 3	33.10	ישמו (orth & var)	ישמו		ישמו	
11-15 3	33.10	קסרה	קסרה		קסרה	
11-15 4	33.10	וכליל	וכליל		וכליל	
11-15 7	33.15	נבעת	נבעת		נבעת	
11-15 7	33.16	מלאה	ומלאה		ומלאה	
11-15 8	33.17	קרני (orth or var ?)	קרני		קרני	
11-15 10	33.19	ושפני	ושפני		ושפני	
11-15 10	33.19	סמני	סמני		סמני	
11-15 10	33.20	כלביא	כלביא		כלביה	
11-15 11	33.21	ראשת	ראשת		ראשת	

blank spaces on the leather do not correspond to paragraphing in either III or III^{ed}, but occur in the middle of phrases. In both instances the surviving physical evidence suggests that the scribe was avoiding damaged leather (see NOTES). There are three supralinear corrections, all apparently by the original scribe: fig. 1 1, רב 6 8, and ובִּפְתִּיחַים 8 6.

Under the VARIANTS for frgs. 11-15 (Deut 33:8-11), the evidence from the Blessing of Levi preserved in 4QTestimonia (4Q175) has been collated. For a discussion of the relationship between these two witnesses, see Duncan, 'New Readings'.

Frg. 1 Deut 1:1-17

[	הִירְדֵן בְּמִדְבַּר אֵל לֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּעַבְרָה מוֹלֵן]	]	1
	שְׁלֵטֵיר עַד קִדְשׁ בְּרִנֵּג ³ וַיְוִיד בְּאֵלֵיכֶם שְׁנֵה בְּעַשׂוֹתָּהּ עֲשִׂירִי חֹדֶשׁ בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ	]	(2) 2
	אִשְׁרֵי צֹהַ יְהוָה אֲתוֹן אֱלֹהִים ⁴ אַחֲרַי הִכְתוּ אֹת סִיחֹן מֶלֶךְ הָאֲמֹרִי אֲשֶׁר יוֹשֵׁב	]	3
	יְוִי שָׁב בְּעִשְׂתֵּרֶת בְּאֲדַרְעֵי ⁵ יְעִבֵּר הִירְדֵן בְּאֵרֶץ מִזְרָח הַיַּיִל מִשָּׁה בְּאֵר אֹת	]	4
	אֲלֵינִי בְּחֵרֵב לֵאמֹר רַב לָכֶם שִׁבְתׁ בְּהַר הַזֶּה וְפָנּוּ וְסָעוּ לָכֶם וּבְאוּ הַר	]	(6) 5
	וּבְשִׁפְלָה בְּנֶגֶב וּבְחֹזֶף הַיָּם אֶרֶץ הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְהַלְבֹּטֵן עַד הַנְּהַר הַגְּדוֹל נְהַר	]	6
	אֵל הָאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה לְאַבְרָהָם וּלְיִצְחָק וּלְיַעֲקֹב	]	(8) 7
	הֵיאֵל לֵאמֹר לֹא אוֹכַל לְבְדִי שָׂאת אֲתֶכֶם ¹⁰ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הִרְבֵּה אֲתֶכֶם	]	(9) 8
	אֲבַחְתִּים־ם ¹¹ יוֹסִיף עֲלֵיכֶם כִּכְם אֵלֶיךָ עֲמִים וַיְבָרַךְ אֲתֶכֶם כְּאִשֶׁר	]	(11) 9
	וַיְבַרְכֶם ¹³ הִבּוּ לָכֶם אֲנָשִׁים חֲכָמִים וְנְבוֹנִים וַיְדַעִים לְשִׁבְטֵיכֶם אֲנָשִׁים־ם	]	(12) 10
	וַיְבָרַךְ לַעֲשׂוֹת ¹⁵ וַאֲקַח אֹת רֵאשֵׁי שִׁבְטֵיכֶם אֲנָשִׁים חֲכָמִים וְנְבוֹנִים	]	(14) 11
	אֲשֶׁר ⁴ מֵאוֹת וּשְׁרֵי חֲמִשִּׁים וּשְׁרֵי עֶשְׂרֹת וּשְׁמֵרִים לְשִׁבְטֵיכֶם	]	12
	וּשְׁפָתָם צָדֵק בֵּין אִישׁ וּבֵין אֲחֵיו וּבֵין גֵּר ¹⁷ לֹא תִכְיֹר פִּלְאִים	]	(16) 13
	לְאַלְהֵיכֶם הַזֶּה וְהִדְבַּר אֲשֶׁר יִקְשֶׁה מִכֶּם חֲקִירְבוּן אֵלַי אֲשִׁמְעֶנּוּ	]	14

The five words with which the Book of Deuteronomy begins (אלה הדברים אשר דבר משה) preceded the first extant word; the column is wider than it appears in this format. The left margin is preserved, and the line-width varies between 80 and 94 letter-spaces.

L. 1 (1:1) אֵל. Part of the upper stroke of *lamed* is just evident on the leather.

L. 1 (1:1) לֵל. Most of the *kap* and part of the *lamed* have been destroyed by surface damage.

L. 1^{sup} (1:1) הִירְדֵן בְּמִדְבַּר. has been inserted above the line. Although only the downstroke of *bet* is visible in the photograph, ink of the base is detectable on the leather. The phrase was probably initially lost as a result of homoioteleuton.

L. 2 (1:2) עֲשִׂירִי. The left arm of *ayin* has been lost with the surface of the leather, as has part of the left stroke of *sin*.

L. 2 (1:3) עֲשִׂירִי. The impression of a base-stroke on the final letter is created by a crack in the leather.

L. 3 (1:3) אֲתוֹן. *Aleph* is followed by a hole in the leather.

L. 4 (1:4) בְּאֲדַרְעֵי. The distortion of *bet* is a result of the fact that the letter is on two pieces of leather (the piece with the cross-stroke should be raised and shifted counterclockwise slightly).

L. 6 (1:7) וּבְשִׁפְלָה. The top of the *lamed* is visible on the plate. After the photograph was taken, a small piece with the letters *pe*, the bottom of *lamed*, and *he* was joined to the fragment in the museum.

L. 7 (1:8) אֵל הָאֶרֶץ. The right edge of the fragment containing lines 7, 8, and 9 is made up of several small pieces which have not been joined correctly (in part a result of the loss of minute pieces around their edges, cf. line 8, *lamed* and *aleph* in *לאמר*). Here a small piece of leather on the right edge of the fragment has been misjoined and should be rotated clockwise (the oblique stroke to the right of *he* is actually its right leg). The small piece of leather below *אֶרֶץ* is also not a direct join (the missing part of

sade is seen in the stray stroke of ink to the right of the word following).

L. 9 (1:10) אִבְזִים is followed by a blank space. We would not expect a sense-division at this point in the text, the leather here is blackened, suggesting the possibility that it was unsuitable for writing.

L. 11 (1:15) A reconstruction of space for this line indicates that this MS probably read וְבָנִים following אֲנָשִׁים חֲבָנִים, with θ ; cf. v 13 above.

L. 12 (1:15) סָאָה. A small piece which is slightly misaligned has distorted the *mem*.

L. 12 (1 15) לְשִׁבְטֵיכֶם]. Surface damage has made the ink faint in some cases, but the letters are certain; see VAR

VARIANTS

1 4	(4)	ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ] ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ
1 7	(6)	ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ] ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ
1 8	(7)	ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ] ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ
1 15	(11)	ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ] ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ
1 15	(12)	ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ] ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ
1 15	(12)	ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ] ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ
1 17	(13)	ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ] ⲉⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲣⲉⲓ

Frgs. 2-4 Deut 1:22-24, 29-39

[	אֵלֵי כָלֶכֶם וְהֹאמְרוּ נִשְׁלַח אַנְשִׁים]	18
[	הָעָרִים אֲשֶׁר נִבְּאוּ אֵלֶיהֶן ²³]	(24) 19
[	וְהִדְרָה יִבְּאוּ עַד נַחֲלָן]	20
[	]	21
[	]	22
[	]	(29) 23
[	וְהָעָרִים וְלֹא תִירָאוּן]	(30) 24 f 3
[	וְהַמְקֹם הַזֶּה ²² בְּרִדְבָרְךָ]	25
	וְהָעָרִים וְלֹא תִירָאוּן]	(33) 26 f 4
	אִם יִרְאוּ אִישׁ בְּאֲנָשִׁים]	(34) 27
	[וְלֹא תִירָאוּן]	(36) 28
	[וְלֹא תִירָאוּן שְׂמָה ¹⁴ דְרוּשָׁע]	(37) 29
	וְנִשְׁפַּחְכֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַע הוּיָם טוֹב]	30

bottom margin

The right, left, and bottom margins are preserved, and the line numbers are based on a format of thirty lines per column. Line-width varies between 85 and 98 letter-spaces in this column.

L. 18 (1:22) כלכּם. Part of the hook of *lamed* has been rubbed away, creating the impression of a 'v'-shape on the edge of the leather.

L. 18 (1:22) אַנְלִים. Most of the *sin* has been lost as a result of surface damage.

L. 26 (1:32) ׀בַּרְבֵּר. The dark stroke above *dalet* is a stroke of ink; it appears to be accidental rather than a deliberate marking.

L. 26 (1:33) ׀לֵה. *Lamed* and *yod* are small and are shifted slightly counterclockwise.

L. 30 (1:39) ׀ = ׀נפסכּם אשׁר לא ידעו ׀. ׀מ. ׀מ. ׀מ have לא ידעו אשׁר לבו יודו ובניכּם אשׁר לא ידעו (cf. Num 14:31). This line is reconstructed with the shorter reading of ׀ on the basis of the extant reading לא ידעו (referring to ׀נפסכּם) as opposed to לא ידעו ׀ of ׀מ. ׀מ (referring to ׀בניכּם), and on the basis of spatial requirements that preclude the longer reading (which would result in a line of 112 letter-spaces). ׀ may have lost the phrase through haplography (homoioteleuton), or ׀מ. ׀מ may have gained the longer reading due to Num 14:31 (see VAR.).

VARIANTS

1:22 (19) ׀ עליון] ׀מ אליהן

1:33 (26) ׀מ לדראים; ׀מ לדראים] לדראים

1:37 (29) ׀מ שם] ׀מ שמה

1:39 (30) ׀ ידע ׀מ. ׀מ. ׀מ. 4QDeut^b and ׀ read the collective singular antecedent נפסכּם (τοὺς παλαίους νεοῦ), as opposed to ׀מ. ׀מ which refer to בניכּם (see NOTE).

Frgs. 5–6 Deut 1:41, 43–2:6

top margin

׀ׁוּחַעֲנֹ	]	1
אִישׁ אִשָּׁה	]	2
[	]	(42) 3
׀ׁדְרָה ׀ׁנְצָא	]	(43) 4 f 6
[	]	5
׀ׁשְׁעִיר עַד הַחֲרֹמָה ׀ׁ	]	5
[	]	6
׀ׁבְּקֶלֶכֶ ׀ׁ וְלֹא הָאוּזִין אֲלֵיכֶם ׀ׁוּתְשָׁבוּ בְּקֶדֶשׁ יְמִינִם	]	(21) 7
[	]	8
׀ׁוֹיָאֹמֵר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי לֵאמֹר לְךָ סוֹב אֶת הַדָּר הַזֶּה פֶּנּוּ לָכֶם צַפְנֵה ׀ׁוּאֹתָן	]	8
[	]	9
׀ׁהִישָׁבִים ׀ׁשְׁעִיר וִירָאוּ בָן ׀ׁ ׀ׁ וְשִׁמְרָתָם מְאֹד ׀ׁ אֵל תְּתַרְוֶן	]	9
[	]	10
׀ׁאֹכֵל הַלְּטָבוּר	]	10

The top and left margins are preserved on frg. 5, and reconstruction indicates that one line intervened between frgs. 5 and 6. The number of letters per line on these fragments varies between 75 and 86.

L. 2 (1:41) אִשָּׁה. This identification is tentative. Unfortunately the piece with these two traces is no longer extant.

L. 4 (1:44) ׀ׁנְצָא. This identification is tentative. The large head of *waw*, which is generally smaller than that of *yod* in this manuscript, may be the result of blotting of ink (cf. also תְּתַרְוֶן, line 9 below).

L. 8^{sup} (2:3) רב was inadvertently omitted and then inserted above the line by the same hand.

L. 9 (2:4) The dark mark above תשמרתם is not ink, but rather a darkened patch of leather.

VARIANTS

- 1:44 (5) תשמרתם ויראתם ויראתם] ויראתם
 2:3 (8) לך] לך
 2:4 (9) ויראתם ויראתם] ויראתם (orth. or var.?)
 2:4 (9) תשמרתם ויראתם] και εὐλαβηθησονται θ (cf εὐλαβηθησεται 963*)

Frg. 7 Deut 2:28-30

top margin

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5

Top and right margins are preserved. The line-length of this fragment is approximately half that of the preceding columns (38–43 letter-spaces); it is possible that this column was the last on a sheet of leather. Note that the surface is badly damaged along the right margin ruling.

L. 1 (2 28) תשמרתם Part of the *bet* has been eroded with the surface. The tips of the upper and lower strokes remain, see also אבד, line 5.

L. 4 (2 29) פה The leather preceding *taw* is badly damaged, but faint traces of ink are discernible.

Frg. 8 Deut 4:31-34

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6

This fragment was originally placed with 4Q464 (see PAM 43.357) but was identified as part of 4QDeut^b by E. Eshel and M. Stone (see bibliography). The right margin of

this fragment is preserved, and the number of letters per line is 45–55. Because most columns average *c.*85 letters per line, it is possible that this column was the last on a skin.

L. 4 (4:33) Eshel and Stone suggest the possibility of reconstructing אלהים חיים with $\text{ממ}^{\text{ms}}\text{מ}\text{ס}^{\text{J}}$, as opposed to $\text{ממ}^{\text{ms}}\text{מ}\text{ס}$ (Eshel and Stone, 489).

L. 6 (4:34) וב^השמים. The original scribe inserted a supralinear *mem* after *bet*, perhaps initially omitted as a result of the graphic similarity of *bet* and *mem*.

Frg. 9 Deut 19:21?

נפשן	1
רגל ברגלן	2

Frg. 9 is at a right margin. The phrase רגל ברגל occurs in מ of Deuteronomy only at 19:21. נפש בנפש does occur earlier in the verse, but it is so near that a very short line would result. There is surface damage and distortion on the edge of the fragment, but the letter following *sin* is almost certainly *waw* (or possibly *yod*) and appears to be attached to the word נפש. If the identification is correct, this would entail some variant reading.

Frg. 10 Deut 31:9-11

הואת עלן ספר	(10) 1
משה אותם ביום ההוא	(11) 2
כל ישראל לראות	3
[ישראל]	4

Frg. 10 displays a right margin. The width of lines in this column varies between 66 and 82 letter-spaces, with line 2 as the shortest.

L. 2 (31:10) [ביום ההוא] has been reconstructed with ס on the basis of spatial requirements; if the line lacks this phrase (with $\text{ממ}^{\text{ms}}\text{ס}^{\text{D}}$) it is 57 letter-spaces wide, rather than 66.

VARIANT

31:9 (1) ס ען ספר] $\text{ס} > \text{ממ}^{\text{ms}}\text{ס}^{\text{D}}$

Frgs. 11–15 Deut 33:8–22

[	דבּו לַיָּוִי	1
[	לֹא רֵאִיתָךְ	2
אִוַּחַת	בְּנֵי לֹא יֵדַע כִּי שָׁמַר אֶמְרֹתֶיךָ בְּרִיתֶךָ יִצְחָר ¹⁰ יוֹד מְטַפֵּאֵסֶיךָ לִינַעֲקֹב וְחִזְרֹתֶיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵלִי אֲשֶׁם קַמְרָה בִּאֲפָן	3
	וְכָלֵל עַל מִזְבְּחֹתֶיךָ ¹¹ בְּרִךְ יְהוָה חֵילוֹ וּפְעֻלָּתוֹ יִזְרֹר אֶרְצָה מִחַץ מִתְּהַיָּיִ [קָמוּ וּמִשְׁנֹאוֹ בַל יִקְמוּ] vacat	4
	¹² וְלִבְנֵימֵן אִמְרֵי יוֹדֵי יִזְדָּה יִשְׁכֵּן לִבְשָׁח אֶל מְחֻפֶּפֶת עֲלֵיוֹ	5
	יְהוָה אֶרְצוּ וּמִמֶּנּוּ שָׁמַיִם מִן הַיָּם וּמִחֻזּוֹם לְבַצַּח חַחַת ¹⁴ אֵין	6
	הַרְרֵי קָרַם וּמִמֶּנּוּ נִבְעַת עֹלָם ¹⁶ וּמִמֶּנּוּ אֶרֶץ וּמְלֵאָה וּלְצֹנָן	7
	נִזְרֵי אַחֲזִי ¹⁷ בְּכוֹר שׁוֹרֵי הַדָּר לֹו וּקְרֵי רֵאִים קֶרֶן בֹּהֵם]	8
	וְהֵם אֶלְפֵי מִנְשֵׁה vacat ¹⁸ וְלִזְבוּלֵן אִמְרֵי שָׁמַח זִבּוּלֵן בְּצִאֲתֶיךָ	9
	יִזְבּוּ וְזָחִי צִדְקָה כִּי שִׁפְעָה יָמִים יִנְקוּ וּשְׁפָנֵי טַמְנֵי חֲזַל ²⁰	10
	אֶלְרֶפֶף] [//////// זֹרַע וְאֶף קֶרֶקֶד ²¹ וְיִרְאָה רֵאֶשֶׁת לֹו כִּי שֵׁם הַלְקֵת]	11
	[] [וּמִשְׁפָּאֵם עִם יִשְׂרָאֵל vacat יוֹלְדָן אִמְרֵי דָן] [e]	12

Part of the right margin and some of the letters along the left margin are extant. Excluding lines with intervals (lines 4, 9, 11, 12), line-width on this column varies between 77 and 84 letter-spaces.

L. 1 (33:8) דבּוּ. The right side of *he* appears to have been obscured by a particle at the time of photographing; it is clearly visible on the original.

L. 2 (33:9) רֵאִיתָךְ (for רֵאִיתִיךָ). There is clearly no *yod* following *taw* in this scroll; for similar spellings in \mathfrak{M} , note, e.g., \mathfrak{M}^a Ezek 29:3, \mathfrak{M}^b Sam 3:8, \mathfrak{M}^c Kgs 20:15.

L. 4 (33:10) וְכָלֵל. The lower part of *taw* has been destroyed by damage to the surface.

L. 4 (33:11) מִתְּהַיָּיִ. The base-stroke of *nun* is barely visible under *yod*. There is a bit of blank leather following *yod*, which suggests that this \mathfrak{M} probably read מִתְּהַיָּיִ (with *m*) rather than מִתְּהַיָּיִ (with \mathfrak{M}). However, a final *mem* slightly separated from the *yod* is not impossible.

L. 4 (33:11) בַּל. An alternative reconstruction is the negative particle *לֹא*, but *בל* is expected in this poetic context (cf. 4QTestim \mathfrak{M}^a \mathfrak{M}^b). It should be noted that the reading *אל* can be ruled out since at least a portion of the *alep* would be evident on the leather (see VAR.).

L. 5 (33:12) לִבְשָׁח. The lower part of *bet* has been lost due to surface damage.

L. 5 (33:12) מְחֻפֶּפֶת. The traces for three of these five letters are virtually certain. The lower stroke of medial *pe* may be compared to that of *pe* in וּפְעֻלָּתוֹ, line 4 above.

L. 6 (33:13) רֵבִיצָה. There is a split in the leather, and the pieces should be slightly separated. The right side of *res* and a trace of the lower right corner of *bet* are discernible on the right side of the join, although the left side of *res* and much of the *bet* are lost.

L. 7 (33:16) אֶרֶץ וּמְלֵאָה. As in the previous note, there is a split in the leather where the *taw* would have been, although the bottom tip of the *taw* can still be seen. This \mathfrak{M} reads with 1QDeut $\mathfrak{M}^a\mathfrak{M}^b\mathfrak{M}^c\mathfrak{M}^d$, whereas \mathfrak{M} seems not to have the *taw* (cf. \mathfrak{M}^e \mathfrak{M}^f \mathfrak{M}^g \mathfrak{M}^h \mathfrak{M}^i \mathfrak{M}^j \mathfrak{M}^k \mathfrak{M}^l \mathfrak{M}^m \mathfrak{M}^n \mathfrak{M}^o \mathfrak{M}^p \mathfrak{M}^q \mathfrak{M}^r \mathfrak{M}^s \mathfrak{M}^t \mathfrak{M}^u \mathfrak{M}^v \mathfrak{M}^w \mathfrak{M}^x \mathfrak{M}^y \mathfrak{M}^z).

L. 9 (33:19) וְהֵם יִקְרְאוּ. The second letter could be a distorted *res*, but *res* and *dalet* are generally well distinguished in this script; compare, e.g., the *res* in יִקְרְאוּ with the *dalet* in

יָד in the line below. *Waw* and *yod* are also well distinguished in this MS (compare, e.g., the *waw* of יָד with the *yod* immediately following in יָדָא); see VAR.

L. 11 (33:20) We would not expect an interval following וְלִיָּהּ. The surface is scratched and blackened here, suggesting the possibility that it was unsuitable for writing.

L. 12 (33:21) וְכַסְפִּי (cf. κτῆνος αὐτοῦ θ). The traces fit *set-waw* slightly better than *yod-waw* (cf. וְכַסְפִּי מִמֶּנּוּ), but the latter possibility cannot be ruled out. If this identification is correct, the variant of this MS may be orthographic, or it may read with θ.

VARIANTS

- 33:8 (1) יָדָא 4QTestim θ(Δοτε Λευ)] > מִמֶּנּוּ
- 33:9 (2) יָדָא 4QTestim (Allegro and BHS err):¹ מִמֶּנּוּ לא ראינו, מ לא ראינו, מ לא ראינו; cf. א לא ראינו; *nescio vos* D. The Targums are expansionistic here.
- 33:9 (3) יָדָא 4QTestim מִמֶּנּוּ בניו 4QTestim^{ms}; τους υιους αυτου θ εδς, *filios suos* D (orth. or var.?)
- 33:9 (3) יָדָא 4QTestim θ] מִמֶּנּוּ 4QDeut^b is consistent in reading a singular subject throughout vv 9-10 (see below, v 10), while other witnesses show some fluctuation (see Duncan, 'New Readings').
- 33:9 (3) יָדָא 4QTestim מִמֶּנּוּ וְכַסְפִּי] בְּרִיחָךְ
- 33:10 (3) יָדָא (for יָדָא?) יָדָא 4QTestim^{ms}; וְכַסְפִּי וְכַסְפִּי יָדָא 4QTestim^{ms}; > D. The apocopated form of יָדָא (see GKC §76f) in 4QDeut^b is unexpected in this context (see 2 Kgs 13:17 and Duncan, 'New Readings').
- 33:10 (3) יָדָא 4QTestim* יָדָא 4QTestim^{ms} מִמֶּנּוּ וְכַסְפִּי. 4QTestim originally read with 4QDeut^b (i.e. וְכַסְפִּי); this reading was subsequently corrected to the reading as in מִמֶּנּוּ (the second *yod* was written in above the line, medial *mem* was written over final *mem*, and a *waw* was added).²
- 33:11 (4) יָדָא 4QTestim*; וְכַסְפִּי וְכַסְפִּי מִמֶּנּוּ θ δια παντος θ. θ does not seem to have understood the sacrificial sense of כַּלִּיל in this context; note also θ Deut 13:17[16], and contrast θ at 1 Sam 7:9 and Ps 51:21 [50:21] where כַּלִּיל is reflected as one might expect (ολοκαυτωσιν and ολοκαυτωματα, respectively).
- 33:11 (4) יָדָא 4QTestim*; cf. וְכַסְפִּי וְכַסְפִּי מִמֶּנּוּ 4QTestim^{ms} מִמֶּנּוּ. The original reading of 4QTestim agreed with 4QDeut^b; the *law* has been erased in a correction toward מִמֶּנּוּ. 4QDeut^b and 4QTestim read the feminine noun וְכַסְפִּי (either the singular construct form, or the plural construct written without a *mater lectionis*).
- 33:11 (4) יָדָא 4QTestim^{ms} מִמֶּנּוּ] מִמֶּנּוּ
- 33:11 (4) יָדָא 4QTestim; cf. וְכַסְפִּי מִמֶּנּוּ. For the reconstruction of מִמֶּנּוּ, see NOTE, for further discussion of this variant, see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33:11 (4) יָדָא 4QTestim (יקסו) מִמֶּנּוּ (יקסו) יָדָא. It is not possible to determine whether this MS included the final *nun* (= מ) or not (= 4QTestim), there would be space for both *waw* and final *nun* in the lacuna.
- 33:12 (5) יָדָא 4QTestim^{ms} מִמֶּנּוּ וְכַסְפִּי] מִמֶּנּוּ וְכַסְפִּי
- 33:12 (5) יָדָא 4QTestim^{ms} מִמֶּנּוּ] מִמֶּנּוּ וְכַסְפִּי

¹ See Strugnell, 'Notes en marge', *RevQ* 7 (1970) 226.

² Compare John Allegro, who judged that the correction was in the opposite direction (*DJD* V 60). If, however, that were the case, there would have been an attempt to delete the *waw* at the end of the word, moreover, the *yod* is quite clearly a supralinear addition (see *DJD* V, Pl. XXI). See also Strugnell, 'Notes en marge', 226.

- 33:12 (5) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33:12 (5) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33:12 (5) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33:12 (5) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33:13 (6) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33:15 (6) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33:15 (7) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 15 (7) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33:16 (7) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 17 (8) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 17 (8) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 17 (8) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 17 (8) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 19 (9) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 19 (9) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 19 (10) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 19 (10) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 19 (10) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 20 (11) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 20 (11) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.
- 33 21 (11) Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta\epsilon\sigma$ Θ עליו Θ] Θ $\epsilon\lambda\iota$ > ω Σ . This ω Σ agrees with the tradition of Θ in reading the divine name where Θ appears to be corrupt;³ see Duncan, 'New Readings'.

³ H. S. Nyberg first proposed the divine name for this crux (reading על), 'Studien zum Religionskampf im Alten Testament', *ARB* (1938) 372-7. See also Cross and Freedman (who read על), 'Blessing', 204, n. 38 (similarly in NRSV 'High God').

⁴ Z. Ben-Hayyim (*Leleoneu* 22 [1958] 236-7) observes the tendency to employ the *Pi'el* conjugation for the *Qal* in late Hebrew and the Samaritan tradition. Qumran (§310.16) documents two instances at Qumran in which *Pi'el* forms have been substituted for the *Qal* 4Q513 2 II 5 and 4Q169 3-4 II 6.

36. 4QDeutⁱ

(PLATE XIX)

Preliminary publication: Sidnie Ann White, 'A Critical Edition', 241-62.

SIX IDENTIFIABLE fragments and two unidentified fragments are all that remain of this manuscript, containing portions of Deut 20:9-13; 21:23-22:9; 23:6-17, and 23:23-24:1. The leather is of medium thickness and was originally grayish to reddish brown. The surface was well-prepared, but now a certain amount of deterioration has taken place, leaving several visible cracks and some wrinkling. Frgs. 2, 3, and 5 contain the remains of pairs of columns and the margins between them average 1.3 cm. No other margins survive. Horizontal and vertical dry lines are visible on frgs. 3 and 5, and the average distance between lines of script is 0.6-0.8 cm. Frgs. 1-2 and 3 i-5 i contain 53-61 letters per line, while frgs. 3 ii-5 ii and 6 contained 41-51. Reconstruction of the amount of text between the first and the second columns on frgs. 3-5 indicates that the manuscript had c.39-40 lines per column.

The palaeographical study of this manuscript places it in the late Hasmonaean period, c.100-50 BCE. While retaining most of the characteristics of the Hasmonaean hand, it exhibits several traits that will become regular in the Herodian hand, particularly the beginning of ornamentation of the ends of letters. The latest letter types in the manuscript are *ʔalep* (the 'inverted-v' form), *bet* (the form in which the base is penned from left to right, resulting in a breakthrough at the juncture of the downstroke and the base), *ʕayin* (which is the same size as other letters and has a prominent breakthrough at the juncture of the right and left arms) and *šade* (where the arm is sharply bent at the 'elbow').

In orthography (see Table 1), 4QDeutⁱ uses *matres lectionis* to mark **ay* > *ē* (e.g. לפיך 3-5 i 8), **i* (e.g. כי 3-5 i 7, חשיכם 3-5 i 2), and **ū* (e.g. ועברוךך 1-2 i 3). It uses a *mater lectionis* for **u* > *o* when it is accented (e.g. קרוש 3-5 ii 12), but not when it is unaccented (e.g. כל 1-2 i 3). It usually marks **ā* > *ō* with a *waw* when it is accented and sometimes when it is unaccented (e.g. יבוא 3-5 ii 8 and וסבתם 3-5 ii 2), but this practice is not consistent (e.g. חבא 6 3, 4). The manuscript uses the short pronominal forms (e.g. ה-, ך-, ך).

TABLE 1: Orthography

Frg., line	Deut	4QDeut ⁱ	III	III ^{edd}	III ^{msb}
3 ii 2	23:7	וסבתם	וסבתם	וסבתם	וסבתם
5 ii 8	23:12	יבוא	יבא	יבוא	
5 ii 10	23:14	חפרתה	חפרתה	חפרתה	
6 2	23:24	חשכור	חשכר	חשכר	
6 3	23:25	חבא	חבא	חבוא	
6 4	23:26	חבא	חבא	חבוא	

Intervals to mark paragraph-divisions in 4QDeutⁱ appear at 23:24 (fig. 6 3, \circ III, no interval ω) and at 23:26 (fig. 6 5, \circ III קמ ω), but no intervals exist at 20:9 (fig. 1 1, \circ III קמ ω), 21:23 (fig. 3 i 2, \circ III no interval ω), and 23:25 (fig. 6 4, \circ III no interval ω).

Mus. Inv. 323. PAM 43.066; 42.006.

Frgs. 1-2 cols. i and ii Deut 20:9-13

] צבאוֹתָ הַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ	]	1
]ֹס [לְהַלָּחֵם] עֲלֵינוּ וּקְרָאתָ אֵלֵינוּ לְשָׁלוֹם ¹¹ וְהָיָה אִם שָׁלוֹם	19]	2
] [חַעֲנֵךְ וּפְחָחָה [לְךָ] וְהָיָה כָּל הָעָם הַנִּמְצָא בְּהַיְדוּיִם לְךָ לְמַסַּע וּעֲבָדְךָ ¹² וְאִם לֹא		3
[מִלְחָמָה וְצָרָה עֲלֵינוּ ¹³ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ]	]	4

Fig. 2 preserves a left margin, extending far enough to the left at line 2 to retain part of a letter in the next column.

L. 1 (20.9) no interval] \circ III קמ ω

VARIANT

20 10 (2) יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ] αὐτοῦ θ^B

Frgs. 3 col. i, 4, 5 col. i Deut 21:23-22:9

אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְךָ נָחַן לְךָ	]	1
[הָשִׁיב חֲשִׁיבִים	[נחלה ^{22.1}	2
וְדוֹה	]²	3
וְכִן תֵּשֶׁה [לְחַמְרוֹ] וְכִן תֵּשֶׁה וּלְשִׁלְמָהֶן	]	4 f 4, 5
[וּמִצְאוֹתָהּ [לֹא חֹזֵק]	]	5
[בְּרִדְךָ וְהִחַלְמָת הַתִּקָּם	]	6
[נְבִיר שְׁלָמָה אִשָּׁה כִּי תִהְיֶה עִבְדַּת יְהוָה	]	7
צִפְּרִי לְפָנֶיךָ בְּרִדְךָ כְּכֹל עֵץ אוֹ עַל	]	(6) 8
עַל הָאֲפֻרָּהִים אוֹן עַל הַבִּיצִים לֹא תִקַּח	]	9
לְךָ	]	(7) 10
[חֲשִׁיבִים	]	(8) 11
[חֲשִׁיבִים	]	(9) 12

Cols i and ii of frgs 3 and 5 preserve a margin of c.1.3 cm.

L. 6^{sup} (22:4) בָּרָם. The supralinear correction by the original scribe brings the MS into agreement with $\text{M}\omega\theta$ and thus probably signals a small slip by the scribe, not a variant reading.

VARIANT

22:5 (7) שִׁמְרוּ] שִׁמְרוּ 4QpaleoDeutⁱM ω . (For this widespread variant, see BDB, 971)

Frgs. 3 ii–5 ii Deut 23:6-8, 12-16

[	הִקְלֵלָה לְבִרְכָה כִּין	(7)	1
[	וּשְׂוֹבָתָם] כֹּל יִמִּיךְ] אֲנִי עֹלָם	(8)	2
[	לֹא		3
[	]		4
[	]		5
[	]		6
[	]		7
[	הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יִבּוֹא אֲנִי	(13)	8 f 5
[	וַיִּצְאֹת שְׂמֵה חוּץ חַיִּי ¹⁴ וְיִתְחַד		9
[	חוּץ וּחְפֵרָתָהּ בָּהּ וְנִשְׁכַּת	(15)	10
[	מִחֻזְלֵךְ בִּקְרֵב]		11
[	קָדוֹשׁ וְלֹא יִרְאֶה	(16)	12
[	אֲלֹנִי'י עֲלֵבֵד		13

L. 13 (23:16) אֲלֹנִי'י עֲלֵבֵד. The tops of *taw* and *samek* are extant, as well as the tick of *ref* and the tips of *'ayin*.

VARIANTS

- 23:6 (1) $\text{M}\omega\theta$ הִקְלֵלָה] $\tau\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\varsigma \theta$ (cf $\mathcal{L}5$)
 23:6 (1) $\text{M}\omega\theta^{\text{BCD}}$ לְבִרְכָה] $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma \theta$ (cf $\mathcal{L}5$)
 23:8 (3) $\text{M}\omega\theta$ וְלֹא] $\text{M}\omega\theta$ לֹא
 23:12 (8) $\text{M}\omega\theta$ וְיִצְאֹת] $\text{M}\omega\theta$ וְיִצְאֹת יִבּוֹא
 23:13 (9) $\text{M}\omega\theta$ חוּץ] $\text{M}\omega\theta$ חוּץ [4QpaleoDeutⁱM ω ; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$;
 23:14 (10) $\text{M}\omega\theta$ חוּץ] $\text{M}\omega\theta$ חוּץ [4QpaleoDeutⁱM ω ; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$;
 23:14 (10) $\text{M}\omega\theta$ חוּץ] $\text{M}\omega\theta$ חוּץ [4QpaleoDeutⁱM ω ; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$; $\epsilon\xi\omega\theta$;

Frg. 6 Deut 23:23–24:1

[	לְכִי חֲדָלְתָּ]	(24)	1
[	חֲשׂוֹר וְעָשִׂיתָ כְּאִשֶּׁר נִדְרָתָּ]		2
[	בְּפִיךָ ²⁵ vacat]		3
[	כִּי חָבַא בְּכֶרֶם רַעַךְ חֲאֹכֶלֶת]		4
[	כָּל־אִיָּךְ לֹא חֲתָן]		5
[	יְעָבְדְךָ ²⁴ vacat]		5

L. 3 (23:24) בְּפִיךָ. The tail of the *kap* has flaked off the leather.

L. 3 (23:24) interval] ם ן ן no interval ן

L. 5 (23:26) interval] ם ן ן ן

L. 5 (24:1)]ׁ. The first letter can be either *kap* (cf. כִּי ן) or *waw* (cf. יְעָבְדְךָ ן).

VARIANTS

23 25 (3) כִּי 4QDeut^{k2}(כִּי) ן ן ן] εαν δε θ (cf 5); > ן

23 25 (3) חֲשׂוֹר וְעָשִׂיתָ כְּאִשֶּׁר נִדְרָתָּ] φ αγ η θ, Δ β α < 5

23 26 (4) יְעָבְדְךָ ן] εαν δε θ (cf 5)

Unidentified Fragments

These fragments were placed by the original team of editors with 4QDeut¹ on the basis of similarities in handwriting.

Frg. 7

]	וְהָיָה	1
[	יְהוָה	2
]	אֲבָחָה	3

L. 2 וְהָיָה Cf יְהוָה in 3 i, 4, 5 i 7

L. 3 אֲבָחָה For the '*alep*, cf. that of וְהָיָה in 3 ii–5 ii 12.

Frg. 8

]	וְהָיָה	1
]	לְךָ	2

37. 4QDeut^f

(PLATES XX–XXIII)

Preliminary publication: Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition', 89–114 and Pls. IV–VII

Previous discussion: Julie Ann Duncan, 'Considerations of 4QDt^f in Light of the "All Souls Deuteronomy" and Cave 4 Phylactery Texts', *Madrid*, 1: 199–215 and Pls. 2–7.

J. T. Milik, 'Tefillin, Mezuzot, et Targums', (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977) 34–79

P. W. Skehan, 'A Fragment of the "Song of Moses" (Deut. 32) from Qumran', *BASOR* 136 (1954) 12–15 'The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism', *Volume du congrès, Strasbourg 1956* (VTSup 4; Leiden Brill, 1957) 148–60. 'Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Text Studies. The Masoretic Text', *JBL* 78 (1959) 21–5.

M. Weinfeld, 'Grace After Meals in Qumran', *JBL* 111 (1992) 427–40.

See also W. F. Albright, 'A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaean Age: The Nash Papyrus', *JBL* 56 (1937) 145–76. J. Ziegler, 'Zur Septuaginta-Vorlage im Deuteronomium', *ZAW* 72 (1960) 240–6.

THIS collection of fragments from Deuteronomy and Exodus is presented as constituting a single manuscript of excerpted passages, rather than one or two biblical manuscripts. Since both the fragments of Exodus and those of Deuteronomy clearly derive from the same scribal hand (see Cross, 173–81 and Line 7 on p. 139), the relationship of these two groups of fragments may be explained by one of three possibilities: (1) the fragments represent the remnants of two different biblical manuscripts which happen to have been written by the same scribe; (2) they represent the remnants of a single biblical manuscript which contained interpolations; or (3) they derive from a single manuscript, but one which is a collection of excerpted texts, rather than a manuscript of a biblical book. With reference to the second and third possibilities, it should be noted that the two groups of fragments indeed correspond in material features and measurements. Preference for the third possibility is based on the most striking feature of these fragments, namely, that all preserve in some sense 'special use' passages (see below). Supporting evidence for the manuscript being in this genre is provided by the short column height of the manuscript, which appears to be typical of excerpted manuscripts such as 4QDeut^b with 12–14 lines per column and 4QDeut^c with 11 lines.

The leather of both the Deuteronomy and the Exodus fragments shares the same characteristics: relatively thick, medium beige, and not treated for writing on the back. Both sets of fragments are marked by small vertical folds in the leather, which have in some instances become fractures, and by surface deterioration at the edges of some of the fragments, which has resulted in loss of ink. The dry lines for ruling are no longer visible on the manuscript, though the leather has split along the right and left margins at several points due to the effects of ruling.

Top margins of c.1.5–1.7 cm are fully preserved on cols. I, III, IV (Deut), and X (Exod), with top margins partially preserved on cols. V and VIII (Deut) as well. Bottom margins of c.1.7–1.8 cm are fully preserved on cols. IX, X (Exod), and XII (Deut), with partially preserved bottom margins on cols. II and III (Deut). The only clear right margin is on frg. 34, but several fragments (1, 7, 9, and 27) have split apparently along the right marginal ruling so that the beginnings of the lines are extant. Left margins are preserved on frgs. 6, 11, 17, and 21. Only one stitched edge

survives, at the left of frg. 17, and the distance from the left marginal ruling to the stitched edge is *c.*2.3 cm.

Both those columns with text from Deuteronomy and those with text from Exodus can be reconstructed according to a format of 14 lines per column (with the exception of col. V; see NOTE). Three top margins preserved at Deut 5:1, 5:22, and 5:29, and a lower margin preserved at 5:28 indicate that there were 14 lines per column for the Deuteronomy fragments. In the Exodus material, frg. 28 preserves a top margin at Exod 12:46, and frg. 33 a bottom margin at Exod 13:1-5, again yielding 14 lines. The number of letters per line is 45-54 for most columns with Deuteronomy, though col. IV is narrower (with only 41-47) because it is the last column on its skin, and col. V has only 32-41 letters per line for that column reserved for the special passage Deut 8:5-10. Col. X, the only column with extensive text from Exodus, is slightly wider with 51-61 letters, but col. IX, with three lines of text from Exodus and one hypothetically from Deuteronomy, has the normal *c.*46 letters per line. Letters measure *c.*3 mm in height in both sets of fragments, and the average distance between lines of script is *c.*6-7 cm.

Contents of the Manuscript

The fragments preserve text from Deuteronomy 5, 6, 8, 11, and 32, and Exodus 12 and 13. On the hypothesis that these fragments all form one manuscript, Table 1 lists both the extant text and the editor's tentative view of the arrangement and contents of the original manuscript. The arrangement of Deut 8:5-10 as col. V, following the biblical order, is somewhat arbitrary, since this passage may have been placed at the beginning of the manuscript, as it is in 4QDeutⁿ. Secondly, with respect to cols. VI and VII, the traditional text would not quite fill 14 lines per column if the columns were broad; but they would fit on the supposition of either narrower columns such as the preceding cols. IV and V, or a more expanded text such as 4QPhyl^K. For further discussion of the full reconstruction of this manuscript, see Duncan, 'Considerations', 203-5.

TABLE 1: *Contents of 4QDeutⁱ*

Extant Columns	Extant Text	Estimated Contents of Column
I	5:1-11	5:1-11
II	5:13-15, 21	5:11-21
III	5:22-27, 28	5:21-29
IV	5:29-33 + 6:1-3	5:29-6:3
V	8:5-10	8:5-10
VI	—	10:12-21
VII	—	10:21-11:6
VIII	11:6-10, 12, 13	11:6-13
IX	11:21? + Exod 12:43-44	11:13-21 + Exod 12:43-46
X	Exod 12:46-51 + 13:1-5	Exod 12:46-13:6
XI	—	Exod 13:6-15
XII	Deut 32:7-8	Exod 13:15-16 + Deut 32:1-9

Palaeography

The entire group of fragments is inscribed by the same classic formal hand, firm and practised, dating from the late Herodian Period, c.50 CE (see Cross, 173–81 and Line 7 on p. 139). The letters are broad and marked by *keraii*; note especially the right arm of *alep* (e.g. באשׁ 11 3), the top of the right downstroke of *gimel* (e.g. ולגר 28 4), and the thickened upper arm of *lamed* (e.g. אל 1 1). Also significant are the forms of *pe* with an angular rather than rounded head, and *qop* with a prominent triangular loop at its head.

Orthography

The orthography of 4QDeut¹ is fuller than that of III and III^{ms} (see Table 2). Spelling patterns are fairly consistent, with the exception of suffixed forms and affirmatives of the perfect, which vary somewhat, as they do also in 4QDeut^{k1}.

A *waw* is generally used to mark accented * \bar{a} > \bar{o} , e.g. מצומצום col. V 3, לא I 9 and 11 (but note לא I 4 and אלה IV 9). Unaccented * \bar{a} > \bar{o} is marked with a *waw* in all instances: אלהיך I 8; בער III 3, אטכי IV 5, לאבוחים VIII 7. * u > \bar{o} is written with a *waw* in both accented syllables, לאמר I 7, and unaccented syllables, כל I 1 and *passim*, החקים I 2, וגדולים VIII 3.

For singular affirmatives of the perfect, the long form is used: ושמרתה V 2, ולעברתה X 14. In the plural, the short form is used: ושמרתם I 3, ובאתם VIII 5. Pronominal suffixes, singular and plural, are written sometimes with the long form and sometimes with the short form: אלוֹתֶיכֶם V 2, אלוֹתֵיכֶם V 3, לאבוחֵיכֶם X 13, איתכם X 2; but: לך I 9^{bis}, אלהיך I 8, מלאכתם II 3, בך IV 13, אֵלֶם IV 1, אלהוֹתֶם IV 10.

TABLE 2: Orthography

Col., line	Deut	4QDeut ¹	III	III ^{ms}	III ^{ed}	III ^{ms}
I 1	5:1	משה	משה		משה	
I 1	5:1	כל	כל		כל	
I 2	5:1	החקים	החקים		החקים	
I 2	5:1	דבר	דבר		דבר	
I 3	5:1	לעשותם	לעשותם		לעשותם	
I 4	5:2	בחורב	בחורב		בחורב	
I 7	5:5	לאמר	לאמר		לאמר	
I 8	5:6	אטכי	אטכי		אטכי	
I 8	5:6	אלהיך	אלהיך		אלהיך	
I 9	5:7	לא	לא		לא	
I 9	5:7	אלהים	אלהים		אלהים	
I 11	5:9	לא	לא		לא	
I 12	5:9	אלהיך	אלהיך		אלהיך	
I 12	5:9	שלישם	שלישם		שלישם	שלישם
I 13	5:9	לשנאי	לשנאי		לשנאי	
I 13	5:10	ולשמרני	ולשמרי		ולשמרי	
I 14	5:11	לא	לא		לא	
III 3	5:23	בער	בער		בער	
III 8	5:26	כל	כל		כל	

TABLE 2: Orthography (continued)

Col., line	Deut	4QDeut ¹	III	III ^{ms}	III ^{ed}	III ^{ms}
III 9	5:26	כָּמוֹנִי	כמו		כמו	כמוני
III 14	5:28	כֹּלֶךְ	כל		כל	כל
IV 1	5:29	אוֹתִי	אחי		אחי	אחי
IV 4	5:31	כֹּל	כל		כל	כל
IV 4	5:31	דַּחֲוִיָּקִים	דחוקים	דחוקים	דחוקים	דחוקים
IV 5	5:31	אֲנִיכִי	אנכי		אנכי	אנכי
IV 5	5:31	נֹחַן	נוחן		נוחן	נוחן
IV 6	5:32	אֱלֹהִים	אלהים		אלהים	אלהים
IV 7	5:33	בְּכֹל	בכל		בכל	בכל
IV 7	5:33	הַלֶּכֶן	הלכתי		הלכתי	הלכתי
IV 12	6:2	כֹּל	כל		כל	כל
V 1	8:5	לִבְבִי	לבבך		לבבך	לבבך
V 2	8:5	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	אלהיך		אלהיך	אלהיך
V 2	8:6	וּשְׁמִירָה	ושמירה		ושמירה	ושמירה
V 3	8:6	מִצֻּחַ	מצוח		מצוח	מצוח
V 3	8:6	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	אלהיך		אלהיך	אלהיך
V 4	8:6	אוֹתִי	אחי		אחי	אחי
V 4	8:7	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	אלהיך		אלהיך	אלהיך
V 5	8:7	עֵינִי	עיני		עיני	עיני
V 8	8:9	בְּמִסְכַּתְךָ	במסכת		במסכת	במסכת
V 8	8:9	חֹאכֵל	תאכל		תאכל	תאכל
V 8	8:9	לֹא	לא	ולא	לא	לא
V 10	8:10	וּשְׁבַעֲתָהּ	ושבעת		ושבעת	ושבעת
V 10	8:10	וּבְרִכָּהּ	וברכת		וברכת	וברכת
VIII 7	11:9	לְאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם	לאבותיכם		לאבותיכם	לאבותיכם
IX 12	Exod 12:43	וַיִּיאַמֵּר	ויאמר		ויאמר	ויאמר
IX 13	Exod 12:43	כֹּל	כל		כל	כל
X 5	Exod 12:50	לְמֹשֶׁה	משה		משה	משה
X 5	Exod 12:50	אוֹרֵיךְ	אוריך		אוריך	אוריך
X 7	Exod 13:1	לְמֹשֶׁה	משה		משה	משה
X 12	Exod 13:5	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך
X 13	Exod 13:5	לְאֲבוֹתֵיכֶם	לאבותיך		לאבותיך	לאבותיך
X 14	Exod 13:5	וְעַבְדֵיכֶם	ועבדתי		ועבדתי	ועבדתי
X 14	Exod 13:5	בְּחֹדֶשׁ	בחדש		בחדש	בחדש
XII 11	Deut 32:8	בְּתַחֲלִיל	בתחיל	בתחיל	בתחיל	בתחיל

Paragraphing

Two intervals are extant on the preserved fragments: one before Deut 11:13 at VIII 13 (σ III, קצה ω), and the other before Exod 12:43 at IX 12, which possibly follows Exod 12:42 (σ III, קצה ω) or more likely follows Deut 11:21 (σ III, קצה ω); cf. 4QPhyl¹, and see NOTES on col. IX. Reconstruction suggests that intervals also occurred before Exod 12:51 at X 6 (σ III, no interval ω) and before Exod 13:1 at X 7 (σ III, קצה ω).

Corrections

There are three corrections in this manuscript (see NOTE on each). The original scribe wrote a supralinear *yod* in מִן הַיָּמִים III 7. The 2nd pl. independent pronoun has been corrected to the 2nd sing. in אַתָּה VIII 8. Finally, there is an apparent erasure at the left end of col. X 4.

The Character of the Manuscript

All extant clues indicate that this was a 'special use' manuscript. Selections from the *Decalogue* and its frame, from *Deuteronomy 11*, and from *Exodus 12:43-13:5* are very frequent in the twenty-one phylacteries found in Cave 4. On the basis of the passages attested in this material, J. T. Milik has characterized a 'choix maximum des péripocopes': Deut 5:1-6:9, Deut 10:12-11:21, and Exod 12:43-13:16 (*DJD* VI. 38-9). With respect to the ordering of this material, while a few phylacteries from Cave 4 attest a biblical order (i.e. the Exodus passages precede those of Deuteronomy), the order most frequently attested presents passages from Deut 10:12-11:21 preceding passages from Exod 12:43-13:16; see, e.g., 4QPhyl^A and 4QPhyl^I, where the juncture between Deut 11:21 and Exod 12:43 is still preserved (*DJD* VI. 50, 63). The material evidence of 4QDeut¹ suggests that it followed this latter sequence as well, since Exod 12:43 begins three lines from the bottom of the column and thus could not have begun the manuscript (see the proposed reconstruction at col. IX).

Deuteronomy 32 is not usually a component in this repertoire, but a portion of it has survived in one phylactery (4QPhyl^N), suggesting that it too was utilized in this context on occasion (see *DJD* VI. 72-3). Further evidence for the use of Deuteronomy 32 as a special selection is seen in 4QDeut⁹; it preserves the end of Deuteronomy 32 (vv 37-43) and has a very wide left margin with no sign of stitching, suggesting that the passage was not followed by Deuteronomy 33 and 34. Talmudic references to the Levite practice of reciting Deuteronomy 32 in the temple on Sabbath day (*b. Roš Haš.* 31a; *y. Meg.* 3:6, 74b) are further indication that this chapter was a text with special significance, as recently pointed out by Moshe Weinfeld (see 'Grace').

Deuteronomy 8:5-10 is not thus far attested in phylacteries or *mezuzot*, but it is found in a similar manuscript of excerpted texts from Cave 4, 4QDeutⁿ or 'The All Souls Deuteronomy', which consists of Deut 8:5-10 followed by 5:1-6:1. Deut 8:5-10 is contained on one fully preserved column in 4QDeutⁿ; since the passage begins the column and six unscripted lines follow it, the column was apparently intentionally reserved for it. This passage apparently constituted one full column in 4QDeut¹ as well (see col. V). Weinfeld has discussed the possible significance of the passage for 4QDeutⁿ, pointing out its function in rabbinic tradition, as the basis for the duty of grace after meals (see *b. Ber.* 44a).

Although the survival of these passages could arguably be due to chance, the more plausible explanation of this configuration is that the fragments collectively designated as 4QDeut¹ all derive from a single manuscript of biblical excerpts, on the order of the Nash Papyrus (see Albright), 4QDeutⁿ, and 4QDeut⁹ (see Duncan, 'Considerations').

L. 11 (13:4) אַרְבָּה. The *kerata* of the upper right arm of *'alep* is visible on the edge of the leather.

L. 12 (13:5) אֱלֹהֵיכֶם with $\text{מ}\Theta$ is reconstructed based on spatial considerations.

L. 13 (13:5) The reconstruction of אֲרָמִים וְעַדְמִים is based on the space available (cf. Deut 11:9). It also explains why the stem of final *kap* (cf. $\text{מ}\Theta\text{ע}\text{ס}\text{D}$) is not visible above דָּמָה in line 14 (see VAR.).

VARIANTS

- 12.46 (1) $\text{מ}\Theta$ דְּחַצְוָה; $\text{מ}\Theta$ חֲצוּהָ] לְחָרֵץ
- 12.48 (2) $\text{מ}\Theta\text{ע}\text{ס}\text{D}$ אֲרָמִים וְעַדְמִים אֲרָמִים אֲרָמִים
- 13.4 (11) $\text{מ}\Theta$ וְאֲרָמִים] Θ אֲרָמִים וְאֲרָמִים
- 13.5 (12) $\text{מ}\Theta\text{מ}\Theta$ אֵל אֲרָץ] אֵל אֲרָץ
- 13.5 (12-13) Θ 4QDeut¹ דְּבַעְנֵי הַחַיִּי וְהָאֲמֹרִי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַדְּבִישִׁי וְהַגְּנִישִׁי
 $\text{מ}\Theta$ דְּבַעְנֵי הַחַיִּי וְהָאֲמֹרִי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַדְּבִישִׁי
 $\text{מ}\Theta$ דְּבַעְנֵי הַחַיִּי וְהָאֲמֹרִי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַדְּבִישִׁי
 Θ דְּבַעְנֵי הַחַיִּי וְהָאֲמֹרִי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַדְּבִישִׁי
- The list of seven peoples is highly variable both in components and sequence. The partially extant דְּבַעְנֵי and the available space indicate that the sequence of the peoples in this MS is different from that in $\text{מ}\Theta\text{מ}\Theta$. It has been restored on the basis of 4QPhyl^{A,M} (see *DJD* VI 51, 72, cf. Neh 9:8).
- 13.5 (13) $\text{מ}\Theta\text{מ}\Theta$ אֲשֶׁר] S כְּאֲשֶׁר

[Col. XI Exod 13:6-16 not extant]

Col. XII Deut 32:7-8

בִּינִים] 12

בְּהַנְחִיל⁸ 13

בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים⁹ 14

bottom margin

The right and bottom margins are visible, and the width of the lines in this column is 52–53 letters. Deut 32:7a β begins on the third line from the bottom of the column. Although lines 12 and 13 each happen to begin a hemistich, line 14 demonstrates that the text was not arranged stichometrically. A reconstruction with Exod 13:15-16 on the first two lines, and Deut 32:1-7aa filling lines 3–11 would well fit this column, yielding the necessary fourteen lines.

L. 12 (32.7) בִּינִים. The lower part of *yod* is ligatured with the base-stroke of *bet*, and part of the head of *yod* is visible just before the downstroke of *nun*. Medial *nun* could have been followed either by $\text{א}\omega\omega$ (בינ $\text{מ}\Theta\text{ע}^{(M)}\text{N}$), or by *he* (בינה $\text{ע}^{(S)}\text{D}$, cf. אֵלֶּם 1), it is not possible to say which.

VARIANTS

- 32.1 (12) pr Exod 13 16 [by reconstruction]] pr Deut 31:30 $\text{מ}\Theta$
- 32.8 (14) $\text{מ}\Theta\text{מ}\Theta$ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל] Θ (αωω [αγγελωω Θ $\text{ABC}^{(M)}$] θεου) בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים

Unidentified Fragments

Both the identified and the unidentified fragments of this manuscript have been arranged and numbered differently from their arrangement and numbering in 'A Critical Edition' and 'Considerations'.

Frg. 35	Frg. 36	Frg. 37	
]ח[	]ו [	]ח [	1
]ל ן[	] [	] ןר[	2
] ןׁׁׁ[	] ןר[	]ׁ[	3
]ר[	] ר[		4
Frg. 38	Frg. 39	Frg. 40	
]ׁ ן[	]ׁׁ[	]ׁׁׁ[	1
]ׁׁ[	]ׁ ב[	]ׁׁ [	2
]ׁׁׁ[	]ׁׁ[	] ן[	3
Frg. 41	Frg. 42	Frg. 43	
]ׁׁ ן[	] ן[	] ן[	1
]ׁׁ[	] ח[	]ׁ[	2
Frg. 44	Frg. 45	Frg. 46	
]ׁׁ[	]ׁׁ[	]ׁ[	1
Frg. 47			
]ׁׁׁ ן[			1
] ןׁׁ[			2

38. 4QDeut^{k1}

(PLATE XXIV)

Preliminary publication: Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition', 130-54 and Pl. VIII.

Previous discussion: Julie Ann Duncan, 'Considerations of 4QDt¹ in Light of the "All Souls Deuteronomy" and Cave 4 Phylactery Texts', *Madrid*, 1. 199-215.

See also Sidnie A. White, '4QDeut^b: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?' in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins*, (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, T. H. Tobin, Lanham: University Press of America, 1991) 13-20, F. M. Cross, *Scrolls from the Wilderness of the Dead Sea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965) 20, 31-2, J. T. Milik, 'Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums [4Q128-4Q157]', *DJD* VI; P. W. Skehan, 'A Fragment of the "Song of Moses" (Deut 32) from Qumran', *BASOR* 136 (1954) 12-15; H. Stegemann, 'Weitere Stücke von 4QpPsalm 37, von 4Q Patriarchal Blessings und Hinweis auf eine unedierte Handschrift aus Höhle 4Q mit Exzerpten aus dem Deuteronomium', *RevQ* 6 (1967) 193-227.

THIS manuscript consists of one large fragment, and four smaller ones, preserving portions of Deuteronomy 5, 11, and 32 (see Table 1). In 'A Critical Edition', it was designated 4QDt^{k1}, being one of two manuscripts that had originally been identified as 4QDeut^k. While striking similarities in the hand suggest that all the fragments of 4QDeut^{k1} and 4QDeut^{k2} had been copied by the same scribe, two factors support their distinction as separate manuscripts. One is the difference in letter size, 3 mm in 4QDeut^{k1} and 2 mm in 4QDeut^{k2}. The other is that the tetragrammaton has been written in square script in 4QDeut^{k1} and in Palaeo-Hebrew in 4QDeut^{k2}. Thus far no other manuscript exhibits a discrepancy like this in the writing of the divine name. These two factors, then, support the conclusion that these fragments derive from two distinct manuscripts.

TABLE 1: Contents of 4QDeut^{k1}

Frg.	Deut	Frg.	Deut
1	5:28-32	4	32:22-23
2	11:6-13	5	32:25-27
3	32:17-18		

The leather of 4QDeut^{k1}, which was originally a light tan, is stained dark brown in places, and is of average thickness. Frgs. 1 and 2 have a corrugated surface. Dry lines are no longer evident on any of the fragments. The average height of a letter is 3 mm, and the space between lines measures 6 mm. A right margin of 1.5 cm has been preserved on frg. 2, and bottom margins are extant on frgs. 2 and 5, measuring 3.1 and 2 cm, respectively.

There appear to be two column-widths represented in this manuscript. On frgs. 1 and 2 it is 45-54 letter-spaces, but on frgs. 3, 4, and 5, which preserve fragmentary lines from Deuteronomy 32, it may be narrower with 36-42 spaces. The lines of this Song do not appear to be arranged stichometrically; see lines 1 and 2 on frg. 5.

The manuscript is inscribed in an Early Herodian formal hand (c.30–1 BCE) with strong semiformal influence seen in several instances: ²*Alep* has an *s*-shaped axis; *gimel* has a marked curve in the axis; *he* has a heavily shaded and unusually long crossbar; the hook of *lamed* is broad; and the left downstroke of *sin* often continues past the lower right stroke, sometimes in exaggerated fashion. In addition, the *dalet* appears to be a semiformal form, drawn continuously, with the leg sometimes tending towards an *s* shape.

The orthography of 4QDeut^{k1} is generally fuller than that of *Mu* (see Table 2). Spelling patterns are consistent, except for suffixed forms and affirmatives of the perfect, which vary somewhat. The same inconsistency is found in 4QDeut^l. A *waw* is used to mark **ā > ȕ* both when it is accented (e.g. לוא frg. 2 9, ובקעות 2 11), and when it is unaccented (e.g. לעולם 1 3, לאבותיכם 2 7, אלהיכה 2 12). **u > ȕ* is also marked with a *waw*, in both accented and unaccented syllables (accented, אמור 1 3; unaccented, ותגדלים 2 3, כול 2 2 and *passim*). The affirmative of the perfect in the singular is written in the longer form the one time it appears (והשקיחה 2 10). In the plural it is written twice in the short form (ורביבים 2 5; ויצאתם 2 9), and once, with a damaged reading, in the long וירשתמה 2 5; see NOTE).

TABLE 2. Orthography

Frg., line	Deut	4QDeut ^{k1}	<i>Mu</i>	<i>Mu</i> ^{ms}	<i>Mu</i> ^{sd}	<i>Mu</i> ^{ms}
1 1	5 28 [25 ̅]	ה'שיבו	השיבו		השיבו	השיבו, היסבו
1 1	5 28 [25]	כולן	כל		כל	
1 2	5 29 [26]	ולשמור	ולשמר		ולשמר	
1 3	5 29 [26]	לעולם	לעלם		לעלם	לעולם
1 3	5 30 [27]	אמור	אמר		אמר	
1 4	5 31 [28]	עמוד	עמד		עמד	
1 4	5 31 [28]	אליכה	אליך		אליך	
2 2	11 6	[כ]ל	כל		כל	
2 2	11 6	כול	כל		כל	
2 3	11 7	כול	כל		כל	
2 3	11 7	(orth. & var.) תגדלים	תגדל		תגדל	
2 4	11 8	כול	כל		כל	
2 5	11 8	וירשתמה	וירשחם		וירשחם	
2 6	11 8	(orth. & var.) עברים	עברם		באים	
2 7	11 9	לאבותיכם	לאבותים		לאבותים	לאבותיכם
2 8	11 10	כיא	כי		כי	
2 8	11 10	(morph. & var.) אחמה	אחה		אחם	
2 9	11 10	לוא	לא		לא	
2 9	11 10	הואה	הוא		הוא	
2 10	11 10	והשקיחה	והשקית		והשקית	
2 10	11 10	(morph., var.?) ברגליכה	ברגלך		ברגליך	
2 11	11 11	ובקעות	ובקעח	בקעות	ובקעות	
2 12	11 12	אלהיכה	אלהיך		אלהיך	
2 12	11 12	דרש	דרש		דרש	
2 12	11 12	אחה	אחה		אחה	

The singular pronominal suffix is written in the longer form three times (אליכה 1 4, ברגליה 2 10, אלוהיה 2 12) while all plural pronominal suffixes are short (ברגליהם 2 2, להם 1 3). The two cases of independent pronouns are in the long form: אחזה 2 8; דואח 2 9. As in 4QDeut^{k2}, כיא 2 8 is written with a double *mater lectionis* (see Qimron, §100.51).

An interval to mark a paragraph-division occurs at 2 13 (11:12-13; מן, פנה, מן), but not at 2 8 (11:9-10; מן, פנה, מן).

Two scribal corrections, apparently by the original hand, have been preserved: at frg. 2 3 (11:7) the trace above and to the left of אשׁר may be identified as the tip of *lamed* indicating that אלהים has been inserted supralinearly (see NOTE); and similarly, at frg. 2 12 (11:12) the word עניי has been written in supralinearly.

The contents of this manuscript are excerpted from Deuteronomy 5 (the decalogue frame), 11, and 32 (the 'Song of Moses'). Portions of chapters 5 and 11 are particularly popular in the twenty-one phylactery texts surviving from Cave 4 (see Milik, 'Tefillin', *DJD* VI). Excerpts of Deuteronomy 32 appear in 4QPhyl^N (*DJD* VI, 72-3), 4QDeut^q which apparently contained only this Song (see 4QDeut^q in this volume), and 4QDeut^l (see the 4QDeut^l introduction in this volume and Duncan, 'Considerations'). 4QDeut^{k1} may likewise be a catena of selected passages, like the Nash Papyrus, 4QDeut^l, the 'All Souls Deuteronomy', and 4QDeut^q (see White, '4QDeut^q: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?'; Stegemann, 'Weitere Stücke'; and Cross, *Scrolls*).

Mus. Inv. 1090. PAM 43.056.

Fig. 1 Deut 5:28-32

[הַיְשִׁיבוּ כֹאֵל ]	]	1
[לְהִלָּךְ לִיְיָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְלֹא תִסָּמְרֵם מִצְוֹתַי ]	]	(29) 2
[וּלְבַנְיָהֶם לְעוֹלָם לֵךְ אֲמַר לָהֶם שׁוּבוּ ]	]	3
[פֹּה תִלְמַד עִמּוֹי וְאֹדְבֵרָה אֵלֶיכֶם אֶת־ ]	]	(31) 4
[וְלַעֲשׂוֹ בְּאֶרֶץ אֲשׁוּרֵי אֲנֹכִי ]	]	5
[אֶל־הַיְהוּדִים ]	]	(32) 6

L. 2 (5:29) לְהִלָּךְ. Part of final *mem* may be seen in the two traces at the far right edge of the leather.

L. 2 (5:29) לִיְיָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ. The *alep* has been distorted by surface loss and peeling at the edge. Part of the right leg and the oblique axis is preserved. The left leg has been lost with the surface.

L. 2 (5:29) אֲנֹדְבֵרָה. There are very light traces of ink here which fit *alep*.

L. 3 (5:29) לְבַנְיָהֶם. Traces of the lower stroke of final *mem* are evident at the right edge of the leather.

L. 5 (5:31) וְלַעֲשׂוֹ. The left stem of *ayin* is visible, as well as the top part of *sin*. The dark area to the left of the final *waw* is discoloration and not ink.

VARIANTS

- 5:29 (2) אֲנֹדְבֵרָה + אֲנֹדְבֵרָה
 5:29 (2) אֲנֹדְבֵרָה אֲנֹדְבֵרָה pr אֲנֹדְבֵרָה אֲנֹדְבֵרָה
 5:30 (3) אֲנֹדְבֵרָה אֲנֹדְבֵרָה אֲנֹדְבֵרָה אֲנֹדְבֵרָה

Fig. 2 Deut 11:6-13

[	]	1
[	כ]ל [והיקום] אשר ברגליהם בקרב כול ישראל ⁷	2
[	את כול מעשה יהוה הגדולים אשר ⁸	3
[	כול המצוה החוקים [דמט]פסים	4
[	למען תחזקו ורביחם [ובאתם] וירשחמה את הארץ	5
[	עוברים את הירדן שמה לרשתה ⁹ ולמען תאריכון ימים	6
[	אשר נשבע יהוה לאבותיכם לחת לדם ולרעם אחריהם	7
[	זבת חלב ודבש ¹⁰ כיא הארץ אשר אתמה באים	8
[	לוא כארץ מצרים היאה אשר יצאתם משם אשר	9
[	השקחה ברגליכה כנן הדיק ¹¹ והארץ אשר אתמה	10
[	לרשתה ארצ הרים ובקעות למטר השמים	11 (12)
[	אשר יהוה אלוהיכה רורש אתה חמיר יהודן ^{עיי}	12
[	שנה ועד אחרית שנה ¹³ vacat והיה אם	13

bottom margin

Right and bottom margins are preserved on this fragment.

L 3 (11 7) היום [לכם] היום. The ink above and to the left of אשר⁷ is part of a supralinear correction, and may be identified as the top of *lamed*. The restoration is on the basis of Θ, μετ' αὐτοῦ.

L 4 (11 8) [דמט]פסים. The extant portions are on damaged pieces of leather which are misaligned. Part of the head of *waw* is apparent. A fleck of ink remains from the right side of *he*, which has been mostly destroyed by surface loss. The *mem* is small. After the *mem* the tip of the right lower arm of *sin* is visible.

L 5 (11 8) וירשחמה. The stem of the *reš* has been entirely lost due to surface damage. At the end of the word the right leg of *he* overlapping slightly with the *mem* has created a distortion in the traces.

L 6 (11 8) שמה. The left stroke of *he* has been lost in the crack.

L 6 (11 9) ולמען. Distortion has been created by a misalignment in the restoration of smaller fragments, the lower piece preserving the traces of this word should be moved a millimeter to the left.

L 7 (11 9) אחריהם. The restoration with Θ, μετ' αὐτοῦ, is on the basis of spatial considerations. The *'alep* could also be identified as part of ארץ, with Μ (= μετ' αὐτοῦ), but the shorter reading of Μ has only 41 characters to correspond to this line, while the *Vorlage* of Θ has 48 characters, the average length of a line in this column.

L 8 (11 10) אתמה. Misalignment in the placement of smaller fragments has created distortion. The right side of *he* has been obscured by the join (see VAR).

L 10 (11-10) הדיק. The word is on a split and the top and bottom pieces are misaligned. The dot of ink to the far left of *reš* is actually the bottom of its stem, the ink appearing directly below the *reš* is the lower part of *yod*, and the ink below *yod* is part of the left leg of the *he*.

VARIANTS

- 11:6 (2) 4QDeut^l מקרב] ממ בקרב
 11:6 (2) ע^o בני ; ND^oעNDמNDמ >] ע^oממ כול
 11:7 (3)] עNDסND cf (τα εργα κυριου τα μεγαλα) (י'וזה הגדלים) 4QDeut^l מעשה יזה הגדלים
 מעש/מעשה of עNDסND; cf (τα εργα κυριου) ע^o; מעשה יזה הגדל
 Qumran and in BH, and on pl. forms spelled with *he*, see Qimron, §100.34.
 11:8 (4)] ע^oממ כול המצה θ ; cf ע^oD. θ routinely translates this idiom with
 the pl. form, e.g. 6:25, 8:1, 15:5, 27:1.
 11:8 (4)] ע^oממ θ עNDS. A calculation of space in 4QDeut^l
 indicates that it read with 4QDeut^{k1} in the entire expansion (cf. 5:31, 6:1, and 7:11).
 11:8 (5)] עNDS ממ החוץ θ (cf 4:1, 8:1, and 16:20)
 11:8 (5)] עNDS ממ >] ע^o ורביהם. For the reading ורביהם ע^o, compare 8:1.
 11:8 (6) ס ממ עברים
 11:8 (6)] עNDS ממ >] ס אמ הדרך (cf 30:18 and 31:13, also 4:26 and 11:31)
 11:9 (6) ממ הארצו] ממ הארצו
 11:9 (7)] עNDS ממ לום > ממ
 11:9 (7) ממ לורעם] ממ לורעם
 11:10 (8)] עNDS ממ ארצה באי עNDS^o ארצה באי
 11:10 (9) ממ הא] (המ) עNDS ממ 4QDeut^l האה
 11:10 (10)] עNDS ממ (מ-מ) ממ חסקדה και ελευζουσσ
 11:10 (10)] עNDS ממ (מ-מ) ממ כנעליה (orth. or var.?) ; ελευζουσσ (+ αυτως θ^o) 4QDeut^l כנעליה
 11:12 (13)] עNDS ממ השנה 1' שנה
 11:12 (13)] עNDS ממ השנה 2' שנה

Frg. 3 Deut 32:17-18

1 יבחו לשרים]
 2 מקרוב באו
 3 חטאכם] (18)

Frg. 4 Deut 32:22-23

1 כיא א'ש קדחה באפני
 2 ויב'לה וחלום]
 3 חצי] (22)

L. 1 (32:22) באפני. Only a part of the vertical stroke of *pe* has been preserved; the rest of *pe* and the bottom left of *alep* are lost because of surface damage.

VARIANT

- 32:22 (2)] עNDS ממ חלום] עNDS ממ חצי ; עNDS ממ חלום

Frg. 5 Deut 32:25-27

[שִׁיבָה²⁶ אִמְרָנִי]

1

] כָּלֶם אוֹיֵב אֲנֹר פֶּן]

(27) 2

bottom margin

VARIANTS

32.27 (2)

סϷ ερωϷα; ω איבי] שז אויב

32.27 (2)

ετσωσσοκρκαμ] שזז אנור; Ϸ^{FN} יחקי/חקי; Ϸ^O בניש; Ϸ^I רדיל; Ϸ ετσωσσοκρκαμ] שזז אנור

38a. 4QDeut^{k2}

(PLATE XXV)

Preliminary publication. Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition', 130-54 and Pl VIII

THIS manuscript, designated as 4QDt^{k2} in 'A Critical Edition' (see introduction to 4QDeut^{k1}), consists of thirteen small fragments, six of which are clearly identified, and two tentatively (see Table 1). The leather is smooth and unwrinkled, of average thickness, with the back untreated for writing. It is stained a deep red-brown, but portions of the fragments are so blackened as to be illegible. Only one right margin has been preserved (fig. 2) and at frg. 2 6 a space of 0.6 cm is extant between that margin and the end of the corresponding line of the preceding column. Although no dry lines are evident, they can be presumed, since the lines of script are so uniformly spaced at c.0.5-0.6 cm. The average height of letters is c.2 mm, and reconstructed lines fluctuate from 50 to 80 letter-spaces.

TABLE 1: Contents of 4QDeut^{k2}

Frg.	Deut	Frg.	Deut
1	19:8-16	6-7	26:18-27.1?
2-3	20:6-19	8	21:16?
4	23:22-24:3	9-13	Unidentified
5	25:19-26:5		

The manuscript is inscribed in an Early Herodian formal hand (c.30-1 BCE) with strong semiformal influence seen in several instances: *ʿAlep* has an *s*-shaped axis; *he* has a heavily shaded and unusually protruding crossbar, and there is a hook on the bottom of *he* and *het* (frg. 4 6); the hook of *lamed* is broad; and the left downstroke of *sin* often extends past the lower right arm, sometimes in exaggerated fashion. A medial *pe* instead of a final *pe* was written in אַפֵּי (4 5).

The orthography of 4QDeut^{k2} is generally more full than that of מלל (see Table 2). For instance כַּל is consistently spelled with a *waw*, and a *waw* is used to mark **ā* > *ō* both when it is accented (e.g. הַשְׁלוֹשׁ 1 4; וְלוֹא 2 2), and unaccented (הַשְׁפֹּסִים 2 3; מִן 5 2; אֱלוֹהֵינוּ 5 6). The long form of the affirmative in the perfect is used in the three extant instances: וְהִבִּיחָה 2 8; וְהִלַּחְתָּה 5 4; וְבָרַחָה 5 5. The long form of the singular pronominal suffix is used twice: עֲלֵיכֶם 1 5; כֵּלֵיכֶם 4 4, and of the plural once: מִצְוֹתֵיכֶם 1 3 (see VAR.). Two other noteworthy orthographical variants are (1) the omission of radical *ʿalep* in a medial position in וְבָרַחָה frg. 5 5 (26:3); מַלְלָה וְבָרַחָה (this omission is attested at Qumran, though infrequently, see Qimron, §100.61), and (2) כִּי־אֵל, with a double *mater lectionis*, frg. 1 10 (19:16), 2 5 (20:10), and 4 6 (24:1), but 4 3 (24:25; for digraphs in final position at Qumran, see Qimron, §100.51).

TABLE 2: Orthography

Fig., line	Deut	4QDeut ^{k2}	III	III ^{ms}	III ^{ed}	III ^{ms}
1 2	19:8	לכל	כל		כל	
1 4	19:9	השלש	השלש		השלש	
1 5	19:10	עליכה	עליך		עליך	
1 8	19:14	בנולחה	בנולחך		בנולחך	
1 9	19:15	לכל	לכל		לכל	
1 9	19:15	עון	עון		עון	
1 10	19:16	כי	כי		וכי	כי
2-3 2	20:7	ולא	ולא		ולא	
2-3 5	20:10	כי	כי		כי	
2-3 6	20:11	הענך	הענך		הענך	
2-3 6	20:11	לך	לך		לך	
2-3 7	20:12	לא	לא		לא	
2-3 8	20:13	והכיה	והכיה		והכיה	
2-3 9	20:14	חבו	חבו		חבו	
2-3 10	20:15	לכל	לכל		לכל	
2-3 11	20:16	לך	לך		לך	
2-3 13	20:18	לכל	ככל		ככל	
4 2	23:24	חשמור	חשמר		חשמר	
4 3	23:24	בפיכה	בפיך		בפיך	
4 3	23:25	כא	כי		כי	
4 4	23:25	כליכה	כליך		כליך	
4 6	24:1	כי	כי		כי	
5 2	26:1	אלוהיכה	אלוהיך		אלוהיך	
5 2	26:1	נחן	נחן		נחן	
5 4	26:2	והלכח	והלכח		והלכח	ואלכח
5 5	26:2	שמה	שם		שם	
5 5	26:3	הכחן	הכחן		הכחן	
5 6	26:3	אלוהיכה	אלוהיך		אלוהיך	
5 7	26:4	הכחן	הכחן		הכחן	
6-7 1	26:18 ?	לכה	לך	>	לך	

Intervals, or their absence, for paragraph-divisions are preserved or reconstructed in the following places:

Frg. 1 5 (19:10) no interval] o III, no interval III

Frg. 2 5 (20:9) interval] o III, קנה III

Frg. 3 13 (20:18) [interval]] o III, קנה III (see NOTE)

Frg. 4 3 (23:24) no interval] o III, no interval III

One correction apparently by the original hand has been preserved in כל¹ frg. 3 15.

Frg. 1 Deut 19:8-16

[	אם ירוניב ⁸	]	1
[	אח לכול הארץ אשר דבר	]	(9) 2
[	אנוכי מצו)כמה היום לארבה		3
[	שלוש ערים על השלוש]	(10) 4	
[	עליכה דמים ¹¹ כיא	]	5
[	מן הערים האלו ¹²	]	6
[	לוא חדון)ם עינכה עליו ו)בערת	]	(14) 7
[	ראשונ)ים בנחלכה ושר	]	(15) 8
[	באיש לכלול עון ולכול	]	9
[	כיא ¹⁶	]	10

L. 10 (19:16)]כיא[. The trace visible before the head of *kap* is actually part of the letter, a crack in the surface of the leather has created the impression of two letters in the photograph.

VARIANTS

- 19:9 (3) מצו)כמה] ע^{NJ} מצו] 4QDeut^{k2} reads a pl. pronominal suffix. The text might also be restored as מצוה א)כמה.
- 19:11 (6)] ע מן > מ
- 19:11 (6) מ דאל] מ^{ms} האלו]
- 19:14 (8)] οἱ πατερες σου ε (for the reading of ε cf Prov 22:28. ראשונ)ים] מ^{ms} ε^A (οἱ προτεροι σου)CS] אל הסג נבול עלם... אשר עשו אבוהך

Frgs. 2-3 Deut 20:6-19

[	אשר נמ)ע כרם	(7) 1
[	אשר א)רש א)שה ולוא] לקחה	(8) 2
[	השופטים לדבר אל העם]	3
[	לבב אחיו כלבבו ⁹ והיה] ככלוח	4
[	העם ¹⁰ vacat כיא תקרב אל] עיר	(11) 5
[	שלום תענכת] ופח)חה לכות] והיה	(12) 6

[	לוא השלים עס־כה]ועשתנה עמכה	(13)	7
[	והכיתה את־ו וול זכורה]לפי חרב ¹⁴		8
[	[ש]ללה חבו לכה	(15)	9
[	[תעשה]לכול [הערים		10
[	לכה־נחלה	¹⁶	(17) 11 13
[	[ה]פרי החני		12
[	[ככול תועב]תם		(18) 13
[	אָל עיר ימים		(19) 14
[	ממנו תכל־ואתו		15

At frg. 2 6 the final letter of the corresponding line in the previous column, *he*, together with the base-line of the letter preceding it, is preserved. The space between columns here measures 6 mm.

L. 8 (20 13) אַת־וּל־ A trace of perhaps the lower right corner of the *kap* in כול is extant at the edge of the leather, the rest of the letter has been destroyed by surface damage.

L. 9 (20 14) לכה The hook of *lamed* is extant, the arm has been destroyed by surface loss.

L. 12 (20 17) וְהַפְּרִי הַחֲנִיּוֹ וְהַגֵּרֶשִׁי is included by וּמִסֵּד in the list of peoples (in differing orders), but spatial considerations indicate that it was not present in 4QDeut⁴².

L. 13-14 (20 18) These lines are short, possibly due to an interval after 20:18, וּמִסֵּד, וְהַפְּרִי, וְהַגֵּרֶשִׁי.

L. 14 (20 19) עיר The head of *yod* is partly lost and the remnant is distorted by a crack. The dark spot just to the right of *yod* is ink, and may be the left tip of *ayin*.

L. 15 (20 19) תִּכְלֵל אֶת־וּל־ The supralinear *'alep*, directly above *kap*, is by the original hand. The two words are crowded together, compare עיר ימים in line 14 above.

VARIANTS

20 8 (3)	אֶסְרִיכָא, וּמִסֵּד וּמִסְמָרִים] הַשּׁוֹפְטִים
20 10 (5)	עַל] מִן אֵל
20 17 (12)	וְהַפְּרִי] מִסֵּד וְהַפְּרִי וְהַגֵּרֶשִׁי וְהַחֲנִיּוֹ

Fig. 4 Deut 23.22-24.3

[	וְהִידָה בְּכֶה]	(23)	1
[	וְהַשְׁמֹרֶת	²⁴	2
[	בְּפִיכָה ²⁵ כָּאֵן חֲבוּא		3
[	וְאֵל כְּלִיכָה לוא	(26)	4

[	לוא]חניפ על ק]מח	]	(24:1)	5
[	זן בעינו כיא ]	]		6
[	מב]הו ² ריצאה מב]הו	]	(3)	7
[	אשר לקחה]לו לאשה וכתב	]		8

L. 3 (23:25) כיא. The scribe seems to have omitted writing the *yod* in כיא; cf. מו and the versions.

L. 4 (23:25) ואל. The tip of *lamed* is visible just below the *he* of the line above, and the bottom of its hook is visible just before the *kap*.

L. 6 (24:1) זן. The hook at the bottom of the leg of *het* is an idiosyncrasy seen in a few instances in this hand, on one or both of the legs: fig. 2 4 אהז and unidentified fig. 8 הנהזלס].

L. 8 (24:3) וכתב. The final extant letter is *taw*; the trace of ink on the very edge of the leather is the angle formed by the left leg, turning into the horizontal base, an angle which, on occasion, is sharp and juts back towards the right leg (cf. fig. 2 7, השלים).

VARIANTS

- 23:25 (4) מו > suffix ׀
- 24:2 (7) ואל > 4QDeut^{k6}; cf D (BHS note 2⁺⁺ errs)
- 24:3 (8) וכתב > 4QDeut^{k2}(vid)מו ׀ > 4QDeut^{k2} read אשר לקחה לו לאשה וכתב, in harmonization with the following clause: או כי ימה והיש חחרון אשר לקחה לו לאשה.

Fig. 5 Deut 25:19–26:5

מתחת]השמים]	]		1
אלהיכה נותן ]	]	(27:1)	2
פרי הארמה אשר]	]	(2)	3
[בטנא והלכתה אל ]	]		4
שלמה יובתה אל הכהן ]	]		5
היום לפני אלהיכה]	]		6
ולקח הכהן את תמנא]	]		7
ואמרתה]לפני ידוה	]		8

L. 6 (26:3) The scribe has written the divine name in Palaeo-Hebrew. M. D. McLean ('The Use and Development of Palaeo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', [Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, (University Microfilms) 1982] 41–7, 80–83) and J. Siegel ('The Employment of Palaeo-Hebrew Characters in the Light of Tannaitic Sources', *HUCA* 42 [1971] 159–72) discuss this phenomenon as a practice which is most commonly attested in non-biblical manuscripts. Recently,

however, other biblical manuscripts have been recognized as using the Palaeo-Hebrew tetragrammaton, e.g. 2QExod^b, 4QExod¹, 4QLev⁶, 4QIsa^a, in addition to 11QPs^a.

VARIANTS

- 26:3 (6) $\text{לְכֹהֵן וְלִשְׂמֹרֶת} \text{] } \text{לְשֵׁנִי, אֶל־אֶל־אֶל־אֶל}$ מִן הַיָּדוּדָה ; מִן הַיָּדוּדָה מִן הַיָּדוּדָה מִן הַיָּדוּדָה have the more common BH expression (לְכֹהֵן וְלִשְׂמֹרֶת); for the construction with לְשֵׁנִי in 4QDeut¹² compare 1 Sam 17:31 and Ps 142:3.
- 26:4 (7) $\text{מִן הַיָּדוּדָה} \text{] } \text{לְשֵׁנִי}$ מִן הַיָּדוּדָה

Frgs. 6–7 Deut 26:18–27:1?

[	לְכֹהֵן וְלִשְׂמֹרֶת	]	(19)	1
[	אֶשְׂרֵי עֲשֶׂה; לְחַדְלָהּ וְלִשְׁמֹרֶת וְלִפְאֹרְחָהּ	]		2
[	כִּי אֲשֶׁר הִבְרִיחַ	]	(27:1)	3 £7
[	כֹּהֵן	]		4

The identification is tentative since the lines of *c.*50 letter-spaces are somewhat short for this manuscript.

L. 1 (26:18) לְכֹהֵן. What appears to be the end of the cross-stroke of *he* in לְכֹהֵן (cf. מִן הַיָּדוּדָה and most of the versions) might also fit the top of *res* in דְּבַר (cf. מִן הַיָּדוּדָה).

L. 2 (26:19) וְלִפְאֹרְחָהּ. The trace above the *sin* of אֶשְׂרֵי in line 3 could be the lower part of *taw*.

Unidentified Fragments

Frg. 8 Deut 21:16?

בְּיָמֵי הַנְּזִילִים]

The letter at the right edge of the fragment can be a perfect *nun*, displaying the slight thickening at the top of the downstroke similar to לְשֵׁנִי fig. 5 6 (26:3). On the left edge just to the left of *lamed*, a trace of ink may be part of *taw*, in which case the fragment preserves Deut 21:16 (cf. בְּיָמֵי הַנְּזִילִים).

Frg. 9

] ס [1
] ב כ ס [2
] ס [3

L. 2 The trace to the right of *kap* may be identified as *bet* since the triangular shape at the edge of the leather matches the *kerai'a* of the topstroke of *bet*, see וְכֹהֵן fig. 5 5 (26:3).

Frg. 10

] ם(

]ׁׁ(

Frg. 11

]ב(

Frg. 12

]טבר(

Although correctly oriented on Pl. XXV, frgs. 10 and 11 are turned sideways and frg. 12 is inverted on PAM 43.056.

Frg. 13 Three lines of ink are detectable, but the leather is too blackened to be read with confidence.

38b. 4QDeut^{k3}

(PLATE XXXV)

Preliminary publication: Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition', 109 and Pl. VI.

THIS manuscript, designated as part of 4QDeut^l in 'A Critical Edition', consists of one fragment, which preserves portions of Deut 30:16-18. The surface of this blackened fragment is severely damaged, and shrinkage around the edges has resulted in distortion of the letters. Since the ink evident in the infrared photograph is often not visible on the original, in some cases it is difficult to distinguish ink from dark marks resulting from the uneven texture of the surface.

The average distance between lines is *c.*0.7 cm, while the average height of a letter is *c.*3 mm. The lines appear to be quite short, with only 25-29 letters per line. One wide right margin is preserved, measuring 2.3 cm at its fullest.

The fragment is inscribed in a classic formal hand dating from the late Herodian Period, *c.*50 CE (see Cross, 173-81 and Line 7 on p. 139).

Mus. Inv. 172. PAM 42.720, 43.054; IAA 204.599.

Deut 30:16-18

אָתָּם׃	(17)	1
לִבְבְּךָ וְלֹא תִשְׁמָעַנָּה		2
לְאֵלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים׃	(18)	3
הַיּוֹם כִּי אֲבִדְנָה		4
יְמֵיִם עָלַי		5

L. 1 (30:16) אָתָּם׃. The two legs of *alep* are visible, as well as the right side of *taw* and the left base. There would appear to be ink following *taw*, but it is difficult to say with certainty.

L. 2 (30:17) לִבְבְּךָ. The lower part of the first *bet* is distorted by the very rough surface of the leather. There is a hole where the second *bet* should be; the trace remaining, which should be part of the downstroke of the *bet*, appears to be situated too close to the final *kap*.

L. 3 (30:17) אֲחֵרִים׃. Most of the *het* has been destroyed by a gouge in the leather. *Res*, *yod* and final *mem* have shrunk.

L. 5 (30:18) יְמֵיִם. Medial *mem* has been split apart; part of the right side is visible, and the strokes of the left oblique and tick are visible on the other side of the split.

39. 4QDeut¹

(PLATE XXVI)

Preliminary publication: Julie Ann Duncan, 'A Critical Edition', 163-8 and Pl. IX.

THIS manuscript, consisting of eleven small, wrinkled fragments and preserving portions of Deut 10:12, 14-15; 28:67-68; 29:2-5; 31:12; 33:1-2; 34:4-6, 8?, is beige in colour, with some areas bleached and others blackened, so that certain letters are no longer legible.

No dry lines or *points jalons* are visible on the manuscript. One top margin of 1.5 cm has been preserved on frg. 11 and possibly a second of 1.7 cm on frgs. 8-9. Frg. 2 preserves a margin between columns, measuring 1.4 cm. Frg. 10 preserves a left margin, measuring 0.8 cm at its widest, as well as a stitched edge. Letter-height averages 0.3 cm, and the distance between lines ranges from 0.5 to 0.9 cm. Column-width varies from 43 to 63 letter-spaces, with the exception of frg. 10, which is exceptionally narrow with 32-36 letter-spaces, because it was the last column on its skin.

4QDeut¹ is written in a semicursive hand, which is best compared with 4QMMT^d (formerly designated SI 35b, now published in *DJD X*), a late Hasmonaean semicursive dated by Cross (p. 148, Figure 4, Line 4) to c.50 BCE. Some forms may also be compared with those in 4QXII^a (see R. Fuller, 'The Minor Prophets Manuscripts from Qumran Cave IV', [Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1988]). 4QDeut¹ exhibits both a cursive and a formal or semi-formal form of *he*, *kap*, *mem*, and *taw*. 4QXII^a and 4QMMT^d also attest both the semicursive and the formal forms of *he* and *mem*.

- א. *Alep* is in the three-stroke form, אַלֶּפֶת 8 1 and אַלֶּפֶת 11 1. The left leg is short and curves inward.
- ב. There are two exemplars of *bet*, וּבְכֵלֵי 1 3 and וּבְכֵלֵי 10 3. The strokes of the top and base are thick. In the first exemplar the new mode of penning the base from left to right is evident.
- ג. *Dalet* has a thick head, which is ticked, דָּלֶת 4 4.
- ד. Two forms of *he* are evident. One is cursive in origin, a reversed *k* form with the cross-stroke and left leg drawn continuously in a crescent, the curve of which touches the right leg, הֵיָהּ 4-5 2. The other is a formal type, with the exception that the cross-bar slants upward slightly on the left, הֵיָהּ 6 1, הֵיָהּ 5 4.
- ה. *Waw* has a shaded head, often of a triangular shape. In some forms the leg of *waw* is quite short, וּבְכֵלֵי 1 3 and וּבְכֵלֵי 2 1 (cf. similar short-legged forms of *waw* in 4QXII^a). *Waw* and *yod* are generally not sharply distinguished (e.g. הֵיָהּ 4 2).
- ו. A cursive and a formal form of *kap* are present. The cursive type lacks a head, the downstroke is long, and the basestroke is shaded and drawn from left to right, כַּפֵּי 4 3. This form is best compared to those in 4QPs-Enoch^a and 6Q8. The formal type has a narrow head, and the downstroke curves into the basestroke, cf. 4QMMT^d.
In final *kap* the head and the right leg are drawn separately, the head a shaded stroke, the right leg beginning slightly above it, כַּפֵּי 3 1, and כַּפֵּי 10 1 (cf. 4QMMT^d, 4QEnoch V, and 6Q8, and see Cross, 185).
- ז. *Lamed* has a long upper arm, slightly thickened at the top, and the hook is angular.
- ח. Two examples of *mem* occur: one is open on the left side, and resembles the semiformal *mem* of the early Herodian Period (compare 4QNum^b). In two of the three instances it is ligatured to

the following letter, מַעְלִיכִים 4 3 and לְמַעַן 4 4. The other form is a cursive *mem*, which is an oval shaped circle with a projection to the left, מַעַל 5 3. Both forms of medial *mem* also occur in 4QMMT^d (Cross, 148, Figure 4, Line 4).

Final *mem* is slender, very long, and closed at the bottom left, מַעְלִיכִים 4 2 and מַעְלִיכִים 4 3 (in the latter, surface damage makes it appear otherwise).

- ג. Medial *mem* is now shortened, מַעַל 4 3 (contrast 4QXII^a).
 Final *mem* is a simple, long straight stroke, מַעַל 4 4, and is best compared with 4QPs-Enoch^a.
 ע. *ʿAyin* has a y-shaped form, and in one instance it is shifted clockwise, מַעַל 4 4.
 פ. In the one instance of *qop*, מַעַל 10 3, the tail is short, and the head is not entirely closed.
 ט. *Res* resembles *dalet* in that the head is a heavily shaded stroke, slightly ticked, although the right shoulder is slightly more rounded.
 ז. Of the three examples of *sin*, מַעַל 7 1, מַעַל 8 1, and מַעַל 10 2, only one has escaped damage. The form is a cursive type: the left downstroke is drawn first, and the middle and right arms are drawn continuously, with the angle touching the downstroke in the middle of the stroke.
 ח. Two types of *taw* occur in 4QDeut¹: one is a formal type, in which the left leg does not loop into the top, but rather ends in an angular base, מַעַל 1 2; the other appears to be the looped cursive type, מַעַל 4 4, seen, for instance, in 4QDan^c and 4QMMT^d (Cross, 148, Figure 4, Lines 2 and 4).

The orthography is similar to that of מַעַל, with two exceptions:

29 4 (3) מַעַל מַעַל] מַעַל מַעַל (orth. and var.)

29.4 (3) מַעַל מַעַל] מַעַל מַעַל

Mus. Inv. 390. IAA 204.599, PAM 43.052.

Frgs. 1-2 Deut 10:12-15

[		יְעַתְּהָ ¹²	1
[		לְלַחַת]	2
[		¹³ וּבְכָל־	3
] הִים	וְכָל־	הָאֱמוֹת]	(14) 4
	אֱמוֹת	] ]	(15) 5

Fig. 1 is on the right margin, and frg. 2, containing the following line, is at the left margin. On frg. 2 letters from the adjacent column are visible.

L. 3 (10.12) וּבְכָל־ The top of *lamed* is visible in some photographs.

VARIANT

10.12 (2) לְלַחַת] מַעַל מַעַל מַעַל מַעַל] מַעַל מַעַל מַעַל מַעַל]

Frg. 3 Deut 28:67-68

עיניך אשר	1
אשר אבירתי	2

Frgs. 4-5 Deut 29:2-5

הגדלים הם ³ וְלֹא־	1
עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְאִלְמָנָה	2
לְמַעַלְכֶם וְנַעֲלֶךְ לֹו בְלֹחָה מֵעַל	(5) 3
לְמַעַן תִּדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה	4

The surface on this fragment is badly damaged in places, which has resulted in severe distortion of some of the letters, especially הַיּוֹם 4 1 and הַזֶּה 4 2, the *dalet* in עַד 4 2, and the *alep* in אֲנִי 5 4.

L. 2 (29:4) אִלְמָנָה. Only the lower portion of *waw-alep* is preserved. For the form of the first *waw*, see Palaeography above.

L. 3 (29:4) בְלֹחָה. The surface with the upper part of *bet* has been lost. The traces following *bet-lamed* should be *taw-he*, for the damaged *taw* see *taw* in דַּעַו in line 4, and for *he* see *he* in הַיּוֹם in line 2.

VARIANTS

29:4 (3)	מעליכם] $\text{m} \text{m} \text{e}^{\text{O}} \text{e}^{\text{S}}$ > e
29:4 (3)	ועלך] m cf $\text{m} \text{m} \text{c}^{\text{O}}$ cf $\text{m} \text{m} \text{e}^{\text{N}} \text{S}$
29:4 (3)	לא] m לו
29:4 (3)	בלו] m בלחה

Frgs. 6-7 Deut 31:12

יהוה אלהים ושמןרו 1

L. 1 (31:12) אלהים. The trace preceding final *mem* may belong to *he* but not *kaf* (cf. כ-ם-מ, see VAR.), since no base-stroke, as can be seen in מעליכם 4 3, is visible

VARIANT

31:12 (1)	אלהים] $\text{m}^{\text{m}} \text{m} \text{e}^{\text{m}} \text{m}^{\text{m}}$] אלהים אלהים
-----------	--

Frgs. 8-9 Deut 33:1-2

top margin or vacat

]וואח הברכה אשר בך משה]	1
]מסי' בא]	2

- L. 1 (33:1) בך. The *ref* is distinguishable in PAM 43.052.
 L. 1 (33:1) משה. The right arm and bottom tip of *sin* are visible, as are the tips of the legs of *he*.
 L. 2 (33.2) מסי'. The letters on the second line are shrunken. The left side of *mem* is visible on the edge of the leather. The head of the second *yod* has been split.

Frg. 10 Deut 34:4-6

]הרא(יה)ך]	1
וימת שם משה ⁵	2
ויקברו ⁶	3

The extant words are from the left margin. This column was the last on this skin, as shown by the stitched edge, and thus the reconstructed line-width of 32-36 letter-spaces is shorter than usual in this MS.

VARIANT

34 6 (3)]ויקברו⁶ MasDeut 34:6

Frg. 11 Deut 34:8?

]ל אוח]	1
----------	---

A top margin of 1.5 cm is preserved on this fragment. The ink traces could correspond to *ל אוח*, and especially in light of frg. 10 containing Deut 34:4-6, identification of this fragment as Deut 34:8 is possible.

40. 4QDeut^m

(PLATE XXVII)

4QDEUT^m consists of five fragments, preserving portions of 3:18-22, 4:32-33, and 7:18-22. The leather was tan and rough; it is now brown in areas where it has suffered decay, and the surface is flaky. No paragraph-divisions or margins have been preserved, although frg. 4 may have been near the right side of its column. The average height of the letters is 2.5-3.0 mm. The distance between lines of script averages 0.7 cm, although it sometimes shrinks to *c.*0.5 cm, perhaps due to contraction of the leather.

The manuscript exhibits a formal hand which may be dated to *c.*50-1 BCE, the transitional period between the late Hasmonaeon and early Herodian periods. Some semiformal influence is evident in the following: the heavily shaded crossbar of *he*, the inward curving right leg of the *het* (e.g. ייח 1-3 3), and the slightly broader form of final *mem* rather than a long slender form. In addition, the leg of *dalet* sometimes tends slightly towards an *s* shape (e.g. ידעתי 1-3 2, and כדבר 4 2).

The orthography of 4QDeut^m is fuller than that of both III and IV (e.g. אלהים and כול). The long form of pronominal suffixes is used, as well the long form of independent pronouns (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: Orthography

Frg., Line	Deut	4QDeut ^m	III	IV
1-3 1	3:18	לאמר	לאמר	לאמר
1-3 1	3:18	אלהיכם	אלהים	אלהים
1-3 2	3:18	כול	כל	כל
1-3 2	3:19	ונשיכם	נשיכם	ונשיכם
1-3 2	3:19	ומעבדכם	ומעבדים	ומעבדים
1-3 2 ^{pp}	3:19	ומאקביכם	ומאקבים	ומאקבים
1-3 3	3:19	לכם	לכם	לכם
1-3 3 ^{pp}	3:20	אלהיכם	—	—
1-3 3	3:20	לאחיכם	לאחים	לאחים
1-3 3	3:20	ככם	ככם	ככם
1-3 4	3:20	הם	הם	הם
1-3 4	3:20	אלהיכם	אלהים	אלהים
1-3 4	3:20	נתן	נתן	נתן
1-3 4	3:20	להם	להם	להם
1-3 5	3:21	יודשע	יודשע	יודשע
1-3 5	3:21	הדיא	הדיא	הדיא
4 1	4:32	לפינה	לפינה	לפינה
4 3	4:33	שמעומה	(שמעו)	(שמעו)
5 1	7:18	אלהיכם	אלהיך	אלהיך
5 3	7:19	אלהיכם	אלהיך	אלהיך

TABLE 1: Orthography (cont.)

Frg., Line	Deut	4QDeut ^m	Ⓜ	Ⓜ
5 3	7:19	לכול	לכל	לכל
5 4	7:20	במה	בם	בם
5 4	7:20	אבוד	אבר	אבר
5 5	7:21	בקרבכה	בקרבך	בקרבך
5 6	7:22	לכלחמה	כלחם	כלחם

In frgs. 1–3 there are two supralinear insertions. At the end of line 2, [ומ]קְיִכְמָה was initially omitted and then written in between [וּפְּלָמ] and [יְדַעְתִּי] . The omission probably occurred through *homoioteleuton*. In line 3, above [וּדְוָה] and [לְאֹחֵיכֶם] , the word [אֱלֹהֵיכֶם] has been inserted (note that the word has been split between the *waw* and the *he* to accommodate the *lamed* of the word below; see VAR.). In both cases the insertions appear to have been written by the scribe who copied the manuscript.

Mus. Inv. 255. PAM 42.714.

Frgs. 1–3 Deut 3:18–22

[	לְאָמֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ (כְּמָה נָתַן לְכֶמָה אֶת הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת) לְרִשְׁתָּהּ	]	1	11,2
[	בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּל בְּנֵי חֵיל ^{vaca!} 19 רָק [שִׁיכְמָה וּפְּלָמ] יְדַעְתִּי	]	2	
[	אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְכֶם הִיא עֹד אֲשֶׁר יֵיחַד יְהוָה לְאֹחֵיכֶם כְּכֶמָה	]	3	
[	[הִיא] אֶת הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם נָתַן לְהֵמָּה בְּעֶבֶר הַדְּרֹם וְשָׁמַלְתֶּם	]	4	13
[	וְאֵלֶּה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ צִוִּיתִי בְּעַל הַדְּוָה לְאָמֹר	]	5	
[	לְשֵׁנֵי הַמַּלְכִים הָאֵלֶּה כֵּן יַעֲשֶׂה	]	6	
[	שֶׁ] וְלֹא [תִּי] אֲשֶׁר	]	7	

This fragment has lines of 58 to 67 letter-spaces (except line 7, see NOTE).

L 2 (3 19) Reconstruction suggests that there may have been an interval before v 19.

L 2^{sup} (3 19) [ומ]קְיִכְמָה has been written supralinearly; it was probably initially lost through *homoioteleuton*. The tail of *qop* is visible, and the base of *nun* has run into the *yod* slightly, while the right side of final *he* has merged with the left side of *mem*.

L 3 (3 19) [אֲשֶׁר] The tick on the head of *reš* is visible, there is splitting on the leather here.

L. 3 (3:19) הַלְּבָנִים]. The small piece on which the lower parts of *lamed* and *kap* are preserved is slightly misaligned. On the other side of the break the tips of the cross-stroke and left leg of *he* are visible.

L. 3^{sup} (3:20) The original scribe inserted אֵלֶּה הַיּוֹדִים above אֵלֶּה הַיּוֹדִים and left leg of *he* were split between the *waw* and the *he* to accommodate the *lamed* of the word below (see VAR.).

L. 4 (3:20) וְלֹא־חִמְדוּ. While the identification of *sin* and *bet* is tentative, it appears that the tip of the left arm of *sin* is barely visible just before the cross-stroke of *bet*.

L. 6 (3:21) וְהַיּוֹדִים. The head of the *yod* is peculiar for this hand; possibly a spill of ink has distorted it.

L. 7 (3:21) הַשָּׁמַיִם. Cf. אֵלֶּה הַיּוֹדִים. The trace seen before final *mem* in the photograph is no longer on the leather, since a portion of the edge has been lost.

L. 7 (3:22) וְלֹא־חִמְדוּ. The identification of these traces is tentative. If it is correct, the line is only 46 letter-spaces long, or perhaps 53 letter-spaces if the MS agreed with Θ in adding אֱלֹהֵינוּ after the divine name in v 21 (see VAR. at 3:20, where this MS agrees with Θ in a similar plus). There is considerable surface damage at the edge of the fragment and it appears that some ink has been lost with the surface.

VARIANTS

3:19	(2)	הַלְּבָנִים] אֵלֶּה הַיּוֹדִים [4QDeut ^d MS ¹ MS ² MS ³ MS ⁴ MS ⁵ MS ⁶ MS ⁷ MS ⁸ MS ⁹ MS ¹⁰ MS ¹¹ MS ¹² MS ¹³ MS ¹⁴ MS ¹⁵ MS ¹⁶ MS ¹⁷ MS ¹⁸ MS ¹⁹ MS ²⁰ MS ²¹ MS ²² MS ²³ MS ²⁴ MS ²⁵ MS ²⁶ MS ²⁷ MS ²⁸ MS ²⁹ MS ³⁰ MS ³¹ MS ³² MS ³³ MS ³⁴ MS ³⁵ MS ³⁶ MS ³⁷ MS ³⁸ MS ³⁹ MS ⁴⁰ MS ⁴¹ MS ⁴² MS ⁴³ MS ⁴⁴ MS ⁴⁵ MS ⁴⁶ MS ⁴⁷ MS ⁴⁸ MS ⁴⁹ MS ⁵⁰ MS ⁵¹ MS ⁵² MS ⁵³ MS ⁵⁴ MS ⁵⁵ MS ⁵⁶ MS ⁵⁷ MS ⁵⁸ MS ⁵⁹ MS ⁶⁰ MS ⁶¹ MS ⁶² MS ⁶³ MS ⁶⁴ MS ⁶⁵ MS ⁶⁶ MS ⁶⁷ MS ⁶⁸ MS ⁶⁹ MS ⁷⁰ MS ⁷¹ MS ⁷² MS ⁷³ MS ⁷⁴ MS ⁷⁵ MS ⁷⁶ MS ⁷⁷ MS ⁷⁸ MS ⁷⁹ MS ⁸⁰ MS ⁸¹ MS ⁸² MS ⁸³ MS ⁸⁴ MS ⁸⁵ MS ⁸⁶ MS ⁸⁷ MS ⁸⁸ MS ⁸⁹ MS ⁹⁰ MS ⁹¹ MS ⁹² MS ⁹³ MS ⁹⁴ MS ⁹⁵ MS ⁹⁶ MS ⁹⁷ MS ⁹⁸ MS ⁹⁹ MS ¹⁰⁰ MS ¹⁰¹ MS ¹⁰² MS ¹⁰³ MS ¹⁰⁴ MS ¹⁰⁵ MS ¹⁰⁶ MS ¹⁰⁷ MS ¹⁰⁸ MS ¹⁰⁹ MS ¹¹⁰ MS ¹¹¹ MS ¹¹² MS ¹¹³ MS ¹¹⁴ MS ¹¹⁵ MS ¹¹⁶ MS ¹¹⁷ MS ¹¹⁸ MS ¹¹⁹ MS ¹²⁰ MS ¹²¹ MS ¹²² MS ¹²³ MS ¹²⁴ MS ¹²⁵ MS ¹²⁶ MS ¹²⁷ MS ¹²⁸ MS ¹²⁹ MS ¹³⁰ MS ¹³¹ MS ¹³² MS ¹³³ MS ¹³⁴ MS ¹³⁵ MS ¹³⁶ MS ¹³⁷ MS ¹³⁸ MS ¹³⁹ MS ¹⁴⁰ MS ¹⁴¹ MS ¹⁴² MS ¹⁴³ MS ¹⁴⁴ MS ¹⁴⁵ MS ¹⁴⁶ MS ¹⁴⁷ MS ¹⁴⁸ MS ¹⁴⁹ MS ¹⁵⁰ MS ¹⁵¹ 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Fig. 4 Deut 4:32-33

[לְפָנֶיךָ לֵבָן]	1
[הַשָּׁמַיִם הַנְּהִיָּה כְדַבֵּר]	(32) 2
[כְּאִשׁוֹ שֶׁמַּעֲתָמָה אֲחֻמָּה	3
[]oo[4

If this identification is correct, these lines have 72 letter-spaces.

L. 1 (4:32) לְפָנֶיךָ לֵבָן. The identification of these traces is tentative. The final *nun* is especially problematic, since in other instances in this MS it is not a simple stroke, but rather arches (see note 1-3 4). This variation in form, however, is also attested in 4QDeut^b, which is dated to approximately the same period, and in 1QM, which is dated c.30-1 BCE (Cross, 148, Line 4).

VARIANTS

4:32	(2)	אֵלֶּה הַיּוֹדִים] אֵלֶּה הַיּוֹדִים
4:33	(3)	שֶׁמַּעֲתָמָה] שֶׁמַּעֲתָמָה 4QDeut ^b (vid)MS ¹ MS ² MS ³ MS ⁴ MS ⁵ MS ⁶ MS ⁷ MS ⁸ MS ⁹ MS ¹⁰ MS ¹¹ MS ¹² MS ¹³ MS ¹⁴ MS ¹⁵ MS ¹⁶ MS ¹⁷ MS ¹⁸ MS ¹⁹ MS ²⁰ MS ²¹ MS ²² MS ²³ MS ²⁴ MS ²⁵ MS ²⁶ MS ²⁷ MS ²⁸ MS ²⁹ MS ³⁰ MS ³¹ MS ³² MS ³³ MS ³⁴ MS ³⁵ MS ³⁶ MS ³⁷ MS ³⁸ MS ³⁹ MS ⁴⁰ MS ⁴¹ MS ⁴² MS ⁴³ MS ⁴⁴ MS ⁴⁵ MS ⁴⁶ MS ⁴⁷ MS ⁴⁸ MS ⁴⁹ MS ⁵⁰ MS ⁵¹ MS ⁵² MS ⁵³ MS ⁵⁴ MS ⁵⁵ MS ⁵⁶ MS ⁵⁷ MS ⁵⁸ MS ⁵⁹ MS ⁶⁰ MS ⁶¹ MS ⁶² MS ⁶³ MS ⁶⁴ MS ⁶⁵ MS ⁶⁶ MS ⁶⁷ MS ⁶⁸ MS ⁶⁹ MS ⁷⁰ MS ⁷¹ MS ⁷² MS ⁷³ MS ⁷⁴ MS ⁷⁵ MS ⁷⁶ MS ⁷⁷ MS ⁷⁸ MS ⁷⁹ MS ⁸⁰ MS ⁸¹ MS ⁸² MS ⁸³ MS ⁸⁴ MS ⁸⁵ MS ⁸⁶ MS ⁸⁷ MS ⁸⁸ MS ⁸⁹ MS ⁹⁰ MS ⁹¹ MS<

Frg. 5 Deut 7:18-22

[	אלהיכם] לפרעה	]	(19)	1
[	היך החוקה וְהורע	]		2
[	אלהיכם לכול העמים אֱלֹהֵיךְ	]	(20)	3
[	במה עד אבוד הנשאר־ים	]	(21)	4
[	אלהיכם] בקרבכה אל גדול	]	(22)	5
[	לוא תִּזְכַּר לכול לכולחמון מדר	]		6

The lines on this fragment have 56–68 letter-spaces (but see NOTE on L. 1-2).

L. 1-2 (7:19) The inclusion of והגלים והמה with Ⓣ after והמפוזים would yield a slightly long line, with 74 letter-spaces as compared to 56–68 in the other lines on this fragment.

L. 3 (7:19) The smudge preceding אלהיכם may be an erasure.

L. 4 (7:20) אבוד appears to have been written over an erasure.

VARIANTS

7.19 (3) אלהיכם 5QDeut III Ⓣ^{miss} Ⓣ^{ol}] ο θεος ημων Ⓣ

7.22 (6) לכולחמון] כלוחם 4QDeut* 5QDeut III

41. 4QDeutⁿ

(PLATES XXVIII-XXIX)

Preliminary publication: Sidnie Ann White, 'A Critical Edition', 268-99.

Previous discussion: Sidnie Ann White, 'The All Souls Deuteronomy and the Decalogue', *JBL* 109 (1990) 193-206. '4QDtⁿ: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?', *Of Scribes and Scrolls* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990) 13-20.

Frank Moore Cross, Jr., *Scrolls from the Wilderness of the Dead Sea* (San Francisco: Lawton & Alfred Kennedy, 1969) 18, 29-30 [the manuscript was captioned as 4QDeutⁿ].

Esther Eshel, '4QDeutⁿ—A Text that has Undergone Harmonistic Editing', *HUCA* 62 (1991) 117-54.

H. Stegemann, 'Weitere Stücke von 4QpPsalm 37, von 4Q Patriarchal Blessings und Hinweis auf eine unedierte Handschrift aus Höhle 4Q mit Exzerpten aus dem Deuteronomium', *RevQ* 6 (1967) 193-227.

M. Weinfeld, 'Grace after Meals in Qumran', *JBL* 111 (1992) 427-40.

See also W. F. Albright, 'A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: The Nash Papyrus', *JBL* 56 (1937) 145-76.

THIS manuscript, designated the 'All Souls Deuteronomy' manuscript thanks to its purchase by the All Souls Unitarian Church in New York City, is exceptionally well-preserved. 4QDeutⁿ is not a manuscript of the complete book of Deuteronomy but contains excerpts: almost all of Deut 8:5-10 and 5:1-6:1, in that order, on four complete columns and two partially damaged columns. Cols. II-VI form one continuous sheet of leather, with a sewn right edge on col. II. Col. I has sewn edges on both sides; it was originally attached on the left to the right side of col. II and was separated only in the process of restoration. Another Cave 4 manuscript of excerpted texts, 4QDeut^l, also contains these passages, but in 4QDeut^l their order cannot be determined with certainty.

The leather of 4QDeutⁿ is thin, almost transparent in places, and reddish brown in colour. The surface was well-prepared but had several patches that were unsuitable for writing (marked by // in the transcription), and thus the scribe passed over them when copying the manuscript. Horizontal dry lines are visible on cols. I-IV and vertical dry lines on col. I. Guiding dots mark the dry lines on col. II.

The measurements of the manuscript vary from column to column. The average distance between lines of script for cols. I-VI is 0.4 cm. The margin between columns averages 1.2-1.4 cm. The height of the sheet containing cols. II-VI is 7.1 cm, while the height of the inscribed column is 5.5 cm. Col. I is 9.5 cm wide, and has between 40 and 65 letters per line; it has 7 inscribed lines, but 15 dry lines. Col. II is 5.3 cm wide and has 27-38 letters per line; it has 12 inscribed lines, but 14 dry lines. Col. III is 6.0 cm wide and has 34-50 letters per line. Col. IV is 6.4 cm wide and has 42-51 letters per line. Col. V is 7.1 cm wide and has 46-53 letters per line; cols. III-V contain 12 inscribed lines each. Col. VI, the damaged column, has 11 extant lines (though it probably contained a twelfth), and its width can be estimated at between 42 and 56 letters per line.

Palaeographical study places this manuscript in the early Herodian period, c.30-1 BCE. The letters are mostly of standard size (although final *mem* can be quite large) and are distinguished by thickening and *kerai*. They are quite squat and characterized by a

thick ductus. The latest letter-forms present in this manuscript are *ʿalep* (the 'inverted-v' form); *bet* (the base stroke is penned from left to right, resulting in a slight break-through at the juncture of the downstroke and the base stroke); *waw* and *yod* (which are indistinguishable, a sure sign of an early Herodian hand); *tet* (which is made in two movements); *ʿayin* (the right arm is thickened or bent at the tip, a characteristic of the Herodian period); and medial and final *šade*.

The orthography of 4QDeut^a is full. It consistently uses *matres lectionis* to mark **aw* > *ō* (e.g. שורר IV 12), except for *Hip'il* verbs (e.g. ויציאך IV 2), **ay* > *ē* (e.g. אליהם II 2, ובייכם II 9, and מביה III 1), **i* (e.g. אנכי II 3, כי I 1), **ū* (e.g. אהני II 7, יאריכון IV 8). It usually uses a *mater lectionis* for both accented and unaccented **ā* > *ō* (e.g. אבהו III 5, עינה I 3, לוא I 6, participles, and all forms of *ʾalohim*, but cf. לא II 5). The manuscript also uses a *waw* to mark **u* > *o* (e.g. הוושך V 3, כול I 6, גרלו V 5, but cf. משה II 1 and כל II 1, III 11). It does not use a *mater lectionis* to mark **a* and **i*, but it sometimes marks the *ā* vowel of the 2nd masc. sing. perfect verb with *he*, e.g. הוורחה IV 2, but e.g. וידענ I 1. The *ʿalep* has quiesced in pronunciation; its position in spelling is uncertain in places (cf. הווח II 6 and הווחה V 7). It uses the long form of a pronoun three times (הווחה V 10^{bis}, III 12) and the long form of a pronominal suffix only once (להמה VI 3), but normally uses the short forms (ך-, ה-, etc.).

Listed in Table 1 are the orthographical variants of 4QDeut^a, as compared with $\alpha\alpha$ and the Nash Papyrus where extant. Since לוא and כול are consistently marked with *matres lectionis* (see the exceptions noted in the discussion of orthography) they are not included in this table.

TABLE 1: Orthography

Col.	Line	Deut	4QDeut ^a	$\alpha\alpha$	α	$\alpha\alpha\alpha$	PapNash
I 1	8:5		אלהוך	אלוּך	אלוּך		
I 1	8:6		ושמרתה	ושמרת	ושמרת		
I 2	8:6		אלוּך	אלוּך	אלוּך		
I 2	8:6		אוּח	אוּח	אוּח		
I 3	8:7		אלוּך	אלוּך	אלוּך		
I 3	8:7		עינה	עינה	עינה		
I 3	8:7		(orth. & var.) הווחמה	הווחמה	הווחמה	הווחמה, הווחמה, הווחמה, הווחמה	
I 4	8:8		ושערה	ושערה	ושערה		
I 6	8:9		במסכתו	במסכתו	במסכתו		
I 7	8:9		חוצבו	חוצבו	חוצבו		
I 7	8:9		נחשת	נחשת	נחשת		
I 7	8:10		ושבעה	ושבעה	ושבעה		
I 8	8:10		וברכתה	וברכת	וברכת		
I 8	8:10		אלוּך	אלוּך	אלוּך		
I 8	8:10		השביה	השביה	השביה		
II 2	5:1		אליהם	אליהם	אליהם		
II 2	5:1		החוקים	החוקים	החוקים		
II 3	5:1		אנכי	אנכי	אנכי		
II 3	5:1		דובר	דבר	דבר		

TABLE 1: Orthography (cont.)

Col., Line Deut	4QDeut ⁿ	III	III	III ^{msB}	PapNash
II 3	5:1	באזניכם	באזניכם	באזניכם	
II 4	5:1	אזחם	אזחם	אזחם	
II 4	5:1	לעשחם	לעשחם	לעשחם	
II 5	5:2	אלהינ	אלהינ	אלהינ	
II 5	5:2	בחורב	בחורב	בחורב	
II 6	5:3	אבחינ	אבחינ	אבחינ	
II 6	5:3	חוח	חוח	חוח	
II 7	5:3	כלע	כלע	כלע	
II 9	5:5	ואנכי (orth. & var.)	אנכי	ואנכי	
II 9	5:5	עמד	עמד	עמד	
II 9	5:5	ובניכם	ובניכם	ובניכם	
II 12	5:6	אנכי	אנכי	אנכי	
II 12	5:6	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך
III 2	5:7	אלהים	אלהים	אלהים	אלהים
III 4	5:9	חעבדמ	חעבדמ	חעבדמ	
III 5	5:9	אנכי	אנכי	אנכי	אנכי
III 5	5:9	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך
III 5	5:9	קא	קא	קא	קא
III 5	5:9	פקך	פקך	פקך	פקך
III 5	5:9	עון	עון	עון	
III 6	5:9	שלשים	שלשים	שלשים	שלשים
III 6	5:9	רבעים	רבעים	רבעים	רבעים ^{Sad}
III 6	5:10	ועשה (orth. & var.)	ועשה	ועשה	
III 7	5:10	לאדבי	לאדבי	לאדבי	לאדבי
III 7	5:10	ולשמרי	ולשמרי	ולשמרי	ולשמרי
III 7	5:10	מצוחי (orth. & var.)	מצוח	מצוח	מצוח
III 7	5:11	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך
III 8	5:11	שמ	שמ	שמ	שמ
III 10	5:12	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	
III 10	5:13	חעבד	חעבד	חעבד	חעבד
III 11	5:14	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך
III 11	5:14	בו	בו	בו	בה
III 12	5:14	חמריך	חמריך	חמריך	חמריך
IV 1	5:14	ונך (orth. & var.)	ונך	ונך	
IV 2	5:15	חכחה	חכחה	חכחה	
IV 2	5:15	ויצאך	ויצאך	ויצאך	ויצאך ^{Sad}
IV 3	5:15	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	
IV 3	5:15	ובורע	ובורע	ובורע	ובורע
IV 4	5:15	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	
IV 6	Exod 20:11	ינח	ינח	ינח	
IV 8	5:16	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך	
IV 8	5:16	יאריכין	יאריכין	יאריכין	יאריכין ^{Sad}

TABLE 1: Orthography (cont.)

Col., Lane Deut	4QDeut ^a	Ⓜ	Ⓢ	Ⓢ ^{ms}	PapNash
IV 9 5:16	אלהיך	אלהיך	אלהיך		אלהיך
IV 9 5:16	נתן	נתן	נתן		נתן
IV 10 5:19	תעב	תעב	תעב		תעב
IV 10 5:20	ברעך	ברעך	ברעך		ברעך
IV 10 5:21	חמרו	חמרו	חמרו		חמרו
IV 11 5:21	רעך	רעך	רעך		
IV 11 5:21	חמרו		חמרו		
IV 11 5:21	רעך 2'	רעך	רעך		רעך
IV 12 5:21	(orth. & var.) חמרו	חמרו	חמרו	חמרו	חמרו
IV 12 5:21	לרעך	לרעך	לרעך		לרעך
V 2 5:22	חשך		חשך		
V 2 5:22	(orth. or var.?) ויטהבם	ויטהבם	ויטהבם		
V 2 5:22	לוחה	לוח	לוח	לוחה, לוח	
V 3 5:23	החשך	החשך	החשך		
V 4 5:23	בער	בער	בער		
V 4 5:23	חקיכם	חקיכם	חקיכם	חקיכם ^{Sed}	
V 5 5:24	אלהיט	אלהיט	אלהיט		
V 5 5:24	כבודו	כבודו	כבודו		
V 5 5:24	גדלו	גדלו	גדלו		
V 5 5:24	קלו	קלו	קלו		
V 7 5:25	הגדלה	הגדלה	הגדלה		
V 7 5:25	הואת	הואת	הואת		
V 8 5:25	לשמע	לשמע	לשמע		
V 8 5:25	אלהיט	אלהיט	אלהיט		
V 9 5:26	אלהים	אלהים	אלהים		
V 9 5:26	כמו	כמו	כמו		
V 10 5:27	אלהיט	אלהיט	אלהיט		
V 11 5:27	אלהיט	אלהיט	אלהיט		
VI 3 5:29	להם	להם	להם		
VI 3 5:29	אוילי	אוי	אוי		
VI 4 5:29	לעולם	לעולם	לעולם	לעולם	
VI 5 5:31	עמד	עמד	עמד		
VI 8 5:32	חמרו	חמרו	חמרו		
VI 9 5:33	אלהיכם	אלהיכם	אלהיכם		

Intervals to mark paragraph-divisions in 4QDeutⁿ appear at the places listed in Table 2.

TABLE 2: *Intervals*

Col., LineDeut	4QDeut ⁿ	Ⓜ	Ⓢ
I 2	8:6	interval	—
I 3	8:8	interval	—
I 7	8:9	interval	—
I 9	8:10	interval	ⓈⓂ
II 12	5:5	—	ⓈⓂ
III 2	5:7	—	interval
III 7	5:10	—	o
III 8	5:11	end of line	o ⓈⓂ
IV 7	5:15	////	o ⓈⓂ
IV 9	5:16	—	o =::
IV 9	5:17	—	o =::
IV 10	5:18	—	o =::
IV 10	5:19	—	o =::
IV 10	5:20	—	o =::
IV 11	5:21 (רע"ד 1')	—	o
IV 12	5:21	interval	o ⓈⓂ
V 3	5:22	—	interval
V 12	5:28 (ל"ב)Ⓜ	—	ⓈⓂ

Under the VARIANTS for cols. II–IV, which contain the Decalogue, the evidence has been collated from the Massoretic, Samaritan and Greek witnesses of Exodus, as well as the Nash Papyrus; the sigla used are Ⓜ^{Ex}, Ⓢ^{Ex}, Ⓟ^{Ex}, and PapNash respectively. Owing to the complexity of the textual evidence in the Decalogue, usually only the main witnesses are cited, and variations within the versions can be found in the apparatus of the critical editions.

For discussions of the textual character of 4QDeutⁿ, essentially a harmonistic text, see the articles by White and Eshel (different readings from the latter are corrected in the NOTES below).

Mus. Inv. 981. PAM 42.642.

Col. II Deut 5:1-6

top margin

1	וְיִקְרָא מֹשֶׁה אֶל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר
2	אֱלֹהִים שָׁמְעָה יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת הַחֻקִּים וְאֵת
3	הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי דוֹבֵר בְּאָזְנוֹכֶם
4	הַיּוֹם וּלְמֹדַחַם אֹתָם וְשִׁמְרָתֶם לַעֲשׂוֹתָם
5	² יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּרְתָּ עִמָּנוּ בְּרִית בְּחֹרֵב לְאֵל
6	אֵת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ כִּרְתָּ יְהוָה אֶת הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת כִּי
7	אָנֹחַן אֲנֹחְנוּ אֱלֹהֵי פִה הַיּוֹם כֹּלֵנוּ חַיִּים הַיּוֹם
8	⁴ פְּנִים בְּפָנִים דְּבַר יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם בְּהַר מִתְנַךְ
9	הָאֵשׁ ⁵ אָנֹכִי עֹמֵד בֵּין יְהוָה וּבֵינֵיכֶם בַּעַת
10	הַהִיא ||||| לְהַגִּיד לָכֶם אֶת דְּבָרֵי יְהוָה
11	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כִּי יִרְאוּכֶם מִפְּנֵי הָאֵשׁ וְלֹא עָלִיתֶם
12	בְּהַר |||| לֵאמֹר ⁶ אָנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיךְ אֲשֶׁר

bottom margin

L. 10 There is a large splotch of ink in the blemished space.

VARIANTS

5:1	(2)	שמע] 4QDeut ¹⁻⁹ שמע]
5:1	(4)	היום] 4QDeut ¹⁰] εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην]
5:2	(5)	אלהינו] 4QDeut ¹⁰] ο θεος]
5:2	(5)	עמו] 4QDeut ¹⁰] ποταμο]
5:3	(6)	אבותינו] 4QDeut ¹⁰] τοις πατράσιν]
5:3	(7)	אנו] 4QDeut ¹⁰] ποταμο]
5:3	(7)	אנחנו] 4QDeut ¹⁰] ποταμο]
5:3	(7)	כולנו] 4QDeut ¹⁰] ποταμο ;]
5:3	(7)	היום] 4QDeut ¹⁰] >]
5:3	(7)	היום] 4QDeut ¹⁰] et vivimus]
5:5	(9)	אנוכי] 4QDeut ¹⁰]
5:5	(10-11)	היה] 4QDeut ¹⁰] רבי יהוה]
5:6	(12)	אנוכי] 4QDeut ¹⁰] εγω επι]

Col. III Deut 5:6-14

top margin

1 הוצאתיך מארץ מצרים מבית עבדים⁷ לזאת יהיה
 2 לך אלהים אחרים על פני⁸ לא תעשה לך פסל וכול
 3 תמונה אשר בשמים ממעל ואשר בארץ מחמת ואשר
 4 במים מחמת לארץ⁹ לזאת תשחודה להם ולזאת תעבדם
 5 כי אנוכי יהוה אלוהיך אל קנא פוקד עוןן אבות על
 6 בנים על שלשים ועל רבעים לשנאי¹⁰ עושה חסד לאלפים
 7 לאוהבי ולשומרי מצוותי¹¹ לזאת תשא את שם יהוה אלוהיך
 8 לשוא כי לזאת ינקה יהוה את אשר ישא את שמו לשוא
 9 שמור¹² // // // // // יום השבת לקדשו כאשר צוך יהוה
 10 אלוהיך¹³ ששת ימים תעבוד ועשית את כול מלאכתך
 11 וביום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלוהיך לזאת תעשה בו כל מלאכה
 12 אחת בנך בתך בהך עבדך ואמתך שורך וחמורך

bottom margin

L 1 (5 6)] מבית [(Eshel)

L 11 (5 14) כל מלאכה was written by the original scribe, but in the margin, probably as a correction.

VARIANTS

- 5 6 (1) 4QDeut'ממ@CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}@Ex] > PapNash
 5 7 (1) 4QDeut'ממ@CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}] εσονται @Ex
 5 8 (2) 4QDeut'ממ@CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}] ελυπτον @; εδωλον @^{Ex}; 5 ܟܕ ܕܥܠܝ
 5 8 (2) @CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}@Ex] כל מ
 5 9 (4) ממ העבדים [העובדים
 5 9 (5) @CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}] εγω εμι @, εγω γαρ εμι @^{Ex}; 5 ܟܕ ܕܥܠܝ
 5 9 (6) @PapNashSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}] ממ ועל שלשים [(cf @)
 5 9 (6) 4QDeut'ממPapNashM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}] + γευεαν @ = @SD; + γευεας @^{Ex}
 5 10 (6) ממ ועל תעשה [עושה] @CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}@Ex
 5 10 (7) @PapNash@CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}] ממ מצותו Waw and yod are indistinguishable in this
 script, therefore the 4QDeut⁶ reading is materially uncertain.
 5 11 (8) @CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}] 2' ממ יהוה κύριος ο θεος σου @^{Ex}
 5 12 (9) @CSDM^{Ex}מ^{Ex}] ממ שמור @^{Ex}@^{Ex}PapNash
 5 12 (9) ממ לקדשו [ממ לקדשו

- 5:12 (9-10) אלוהיך | כאשר צוך ידוה | אלוהיך] $\text{m} \text{u} \text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{S} \text{T}$ > $\text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{u} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{P} \text{a} \text{p} \text{N} \text{a} \text{s} \text{h}$
- 5:13 (10)] ועשה את כל [ועשה את כל $\text{m} \text{u} \text{m} \text{P} \text{a} \text{p} \text{N} \text{a} \text{s} \text{h} \text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{u} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$
- 5:14 (11)] ויום השביעי $\text{m} \text{u} \text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{S} \text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{u} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$; *septimus dies D*
- 5:14 (11)] ועשה בו כל $\text{m} \text{u} \text{m} \text{P} \text{a} \text{p} \text{N} \text{a} \text{s} \text{h} \text{S} \text{T} \text{u} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$ $\text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{u} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$
- 5:14 (III12-IV1) אזה בך סתך עבדך ואמתך שורך חמורך | ובהמתך נריך E^{b}]
 אזה ובך וסתך ועבדך ואמתך שורך חמורך וכל בהמתך וערך $\text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$;
 אזה ובך וסתך עבדך ואמתך שורך חמורך וכל בהמתך וערך $\text{u} \text{m} \text{P} \text{a} \text{p} \text{N} \text{a} \text{s} \text{h} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$;
 אזה ובך וסתך עבדך ואמתך שורך חמורך וכל בהמתך וערך D ;
 אזה ובך וסתך עבדך ואמתך שורך חמורך וכל בהמתך וערך $\text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$;
 אזה ובך וסתך עבדך ואמתך שורך חמורך וכל בהמתך וערך $\text{u} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$.

Col. IV Deut 5:14-21

top margin

- 1 ובהמתך נריך אשר בשערך |||| למען ינוח עבדך ואמתך
- 2 כמך¹⁵ חכרתה כי עבד היית ||||| בארץ מצרים ויציאך
- 3 יהוה אלוהיך משם ביד ||||| חוקה ובורע נשיה
- 4 על כן צוך יהוה אלוהיך ||||| לשמור את יום השבת
- 5 לקדשו כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את השמים ואת הארץ
- 6 את הים וכול אשר במ ינוח ביום השביעי על כן ברך יהוה
- 7 את יום השבת לקדשו ||||| ¹⁶ כבוד את אביך ואת אמך כאשר
- 8 צוך יהוה אלוהיך ||||| למען יאריכון ימך ולמען יישב
- 9 לך על האדמה אשר יהוה אלוהיך נתן לך ¹⁷ לזאת תרצח לזאת
- 10 תנאף ¹⁹ לזאת תענוב ²⁰ לזאת תענה ברעך עד שוא ²¹ לזאת תחמד
- 11 אשת רעך לזאת תחמד בית רעך שדוה עבדו אמרו
- 12 שורו חמורו וכול אשר לרעך

vacat

bottom margin

L. 2 (5:15) |||||] > (Eshel)

L. 12 (5:21) interval] o m, m, u

VARIANTS

- 5:14 (1) $\text{m} \text{u} \text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{S} \text{T} \text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}}$] ο παροικων εν σοι E^{b} E^{x}
- 5:14 (1-2)] $\text{m} \text{u} \text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{S} \text{T}$ > $\text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{u} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{P} \text{a} \text{p} \text{N} \text{a} \text{s} \text{h}$
- 5:14 (1)] $\text{m} \text{u} \text{m} \text{E}^{\text{x}} \text{S} \text{T}$] + ο βους σου και το υποζυγιον σου $\text{C}^{(529)}$ 127;
 + το υποζυγιον σου E^{m}

- 5:15 (2-4) זכרה כי עבר היית בארץ מצרים ויצאת ידה אלוהך משם ביד חזקה וברוע נסיה על כן צדך ידה אלוהך
 $\mu\omega\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta > \mu^{\text{Ex}}\omega^{\text{Ex}}\theta^{\text{Ex}}\epsilon\text{PapNash}$ לשמור את יום השבת
- 5:15 (4) $\mu\omega$ לעשות] $\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta$ לשמור
- 5:15 (5-7) לקישי כי ששת ימים עשה ידה את השמים ואת הארץ (θ^{Ex} + ka) את הים וכול אשר בה ויעת ביום השביעי
 $\mu\omega\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta > \mu^{\text{Ex}}\omega^{\text{Ex}}\theta^{\text{Ex}}\epsilon$ על כן בך ידה את יום השבת לקישו ($\mu^{\text{Ex}}\omega^{\text{Ex}}\theta^{\text{Ex}}\epsilon$ ויקסודו) ka
 $\alpha\gamma\alpha\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ ותדע 4QDeut^a has added the reason for the Sabbath observance from the Exodus version of the fourth commandment. The Nash Papyrus also has both reasons, but in the reverse order.
- 5:15 (6) $\mu^{\text{Ex}}\omega^{\text{Ex}}$ ויעת] ויעת
- 5:16 (7-8) $\mu\omega\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta > \mu^{\text{Ex}}\omega^{\text{Ex}}\theta^{\text{Ex}}\epsilon\text{PapNash}$ צדך ידה אלוהך
- 5:16 (8-9) $\mu\omega\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta$ [למען] יסיב לך ולמען יאריכון ימך] $\mu\omega\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta$ למען יאריכון ימך ולמען יסיב | לך
 $\mu^{\text{Ex}}\omega^{\text{Ex}}\theta^{\text{Ex}}\epsilon$ למען יארכון ימך; (θ^{B}) $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\chi\rho\nu\iota\sigma\iota$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ θ^{Ex} ; $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\chi\rho\nu\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$ $\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$ θ^{Ex}
- 5:16 (9) $\epsilon\mu$ θ^{Ex} $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ $\eta\delta$ $\chi\eta$ $\eta\delta$ $\epsilon\mu$ $\mu^{\text{Ex}}\omega^{\text{Ex}}\theta^{\text{Ex}}\epsilon\text{PapNash}$ על הארמה
- 5:17-19 (9-10) $\mu\omega\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta\mu^{\text{Ex}}\omega^{\text{Ex}}\theta^{\text{Ex}}\epsilon$ 4QPhyl^a לא תרצח (לא) | תנאף לא ($\mu\theta\delta$ ולא) תנבו
 PapNash ; θ^{Ex} לא תנאף לא תרצח ולא | תנבו
 XQPhyl^1 IQPhyl^1 θ^{Ex} לא תנאף לא תנבו לא תרצח
- 5:20 (10) $\mu\omega\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta$ שקר] $\mu\omega\theta\epsilon\varsigma\delta$ שוא
- 5:21 (10-11) θ^{Ex}]
 $\mu\omega$ ולא תחמד אשת רעך ולא תחאה ביה רעך
 $\mu\omega^{\text{Ex}}$ לא תחמד בית רעך ולא תחמד אשת רעך
 S ; *לא תחמד אשה רעך ולא תחמד ביה רעך
 μ^{Ex} לא תחמד בית רעך לא תחמד אשת רעך
 PapNash לא תחמד [את אשת רעך] לוא תחאה את ב[ית] רעך
- 5:21 (11-12)]
 $\mu\omega$ שריו ועברו ואמרו שריו וחרמו וכול אשר לרעך
 θ^{Ex} ; *שריו ועברו ואמרו שריו וחרמו וכול אשר לרעך
 $\mu\omega$; שריו ועברו ואמרו שריו וחרמו וכול אשר לרעך
 μ^{Ex} ; שריו ועברו ואמרו שריו וחרמו וכול אשר לרעך
 S ; ושריו וזכרם עברו ואמרו שריו וחרמו וכול אשר לרעך
 D ; ושריו ועברו ואמרו שריו וחרמו וכול אשר לרעך
 μ^{Ex} ; שריו ועברו ואמרו שריו וחרמו וכול אשר לרעך
 PapNash שריו ועברו ואמרו שריו וחרמו וכול אשר לרעך

Col. V Deut 5:22-28

top margin

- 1 את הדברים האלה דבר יהוה אל כול קהלתם בדר מתוך האש
- 2 חושך ענן וערפל קול נ[ד]ל ולוא יסף ויכותבם על שני לוחות
- 3 אבנים ויהנם אלי²³ ויהי²³ (כשומעם את הקול מתוך החושך והדר

	בוער באש ותקרבוני אלי כול ראשי שבשיכם חקניכם ²⁴ ותאמרו]	4
	הן הראנו יהוה אלוהינו את כבודו ואת גדלו ואת קולו] שמעו]	5
	מתוך ראש ביום הזה ראינו כי ידבר יהוה את ה[אדם וחי]	6
	²⁵ ועתה למה נמות כי תאכלש הראש הגדולה הזואח אם [וספים]	7
	אנחנו לשמוע את קול יהוה אלוהינו עור ומחנו ²⁶ כי מי ל[ול בשר]	8
	אשר שמע קול אלוהים חי מדבר מתוך ראש כמונו ויחז	9
	²⁷ קרב אוחה ושמע את כול אשר ידבר יהוה אלוהינו ואוחה]	10
	תדבר אלינו את כול אשר ⁷ דבר יהוה אלוהינו אליך ושמעו]	11
	ועשינו ²⁸ וישמע יהוה את קול דבריםם בדרכים א[לי]	12

bottom margin

- L. 2 (5:22) גרול] גרול (Eshel)
 L. 3 (5:23) שמועכם] כשמועכם (Eshel)
 L. 10 (5:27) דבר] ידבר (Eshel)
 L. 11 (5:27) דבר⁷. *Yod* is written above the line by the original scribe.

VARIANTS

5:22	(2)	מחשך ענ וערפל] מחשך ענ וערפל 4QDeut ¹ ; σκοτος γνοφος θυελλα θ; מחשך ענ וערפל; ܡܚܫܚܐ ܥܢ ܘܥܪܦܠ; et nubis et caliginis ܘ
5:22	(2)	יחובכם] יחובכם M ¹ (cf. Qimron, §311.13d)
5:22	(3)	4QDeut ¹ M ¹ εσδ] και εδωκεν θ
5:23	(3)	4QDeut ¹ M ¹ εσδ] εδειξεν θ ^C
5:23	(3)	M ¹ εσδ] του πυρος θ
5:24	(5)	4QDeut ¹ תה] תה M ¹ הן
5:24	(5)	M ¹ εσδ] εδειξεν θ ^B
5:24	(5)	M ¹ εσδ] > θ; > θ
5:24	(6)	M ¹ εσδ] θ ביום הזה
5:24	(6)	M ¹ εσδ] ε יהוה
5:26	(8)	4QDeut ¹ M ¹ ε] > θs
5:26	(9)	M ¹ ε] חי
5:27	(10)	M ¹ ε] ידבר
5:27	(10)	4QDeut ¹ M ¹ ε] + אלוהינו
5:27	(10)	M ¹ ε] ואת 4QDeut ¹ M ¹ ε

Col. VI Deut 5:28–6:1

top margin

[	ויאמר ייְהוָה	1
[	דברו אלייך] (29)	2
[	לדמה ליראה אותי	3
[	להם ולבניהם לעולם ³⁰	(31) 4
[	פה עמוד עמדי ואדברנה	5
[	ודמשפשים אשר תלמךם	6
[	להם לרשחה ³² ושמרתם]	7
[	אחכם לוא תסורו ייְמִין	(33) 8
{	אחכם ||| אלהיכם תלכך]	9
[	בארצ אשרן חי) ישון ⁶¹	10
[	אשר	11

L. 9 (5:33) interval] > (Eshel)

L. 9 (5:33) אחכם is written supralinearly by the original scribe.

L. 10 (5:33) בארצ. A medial *sade* appears in a final position.

VARIANTS

- 5 32 (8) אחכם] > ⓄS
 5 32 (8) חסורר] εααλλειε Ⓞ
 5 33 (910P) אחכם] > ⓄS

42. 4QDeut^o

(PLATE XXX)

FIFTEEN fragments from the beginning and end of this Deuteronomy scroll preserve portions of Deut 2:8; 4:30-34; 5:1-5, 8-9; 28:15-18, 33-36, 47-52, 58-62; and 29:22-25. The leather, of medium thickness, is medium to dark brown in colour, with a somewhat worn surface. Horizontal and vertical dry lines are visible on frgs. 2 and 14, while the right margins of frgs. 3 and 14 show guiding dots. Left margins are preserved on frgs. 2 (measuring 0.9 cm and displaying the remains of sewing) and 5, right margins on frgs. 3 and 14, and a possible top margin on frg. 6. The column-width varies, with frgs. 1-7 from the beginning of the scroll containing 46-56 letter-spaces per column, and frgs. 8-15 from the end of the scroll having 60-86. The average distance between lines of script is 0.7 cm.

Palaeographical study of 4QDeut^o places its hand in the late Hasmonaean period, c.75-50 BCE. The size of the letters has become equal (cf. especially *taw*), and there is no ornamentation. The latest forms are *ayin*, which has rotated vertically and has a prominent breakthrough at the juncture of the right and left arms, and final *mem*, in which the left downstroke begins above the head and reaches down to close the bottom of the letter. The base-strokes of all relevant letters are straight (cf. especially medial *sade*).

The orthographic practice of 4QDeut^o is generally similar to \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{M}^d , all three of which show minor inconsistencies (see Table 1). It marks the following vowels with *matres lectionis*: **aw* > δ (א 2-4 5), * \bar{u} (אנחט 5 4), * \bar{i} (ראשנים 2-4 3), and * \bar{a} > \bar{o} when accented (באחות 2-4 8, but never לא נל, and not when unaccented, אנכי 7 2). There are no extant examples of **ay* > \dot{e} . The proto-semitic short vowels **a*, **i*, and **u* are not marked with *matres lectionis*. The short forms of the pronominal suffixes and endings are used (e.g. ך-, ם-, םן- except אחיה 2-4 7).

One interval marks a paragraph-division at frg. 7 3 (5:9) which \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{M}^d lack.

TABLE 1: Orthography

Fig., line	Deut	4QDeut ^o	Q	\mathfrak{M}	\mathfrak{M}^{MS}	\mathfrak{M}^{d}	$\mathfrak{M}^{\text{MSd}}$
2-4 3	4:32	ראשנים		ראשנים	הראשנים	הראשנים	
2-4 8	4:34	באחות		באחח		באחוח	באחוח ^{Sad}
2-4 8	4:34	ובורען		ובורע		ובורע	
5 3	5:2	בחרב	4QDeut ¹⁰	בחרב		בחרב	
5 5	5:5	עמר	4QDeut ¹⁰	עמר		עמר	
9-11 3	28:36	אוחן		אוךך		אוךך	
12-14 2	28:48	ובערום		ובערים		ובערום	ובחרום
12-14 5	28:51	ועשחרוח		ועשחרח		ועשחרוח	

Fig. 1 Deut 2:8

[	]	1
[	]	2

VARIANT

2:8 (2) 𐤎 𐤅𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀] 𐤓𐤓 𐤅𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀

Figs. 2-4 Deut 4:30-34

ידוה אל'הו'ך	]	1
ל'לא	]	(31) 2
ל'אשנים	]	(32) 3
ולמקצה	]	4
או הנשמע	]	5
לשכ'נת	כ'תרו ³³	6 f.3	
[ל'ק'חת	³⁴]	7 f.4
[חז]קה ובורע]	באחזת]	8
[]ס'	נדר]לים	9

Fig. 2 has a left sewn edge with the remains of the next column attached and it preserves both horizontal and vertical dry lines. The right margin of fig. 3 is marked by guiding dots.

L. 3 (4-32) It is impossible to know whether the MS read ראשנים with 𐤓𐤓 or 'ר' with 𐤎 (see Table 1).

VARIANTS

- 4 31 (2) 𐤎 𐤓𐤓] 𐤎 𐤅𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤓𐤓 𐤅
- 4 34 (8) 𐤎 (באחזת)] 𐤎 𐤎 𐤅𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤎 𐤅𐤂𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤎

Fig. 5 Deut 5:1-5

[	אל'ים שמעו]	]	1
[	באזניכם היום ולמ'דחתם	]	2
[	ב'יית בחרב 'לאן	]	(2) 3

[אנחנו אלה פה היום]	]	4
אנכי עמד	]	(4) 5
[ראתם	]	6

L. 5 This MS may have read אנכי with \aleph or אנכי with μ (von Gall errs with ראנכי). Over the *ayin* and *mem* of עמד there are two random dots of ink.

VARIANTS

- 5:1 (1)] שמע 4QDeut¹⁻⁹]
 5:1 (2)] היום 4QDeut¹⁻⁹]
 5:3 (4)] ועיני 4QDeut¹⁻⁹]
 5:3 (4-5)] ובעיני כל בני ישראל]

Frgs. 6-7 Deut 5:8-9

These fragments are difficult to position relative to each other. If they are arranged together, the top line of frg. 6 must come before, but on the same line as, the top line of frg. 7. In that case, the top of the *lamed* which appears in the second line of frg. 6 cannot be properly placed, since it does not fit any of the other witnesses ($\aleph\mu\theta$) to this passage. *Lamed* occurs in three words in v 9, each so close that traces of a second *lamed* at the bottom of frg. 6 should be visible. Therefore, the word לום has been reconstructed at the appropriate point in the text (see VAR), which allows for a reasonable (although short: 37 letter-spaces) reconstruction of line 1. The second problem is the patch of unscribed leather at the bottom of frg. 7, underneath which two traces of a fourth line of text can be seen. If it is an interval to mark a paragraph division, according to the reconstruction it falls in the middle of v 9. It may, however, be scribal avoidance of an area unsuitable for writing, but there is too little evidence to be certain. The reconstruction of frgs. 6-7 arranged together follows:

top margin?

ואשר במים מִחוּחַ [לארץ] לא תשחזרה להם ולא	1	16,7
[תעברו] להם כִּי אנכי יהוה אלהיך אל קנא פקר עין	2	
[] vacat []	3	
[] ° []	4	

VARIANT

- 5:9 (2)] תעברו]
 5:9 (2)] תעברו]

If, however, one of these fragments does not belong to 4QDeut^o, they should be reconstructed individually, as follows:

Frg. 6 Deut 5:8-9

top margin?

ואשר במים] מחתח לארץ ⁹ לא השחחזה להם ולא העברם כי אנכי]	1
[יזוה א]להיך אל קנא פקד עון אבות על בנים ועל שלשים ועל]	2

Frg. 7 Deut 5:8-9

[מחחח [ואשר במים מחחח לארץ ⁹ לא]	1
[תשחחזה להם ולא העברם כ] אנכי יזוה] אלהיך אל קנא פקד עון אבות]	2
[] <i>vacat</i> []	3
[]]oo[]	4

This reconstruction, which assumes an interval for paragraph-division at the end of v 9 (no interval M), may suggest that frg. 7 belongs to a different manuscript.

Frg. 8 Deut 28:15-18

[]o[]	1
[בקול יזוה א]להיך] (15)	2
[ה]קללות האלה והשיטת ¹⁶]]	3
[ארמחך שגר אלפיך] (17,18)	4

L. 4 (28 18) There are traces of ink below שגר, but they are too high to belong to the next line.

VARIANT

28 18 (4)]oo] ופרי ברמחך +]oo] ארמחך

Frgs 9-11 Deut 28:33-36

[]הזנים ³⁴]יגיעך י]אכל עם אשר]	1	f 9,10
[לא תוכל]] ³⁵ זכנה יזוה]	2	
[לא]] ³⁶ יולך יזוה] אותך]	3	f 11
[]	4	

[אלהים אות]יים ען וואבן

Frgs. 12-14 Deut 28:47-52, 58-62

[	יְזוּחַ אֱלֹהֶיךָ]	(48)	1
[	וְבִצְמָא וּבְעֵרוֹם]	(49)	2
[	מִקְצֵה הָאָרֶץ]	(50)	3
[	וְאָכַל פְּרִי בְדֹהַרְךָ]		4 f 13
[	וְעָשְׂתָּ אֲרֻחַ צְאֹנְךָ]	(52)	5
[	בְּהֵן בְּכֹל]		6
[	]ooo[]		7
[lines 8-11 missing]			
[	לֹא הָיָה מֵר]		12 f 14
[	זוּה אִתְּ]	(59)	13
[	וְנֹאמְנִים ⁶⁰]	(61)	14
[	אֲשֶׁר לֹא]	(62)	15
[	הַיִּחָם]		16

Fig. 12 cannot be located in the Rockefeller Museum. The right margin of fig. 14 shows horizontal and vertical dry lines and guiding dots.

VARIANT

28:48 (2)] > ⁶⁰

Fig. 15 Deut 29:22-25

[	בִּאֲפֹ וּבְחִמְזוֹ ²³ וְאָמְרוּ כֹל]		1
[	אָמְרוּ עַל אֲשֶׁר עֲזַבְתָּ אֶת]		2
[	מְאֹרֶץ מִצְרַיִם ²⁵ וַיִּלְכְּבוּ]		3
[	חֵלְקֵן לְדָם]		4

L. 2 (29:24) עֲזַבְתָּ. What appears to be a dot of ink above the *bet* is merely dirt.

VARIANT

29:22 (1)] και οργη ⁶⁰

43. 4QDeut^P

(PLATE XXXI)

THIS manuscript consists of three fragments preserving portions of Deut 6:4-11. The leather, of medium thickness, is yellowish brown in colour and has a damaged surface. Fig. 2 preserves a margin between two columns as well as a bottom margin. Horizontal ruling is also extant on fig. 2. The column-width is 55-69 letter-spaces, and the distance between lines of script is 0.8-0.9 cm.

Palaeographical study of 4QDeut^P establishes its hand in the late Hasmonaean period, c.75-50 BCE. The letter-size has become equal, and there is no ornamentation. The latest forms are *'ayin*, which has rotated vertically and has a prominent breakthrough at the juncture of the right and left arms, and *he*, where the head is made in a 'v-shaped' stroke. *Yod* has a late Hasmonaean form, with a large, angular head, distinguishing it from *waw*, which has a thin, curled head.

The orthographic evidence for 4QDeut^P is sparse. The manuscript marks * \bar{a} with a *waw* (ויהי 1 2), and * $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ in the fem. pl. ending (לוֹשְׁפֹת 3 4), but not לא (2 7). There are no other *matres lectionis* preserved. The manuscript uses the short pronominal suffix form ך-. The only orthographic variant preserved is located at frgs. 1-3 4 (6:8) לוֹשְׁפֹת, לוֹשְׁפֹת^{vGall} לוֹשְׁפֹת^{Sad}.

An interval marks a paragraph-division at frgs. 1-3 5 (6:9); ם ןל, קנה, זא.

On the basis of the extant evidence, it is impossible to assign 4QDeut^P to a textual tradition.

Mus. Inv. 1091. PAM 43.055; 42.712.

Frgs. 1, 2 col. i, 3 Deut 6:4-11

אלהינו יהוה אחד ⁵ וארבת את יהוה	]	1	f2
ויהוה הרב ⁶ (א)שר	]	2	
ובשׁבך	]	(7)	3
ביתך	]	(9)	4 f3
[	]	v a [c a t]
וליעקב	]	10]	6
לא בל(א)ף	]	11)	7

bottom margin

L. 3 (6:6-7) If the text is restored according to the other extant witnesses (ןןⓄ) it is too long for the space available. Many opportunities exist within the line for loss of text through haplography.

44. 4QDeut^a

(PLATE XXXI)

Preliminary publication: P. W. Skehan, 'A Fragment of the "Song of Moses" (Deut 32) from Qumran', *BASOR* 136 (1954) 12-15. See also 'The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism', *Volume du congrès, Strasbourg 1956* (VTSup 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957) 148-60, esp. 149-50 and n. 1 on p. 150.

P. M. Bogaert, 'Les trois rédactions conservées et la forme originale de l'envoi du Cantique de Moïse (Dt 32,43)', *Das Deuteronomium, Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft* (ed. N. Lohfink; BETL 68, Leuven. Leuven University Press, 1985) 329-40. A. van der Kooy, 'The Ending of the Song of Moses: On the Pre-Masoretic Version of Deut 32:43', *Studies in Deuteronomy: In Honour of C. J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 93-100.

THIS manuscript, surviving only in a few fragments with text from Deut 32:37-43 and 32:9-10(?), perhaps originally contained only the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1-43); see the introduction to 4QDeut¹. The edition presented here supersedes the preliminary edition published in 1954, since a new fragment (fig. 3) has been added, giving new light on the arrangement of the reconstruction. Note in addition that the fragment containing *bhnhyl* [l] . . . *bny* ²[*whym*], mentioned in the second paragraph of 'A Fragment', belongs to 4QDeut¹ (fig. 34), and that the fragment containing Deut 4:30-32, mentioned in the third paragraph, belongs to 4QDeut^o (fig. 2).

The leather of the manuscript was very thin, carefully prepared on the inscribed (hair) side, and smooth on the back. Its colour was light tan with grey tones, although some parts, especially to the left of the stitching, now display honey tones, probably as a result of moisture. Some darkening at the edges of the leather also causes confusion due to the illusion of ink.

The left and bottom margins of col. I and all four margins of col. II are preserved; there are traces of stitching and thread preserved at points between the two columns. The first line extant in col. I is probably the original top line of that column, but see the general NOTE on that column. The full height of the original manuscript, measuring 11.4 cm, is preserved on the left side, although moisture has caused some darkening, contraction, and splitting along the top edge. The distance from the first ruled line to the top edge of the manuscript is c.0.7 cm, and that from the last ruled line to the bottom edge is 2.8-2.9 cm. Each column originally contained eleven lines, which were lightly ruled with a dry point. The distance between the lines of script is 0.7-0.9 cm, and the height of the letters averages 0.3 cm.

The extant text ends at Deut 32:43, without the final verses of chapter 32 and without chapters 33-34, and there are indications that the manuscript was intended to end at that point. Col. II is written on a separate piece of leather; its left margin is broad with no stitching along the left side; and, presented stichometrically, it is intentionally arranged to end at the bottom of its column.

In contrast to the format of col. II which is very neat and symmetrical with all lines containing only one hemistich, col. I presents a problem. Its lines appear asymmetrical, the right margin seems unusually irregular, lines 5-8 and 11 contain more than one

hemistisch, and the remaining clues allow for two possible textual reconstructions of the column (see the general NOTE on col. I).

The two extant columns of the scroll, ending at Deut 32:43, are most likely not just the final columns from a larger manuscript of the Book of Deuteronomy which ended with this Song. The limited height of the scroll, the arrangement of the lines, the small number of words per column, and the absence of the final verses of chapter 32 strongly suggest that 4QDeut^q probably contained only the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1-43). It would thus join the category of 'special use' manuscripts (see the introduction to 4QDeut^q), and the appearance of Deuteronomy 32 in 4QDeut^l and 4QPhyl^N support this hypothesis.

The manuscript is inscribed in a formal hand of the late Hasmonaean or early Herodian period, dating from the second half of the first century BCE or perhaps the beginning of the first century CE. The distinction between *waw* and *yod* is maintained fairly consistently, and thus אִיֹב is transcribed in II 5 (אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב 32:42).

The orthography is similar to that of מ and מ and their slightly varying manuscripts; only four orthographic differences are preserved:

- 32.38 (I 5) אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב] אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב
 32.41 (I 10) אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב] אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב
 32.42 (II 5) אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב] אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב
 32.43 (II 8) אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב] אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב אִיֹב

The possible transposition אִיֹב אִיֹב at 32:42 mentioned above would constitute an error, but the dot seen above the *alep* of אִיֹב in I 8 (Deut 32:40) is probably not intentional. No other errors, corrections, or insertions, however, whether by the original scribe or by a later hand, are preserved in the manuscript, although if the dark spots above col. I line 1 form a supralinear insertion, this would be an exception. The remains of a large ink smear or marginal flourish, c.2.0 cm long and c.0.5 cm wide, are visible in the damaged section about 1.5 cm to the left of line 5 of col. II, as are possible impressions of letters from the previous revolution of the scroll there and to the left of line 7.

The surviving clues reveal a manuscript that was probably a 'special use' manuscript, containing only the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1-43), excerpted from a biblically circulating in Jewish circles around the middle of the first century BCE. 4QDeut^q and the Massoretic *textus receptus* display distinctly variant forms of the text—more than one variant for every pair of the scroll's short lines. 4QDeut^q, or its *Vorlage*, however, should not be naively dismissed as a so-called 'vulgar text' for a number of reasons. Virtually all of its readings are documented in other biblical manuscripts; some readings (שָׁמַיִם 32:43) are more ancient than those preserved in מ, which revised polytheistic terms secondarily for theological purposes; and other readings (אִיֹבֹת 32:43) appear superior to unusual forms in מ.

Though not identical to Ⓞ, 4QDeut^q shares several unique readings with the Septuagint version of Deuteronomy and bears witness to the existence of the variant Hebrew *Vorlage* used by the Septuagint translator, at least for this section of Deuteronomy (cf. Skehan, 'A Fragment', 12, 14). 4QDeut^q and Ⓞ agree in seven readings against מ, including all of the significant readings (the hemistichs 32:43b and e, שָׁמַיִם, בְּנֵי, see NOTE and VARIANTS).

The question whether the longer form of the poem found in 4QDeut^q and Ⓞ or the shorter form found in מ is preferable is more complicated and requires extensive

analysis, since there are literary and theological forces at work (see the bibliography above and the commentaries).

Mus. Inv. 676. PAM 42.164; 41.350.

Frg. 1 Deut 32:9-10(?)

נה]לחו	]	1
]שמ[	10]	2

Thus Skehan transcribed this fragment and tentatively placed it as Deut 32:9-10. Ulrich would read להי for the first line and א for the second line (contrast the stroke here, slanting toward the left as it descends, with the final *nun* in יין I 4), but has no identification to offer. If Skehan's reconstruction is correct, a column earlier than the extant col. I was stichometric by the full line. The reading נחלחו would agree with $\text{מ} \text{C} \text{S} \text{D}$ against $\text{מ} \text{O}$ which add ישראל as the end of the line. ישמן would agree with $\text{מ} \text{O} \text{S} \text{D}$ against ישמנו $\text{מ} \text{S}^{\text{ms}}$ (ישמנו מ^{ms}).

Col. I: Frgs. 2-5 i Deut 32:37-41c

<i>[top margin]</i>		
]0000[]וא[מר יהוה] איה אלהימו]	]	1
]00[]אשר[חסיו בו]	]	2
]138[אשר] חל]בו] זבח]ו יאכלו]	]	3
]ישחן] יין [נסיכם]	]	4
]יקומו ו]עזרכם [יהי עליכם סחרה]	]	5
]39[ראו עתה] כי אני] אני הוא ואין אלהים עמדי]	]	6
]אני אמית ואחיה מחצתי ואני ארפא [	]	7
]ואין מידי] מציל]40 כי א]שא אל] שמים י]י	]	8 f3-5
]ואמרתו חי] אנכי [לעולם [	]	9
]41[א]ם שנהי ב]ר]ק חרבי [ ]	]	10
]וחאזו [במשפט יד]י] אשיב נ]ק]ם לצרי]	]	11
<i>bottom margin</i>		

Parts of the left and bottom margins are preserved, but the format of the column is problematic. Since col. II clearly contains 11 lines as well as the top and bottom margins, and since lines 8 and 11 of col. I are aligned with the corresponding lines of col. II, col. I also must be reconstructed with 11 lines. There appears, however, to be ink above the words presented as line 1. These words either are a supralinear insertion above the suggested line 1 or themselves constitute a mostly lost line 1. In this latter case, the current line numbers 1-6 would become 2-7, and current line 7 (for which nothing is extant) would disappear. This could plausibly be explained by a parablepsis from וַאֲיִן in line 6 to וַאֲיִן in line 8 (note that line 6 is the longest line). Both options are governed by the 11-line format, and the option presented above presumes a supralinear insertion and no parablepsis.

An additional problem is the vertical alignment. In contrast to col. II which is very neat and symmetrical with all lines containing only one hemistich, the lines of col. I are asymmetrical, and lines 5-8 and 11 contain additional hemistichs. The odd arrangement of the transcription as presented (note the right margin) reflects a reconstruction based on the vertical clues preserved in extant fragments.

L. 1^{sup} (32 37)]ססס[. There appears to be writing above יוֹהָ וַאֲמַר in line 1; see general NOTE above

L. 2 (32 37)]ס[. For this part of the fragment it is difficult to determine whether some of the dark spots are ink or damage, whether the small piece is actually attached to the larger fragment, and, if not, whether it is properly oriented. מַמֵּן have צַר at this point, ס lacks צַר but appears to have אֲמַר (אֲמַר' אֲמַר) as in this MS. Moreover, to judge from line 1, the space available before אֲמַר seems to require another word in addition to צַר. Either אִי (אִי in 37a) or אִיהָ (אִי) might be repeated, and in view of אֲמַר, one could expect the article on הַצַּר. Thus some form of הַצַּר (הַצַּר) may be suggested.

L. 3 (32 38) The last stroke in הַצַּר cannot be part of the *bet*, but must follow it as *yod*, as in C (see VAR).

L. 4 (32 38) In this short hemistich there is a wide space after יִן, perhaps due to a defect in the leather (see also the space following וַיִּעָרֶכְם in the line below). At the left edge of the leather there is a dark spot caught in cellulose tape; it is difficult to discern whether it is ink, and if so, what its original position was.

L. 8 (32 40) An ink dot is clearly visible above the 'alep of אֵל, but it does not seem to have been made intentionally.

VARIANTS

- 32 37 (1)]ססס[(sub +) אֲמַר וַאֲמַר יוֹהָ
 32 37 (2)]ס[אֲמַר וַאֲמַר אֲמַר (see NOTE)
 32 38 (3) אֲמַר וַאֲמַר חֲלִיב For the plural form, cf. 1QS IX 4 (מְחֻלְבֵי זָבַח); there are four instances in 4Q nonbiblical texts (see NOTE and the 'Preliminary Concordance').

Col. II: Frg. 5 ii Deut 32:41d-43

⊙	Ⓜ	4QDeut ^g	
		<i>top margin</i>	
=	ולמשנאי אשלם	ו[למשנאי אשלם]	1
=	אשכיר חצי מרם ⁴²	[אשכיר] חצי מרם ⁴²	2
=	ודרבי תאכל בשר	[ודרבי תא]כל בשר	3
=	מרם הלל ושביה	[מרם הלל ו]שביה	4
= Ⓜ	מראש פרעה אויב	וּמְרֵאֵשׁ פֶּרַח אֵיּוֹב	5
= Q + Ⓜ	הרנינו ניום עמו ⁴³	הֲרִנֵנו שָׁמַיִם עִמּוֹ	6
= Q (see note)		והשתחו לו כל אלהים	7
=	כי דם עבדיו יקום	כי דם בניו יקום	8
=	תקם ישיב לצריו	תקם ישיב לצריו	9
= Q		ולמשנאיו ישלם	10
= Q	וכפר אדמו עמו	וּכְפַר אֲדָמָתוֹ עִמּוֹ	11
		<i>bottom margin</i>	

At least part of all four margins are preserved for this column which was evidently the last in this manuscript.

L. 5 (32:42) The *waw* in וּמְרֵאֵשׁ is mostly preserved at the margin before *mem* (see VAR.). The tops of *waw* and *taw* in פֶּרַח are pulled too far to the left as they appear in the photograph.

L. 5 (32:42) אויב (vid). The *waw* and *yod* in this hand are often well distinguished, and thus the transcription. It should be noted that some \mathfrak{m}^{ms} have אויב (see VAR.).

L. 6-7 (32:43) The ⊙ tradition has a double rendering of these two lines:

εὐφρανθήτε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ,
καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες (> πάντες B) υἱοὶ θεοῦ·
εὐφρανθήτε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ἐμισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ·

The ⊙ manuscripts and the daughter versions interchange υἱοὶ and ἄγγελοι in these lines with no family pattern discernible; the alternation is very old (cf. Heb 1 6). The reading ἄγγελοι appears to be the older ⊙ form elsewhere for בני אלהים (cf., v.g., D Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* [VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963] 299), and stands in ⊙ of Ps 96[97]:7 for the present Hebrew line. Without prejudicing the original form of the Hebrew, it can perhaps be posited that καὶ ἐμισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ with BAFM La Arm Boh Sa, plus R in the Odes, represents the oldest form of this text in Greek (cf. 32:8 where ἄγγελοι θεοῦ is the original reading of ⊙), and that the introduction of προσκυνησάτωσαν and of υἱοὶ θεοῦ is the result of recensional activity dating back to about the turn of the era.

The double rendering shows that ⊙ knew two Hebrew forms of the text. The first agrees with 4QDeut^g and the first line of the second happens to agree with Ⓜ. The agreement of ἔθνη with Ⓜ is neutralized, however, since the second Hebrew tradition with ἔθνη also included the second hemistich which Ⓜ lacks.

47. 4QJosh^a

(PLATES XXXII-XXXIV)

Preliminary publication Eugene Ulrich, '4QJoshua^a and Joshua's First Altar in the Promised Land', *New Qumran Texts and Studies* (STDJ 15, ed. George J. Brooke with Florentino Garcia Martinez, Leiden: Brill, 1994) 89-104. Leonard J. Greenspoon, 'The Qumran Fragments of Joshua Which Puzzle are They Part of and Where Do They Fit?', *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings. Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester, 1990)* (SBLSCS 33, ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 159-94.

Alexander Rofé, 'The Editing of the Book of Joshua in the Light of 4QJosh^a', *New Qumran Texts and Studies*, 73-80. Lea Mazor, 'The Septuagint Translation of the Book of Joshua', *BIOSCS* 27 (1994) 29-38. Klaus Bieberstein, *Lukian und Theodotion im Josuabuch, Mit einem Beitrag zu den Josuarollen von Hîrbet Qumrân* (Bibliche Notizen Beiheft 7, München, 1994) 85-93.

THIS manuscript is inscribed in a formal book hand classified by F. M. Cross as Hasmonaeen, and thus dated in the second half of the second century or the first half of the first century BCE. It is the oldest extant witness to the Book of Joshua in any language. 4QJosh^b, the only other manuscript found at Qumran clearly containing the Book of Joshua, is to be dated around the middle of the first century BCE, and unfortunately there is no text extant that is common to both.

4QJosh^a, as interpreted below, is significant in that it preserves a sequence of the narrative that is at variance with, and probably prior to, that found in the received text of Joshua. If correctly assessed, this manuscript narrates that the first altar built by Joshua in the newly-entered land was built at Gilgal immediately after the crossing of the Jordan (after Joshua 4), not later on Mt. Ebal (cf. 8:30-35 \mathbb{M} and 9:3-8 \mathbb{G}).

Assuming correct analysis of fig. 1, the contents of columns I-V can be reconstructed with reasonable confidence (see Table 1), although the text in col. V is shorter than that in \mathbb{G} or in \mathbb{M} . In contrast, the distribution of the contents of cols. VI-VIII is uncertain. Col. VI contained roughly 8:25-29 followed by 9:1-13, on the assumption that 8:30-35 was absent. Frgs. 17-18 (Josh 10:2-5) and frgs. 19-22 (Josh 10:8-11) were probably either at the bottom of col. VII or at the top of col. VIII.

TABLE 1: Contents of 4QJosh^a

Extant Columns	Fragments	Extant Text	Estimated Contents of Column
I	1-2	8:34-35, 5:X*, 2-7	8:34-35, 5:X*, 2-6:5
II	3-8	6:5-10	6:5-22
III	—	—	[6:22-7:12]
IV	9 i-12	7:12-17	7:12-8:3
V	9 ii, 13-16	8:3-14, 18?	8:3-25?
VI	—	—	[8:25-29?, 9:1-13?]
VII or VIII	17-22	10:2-5, 8-11	?

* X designates some editorial text not found in $\mathbb{M}\mathbb{G}$

The leather of the manuscript is light tan, thin, polished on the recto and also well-prepared on the verso. The pores are unusually large especially on cols. IV-V. Top margins are generously preserved on frgs. 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, and possibly 20; in fact, all of the extant fragments come from the top half of the scroll, with the possible exception of frgs. 15-21. It is possible that frgs. 15 and 21 preserve bottom margins, but there are also reasons to doubt this. Right margins are preserved on frgs. 3, 9 ii, 17, and probably 21, and left margins on frgs. 1, 9 i, and 15.

The number of letters per line is c.62-72 for col. I, c.50-65 for col. II, c.47-56 for col. IV, c.49 for col. V, and c.56-65 for col. VII/VIII. The number of lines per column can be estimated as c.27-30. The width of the columns, though never preserved entirely for any column, can be estimated as c.13.5 cm for col. I, c.11.3 cm for col. II, c.12 cm for col. IV, c.11 cm for col. V, and 10 cm for col. VII/VIII.

The orthography (see Table 2) displays a slightly fuller use of *matres lectionis* than that in \mathfrak{M} . Though the words כל and לא are consistently spelled so, the scroll's orthography is not generally consistent, just as the orthography of \mathfrak{M} is not consistent (cf. לעבר 3:17 in \mathfrak{M} but לעבור 4:1; אליהם 4:12 but אליהם 6:6; וילט 3:1 but וילט 4:3). The non-systematic nature of the scroll's orthography is evident in the name 'Joshua', which is spelled in three ways: יהשע in frg. 1 i, 5; יהושע in frg. 3 2; and יהושע in frgs. 1 i (vid.), 3 4, 8 8, and 9 ii 1. Although \mathfrak{M} is consistent in using יהושע within the Book of Joshua, the spelling יהושע also occurs in other books in \mathfrak{M} (e.g. Deut 3:21; Judg 2:7). Note also the two forms for 'trumpets' in col. II of this manuscript: שופרות (7 5), and השפירות (8 7).

TABLE 2: Orthography of 4QJosh^a

Col., Line (Frg.)	Joshua	4QJosh ^a	\mathfrak{M}
I 1 (1)	8:35	יהשע	יהושע
I 2 (1)	8:35	הזולך	הזלך
I 4 (1)	5:2	יהסע	יהושע
I 5 (1)	5:3	יִהְשֶׁע	יהושע
II 1 (3)	6:5	המלך	חמה
II 6 (7)	6:8	הזלך	הלך
II 7 (8)	6:9	השפירות	השפירות
II 7 (7)	6:9	הזלך	הלך
II 8 (8)	6:10	יהושע	יהושע
IV 2 (9 i)	7:13	קם	קם
IV 4 (9 i)	7:13	אויבים	אויבך
V 1 (9 ii)	8:3	יהושע	יהושע
? (17-18 4)	10:4	יְהוֹשֻׁעַ	יהושע
? (19 2)	10:9	ויבא (corr)	ויבא

Only two intervals where the evidence is clear have been preserved. At 7:13 there is a short interval in the middle of the 'verse' where \mathfrak{M} has none; and before 7:16 there is a major interval mirrored in \mathfrak{M} . See also frgs. 19-22 and the general NOTE there.

The scribe may have written *ʿalep* over *ʿayin* in \aleph at 6:6, and at 10:9 he wrote the required *ʿalep* supralinearly (see NOTES). Perhaps a larger error occurred at 7:14 where the scribe apparently omitted about six words due to parablepsis. One addition, probably from 8:18, was inserted by a later hand.

With respect to individual textual variants, the scroll agrees with \aleph against Θ in only two insignificant readings, but agrees with Θ against \aleph at least six times, again in relatively insignificant readings. The predominant pattern is that the scroll frequently goes its own way, disagreeing with both \aleph and Θ in significant readings. In particular, the text of frg. 15 needs to be studied for its variants and affiliations, since it is noticeably shorter than the text in either \aleph or Θ , though Θ is already shorter than \aleph (see Mazon, 'The Septuagint Translation').

The correct assessment of the significance of this manuscript hinges primarily on the order of the text in frg. 1 and the relationship between frg. 1 and frg. 3. First, a sure starting-point is that on a single fragment (frg. 1), the account of Joshua's reading of the Torah (8:34-35 in \aleph , 9:7-8 in Θ) is followed by text that cannot be 9:1 or 9:9 but is a transitional temporal clause (about a line and a half not in \aleph or Θ), and then is followed by what appears to be the beginning of the account of the circumcision (5:2 in $\aleph\Theta$; note the similarity between 5:1 and 9:1). Secondly, examination in the museum of the torn edges of the skin at the left of frg. 1 and the right of frg. 3 strongly suggests that the two were originally connected at the top edge of the manuscript for c.1.0 cm. The contours of the two edges of the skin correspond to each other so closely that they appear to have been torn one from the other (for further details, see Ulrich, '4QJoshua^a'). Furthermore, an enhanced digital image of the two edges produced by G. Bearman and B. and K. Zuckerman confirms that the two edges of these fragments align perfectly.

In so far as the present arrangement is correct, the sequence of the narrative in this manuscript would place the building of the first altar in the newly-entered land immediately after the crossing of the Jordan at Gilgal. It should be noted, however, that, although the first two lines of frg. 1 correspond to Josh 8:34-35 (the reading of the Torah), it is not certain that 8:30-31 (the building of the altar) preceded, since that would occur at the unpreserved bottom of the preceding column. The building of the altar, however, is linked with the reading of the Torah in both \aleph and Θ , despite the fact that the combined passage is placed at different points in those two texts. Moreover, the two elements are linked in the earlier passage (Deut 27:1-8) where Moses issues the command that this altar be built: all the words of the Torah are to be written on the altar.

With regard to logic and coherence, the sequence in $\aleph\Theta$ is puzzling. First, the building of the altar is curiously delayed in $\aleph\Theta$ from the entry into the land in chapter 4 until after chapter 8. Moreover, there is a militarily incomprehensible trip to build the altar in unprotected territory, followed by immediate abandonment of it. Finally, whereas Gilgal was an ancient sacrificial shrine (cf., e.g., 1 Sam 10:8; 11:14-15; 15:21; Amos 4:4; 5:5), Mt. Ebal is never mentioned again as the place for the altar but only as the place of the curse (Deut 11:29; 27:13); indeed, it seems to make sense only as a countermove to the Samaritans' claim for Mt. Gerizim.

In contrast, the sequence which 4QJosh^a apparently presents is simple and unproblematic, since one would expect from Deut 27:2-3 that the altar would be built

at Gilgal, 'when you cross over the Jordan into the land'. The mention of a specific mountain (בְּהַר גְּרִיזִין/בְּהַר עֵיבֶל) does not come until Deut 27:4 and could well be an insertion, since the verse reads perfectly well without it. The Samaritan Deuteronomy has בְּהַר גְּרִיזִין at Deut 27:4, which makes sense either as an ancient northern claim or as a late Samaritan claim, and the Old Latin—surely reflecting an ancient form of Θ —has *Garzin*. בְּהַר עֵיבֶל in \mathfrak{M} at Deut 27:4 best makes sense as a Judaeian replacement for or counterclaim to the Samaritans' בְּהַר גְּרִיזִין. The inclusion of either mountain in Deut 27:4 would require transposing the account about Joshua's building of the altar.

The relatively simple sequence in 4QJosh^a, uncomplicated by a specific local claim, finds textual support in Josephus. He follows the account of the crossing of the Jordan (*Ant.* V.16–19) with Joshua's building of an altar and sacrificing upon it ($\beta\omega\mu\delta\nu$. . . $\xi\theta\upsilon\epsilon\nu \dot{\epsilon}\pi' \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$, *Ant.* V.20), exactly where it appears to be placed in 4QJosh^a. It could be argued that Josephus is adding an 'unscriptural' embellishment, describing the stones taken from the Jordan not merely as a monument but also as an altar for sacrifice. But later in the narrative, between the conquest of Ai (*Ant.* V.45–48; 8:1–29 in \mathfrak{M}) and the Gibeonites' ruse (*Ant.* V.49–57; 9:3–27 in \mathfrak{M}), he makes no mention of an altar or a journey to Mt. Ebal (as in 8:30–35 in \mathfrak{M}). He does, however, eventually recount the building of the altar at Shechem, explicitly mentioning that it was commanded by Moses and that half the people were stationed on Mt. Gerizim and half on Mt. Ebal (*Ant.* V.69) but this is not until after all the warfare, and not until after the tabernacle was set up at Shiloh (= Josh 13:1/18:1). Pseudo-Philo (*Bib. Ant.* 21.7) seems to know and link both traditions (I am grateful to Prof. Chr. Begg for bringing this text to my attention).

Thus it may be conjectured that the witnesses display three stages in the history of the text. First, 4QJosh^a and Josephus present an early form of the narrative which places the building of the altar at Gilgal at the end of chapter 4, in accord with the command as read in Deut 27:2–3 and Deut 27:4 without the insertion of a place-name. Secondly, the Samaritan tradition includes בְּהַר גְּרִיזִין at Deut 27:4, constituting a Samaritan claim. A tertiary sequence is preserved in $\mathfrak{M}\Theta$, with בְּהַר עֵיבֶל in \mathfrak{M} at Deut 27:4 as a Judaeian counterclaim to בְּהַר גְּרִיזִין. According to this hypothesis then, the narrative about the building of the altar, which originally followed the crossing of the Jordan and preceded the circumcision account, was subsequently transposed in accordance with Moses' revised command in \mathfrak{M} to its present, curious position at Josh 8:30–35.

Col. I: Frgs. 1-2 Josh 8:34-35; 5:X, 2-7

top margin

1	[בספר] וְזוֹרָה ³⁵ לֹא הָיָה דָבָר מִכָּל צִוְיָה מִשֹּׁהוּ אֹת יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֲשֶׁר לֹא קָרָא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ נֹגֵד כָּל	
2	[יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּעֵבֶר] וְאֹת הַיִּרְדָּן [וְהַנְּשִׁים וְהַפָּה וְהַגֶּר] הַהוֹלֵךְ בְּקִרְבָּם ^{5X} אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר נִזְקָן]	
3	[] [לְ] אֹת סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה אַחֲרֵי כֵן [] לְיָסֵ נוֹשְׂאֵי הָאוּרִין]	
4	[] בַּעַת [וְהָיָא אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינֵנוּ עָלֵנוּהָ לְךָ חֲרִבּוֹת צָרִים]	
5	[וְשׁוֹב מִל אֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ³ יִרְעֵשׁ לָנוּ] יְהוֹשֻׁעַ חֲרִבּוֹת צָרִים וַיִּמַּל אֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [אֵל]	
6	[נִבְעַת הַעֲרֵלוֹת וְהוּא הִדְבָּר אֲשֶׁר מִל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ כָּל] הַלְּמֵהּ הִצְנֵא מִמְצָרִים הוֹכֵרִים כָּל]	f2
7	[אֲנָשֵׁי הַמַּלְחָמָה מִחוּ בַמְדָּבָר בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּצִאָתָם] מִמְצָרִים ⁵ כִּי מֵלִים הָיוּ כָּל הַעַם הַיִּצְאָיִם]	
8	[וְכָל הַעַם הַיִּלְדִים בַּמְדָּבָר בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּצִאָתָם מִמְצָרִים לֹא מִלּוֹ ⁶ כִּי אֲרֻבַּעִים שָׁנָה הִלְכוּ]	
9	[בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּמְדָּבָר עַד חָם כָּל הַגּוֹי] אֲנָשֵׁי הַמַּלְחָמָה הַיִּצְאָיִם מִמְצָרִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא שָׁמְעוּ]	
10	[בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַע יְהוָה לְדָם לְבִלְתִּי רְאוֹת אֹת הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַע יְהוָה לְאַבְרָהָם]	
11	[לְחַת לֵנוּ אֲרִיץ וְחַב הִלַּב רֹבֵשׁ וְאוֹת בְּנֵי] הָאֵלִים הַקָּיִימִים]	

The top and left margins of this column are preserved, and examination of the torn edges of this fragment and those of frg. 3 makes it virtually certain that the right edge of frg. 3 originally followed directly to the left of frg. 1. The text in this manuscript is different from that in either \mathfrak{M} or \mathfrak{S} . Here the passage numbered as 8:34-35 in \mathfrak{M} is followed by an editorial transition, then 5:2-7; whereas in \mathfrak{M} it is followed by 9:1, and in \mathfrak{S} by 9:3.

L. 2-3 (5:X) Following בקרבם (8:35^{fm}), the scroll has a transition apparently between the reading of the Torah (which ends with 8:35) and the circumcision ritual (which begins with 5:2).

L. 2 (5:X) נזקן. The final letter can be a perfect *waw*. The dark spot 0.1 cm to the left is not ink but a shadow at the edge of the photograph; if the letter were *dalet* (e.g. as in נזקיןשו), the top left tip and perhaps even the cross-bar should still be visible on the leather.

L. 3 (5:X) לך. There is clear leather inside the *kap* and after the *nun*; it is not כן. Professor A. Rofé (p. 78) suggests עלו following; I gratefully acknowledge his suggestion for this and several other improved reconstructions. In this case, however, the head of the final letter appears to be too broad for *waw*.

L. 5 (5:2) The length of the line suggests that this ms, like \mathfrak{S} , probably lacked שניה (\mathfrak{M}) after ישראל.

VARIANTS

8:34	(1)	הזורה] מ [בספר] הורה	Ⓞ εν τω νομω Μωυση
8:35	(1)	סכל] אשר +	Ⓞ
8:35	(1)	שע] אה יהשע	Ⓞ > מ
8:35	(2)	הירדן] אה הירדן	Ⓞ > מ
8:35	(2)	בקרבים] מ בקרבים	Ⓞ τω Ισραηλ
8:35	(2-4)	8:35 + X + 5:2] 8 35 + 9:1 מ; 8:35 + 9:3	Ⓞ
5 X	(2-3)	אחר—1' הארץ] cf 5:1 מ	Ⓞ
5 6	(10)	ראח] Ⓞ(ιδειν αυτοϋς) ראוהם	Ⓞ

Col. II: Frgs. 3-8 Josh 6:5-10

top margin

[	יעלה העם] איש [נגדו ⁹	גדולה ונפלה חמה]	1 f 3-6
[	אח] יואם ¹⁰ אל]יהם] שאו את	יהושע בן נון אל הכנענים ויאמ]	2
	יורה ⁷ יואמר]	ושבעה כנענים ישאון	3
[	הח]ל]יך יעבר [פ]י ארון] יודה]	יהושע אל העם]	4 f 7
	שכ]גה שופ]וח]	י]יהי כ]אמר י]הושע	5
[	בשפרו]ח וארון בריח יהוה הולך]	י]פני]	6 f 8
[	השפ]רות והמ]אס]ף הולך ]	]	(9) 7
	יה]שוע לא]מר]ל]א]	]	(10) 8
[	עד יום]	]	9

The top and right margins of this column are preserved and were originally joined to the left of frg 1 (see NOTE on col. I).

L 2 (6 6) אל The ²alep may have been written over ¹ayin.

L 3-4 (6 7) The MS includes יהושע, and thus the verb is reconstructed as יואמר (= מ^{א,ms}עסס^{edd}) and not יואסרי (= מ).

L 7 (6 9) השפ]רות The dark diagonal line below יו is not ink on the surface of the leather.

VARIANTS

6 5	(1)	ועלו] ועלה	Ⓞ και εισελϋσεται
6 7-10	(3-9)	aliter	Ⓞ
6 7	(4)	יהשע] > מ	Ⓞ(vid)

Col. IV: Frgs. 9 col. i –12 Josh 7:12-17

top margin

	[יפנו לפנ]י אִיבִיז ולא פנים כי היו לחרם ולא אוסיף להיות	1
	[עמכם אם] לא תשמידו החרם מקרבכם ¹³ יקם קדש את העם ואמרו	2
	[והקדשו] למחר כי כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל חרם בקרבכם	3
	[ישראל לא] תוכל לקום לפני אויביכם עד חסירכם החרם מקרבכם	4
	[¹⁴ והקרבתם] לבקר לשכנליכם וזהו השבט אשר ילכדו יהוה הקריבו	5
	[לבחים] והבית אשר ילכדו יהוה יקרב לגברים ¹⁵ ויהוה תלכד בהם	6 f.10
	ישרף] עבר את בריח יהוה כי עשה	7
	נבלה בישראל	8
	va [cat	
	[וישכם יהושע בבקר ויקרב את ישראל לטבשו וילכד את] שבט	9
	[יהודה ¹⁷ ויקרב] את משפחת יהודה וילכד את משפחת הורחי ויקרב את	10 f.11,12
	[משפחת] הוולחי לגברים וילכד זבדי ¹⁸	11

The top and left margins of this column are preserved, continuing over to the next column. The word at the right margin is preserved in line 7.

L. 3 (7:13) There is a short interval before כי; no interval מ.

L. 5 (7:14) It appears that the scribe read יהוה הקריבו and skipped to יהוה הקריבו * / יהוה הקרב / יהוה הקרב later in the verse due to parablepsis (see VAR.).

L. 8-9 (7:15-16) Most of line 8 was left blank, and there may have been a short indentation in line 9, before v 16; interval מ (cf. BHS).

L. 11 (7:17) הוולחי]. The top of *he* is clearly visible on the leather.

VARIANTS

7:12 (1)	Ⓜ אִיבִיז] אִיבִיז
7:12 (1)	Ⓜ >] ולא פנים
7:12 (1)	Ⓜ לא] י' ולא
7:13 (3)	Ⓜ בקרבך] Ⓜ בקרבכם
7:13 (4)	Ⓜ איבך] Ⓜ איביכם
7:14 (5)	Ⓜ יהוה הקריבו] יהוה הקריבו (מקרב מ)
7:15 (6)	Ⓜ > Ⓜ בחרם] בהם
7:15 (7)	Ⓜ וכי] כי
7:16 (9)	Ⓜ שבט] אִלן שבט

Col. V: Frgs. 9 col. ii, 13–16 Joshua 8:3-14, 18?

top margin

	יהושע וכל עם המלחמה]	1
	גבורי החיל וישלום לְיָיָה ⁴	2
	אל העיר מאחורי העיר	3
	וואני וכלן העם	4
	בראשונה ונסנו לפניהם ⁶ ויצאו לאחרינו עלן התיקנו	5 f 13
	]	(7) 6
	והורשחם לאת העיר ⁸	7 f 14
	את העיר באמת]	(9) 8
	וילכו אלן]	9
	ויעל הוא וְחֹזְקִים ¹⁰	10 f 15
	אתו וישבו]	(11) 11
	ויהי כראות]	(12) 12 f 16
	מלך העי אִמְרֹהוּן]	13
	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ נְטָה בְכִידוֹן אֲשֶׁר בְּיַד אֱלֹהֵי	14?

vacat? (or bottom margin?)

The top, right, and left margins are partly preserved. It is possible that the bottom margin is also preserved, but that is unlikely: other columns indicate *c.* 27–30 lines per column, so that a bottom margin here would require an additional 13 or so lines between frgs. 14 and 15. In contrast, the fixed relative position of the extant words in lines 7–9 and 10–13 appears to require a shorter text similar to that in Φ , rather than a longer text as in III .

L 1 (8 3) המלחמה The top of *he* 1' is reasonably clear, although the leather is split and separated.

L 7–9 (8 7–9) The relative position of the words in these three lines appears to require a shorter text similar to that in Φ

L 13 (8 14) There seems to be ink on the surface of the leather above the line after אִמְרֹהוּן. It is probably either a random ink dot or a supralinear letter. It could possibly be the top of a *lamed* but cannot be the bottom of a descending letter from the line above.

L 14? (8 18?) Beneath line 13 a later scribe added words similar to the text of v 18 in what appears to be an interval or the bottom margin. The addition is in larger letters, in different ink, and lacks a space between the two words אֵל העי *kap* in בְּיַדְךָ was not common prior to the early Herodian period.

VARIANTS

- 8:10 (10) Θ חקי ישראל [Θ וְחֻקִּים]^{ms}
- 8:11 (11-12) Θ עלו וישו ויבאו [וישבו \] (ανεβησαν και πορευομενοι βλθγον)
- 8:14 (13) Θ לקראת ישראל [Θ ליקראתם]
- 8:18? (14?) 8:14^{bn} + 4QJosh^a (corr) 2' m.; cf. Θ בידך אל העי Θ , $\epsilon\upsilon$ εν χειρ σου επι Θ עמד על העיר = עמד על העיר = עמד על העיר (see NOTE)

Frgs. 17–18 Joshua 10:2-5

	עָרָיו הַמַּלְכָּה	(3)	1
	צדק מלך [ירושלם אל ודהם] מִלְחָמָה [ח] בְּיָמָיו		2 f 18
	מלך לכיש ואל חִבְרֹן [מלך] עגלון לאמר ⁴ עלו אלי ועזרני		3
	[כ] השלימה את [יהו]שוע ואח ישראל ⁵ ויאספו ויעלו		4
	[ירושלם מ]לך חִבְרֹן [מ]לך [ירמזת מ]לך [לכיש]		5

The right margin is preserved and its ruling is visible.

L. 4 (10:4) [יהושע]. The *yod* is under the *dalet* of חִבְרֹן (line 3) and the *ayin* is under the *mem* of מִלְחָמָה. The required distance between the letters on line 3 of frgs. 17 and 18 suggests that the full spelling of the name occurred on line 4 (cf. the orthography in Table 2).

VARIANT

- 10:4 (4) Θ ואח בני ישראל [ואח ישראל]

Frgs. 19–22 Joshua 10:8-11

	[<i>vac</i> at / top margin?]	0	f 19,2
	[ויאמר יהוה אל יהושע אל תירא מהם כי בידך נתחיתם לא יעמד איש]		1
	[מהם בפניך ויביא אל יהושע פחאם] כל הלילה הלך מן הגלגל ¹⁰ וירדם]		2
	[יהוה לפני] ישראל ויכנס מכה גדולה בנבעון וירדם רדך מעלה בית חורן ויכנס]		3
	[עוד עזקה ועד] מקדה ¹¹ ויהי ב[סם] מפני ישראל הם נמרדו בית חורן]		4 f 21,2
	ויהוה השליך עליהם אבנים מן השמים עד עזקה וימתו רבים אשר מותו]		5
	[כאבני הברד מאשר הרעו [בני ישראל בחרב <i>vacat</i> ?]		6
	[<i>vacat</i> / bottom margin?]		7

The format of this column is difficult to determine. The space at the top of frg. 20 could be the top margin of col. VIII or simply an interval (⊖ III). Similarly, the space at

the bottom of frg. 21 could be the bottom margin of col. VII or simply an interval (ס ט). Finally, frg. 21 appears to contain the words at the right margin of this column, but there are ink traces to the right of them. As in the Temple Scroll (11QT^a), it is possible that these traces are due to ink seeping through from the words in the next revolution of the scroll.

L. 2 (10:9) ויבא^א. The ink is thick and smudged here, but it appears that the scribe wrote ויבא, and (since the following word [אליהם] begins with *'alep*) at first omitted the *'alep* of ויבא and proceeded to the next word, then perhaps intended to write *'alep* in the space between the words but wrote an incorrect letter, and wrote *'alep* thickly over it.

VARIANTS

- 10:9 (2) ויבא] ייבא] 4QJosh^a (corr); ויבא] III (see NOTE)
 10:9 (2) והגן] עלה] III; εισηπορευθη Θ^{BG}; εξεπορευθη Θ^N; επορευθη Ιηρους Θ^A
 10:11 (5) אבנים] + גדלות] III; λιθους χιλαζης Θ; λιθους μεγαλους Θ^{ms}

48. 4QJosh^b

(PLATE XXXV)

Preliminary publication: E. Tov, '4QJosh^b', *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Józef Tadeusz Múlik* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; Qumranica Mogilanensia 6; Kraków, 1992) 1. 205-12.

See also K. Bieberstein, *Lukian und Theodotion im Josuabuch, Mit einem Beitrag zu den Josuarollen von Hirtel Qumrân* (Biblische Notizen Beiheft 7, München, 1994) 85-93

THIS manuscript preserves portions of Josh 2:11-12 and 3:15-4:3 on frgs. 1-3 and Josh 17:1-5, 11-15 on frgs. 4-5; the text on frg. 6 cannot be identified. Frgs. 1-3 are medium brown, and frgs. 4-6 are light brown with large patches of leather peeled off, showing the lower layer. There are slight signs of horizontal and vertical dry ruling on frgs. 1 and 2. Frg. 4 shows shrinkage and is darkened at the right edges. Cross in unpublished notes describes the hand as late Hasmonaean and thus dates the manuscript to the middle of the first century BCE.

The preserved sections are too fragmentary to provide complete measurements, but some details can be reported. A complete top margin on frg. 5 measures 1.6 cm, while incomplete top margins are preserved on frg. 1 (measuring 0.9 cm), frg. 2 (0.6 cm), and frg. 6 (1.3 cm). Frg. 2 preserves a right margin of 1.5 cm, which may have constituted the beginning of a sheet. Frg. 5, with a left margin of c.1.2 cm, is the end of a sheet, for it contains signs of stitching. Between the two columns of frg. 6 there is a margin of 1.5 cm.

The distance between lines of script is 0.7-0.8 cm on frgs. 1-3, but 0.5-0.6 cm on frgs. 4-6, and the length of lines on frg. 2 is reconstructed to be 8.7-9.2 cm, but on frg. 5, 7.5-8.0 cm (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: *Length of Lines*

Frg., line	Extant	Reconstructed	Total
2 2	5.3 cm	3.4 cm	8.7 cm
2 3	5.0 cm	4.2 cm	9.2 cm
5 5	5.5 cm	2.0 cm	7.5 cm
5 7	5.5 cm	2.5 cm	8.0 cm

Frgs. 4 and 5 come from tops of adjacent columns, and given the intervening text of R, the columns in this portion of the scroll are estimated to have contained 16 lines, with an inscribed height of 8.0 cm and, with the inclusion of top and bottom margins, a total height of 12.0-12.5 cm. Frgs. 1-3, written with a greater distance between the lines, then, probably come from columns of 11 lines (see NOTES to frgs. 1 and 4). All the fragments, however, have been written by the same scribe, and they probably belong to the same scroll. If this assumption and the preceding calculations are correct, the scroll would be relatively long because it has shorter columns than most of the other Qumran scrolls.

This text reflects the same orthography as \mathfrak{M} . The *plene* spelling of נוחה in 17:14, which reflects the majority spelling also elsewhere in \mathfrak{M} , further underlines the close connection with \mathfrak{M} .

Supralinear insertions occur in three places: חַסִּים 2 2, יְרוּשָׁע 2 6, and *he* of וְבָנֵי^א 5 1. On frgs. 2-3 the insertions are probably *secunda manu*.

The text of 4QJosh^b agrees usually with \mathfrak{M} against \mathfrak{S} (see especially frgs. 4-5). At the same time 4QJosh^b agrees twice with \mathfrak{S} : the omission of מוֹד in 4:3 and the supralinear addition of חַסִּים in 3:15. Of significance is the agreement of the reconstructed text of 4QJosh^b with \mathfrak{S} in 4:1-3, but since it goes against the general character of the scroll, it is very tentative.

4QJosh^b contains several readings not known from other sources: אֲשֶׁר כֹּה, בִּימֵי in 3:15; אֲשֶׁר in 17:14, the sequence of elements in 17:11; הַנּוֹשָׁח in 17:11 and probably also הַחַמְאֵל in 2:12. Likewise, the text of frg. 2 6 differs from that of \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{S} , but its reconstruction remains dubious. See further 17:13 דוֹרֵי־שׁוֹר (דוֹרֵי־שׁוֹר).

In the following, the siglum \mathfrak{S}^* denotes the unrevised text of \mathfrak{S} (usually \mathfrak{S}^B). In the VARIANTS, if \mathfrak{S}^* disagrees with \mathfrak{M} , then it is assumed that some $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{mass}}$ agree with \mathfrak{M} .

Mus. Inv. 392. PAM 42.274, 43.061 (41.302).

Fig. 1 Josh 2:11-12

top margin

- 1 [לְסִיחוֹן וְלַעֲנַן אֲשֶׁר הִחְרַמְתָּם אוֹתָם¹¹ וַיִּשְׁמַע וַיִּמַּס לִבָּבוֹ וְלֹא קָמָה עֹדֵר רוּחַ בְּאִישׁ
- 2 [מִפְּנֵיכֶם כִּי יָדוּהָ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא אֱלֹהִים בְּשָׁמַיִם מִמֶּעַל וְעַל הָאָרֶץ מִחַחַת¹² וְהַחֲמֵר] הִשְׁבַּעוּ

Both frgs. 1 and 2 preserve the top margin of a column. It is difficult, however, to calculate the distance between these two fragments in the scroll. Between frg. 1 1 (2:10) and frg. 2 1 (3:15) 32 lines of c.67 letter-spaces (excluding intervals) are reconstructed, based on the width of line 2 of frg. 1 and the text of \mathfrak{M} . The height of the scroll is estimated to be 12-12.5 cm (see the 4QJosh^b introduction and NOTE on frg. 4). According to these calculations three columns would have intervened between the top margin of frg. 1 and that of frg. 2.

VARIANTS

- 2 11 (1) \mathfrak{M} בְּאִישׁ + \mathfrak{S}^* טֹמְמָה (= 5)
- 2 12 (2) \mathfrak{M} וְהַחֲמֵר. The remnant of the first preserved letter on this line appears to be *ref.*, certainly not *he* as required by \mathfrak{M} . For the reconstruction cf. Gen 25:33, 47:31; Judg 15 12, 1 Sam 30 15

Frgs. 2–3 Josh 3:15–4:3

top margin

[	נשאי הארון נמכלו בקצֵה המים וְלִירֵדן	1
[	בִּימֵי קִצְיֹר וַיִּזְעֲמֻוּ הַמַּיִם הַיְרֵדִים מִלְּמַעְלָה	2
[	מֵאֹרֶךְ <מֵאֶרֶךְ> אֶרֶץ הַיַּרְדֵּן אֲשֶׁר מִצַּד צָרְתָן	3
[	וְיָם הַמֶּלַח חָמוּ נִכְרַתָּן	(17) 4
[	בְּרֵית יִזְחָה בְּחֶרֶבָה	5
[	וְיָמֵי יִרְדֵּן וְיִרְדֵּן	(41) 6
[	אֶל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ	(2) 7
[	לְכֶם מִזֶּךְ וְלִירֵדן	(8) 8
[	עֲלֵכֶם וְהִנֵּחֵם אִתְּחֶם	9

L. 1 (3:15) The final *mem* of [ימים] is only partially preserved, and it is not a perfect example of that letter, which is usually closed. But the position of the remnants of ink points to a final rather than a medial *mem*, since the two marks are too close together to be a medial *mem*. Alternatively the marks could be the bottoms of *mem* and *yod*, which could be reconstructed as [...] וְיִרְדֵּן וְיִרְדֵּן as in Ⓞ (cf. בקצֵה מימי ירדן וירדן...Ⓞ). However, such a reading would yield too long a line if the remainder of the reconstruction is correct.

L. 2 (3:15-16) וְיָמֵי has been inserted supralinearly, possibly by a different hand (note the *het* and *mem* and the different shade of ink).

L. 3 (3:16) There is no certainty regarding מֵאֹרֶךְ <מֵאֶרֶךְ> אֶרֶץ at the beginning of this line. After the first word, *mem* and *alep* have been erased, probably by the original scribe who recognized the dittography (duplicating either the preceding or the next word, completely or partially). What is now a hole just before מֵאֹרֶךְ may have been inscribed with a *dalet*, which may have been subsequently erased, creating the hole in the leather, in other words: מֵאֹרֶךְ <מֵאֶרֶךְ> אֶרֶץ. Alternatively, the space which is now the hole may have been unscrubbed, and the first letter of the next word, which looks like a final *mem* but differs in shape from the final *mem* of the same word and of other words, may have been reshaped from another letter (*bet*?). Note that the letter lacks the tick on the left top and that it is larger than the final *mem* of the same word and of other instances of *mem* on the same fragment. However, because of the *hetib/gera* variation here and the text of Ⓞ (see VAR), other explanations are possible as well. For example, it is possible that the first letter of אֶרֶץ had a double function. Initially, perhaps it belonged to מֵאֶרֶךְ, which was repeated by way of dittography. But then that word was partially erased. Possibly the scribe, who realized that the erasing of one letter created a hole, did not wish to create another hole, and hence left the final letter unchanged, reusing it as the first letter of the next word (אֶרֶץ), even though the use of final letters in non-final positions is very rare.

L. 6 (3:17) וְיִזְחָה is written in small letters and its position relative to line 5 and the letter below it suggests that it is written as a supralinear insertion to line 6. The additions both here and in line 2 were added *secunda manu* (note the different *waw* and the different shade of ink). The remnant of *taw* under the *yod* is the proper distance from the letters of line 5 to be on line 6, as is reflected in the reconstruction. Alternatively, if that remnant is taken as the second line of the addition, there would be no room in the reconstruction for the end of 3:17. For the addition of וְיִזְחָה, cf. 4:10 M and 4:5, where M adds וְיִזְחָה, which is lacking in Ⓞ.

L. 7-9 (4:1-3) The reconstruction of the text for these lines is problematic. Frgs. 2 and 3 must belong to the same column because frg. 2 preserves a top margin, the text on frg. 3 follows immediately that on frg. 2, and the column with frg. 2 would have only 6 lines if frg. 3 were on the next column (note that frg. 5 contains at least 10 lines). The length of the lines in frg. 2 is consistently c.50 letter-spaces (the fact that frg. 1 has lines of a different length is irrelevant, since it belonged to a different column). Accordingly a reconstruction primarily based on Θ seems best (see below).

RECONSTRUCTION OF FRG. 2

top margin

- 1 נשאי הארון נשכלו בקֶצֶה (מי) אֲזַיְרֶדֶן מלא על כל גִּדּוּחִיו
 2 בימי קֶצֶיר¹⁶ ויעמדו המים הירדים מל(מעלה קמו נד אחד הרחק)
 3 מאד >מֵאֲדָרְ) <מֵאֲדָרְ) העיר אשר מצד צ(רתן והירדים על ים הערבה)
 4 [יֵאֲמֵר] המלח חמו נכרתו והעם עברו נד יריחו¹⁷ ויעמדו הכהנים נשאי
 5 [הארון בר]יח יזוה בן(חרבה בתוך הירדן הכן וכל ישראל עברים)
 6 [בחרבה עד אשר ה]יֵשַׁע¹⁸ וכל הגוי לעבר את הירדן¹ ויהי כאשר חמו

RECONSTRUCTION OF FRG. 3 ACCORDING TO III

- 7 [כל הגוי לעבור את הירדן ויאמר יהוה] אל יהושע² לאמר² קחו לכם מן העם שנים עשר אנשים איש
 8 [אחד איש אחד משבט³ וצו אותם לאמר שאו] לכם מתוך הירדן מצבב רגלי הכהנים
 9 [הכין שזים עשרה אבנים והעברתם אותם ע]מכם והנח(ם)ם א(ותם) במלון אשר תלינו

This reconstruction of lines 7-9, based on III, seems impossible, because frgs. 2 and 3 must belong to the same column, but the lines of frg. 3 are noticeably longer than those of frg. 2, while on frg. 3 line 7 would be yet much longer than lines 8-9. In this reconstruction, as in the next, the beginning of 4:1 would be in line 6.

RECONSTRUCTION OF FRG. 3 ACCORDING TO Θ

- 7 [לעבור את הירדן ויאמר יהוה] אל יהושע² לאמר² קחו מן העם
 8 [איש אחד משבט³ וצו אותם שאו] לכם מתוך הירדן הכין שזים
 9 [עשרה אבנים והעברתם אותם ע]מכם והנח(ם)ם א(ותם) במלון אשר תלינו

Reconstructing lines 7-9 according to the shorter text of Θ (with two additional minuses) is legitimate, even though as a rule 4QJosh^b agrees with III against Θ , and even though frg. 2 contains only one reading which is significantly close to Θ (the supralinear חסי). This reconstruction seems to be the best one, since the lines are similar in length to those in frg. 2.

Frg. 4 Josh 17:1-5

top margin

- 1 [הגורל למשה מנשה כי הוא בכֹּר יוסף] לְמִלְכָּר בְּכֹר מִנְשֵׁה אָבִי הַגִּלְעָד כִּי
 2 [וְהוּא הָיָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה] וְיָהִי לוֹ הַגִּלְעָד וְהַבְּשָׁן וְיִהְיֶה לְבְנֵי מִנְשֵׁה הַנְּתִיחִים
 3 [לְמִשְׁפַּחַת לְבְנֵי אֲבִיעֶזֶר וְלְבְנֵי חֶלֶק וְלְבְנֵי אֲשֵׁרָאֵל וְלְבְנֵי שָׁכֵם וְלְבְנֵי חֶפְרַיִם
 4 [וְלְבְנֵי שְׂמִיד] אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי מְלֹאָה בֶן יוֹסֵף הַזֹּכְרִים לְמִשְׁפַּחַת וְלְצִלְפַּחַד
 5 [בֶּן חֶפְרַיִם בֶּן אֲבִיעֶזֶר בֶּן מְלֹאָה בֶּן מִנְשֵׁה לֹא הָיוּ לוֹ בָּנִים כִּי אִם
 6 [בְּנֹת וְאֵלֹהֵי שְׂמֹוֹת בְּנֹתָיו מִתְּלָה וְנַעֲמָה חַגְלָה מִלְכָּה וְתַרְצֵה וְתַקְרֵבְנָה]
 7 [לְפָנֵי אֱלֹהֵי הַכֹּהֵן וְלְפָנֵי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן נֹון וְלְפָנֵי הַנְּשִׂאִים לֵאמֹר יְהוָה צִוָּה אֹתָם
 8 [מִשֶּׁה לַחַת לֵנוּ מִן־הָאֵלֹהִים] וְיָחִינוּ וְיָתֵן לָהֶם אֵל פִּי יְהוָה נְחִלָּה בְּתוֹךְ אֶחָיו
 9 [אֲבוֹתָיו וְיִשְׁפְּלוּ] אֲחֵי מִנְשֵׁה עֶשְׂרֵה לְבָד מֵאַרְבָּעֵה עָשָׂר מֵעַבְרַיִם

The top margins of frg. 4 and frg. 5 have been preserved. Reconstruction of the text according to M would require seven lines beyond the last preserved line, yielding sixteen lines for this column.

VARIANTS

- 17.1 (2)] M וְיָהִי לוֹ הַגִּלְעָד] ἐν τῇ Γαλααθεΐδι καὶ ἐν τῇ Βασανείτιδι Ⓜ
 17.2 (4)] M בְּנֵי מְלֹאָה בֶן יוֹסֵף] > Ⓜ* א'
 17.3 (5)] M [בֶּן אֲבִיעֶזֶר בֶּן מְלֹאָה בֶּן מִנְשֵׁה] > Ⓜ*
 17.3 (6)] M בְּנֹתָיו] τῶν θυγατέρων (ἀδῶν Ⓜ*) Σαλπαὰδ Ⓜ*
 17.4 (7)] M [בֶּן נֹון] > Ⓜ*

Frg 5 Josh 17:11-15

top margin

- 1] vacat [וְיָשָׁב עֵינָן רָאָה וּבָנָה]
 2 [וְיַבְלַעֵם וּבְנֹתָיו וְאֹתָן] יֹשְׁבֵי דָר וּבְנֹתָיו וְיֹשְׁבֵי תַגְנֹךְ
 3 [וּבְנֹתָיו וְיֹשְׁבֵי מִגְדָּו] וּבְנֹתָיו] שְׁלֵשֶׁת הַנְּפֹת [וְלֹא] וְכָלֹךְ

	[בני מגשה לדוריש] אֵת הערים האלה ויואל הכנעני לשבֹּתָ]	4
	[בארץ הזאת יוֹזִיזי כי חזקו בני ישראל וחנו את הכנעֹנִים]	5
	[למס והורש לא] הורישוֹ	6
	<i>vacat</i>	
	[¹⁴ וידברו בני יוֹסֵף אל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לאמר מדוע נתתָ לָנוּ נְלָלָה]	7
	[גורל אחד וחבל אחד] ואני עם רב אשר כֹּה ברכני יהוה	8
	[¹⁵ ויאמר אליהם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אִם עָלְמָה רַב אֶתְהוּהוּ] גְּלָה לָךְ הָעֵרָה	9
	[ובראח לך שם בארץ] הַפְּרִי וְהַרְפִּאִים כִּי אֵץ לָךְ הוּא אֶפְרַיִם]	10

L. 1 (17:11) There is an interval within verse 11, no interval M.

L. 6 (17:13) There is a long interval after verse 13; σ M^{A,L}.

VARIANTS

- 17:11 (1) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ > σ . This phrase represents עין דר of M occurring later in the verse. The doublet of מ עין דר דאר / דאר is not represented in σ (see below), and there probably is a connection between this doublet and the different sequence in 4QJosh^b.
- 17:11 (2) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ > σ^*
- 17:11 (2) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ > σ^*
- 17:11 (2-3) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ (and Judg 1:27) > $\sigma^{B,ms}$; added in $\sigma^{A,ms}$ after Megiddo
- The sequence of the different elements is thus as follows:
- | | | |
|--|--|------------|
| M | 4QJosh ^b | σ * |
| — | וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ | — |
| וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ | — | — |
| וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ | וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ | = |
| וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ | — | — |
| וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ | וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ | — |
- 17:11 (3) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ > σ [שְׁלֵטָה] מִן שְׁלֵטָה
- 17:11 (3) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ > σ [שְׁלֵטָה] מִן שְׁלֵטָה
- 17:11 (3) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ > σ [שְׁלֵטָה] מִן שְׁלֵטָה
- 17:13 (6) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$. Note the singular form of the suffix in both texts which is not impossible in biblical Hebrew, but it would suit better the parallel verse Judg 1:28, where the subject is ישראל.
- 17:14 (7) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$
- 17:14 (8) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$. For the phrase of M (doublet?) σ D have merely kal/et; σ has a shortened version for כה אשר עד כה, viz., like 4QJosh^b, M^{ms} omit 1'; M^{ms} and S omit ע' 2'.
- 17:14 (8) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ > σ θ εός σ
- 17:15 (10) $\text{וְיֹשֶׁב עֵינָן דָּאָר וּבְנֵי הָאָרֶץ}$ > σ *

Fig. 6 col. i

	<i>top margin</i>	
ooo[		1
πo[		2
o[		3
o o[		4
o[		5

The text of this fragment cannot be identified. There is no certainty that this fragment belongs to the same scroll as frgs. 1-5. The decay pattern of the letters differs from that of the other fragments. The ink has left white traces for the center of the lines, with only the borders remaining black.

Fig. 6 col. ii (5:4f.?)

	<i>top margin</i>	
	]יִשְׂרָאֵל	1
	]וְשָׁמַיִם	2
	]וּמַיִם	3
	]וְאֶרֶץ	4

49. 4QJudg^a

(PLATE XXXVI)

Preliminary publication: J. Trebolle Barrera, 'Textual Variants in 4QJudg^a and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges', *RevQ* 54 (1989) 229–45

THE SOLITARY fragment preserved from 4QJudg^a, consisting of two contiguous pieces, contains portions of Judg 6:2–13. The leather of the manuscript is light brown with some darkening and it has suffered wrinkling from the top left side to the bottom right. The leather, 0.4 mm thick, measures 7.6 cm high and 4.8 cm wide. It is inscribed on the hair side as usual, and the back is also smooth and well-prepared. The surface is nearly worn away at the central portion of lines 1–3 and at the beginning of line 7. Traces of stitching can be observed at the lower right margin of the fragment, where a right margin of 1.1 cm and a bottom margin of 1.8 cm occur. A vertical ruling at the right margin is faintly discernible, although no traces of horizontal dry lines are visible. The distance between lines varies from 6 to 7 mm, and the height of the letters is 2 mm. The number of letters per line determined by reconstruction according to *MR* ranges between 59 and 65 letters per line. The space between words normally corresponds to the width of the letter *waw*.

The script is a late Hasmonaean or early Herodian book hand from c.50–25 BCE.

- א. *Aleph* is the same size as the other letters, and made in three movements. The supralinear *'aleph* in line 9 perhaps could have been made in two movements in the inverted-*'v* form typical of the beginning of the Herodian period.
- ב. *Bet* is generally penned in two movements. The base is a separate, left-to-right stroke. In line 4 the two forms of the *bet* typical of the late Hasmonaean or early Herodian formal hand (4QSam^a) are found: in ארבה the base of the *bet* is made from right to left without lifting the pen; in לרב it is made in two strokes. In line 9 the base of the *bet* is a double stroke (from right to left and back) which is an uncommon trait.
- ג. The left leg of *gimel* joins above the middle of the right leg.
- ד. The head of the *dalet* is well marked, distinct from that of the *res*. The *res* sometimes has a very distinct rounded head, as in line 6; in line 4, however, its head is more similar to that of the *dalet*.
- ה. The *he* is made in two movements. In ארבה line 4, יורה line 5, אלהים line 8, the crossbar is a double stroke. The *het* is probably penned in two movements in the two instances which occur in line 2, while in סחה line 3 it is probably made in three movements.
- ו. *Waw* and *yod* are very similar when one follows the other; otherwise their heads are different as in יורה line 5. The *yod* of כי in line 3 has an inverted-*'v* shape, while the older form of *yod* is preserved in line 5, and in עורי - line 6 the *yod* is almost a triangle.
- ז. *Kap* is long and narrow, in archaic fashion. The head of final *kap* is deep and well marked.
- ח. *Lamed* is formed with a small loop in the arm, except perhaps for the *lamed* in the supralinear כשאל in line 3.
- ט. Final *mem* is elongated and closed.
- י. Final *nun* is rather long and very vaulted, unlike that in 4QDeut^c, showing the facility of the copyist with the pen.
- יא. The *samek* of סכסכי in line 9 is square, very large, and fully closed, with the left leg looping into the crossbar in a shape very much like that of the early Herodian script.

- g. The examples of *ayin* in lines 1, 5, and 6 are very small, and they have a short and curved tail; the instance in *נענן* in line 8 is an exception. The intersection of the two strokes is found almost at the bottom of the letter, which is a sign of archaism that makes it closer to the typical Hasmonaean script than to the early Herodian, in which the right arm is lengthened. Of the two forms of *'ayin* found in 4QSam^a (see Cross, p.138, Fig. 2 Line 3), the second is closer to that of 4QJudg^a.
- h. The head of *pe* is rather round, not yet the later triangular shape.
- i. The head of *qop* in line 2 is slightly open, in line 5 closed.

The manuscript preserves two orthographic differences from M :

Frg. 1 2 (6:4)] וישחזו M ; orth.? (cf. *Hip'el* להשחזו 2 Kgs 18:25; וישחזו Ezek 16:47; שחזו Prov 11:9; וישחזו 2 Sam 11:1), or morph. var.? (cf. *Pi'el* לשחזו M in v 5; לשחזו, M לשחזו, M לשחזו Gen 19:13; בשחזו, M בשחזו, M בשחזו Gen 19:29).

Frg. 1 9 (6:13)] אבחו M .

Two supralinear corrections, apparently by the original scribe, are preserved: *ישראל* in line 3, and *alep* in line 9 correcting the word *למר* to *לאמר*.

This fragment represents a form of the text independent from any other known text-type, although it shares readings with the proto-Lucianic text. It is the only extant witness which does not include the literary insertion found in vv 7-10 of M^{ms} , although M^{ms} and the B^{B} text also omit v 7a. Verses 8-10 have been generally recognized by modern critics as a literary insertion, attributed in the past to an Elohistic source (G. F. Moore, *ICC*, 1895) and now generally considered (e.g. Wellhausen, Gray, Bodine, Soggin) a piece of late Dtr. redaction. 4QJudg^a can confidently be seen as an earlier literary form of the book than our traditional texts. For more detailed discussion of its textual character and its relationship to M , B^{L} , B^{B} , and the Old Latin, see the preliminary publication in *RevQ*.

Mus. Inv. 305. PAM 43.059.

Frg 1 Judg 6:2-6, 11-13

65	[אשר] בְּהָרִים וְאֵת הַמְּעֵרוֹת וְאֵת הַמְּצֻרוֹת יְהוָה אִם זָרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעֵלָה מְדִין וְעַמְלֵק]	1
66	וּבְנֵי קָדֵם וְיִחְזוּ עֲלֵי[ם] וְיִשְׁחָזוּ[ם] אֶת יְבוֹל הָאָרֶץ עַד בּוֹאֵךְ עֵזָה וְלֹא יִשְׁאִירוּ]	2
661	מַחִיָּה שֶׁהָ שָׂרָר וְחָ[מֹר] כִּי הֵם [וּמְקִינָהם יַעֲלוּ וְאֹהֲלֵיהֶם וּנְמֹלֵיהֶם יָבִאוּ כַדִּין]	3
662	אֹרְכָה לְרֹב וְלֹהֵם אֵין מִסְפָּר וְיִבְאוּ בְּאֶרֶץ לִשְׁחָחָה וְיִדְרֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֵד מִפְּנֵי]	4
663	[מְדִין] וְיִזְעֻקוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [אֵל] יְהוָה וְיִבְאֵ מִלֶּאךְ יְהוָה וְיִשְׁכַּח תַּחַת הָאֵלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר]	5
664	[כַּעֲפָרָה] אֲשֶׁר לִיּוֹאֵשׁ הָאֲבִיעֵזוּרִי וְתִרְעוּן בְּנוֹ חֲסִים בְּנֵת לְהַנִּים מִפְּנֵי מְדִין]	6
665	[וְיִדְרֹל] אֵלֵינוּ מִלֶּאךְ יְהוָה וְיִאֲמֵר[וּ] אֵלֵינוּ יְהוָה עִמָּךְ נְבוֹר הַחַיִּל וְיִאֲמֵר אֵלֵינוּ]	7
666	גִּדְעוּן בֵּי אֹרְנֵי וְיֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים עִמָּנוּ וְלִמָּה מִצְאוּנוּ כֹל זָאֵחַ וְאִידָה כֹּל נַפְלְאוּחֵינוּ]	8
	שִׁסְפְּרוּ לֵנוּ אֲבִחְנוּ לְמֹרְן	9

bottom margin

Right and bottom margins are extant, with evidence of stitching observable in the bottom right corner.

L. 1 (6:2) The final *mem* of בְּרִימִים is complete. The *yod* to its right is certain, as is also the base of a letter like *bet*, with a trace of a ligatured letter (*he*). Enough ink remains to be confident of *rei*. Most of the vertical stroke of the *waw* of פִּאֵי remains, followed by the bottom of the right stroke of the *'alep*, and the bottom tips of the *taw*.

L. 1 (6:2) Of הַמְעִירוֹה, the lower portion of the right vertical stroke of the *he* is preserved. The following letters are certain although only partially preserved: traces of the base and left stroke of the *mem* are visible; the bottom of the *'ayin* is ligatured with the *rei*. At the end of the line the traces of the *'alep* in פִּאֵי are faint but clear, and the lower portions of the two legs of the *taw* are visible.

L. 2 (6:3-4) On the edge of the leather traces of the head and bottom of the *waw* of וּבְנֵי are extant. The surface of the leather where עֲלֵי־אֵיִם was inscribed is partly lost, but the upper part of *'ayin* and the top of *lamed* are visible, while the top left portion of a *he* is virtually certain. At the end of the line the head of the final *waw* of וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ is preserved.

L. 3 (6:4-5) בִּישְׂרָאֵל has been written supralinearly, apparently by the original scribe. Ink traces from the head and right leg of the *bet* of וַיִּבְנוּ are visible before the damaged spot, and following it *rei* is certain, with the space between them large enough for *mem* and *taw* to be reconstructed. The head of the final *mem* of וַיִּשְׁמְרוּ is preserved.

L. 3 (6:5) [נמלידים]. Spatial reconstruction suggests that this MS included נמלידים (understanding the following word as נבא, but note נבא וּבְנֵי in agreement with La(Lucifer), but against La(Lugdunensis) Arm Eth and La(Lugdunensis) Arm Eth which do not include it. For נבא, note παρέφερον La^{A+} + ἦγον La^L, *adferebant* La Luc + *ducebant* Luc (against παραγενυστο La^B).

L. 4 (6:5) The top left portion of the *'alep* of אֶרְבֵּה is preserved. Before the break the remains of the *'alep* of אֶרְבֵּי are preserved. The break in the leather is about 9–10 letter-spaces wide, and after it the left part of the *bet* of וַיִּבְנוּ is preserved (see VAR). The damaged letters of וַיִּבְנוּ at the edge of the fragment are the traces of the base, head, and vertical stroke of *bet* and the bottom of the oblique stroke of *'alep*.

L. 5 (6:6) Of וַיִּעַקֵּי, a minimal trace of the initial *waw* remains visible at the edge, but the top portions of *yod* and *'ayin* and an identifiable part of *'ayin* are certainly preserved. The break in the leather has destroyed about 6 letter-spaces.

L. 5–6 (6:6, 11) The text of 6:6 followed in the next line by that of 6:11 on the same piece of leather shows that vv 7-10 were not part of this MS; 4QJudg* bears witness to a shorter, earlier text than that of III (see VAR), where the added text, generally agreed to be a literary insertion in Deuteronomistic (?) phraseology and concepts, is signalled by intervals (n) before and after.

L. 6 (6:11) Of the *gimel* in וַיִּרְעֵן only the right stroke is extant at the end of the line.

L. 7 (6:12) While the surface is partly worn away, the ink on the edge of the fragment could well belong to the *'alep* of וַיִּרְעֵן. Enough ink remains to identify the oblique and left strokes of the *'alep* of וַיִּרְעֵן, and despite wrinkling, traces of the top and bottom of the *lamed* are visible, as well as the triangular head of the *yod*. Although damaged by the wrinkling, the *mem* of סִלְחָן is fully preserved.

L. 8 (6:13) The head of the *yod* in וַיִּשֶׁ is damaged, and the *sin* is faint but certain. At the end of the line, a trace of the characteristic head of the final *mem* of אֶלֶהִים is preserved.

L. 9 (6:13) At the edge of the leather the ink trace may belong to the *rei* of לִמְרֵי, the *'alep* of which has been written supralinearly.

VARIANTS

- 6:3 (2) קדם] וּמַעַל וְעַלֵּי + אֵם; σωανέβαινον αὐτοῖς La(Lugdunensis, Lucifer)Syh. Origen's Latin version (*In librum Iudicum* Homilia VII.2) omits ועלו אֵם: (*adscendebant Madian et Amalec et filii Orientis*) *super eos*.
- 6:4 (3) וַיִּשֶׁה וַיִּשְׂרָ] שֶׁה וַיִּשְׂרָ
- 6:5 (4) וְלִמְרֵים אֵין] וְלִמְרֵים אֵין. 4QJudg* lacks ולמרים (see NOTES on lines 3 and 4), as does La *quorum* (*quoniam* Lucifer) *non erat numerus* (Lugdunensis, Lucifer).

50. 4QJudg^b

(PLATE XXXVI)

Preliminary publication: J. Trebolle Barrera, 'Édition préliminaire de 4QJuges^b Contribution des manuscrits qumrâniens des Juges à l'étude textuelle et littéraire du livre', *RevQ* 15 (1991) 79–100

ONLY three fragments of 4QJudg^b remain, with portions of Judg 19:5-7 and 21:12-25. The leather of the manuscript is brown, especially dark in the upper part of the fragments and reddish where the leather has been torn. The leather is very fine, 0.3 mm thick, but quite worn and wrinkled, and the back is well-prepared and smooth. Frg. 1 measures 2.2 cm high and 3.7 cm wide, frg. 2, 5.2 cm high and 2.8 cm wide, and frg. 3, 10.7 cm high and 14.3 cm wide. The bottom margin of frg. 3 is preserved, with blank space measuring 5.3 cm from the bottom of the final letters, which correspond to the end of the book of Judges, to the lowest edge preserved. Horizontal dry lines, from which the letters are suspended, are visible on frg. 1, lines 2 and 4, but they are no longer visible on frgs. 2–3, although they surely existed since the writing is quite rectilinear. A comparison of characteristic letters such as *'alep*, *yod*, *reš*, and *taw* confirms that frg. 1 belongs to the same manuscript as frgs. 2 and 3. Frgs. 2 and 3, although not contiguous, preserve parts of three lines, 5–7, in common. The distance between lines of script is 6–7 mm, and the height of the letters is 2–3 mm. Spaces between words normally correspond to the width of *waw*. Frg. 1 averages 50–53 letter-spaces per line, but in frgs. 2–3 the lines reconstructed according to \aleph are very irregular in length, and the last seven lines diminish in length progressively.

The carefully written script is an early Herodian formal hand, dated to c.30–1 BCE.

- n. Almost upright, *'alep* is made in three movements. The left leg does not touch the axis at the peak (1 2; 2 2, 4; 3 8, 11).
- כ. *Bet* (3 8) is distinct from *kaf* (2 3). The head of the *kaf* is small and its base oblique, very distinct from that of *bet* which is more square.
- ך. The difference between the two is well marked (*reš* 1 2; 2 2; 3 6, 13; no clear *dalet* occurs).
- ו. The head of the *waw* is very small (1 2, 3, 4; 2 2; 3 8, 11, 12), while that of the *yod* is a large triangle (1 3^{bis}, 4; 2 3, 7; 3 7, 8, 9, 11, 12).
- ה. The horizontal stroke of the *het* (2 2, 3, 6; 3 8, 10, 11) is a double stroke, first to the left and then a return. The *het* is made in three strokes: the right vertical stroke followed by the horizontal and the vertical left stroke (1 2; 3 10).
- d. *Mem* is angular and square (2 4, 6; 3 12). Final *mem* is very elongated, and the stroke of its head is well marked (1 3, 4; 2 2).
- נ. *Nun* is very square and angular (1 2).
- א. *'Ayin* has the long, well-defined early Herodian, not the short Hasmonaean, form (2 1, 3).
- ס. The head of final *sade* is very small but very angular and therefore well marked (2 1).
- פ. The head of *qop* is wide and open (1 4).
- ש. *Šin* is made in three movements (1 3; 2 3).
- ת. The left leg of *taw* is angular, made separately or by turning back (2 6).

Only one orthographic variant is preserved, בנִימִין 3 8, cf. בנימין; in the two other occurrences of that word, 4QJudg^b and \aleph agree on the short form, בְּנִימִין 2 3, בְּנִימִין 2 4.

No intervals are extant, but an interval possibly occurred at frg. 2 1 (after 21:12); ס \aleph .

One or possibly two supralinear corrections are preserved. At frg. 1 + a *bet* is added by the original hand above לך to change it to לבך. At frg. 2 + the trace of a supralinear letter may remain above the first letter of בְּנִיָּם (cf. מִזֵּמְרֵי אִשָּׁה).

Mus. Inv. 1123. PAM 43.059, 43.157.

Frg. 1 Judg 19:5-7

	[	]	o[]o[	]	1
53	[	וּיָקָם לְלִכְתּוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי הַגְּעֵרָה אֵל חַתְנוֹ לְעֵד לְבָבְךָ פֶת לֶחֶם וְאַחֲרַי	]		2
50	[	וְחַלְכּוֹ וַיִּשְׁבוּ וַיֹּאכְלוּ שְׂנֵי־הֵם יַחְדָּו וַיִּשְׁחוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי הַגְּעֵרָה	]		3
	[	אֵל הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה אֵל נָא וְלִין וַיִּשָּׁב לְךָ וַיָּקָם הָאִישׁ	]		4

L. 2 (19:5) Traces of the left stroke of *ayin* in הַגְּעֵרָה and the upper part of *samek* in לְעֵד are extant.

L. 3 (19:6) At יַחְדָּו, the fragment now has a rectangular hole, but a piece of the surface, measuring c 5 mm, has flaked off and rotated, confusing the picture. On that piece the lower part of *waw* and the upper stroke of the supralinear *bet* in the next line are still visible, although covered by the leather of the main fragment. In וַיֹּאמֶר the lower portion of the *yod* remains at the left edge of the fragment.

L. 4 (19:6) A portion of the *lamed* in לְךָ is extant.

Frgs. 2-3 Judg 21:12-25

	[	אֶרֶץ בְּנֵעַן]	]	(13)	1
	[	קָרָאוּ לָהֶם ]	]	(14)	2
	[	מִן כִּי עָשָׂה יְהוָה	]	(15,16)	3
	[	בְּנִיָּם ¹⁷ וַיֹּאמְרוּ יְהוָה	]	(18)	4
	[	וְהָיָה בְּשֵׁן]	o[]	(19)	5 f3
	[	זָרַח הוּא]	ש]	(20)	6
	[	בְּרָאִים ²¹ אֵל]	אֵל וַיְהִי אֵם יְהוָה		7
	[	אֵין]	אֵין וַיְהִי]	יְבִאוּ אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם	8
	[	אֵין]	אֵין]	אֵין]	9
	[	אֵין]	אֵין]	אֵין]	10
	[	אֵין]	אֵין]	אֵין]	11
	[	אֵין]	אֵין]	אֵין]	12
	[	אֵין]	אֵין]	אֵין]	13

bottom margin

Reconstruction of Judg 21:12-25

- 1 [ויבאו איהם אל המצודה שהיה אשר ב]ארץ כנען] *vocat* וישלחו כל העדה וירדו] 13
- 2 [אל בני בנימין אשר בסלע רמון ו]קראו להם [שלהם] 14 וישב בנימין בעת ההוא ויחזו להם הנשים אשר היו מנשי יבש גלעד] 96
- 3 [ולא מצאו להם כן] 15 והדגם נהם לבנימין כי עשה ידוהו פרוץ בשבטי ישראל 16 ויאמרו זקני העדה מה נעשה] 84
- 4 [לנותרים לנשים כי נשמרה] 17 [ויאמרו יר]שת פליטה לבנימין ולא ימחה שבט ישראל 18 ואנחנו לא נוכל לתת להם נשים מבנותי כי נשבעו בני ישראל לאמר ארור] 141
- 5 [טחן אשה לבנימין] 19 ויאמרו ות]ה חנן [ויהיה כשלאו מימים ימימה אשר מצפתה] 61 f.3
- 6 [לכיה אל מ]זרח [השמש] [למסלה] [ועלה מ]כ]ה אל שכמה ומנב ללכיה 20 ויצו את בני בנימין לאמר] 77
- 7 [לכו וארבתם ב]כר]ים [ור]איתם [והנה אם יצאו בעת שילד לחול במחלות] ויצאתם מן הכרמים והשפתים לכם איש אשתו מבנות] 102
- 8 [שילו והלכתם אר]ץ [בני]מן 22 [והיה [כי] יבאו אבותיכם או אחיהם לרוב אליע ואמרנו אליהם] 76
- 9 [ותנו אותם כי לא [לקחת איש] אשתו ב]לחמה [כי] לא אדם נהגם להם כעת האמנם] 66
- 10 [23] ויעשו כן בני בנימין ו]אמרו [שם] למספרם מרמחללוח אשר גדלו וילכו וישבו] 67
- 11 [אל נחלם ויבטו את [הער]ים וישבו כן 24 ויחזלוכו משם בני ישראל בעת] 59
- 12 [והיה איש לשבט] ולמשתחו ו]יצאו משם] אימן לנחלות] 44
- 13 [] 25 בימים [ההם אין] מלך בישראל איש [והשר בעליו] [עשה] 44

bottom margin

A bottom margin is preserved. The final words conclude the Book of Judges, and the distance from the bottoms of the final letters to the lowest edge is 5.3 cm. On the plate the distance between frgs. 2 and 3 appears to be greater than it was on the original. Since the leather is worn and wrinkled, when the two fragments are joined, the writing in lines 6 and 7 seems to be not quite rectilinear, as it is in the other lines. Therefore, it is impossible to establish with absolute accuracy the spatial relation between the two fragments. Furthermore, the reconstructed line-lengths vary widely between 61 and 102 letter-spaces. On frg. 3, lines 8 through 13 decrease gradually in length from 76 down to 44 letter-spaces. The irregularity in the number of characters per line may be explained by the fact that frgs. 2-3 belong to the last column of the book, where the copyist did not need to respect left and bottom margins; other reasons should also be considered. 4QJudg^b may not have had *אשה לבנימין* ארור נון אשה ארור נון אשה לבנימין in lines 4-5, in so far as the clause was possibly an 'editorial repetition' of 21:1 (G. F. Moore, *ICC*, 450). The reading of the Greek text in v 18a, $\sigma\tau\theta$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\tau\theta$ (III^A), reflects the duplication of causal clauses . . . כי . . . כי. Line 4 would then have 94 letters, matching the average number of letters per line in lines 1-7.

The preserved readings of 4QJudg^b are very close to III . The reconstruction of its lines shows, however, that 4QJudg^b possibly knew a variant shorter text or presented a text arrangement different from that of III . The fragments of Judges from Cave 1 (1Q6) have similar problems in their relation to III (cf. *DJD* I. 62-64, Pl. XI).

L. 1 (21:12) The *res* of בִּאֲרִיךְ is certain and most of the head and tail of final *šade* remains, but only a point of ink at the right edge of the leather is preserved from *ʾalep*. The *ʾayin* of לְנַעַץ is certain and the two ink traces before it could well be the lower extremities of *nun* and *kap*, while at the end of the line enough ink remains to be confident of final *nun*.

L. 2 (21:13) The tail of the *qop* of וְיִקְרָא is preserved, and most of the final *mem* of לָמָּה remains.

L. 3 (21:15) The final *nun* of לְבִינָן is damaged but certain, while on the edge of the leather the ink spot belongs to the head of *mem* and the thin stroke to its base. A wrinkle defaces the tops of the letters of כִּי and the *ʾayin* of עָשָׂה, but at the end of the line the *yod* of יְהוָה is sure and the small dot on the torn edge corresponds to the head of *he*.

L. 4 (21:16-17) The last four letters of וְיִאֲמָרוּ are certain, although only the upper portion of the final *waw* is preserved. The traces to the left of וְיִאֲמָרוּ quite likely belong to the tops of *yod* and *res* of וְיִאֲמָרוּ. To the right of the *ʾalep* of וְיִאֲמָרוּ faint traces of *yod* and *waw* are visible. To the right of וְיִאֲמָרוּ, even though the surface of the leather is quite damaged, two traces of the top and bottom of the final *nun* of וְיִאֲמָרוּ are visible. Spatial reconstruction suggests that a faint trace to the right is possibly from the right side of *mem*, while an ink point above and another below may be from *yod* and *nun*. Another ink spot to the bottom right can correspond to the right tip of the base of *bet*, while the ink on the edge of the leather possibly corresponds to the left tip of the head of a *mem* that bends down. Finally, a supralinear ink trace above the word probably is from one of the letters of אִשָּׁה (cf. מִזֶּה מִבְּנֵינָם אִשָּׁה).

L. 5 (21:19) Part of the head and base of the *bet* in בְּשֵׁלֶל is discernible, and the ink trace that follows can belong to the upper right part of *šin*. The letters of the tetragrammaton can be identified from left to right: the horizontal and right vertical strokes of *he*, a portion of the top of *waw*, the horizontal stroke and upper right angle of *he*, and the ink spot on the edge of the hole probably belongs to the upper left portion of *yod*. At the right edge of the line, higher and lower traces of ink correspond to the left portion of the *he* of וְהָיָה, while to the left the ink spot below is probably the remainder of the right leg of the *het* of הָיָה. On fig. 3, only a point of ink is preserved, which possibly belongs to one of the last letters of the word לְבִינָן.

L. 6 (21:19) On fig. 3 at the right edge of the line, the letters of בְּוִרְחִים are certain. To the left, the vertical trace may belong to the right stem of the *he* of הַשְּׂמֵטָה, but the space for word-division seems very narrow, and therefore a reading without the locative *he* or a haplography may be possible. The *šin* of הַשְּׂמֵטָה is partly preserved. On fig. 2, the *lamed* and *he* of הַלְמָלָה are certain; the ink stroke to the right is quite likely the remains of the upper right portion of *ʾayin*, and the horizontal stroke may correspond to the top portion of the initial *he*. After a space for word-division the vertical stem and base of the *mem* of מִלְּבָנִים are very likely, and after a lacuna of two middle-sized letters the *taw* is certain. Traces of the *ʾalep* of מִכֹּהֵל are identifiable, but it is impossible to determine if these letters formed one word or two (מִכֹּהֵל אוּ מִכֹּהֵל).

L. 7 (21:20-21) At the right edge of fig. 3, tops of letters in בְּוִרְחִים are identifiable, while only traces of further letters are visible. On fig. 2 the *nun* of וְיָדָה alone is certain; the two traces to the right of *nun* belong to the head of *he*, and the next ink point may correspond to the top of *waw*; to the left of *nun* the right downstroke of the second *he* is visible. Ink traces are all that remain of אִם: the ink stroke on the left edge of the hole can be understood as the remains of *ʾalep*, and it is followed by a portion of the head and a point of the base of the final *mem*. At the end of the extant line, the *yod* of וְיָשָׁא is certain.

L. 8 (21:21-22) The trace at the beginning of the line belongs to the middle portion of a letter that, according to spatial reconstruction, could be the final *šade* of וְיָחַץ. The *yod* of וְיָחַץ, under the hole, is certain, and to its right the ink dot below probably corresponds to the base of *mem*. A trace of the *waw* is visible at the beginning of וְהָיָה. The ink stroke before the *bet* and *ʾalep* of וְיָחַץ probably belongs to *yod*, and the vertical stroke after them corresponds to *waw*. After a space for word-division, the first three letters of וְיָחַץ are certain, a horizontal ink trace is the only remaining portion of the left leg of *taw*, and the two small traces that follow correspond to the bottom of *yod* and the right leg of *he*.

L. 9 (21:22) The *yod* at the end of the line is certain, and to its right an ink trace visible on the leather could well be from the *kap* of כִּי. Before it, the remains of the characteristic head and base of the second *mem* of מִלְּבָנִים are visible, followed by portions of the top right angle of a *he*, and preceded by the right leg of the *het* and the characteristic head of the first *mem*. At the beginning of the line, וְיָחַץ is

preserved in the traces of the tail and head of *gop* and the base of the hook of *lamed*. Two ink traces in the middle of the line are the only remainders of the top and bottom right side of a possible *'alep* of אלתה. To its left an oblique trace is the only remains of the right stroke of a *šin*.

L. 10 (21:23) At the left side of the fragment, the bottom of a *lamed* from מרובליתו is certain, and an ink trace on the edge of the leather probably corresponds to the bottom of the second *lamed*. Enough ink remains of four other letters to be confident of the sequence -מבמה-. The *het* is certain, to its right the head and base of the *mem* are extant; the horizontal and right vertical strokes of the *he* remain, and a trace of the base of a *mem* is still identifiable. The left vertical stroke and left top of the final *mem* of מלמסרם are also clearly visible. Spatial reconstruction allows the identification of some ink traces at the right side of the fragment as some of the letters of אלתה (א, ל, ת, ה).

L. 11 (21:23-24) Ink traces of the *waw* of ורבנו remain on the right edge of the leather, and under that *waw* the bottom of a *nun* remains ligatured. The following נח is clear. To the left of the hole traces of the *yod* and the almost complete final *mem* of מערת are preserved. The *yod* of יעבד is certain, and an ink dot to its right very probably belongs to the initial *waw*, spatial reconstruction permits identifying the minimal ink traces as the remainder of this word. The base of the final *mem* of בהם is clear, with the first two letters being mere traces. The first five letters of ויהלכו are certain, although only the bottom part of *lamed* is preserved; the vertical stroke of the *kap* is extant on the edge of the leather.

L. 12 (21:24) At the right edge of the fragment the left stem of *tet* and the top of *waw* in the word ושב are preserved. The first four letters of the next word, ולמשהו, are mutilated but clear, with the *šin* having only the top left portion preserved, the next ink dot probably belongs to the head of *pe* and the following one to the right angle of *he*. Spatial considerations allow some of the following ink traces to be assigned to the letters of משהו אלתה. The *'alep* and *yod* of אלתה are certain, but only the top right portion of the *šin* is extant.

L. 13 (21:25) The ink dot at the right edge of the fragment probably belongs to the upper angle of the initial *he* of העם; the base of the following *he* is lost, but the typical trait of the head of the final *mem* is visible. The *'alep* of אלתה is almost complete, and the following point of ink belongs to the upper part of *yod*. After three spaces of medium size the bottom of the *lamed* of מלך is preserved, and the left tip of the head and the bottom of the tail of a final *kap* are visible. Two points of ink signal the place of the first two letters in בשראלי, and the characteristic left arm of *šin* is visible before *resh*, while on the edge of the hole an ink dot signals the upper right tip of *'alep*. At a distance of five spaces three small dots of ink probably signal the place of the *šin* of אלתה. After a tear in the leather two ink points can be construed as belonging to the *nun* and *yod* of בעתו. Finally, at the left edge of the leather an ink spot probably corresponds to the *yod* of the word העשה אלתה.

VARIANTS

- 21:17 (4) אלתה ורבנו] אלתה ורבנו [$\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \xi\sigma\theta\varsigma$ (Antiochian) Θ^{609} , $\kappa\alpha\lambda\ \epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \xi\sigma\theta\varsigma$ (Antiochian). In 4QJudg^b there is no room for the proposed correction אלת instead of or after ורבנו.
- 21:19 (6) מורה השמש] מורה השמש [מורה השמש Deut 4:47 (מורה השמש Θ^{155} , Θ^{156} , Θ^{157} , Θ^{158} , Θ^{159} , Θ^{160} , Θ^{161} , Θ^{162} , Θ^{163} , Θ^{164} , Θ^{165} , Θ^{166} , Θ^{167} , Θ^{168} , Θ^{169} , Θ^{170} , Θ^{171} , Θ^{172} , Θ^{173} , Θ^{174} , Θ^{175} , Θ^{176} , Θ^{177} , Θ^{178} , Θ^{179} , Θ^{180} , Θ^{181} , Θ^{182} , Θ^{183} , Θ^{184} , Θ^{185} , Θ^{186} , Θ^{187} , Θ^{188} , Θ^{189} , Θ^{190} , Θ^{191} , Θ^{192} , Θ^{193} , Θ^{194} , Θ^{195} , Θ^{196} , Θ^{197} , Θ^{198} , Θ^{199} , Θ^{200} , Θ^{201} , Θ^{202} , Θ^{203} , Θ^{204} , Θ^{205} , Θ^{206} , Θ^{207} , Θ^{208} , Θ^{209} , Θ^{210} , Θ^{211} , Θ^{212} , Θ^{213} , Θ^{214} , Θ^{215} , Θ^{216} , Θ^{217} , Θ^{218} , Θ^{219} , Θ^{220} , Θ^{221} , Θ^{222} , Θ^{223} , Θ^{224} , Θ^{225} , Θ^{226} , Θ^{227} , Θ^{228} , Θ^{229} , Θ^{230} , Θ^{231} , Θ^{232} , Θ^{233} , Θ^{234} , Θ^{235} , Θ^{236} , Θ^{237} , Θ^{238} , Θ^{239} , Θ^{240} , Θ^{241} , Θ^{242} , Θ^{243} , Θ^{244} , Θ^{245} , Θ^{246} , Θ^{247} , Θ^{248} , Θ^{249} , Θ^{250} , Θ^{251} , Θ^{252} , Θ^{253} , Θ^{254} , Θ^{255} , Θ^{256} , Θ^{257} , Θ^{258} , Θ^{259} , Θ^{260} , Θ^{261} , Θ^{262} , Θ^{263} , Θ^{264} , Θ^{265} , Θ^{266} , Θ^{267} , Θ^{268} , Θ^{269} , Θ^{270} , Θ^{271} , Θ^{272} , Θ^{273} , Θ^{274} , Θ^{275} , Θ^{276} , Θ^{277} , Θ^{278} , Θ^{279} , Θ^{280} , Θ^{281} , Θ^{282} , Θ^{283} , Θ^{284} , Θ^{285} , Θ^{286} , Θ^{287} , Θ^{288} , Θ^{289} , Θ^{290} , Θ^{291} , Θ^{292} , Θ^{293} , Θ^{294} , Θ^{295} , Θ^{296} , Θ^{297} , Θ^{298} , Θ^{299} , Θ^{300} , Θ^{301} , Θ^{302} , Θ^{303} , Θ^{304} , Θ^{305} , Θ^{306} , Θ^{307} , Θ^{308} , Θ^{309} , Θ^{310} , Θ^{311} , Θ^{312} , Θ^{313} , Θ^{314} , Θ^{315} , Θ^{316} , Θ^{317} , Θ^{318} , Θ^{319} , Θ^{320} , Θ^{321} , Θ^{322} , Θ^{323} , Θ^{324} , Θ^{325} , Θ^{326} , Θ^{327} , Θ^{328} , Θ^{329} , Θ^{330} , Θ^{331} , Θ^{332} , Θ^{333} , Θ^{334} , Θ^{335} , Θ^{336} , Θ^{337} , Θ^{338} , Θ^{339} , Θ^{340} , Θ^{341} , Θ^{342} , Θ^{343} , Θ^{344} , Θ^{345} , Θ^{346} , Θ^{347} , Θ^{348} , Θ^{349} , Θ^{350} , Θ^{351} , Θ^{352} , Θ^{353} , Θ^{354} , Θ^{355} , Θ^{356} , Θ^{357} , Θ^{358} , Θ^{359} , Θ^{360} , Θ^{361} , Θ^{362} , Θ^{363} , Θ^{364} , Θ^{365} , Θ^{366} , Θ^{367} , Θ^{368} , Θ^{369} , Θ^{370} , Θ^{371} , Θ^{372} , Θ^{373} , Θ^{374} , Θ^{375} , Θ^{376} , Θ^{377} , Θ^{378} , Θ^{379} , Θ^{380} , Θ^{381} , Θ^{382} , Θ^{383} , Θ^{384} , Θ^{385} , Θ^{386} , Θ^{387} , Θ^{388} , Θ^{389} , Θ^{390} , Θ^{391} , Θ^{392} , Θ^{393} , Θ^{394} , Θ^{395} , Θ^{396} , Θ^{397} , Θ^{398} , Θ^{399} , Θ^{400} , Θ^{401} , Θ^{402} , Θ^{403} , Θ^{404} , Θ^{405} , Θ^{406} , Θ^{407} , Θ^{408} , Θ^{409} , Θ^{410} , Θ^{411} , Θ^{412} , Θ^{413} , Θ^{414} , Θ^{415} , Θ^{416} , Θ^{417} , Θ^{418} , Θ^{419} , Θ^{420} , Θ^{421} , Θ^{422} , Θ^{423} , Θ^{424} , Θ^{425} , Θ^{426} , Θ^{427} , Θ^{428} , Θ^{429} , Θ^{430} , Θ^{431} , Θ^{432} , Θ^{433} , Θ^{434} , Θ^{435} , Θ^{436} , Θ^{437} , Θ^{438} , Θ^{439} , Θ^{440} , Θ^{441} , Θ^{442} , Θ^{443} , Θ^{444} , Θ^{445} , Θ^{446} , Θ^{447} , Θ^{448} , Θ^{449} , Θ^{450} , Θ^{451} , Θ^{452} , Θ^{453} , Θ^{454} , Θ^{455} , Θ^{456} , Θ^{457} , Θ^{458} , Θ^{459} , Θ^{460} , Θ^{461} , Θ^{462} , Θ^{463} , Θ^{464} , Θ^{465} , Θ^{466} , Θ^{467} , Θ^{468} , Θ^{469} , Θ^{470} , Θ^{471} , Θ^{472} , Θ^{473} , Θ^{474} , Θ^{475} , Θ^{476} , Θ^{477} , Θ^{478} , Θ^{479} , Θ^{480} , Θ^{481} , Θ^{482} , Θ^{483} , Θ^{484} , Θ^{485} , Θ^{486} , Θ^{487} , Θ^{488} , Θ^{489} , Θ^{490} , Θ^{491} , Θ^{492} , Θ^{493} , Θ^{494} , Θ^{495} , Θ^{496} , Θ^{497} , Θ^{498} , Θ^{499} , Θ^{500} , Θ^{501} , Θ^{502} , Θ^{503} , Θ^{504} , Θ^{505} , Θ^{506} , Θ^{507} , Θ^{508} , Θ^{509} , Θ^{510} , Θ^{511} , Θ^{512} , Θ^{513} , Θ^{514} , Θ^{515} , Θ^{516} , Θ^{517} , Θ^{518} , Θ^{519} , Θ^{520} , Θ^{521} , Θ^{522} , Θ^{523} , Θ^{524} , Θ^{525} , Θ^{526} , Θ^{527} , Θ^{528} , Θ^{529} , Θ^{530} , Θ^{531} , Θ^{532} , Θ^{533} , Θ^{534} , Θ^{535} , Θ^{536} , Θ^{537} , Θ^{538} , Θ^{539} , Θ^{540} , Θ^{541} , Θ^{542} , Θ^{543} , Θ^{544} , Θ^{545} , Θ^{546} , Θ^{547} , Θ^{548} , Θ^{549} , Θ^{550} , Θ^{551} , Θ^{552} , Θ^{553} , Θ^{554} , Θ^{555} , Θ^{556} , Θ^{557} , Θ^{558} , Θ^{559} , Θ^{560} , Θ^{561} , Θ^{562} , Θ^{563} , Θ^{564} , Θ^{565} , Θ^{566} , Θ^{567} , Θ^{568} , Θ^{569} , Θ^{570} , Θ^{571} , Θ^{572} , Θ^{573} , Θ^{574} , Θ^{575} , Θ^{576} , Θ^{577} , Θ^{578} , Θ^{579} , Θ^{580} , Θ^{581} , Θ^{582} , Θ^{583} , Θ^{584} , Θ^{585} , Θ^{586} , Θ^{587} , Θ^{588} , Θ^{589} , Θ^{590} , Θ^{591} , Θ^{592} , Θ^{593} , Θ^{594} , Θ^{595} , Θ^{596} , Θ^{597} , Θ^{598} , Θ^{599} , Θ^{600} , Θ^{601} , Θ^{602} , Θ^{603} , Θ^{604} , Θ^{605} , Θ^{606} , Θ^{607} , Θ^{608} , Θ^{609} , Θ^{610} , Θ^{611} , Θ^{612} , Θ^{613} , Θ^{614} , Θ^{615} , Θ^{616} , Θ^{617} , Θ^{618} , Θ^{619} , Θ^{620} , Θ^{621} , Θ^{622} , Θ^{623} , Θ^{624} , Θ^{625} , Θ^{626} , Θ^{627} , Θ^{628} , Θ^{629} , Θ^{630} , Θ^{631} , Θ^{632} , Θ^{633} , Θ^{634} , Θ^{635} , Θ^{636} , Θ^{637} , Θ^{638} , Θ^{639} , Θ^{640} , Θ^{641} , Θ^{642} , Θ^{643} , Θ^{644} , Θ^{645} , Θ^{646} , Θ^{647} , Θ^{648} , Θ^{649} , Θ^{650} , Θ^{651} , Θ^{652} , Θ^{653} , Θ^{654} , Θ^{655} , Θ^{656} , Θ^{657} , Θ^{658} , Θ^{659} , Θ^{660} , Θ^{661} , Θ^{662} , Θ^{663} , Θ^{664} , Θ^{665} , Θ^{666} , Θ^{667} , Θ^{668} , Θ^{669} , Θ^{670} , Θ^{671} , Θ^{672} , Θ^{673} , Θ^{674} , Θ^{675} , Θ^{676} , Θ^{677} , Θ^{678} , Θ^{679} , Θ^{680} , Θ^{681} , Θ^{682} , Θ^{683} , Θ^{684} , Θ^{685} , Θ^{686} , Θ^{687} , Θ^{688} , Θ^{689} , Θ^{690} , Θ^{691} , Θ^{692} , Θ^{693} , Θ^{694} , Θ^{695} , Θ^{696} , Θ^{697} , Θ^{698} , Θ^{699} , Θ^{700} , Θ^{701} , Θ^{702} , Θ^{703} , Θ^{704} , Θ^{705} , Θ^{706} , Θ^{707} , Θ^{708} , Θ^{709} , Θ^{710} , Θ^{711} , Θ^{712} , Θ^{713} , Θ^{714} , Θ^{715} , Θ^{716} , Θ^{717} , Θ^{718} , Θ^{719} , Θ^{720} , Θ^{721} , Θ^{722} , Θ^{723} , Θ^{724} , Θ^{725} , Θ^{726} , Θ^{727} , Θ^{728} , Θ^{729} , Θ^{730} , Θ^{731} , Θ^{732} , Θ^{733} , Θ^{734} , Θ^{735} , Θ^{736} , Θ^{737} , Θ^{738} , Θ^{739} , Θ^{740} , Θ^{741} , Θ^{742} , Θ^{743} , Θ^{744} , Θ^{745} , Θ^{746} , Θ^{747} , Θ^{748} , Θ^{749} , Θ^{750} , Θ^{751} , Θ^{752} , Θ^{753} , Θ^{754} , Θ^{755} , Θ^{756} , Θ^{757} , Θ^{758} , Θ^{759} , Θ^{760} , Θ^{761} , Θ^{762} , Θ^{763} , Θ^{764} , Θ^{765} , Θ^{766} , Θ^{767} , Θ^{768} , Θ^{769} , Θ^{770} , Θ^{771} , Θ^{772} , Θ^{773} , Θ^{774} , Θ^{775} , Θ^{776} , Θ^{777} , Θ^{778} , Θ^{779} , Θ^{780} , Θ^{781} , Θ^{782} , Θ^{783} , Θ^{784} , Θ^{785} , Θ^{786} , Θ^{787} , Θ^{788} , Θ^{789} , Θ^{790} , Θ^{791} , Θ^{792} , Θ^{793} , Θ^{794} , Θ^{795} , Θ^{796} , Θ^{797} , Θ^{798} , Θ^{799} , Θ^{800} , Θ^{801} , Θ^{802} , Θ^{803} , Θ^{804} , Θ^{805} , Θ^{806} , Θ^{807} , Θ^{808} , Θ^{809} , Θ^{810} , Θ^{811} , Θ^{812} , Θ^{813} , Θ^{814} , Θ^{815} , Θ^{816} , Θ^{817} , Θ^{818} , Θ^{819} , Θ^{820} , Θ^{821} , Θ^{822} , Θ^{823} , Θ^{824} , Θ^{825} , Θ^{826} , Θ^{827} , Θ^{828} , Θ^{829} , Θ^{830} , Θ^{831} , Θ^{832} , Θ^{833} , Θ^{834} , Θ^{835} , Θ^{836} , Θ^{837} , Θ^{838} , Θ^{839} , Θ^{840} , Θ^{841} , Θ^{842} , Θ^{843} , Θ^{844} , Θ^{845} , Θ^{846} , Θ^{847} , Θ^{848} , Θ^{849} , Θ^{850} , Θ^{851} , Θ^{852} , Θ^{853} , Θ^{854} , Θ^{855} , Θ^{856} , Θ^{857} , Θ^{858} , Θ^{859} , Θ^{860} , Θ^{861} , Θ^{862} , Θ^{863} , Θ^{864} , Θ^{865} , Θ^{866} , Θ^{867} , Θ^{868} , Θ^{869} , Θ^{870} , Θ^{871} , Θ^{872} , Θ^{873} , Θ^{874} , Θ^{875} , Θ^{876} , Θ^{877} , Θ^{878} , Θ^{879} , Θ^{880} , Θ^{881} , Θ^{882} , Θ^{883} , Θ^{884} , Θ^{885} , Θ^{886} , Θ^{887} , Θ^{888} , Θ^{889} , Θ^{890} , Θ^{891} , Θ^{892} , Θ^{893} , Θ^{894} , Θ^{895} , Θ^{896} , Θ^{897} , Θ^{898} , Θ^{899} , Θ^{900} , Θ^{901} , Θ^{902} , Θ^{903} , Θ^{904} , Θ^{905} , Θ^{906} , Θ^{907} , Θ^{908} , Θ^{909} , Θ^{910} , Θ^{911} , Θ^{912} , Θ^{913} , Θ^{914} , Θ^{915} , Θ^{916} , Θ^{917} , Θ^{918} , Θ^{919} , Θ^{920} , Θ^{921} , Θ^{922} , Θ^{923} , Θ^{924} , Θ^{925} , Θ^{926} , Θ^{927} , Θ^{928} , Θ^{929} , Θ^{930} , Θ^{931} , Θ^{932} , Θ^{933} , Θ^{934} , Θ^{935} , Θ^{936} , Θ^{937} , Θ^{938} , Θ^{939} , Θ^{940} , Θ^{941} , Θ^{942} , Θ^{943} , Θ^{944} , Θ^{945} , Θ^{946} , Θ^{947} , Θ^{948} , Θ^{949} , Θ^{950} , Θ^{951} , Θ^{952} , Θ^{953} , Θ^{954} , Θ^{955} , Θ^{956} , Θ^{957} , Θ^{958} , Θ^{959} , Θ^{960} , Θ^{961} , Θ^{962} , Θ^{963} , Θ^{964} , Θ^{965} , Θ^{966} , Θ^{967} , Θ^{968} , Θ^{969} , Θ^{970} , Θ^{971} , Θ^{972} , Θ^{973} , Θ^{974} , Θ^{975} , Θ^{976} , Θ^{977} , Θ^{978} , Θ^{979} , Θ^{980} , Θ^{981} , Θ^{982} , Θ^{983} , Θ^{984} , Θ^{985} , Θ^{986} , Θ^{987} , Θ^{988} , Θ^{989} , Θ^{990} , Θ^{991} , Θ^{992} , Θ^{993} , Θ^{994} , Θ^{995} , Θ^{996} , Θ^{997} , Θ^{998} , Θ^{999} , Θ^{1000}), Θ^{155} , Θ^{156} , Θ^{157} , Θ^{158} , Θ^{159} , Θ^{160} , Θ^{161} , Θ^{162} , Θ^{163} , Θ^{164} , Θ^{165} , Θ^{166} , Θ^{167} , Θ^{168} , Θ^{169} , Θ^{170} , Θ^{171} , Θ^{172} , Θ^{173} , Θ^{174} , Θ^{175} , Θ^{176} , Θ^{177} , Θ^{178} , Θ^{179} , Θ^{180} , Θ^{181} , Θ^{182} , Θ^{183} , Θ^{184} , Θ^{185} , Θ^{186} , Θ^{187} , Θ^{188} , Θ^{189} , Θ^{190} , Θ^{191} , Θ^{192} , Θ^{193} , Θ^{194} , Θ^{195} , Θ^{196} , Θ^{197} , Θ^{198} , Θ^{199} , Θ^{200} , Θ^{201} , Θ^{202} , Θ^{203} , Θ^{204} , Θ^{205} , Θ^{206} , Θ^{207} , Θ^{208} , Θ^{209} , Θ^{210} , Θ^{211} , Θ^{212} , Θ^{213} , Θ^{214} , Θ^{215} , Θ^{216} , Θ^{217} , Θ^{218} , Θ^{219} , Θ^{220} , Θ^{221} , Θ^{222} , Θ^{223} , Θ^{224} , Θ^{225} , Θ^{226} , Θ^{227} , Θ^{228} , Θ^{229} , Θ^{230} , Θ^{231} , Θ^{232} , Θ^{233} , Θ^{234} , Θ^{235} , Θ^{236} , Θ^{237} , Θ^{238} , Θ^{239} , Θ^{240} , Θ^{241} , Θ^{242} , Θ^{243} , Θ^{244} , Θ^{245} , Θ^{246} , Θ^{247} , Θ^{248} , Θ^{249} , Θ^{250} , Θ^{251} , Θ^{252} , Θ^{253} , Θ^{254} , Θ^{255} , Θ^{256} , Θ^{257} , Θ^{258} , Θ^{259} , Θ^{260} , Θ^{261} , Θ^{262} , Θ^{263} , Θ^{264} , Θ^{265} , Θ^{266} , Θ^{267} , Θ^{268} , Θ^{269} , Θ^{270} , Θ^{271} , Θ^{272} , Θ^{273} , Θ^{274} , Θ^{275} , Θ^{276} , Θ^{277} , Θ^{278} , Θ^{279} , Θ^{280} , Θ^{281} , Θ^{282} , Θ^{283} , Θ^{284} , Θ^{285} , Θ^{286} , Θ^{287} , Θ^{288} , Θ^{289} , Θ^{290} , $\$

54. 4QKgs

(PLATE XXXVII)

Preliminary publication: Julio Trebolle Barrera, 'A Preliminary Edition of 4QKings (4Q54)', *Madrid*, 1. 229-46

THE leather of the manuscript is thick, *c.*0.4 mm, and light brown in the upper part of columns 1-2 (frgs. 1-4) but dark brown in the lower part (frgs. 5-7). The largest fragments are frg. 5 (maximum height 9.9 cm, width 4.7 cm) and frg. 6 (height 5.5 cm, width 7.5 cm). The leather is wrinkled and thus present measurements do not correspond to original measurements. Lines of script curve upwards on some fragments due to the severe horizontal wrinkling (frg. 6 is also wrinkled vertically).

The surface is torn, particularly on frg. 5. The leather is also worn at an oblique angle on frgs. 2, 3 and 5; this is an important datum for the reconstruction of the text. Frgs. 1 and 5 are further damaged by small holes.

Frg. 5 preserves traces of stitching with suture holes along a right margin measuring *c.*6 mm. The bottom margin reaches a maximum of 1 cm. Frg. 6 preserves a left margin and frg. 2 a margin between two columns measuring 9 mm.

Traces of the vertical ruling are quite visible on the right margin of frg. 5, whereas in the left margin of frg. 6 they are less apparent. The horizontal ruling on frg. 6 is very faint. Frg. 1, line 2 also preserves traces of horizontal ruling, although in the first line they are discernible only in the spaces between the letters. The copyist has inscribed the letters slightly under the horizontal ruling. The distance between lines is 7 mm on frg. 1, 6-7 mm on frg. 5, and 6 mm on frgs. 2, 3, and 6, although this last is wrinkled in all directions.

The first seven fragments contain portions of 1 Kings 7-8 from two contiguous columns (see Table 1). An additional fragment (frg. 8) probably does not belong to this manuscript, but it had been grouped with these fragments and is published here in the absence of a more appropriate place.

TABLE 1: *Contents of 4QKgs*

Col., Frg.	Passage	Col., Frg.	Passage
I 1	1 Kgs 7:20-21	II 2	7:50 or 51?
2	7:25-27	6	7:51-8-9
3-5	7:29-42	7	8:16-18

The reconstructed number of lines per column is 30-32. The number of letters per line, reconstructed according to \aleph , is normally *c.*48-56, although two or three more letters should be added because of the fuller spelling of 4QKgs (see the reconstruction of lines and columns below).

The script is sometimes bizarre and in general exhibits transitional features. It displays both archaizing traits and cursive features. Various forms of a letter often occur, as well as features peculiar to the copyist's hand. This script can be assigned to the late Hasmonaean book hand in the process of transition to the early Herodian. It can thus be dated to the middle of the first century BCE.

The writing is very angular, as can be seen especially in *bet*, *dalet*, *yod*, and *mem*.

- א. *Aleph* is made in three movements, e.g. frg. 5 7; 6 7, 10; in 6 8 this is visible only on the leather. In some cases *aleph* could have been made in two movements since the left leg reaches the top of the axis as in the Herodian inverted-'v' form, אוחח 5 8; אוח 6 5. Sometimes the *aleph* is narrow and square, at times rather elongated.
- ב. *Bet* is small but very wide, and made in two or possibly three movements. The base is clearly independent in הכיח 6 8 and הכרים 6 10 and made from left to right in האבנים 6 11. In other instances it is made in only one movement and in an angular form, בייח 6 3, בוח 6 4.
- ג. *Gimel* is normally very upright and long. Its form, however, is strange in עלוח 5 2, and narrow in וסטרחה 5 6. Usually the left leg joins in the middle of the right leg, בוח 6 4; גיח 7 1.
- ד. The head of *dalet* is angular, profoundly marked, and very big if compared with the leg, 5 6, 9, 6 8, 10. *Dalet* is quite square, and very different from *res*.
- ה. *He* is made in three movements, יהח 6 3, 5. The horizontal stroke is very curved, a characteristic that attracted round forms as in 6 8, with a tendency for the right end of the horizontal stroke to bend downwards, announcing a cursive or a ligatured form, הלוח 6 6.
- ו. *Haw* and *yod* generally differ from each other, but when they are together the difference almost evanesces, 3 1; 7 2, but 4 2. The *yod* has no head, is small in size, and rather elongated, but sometimes it is a very small triangle, יאפיר 6 7; עפי 7 2.
- ז. *Het* is made in the form of a capital *N*, 5 4.
- ח. It is difficult to establish if *tet* is made in one or two movements, 6 2. It is slightly archaizing, but not very.
- ט. *Kap* is bizarre, because its head is imperceptible, 2 2; 3 2; 5 5, 10; 6 9. It clearly differs from *bet*, which is wider. The head of *kap* is very oblique, and its base tends to become horizontal, 5 10. The head of the final *kap* is not yet profoundly marked, as it tends to be in the late Herodian formal script.
- י. The stem of *lamed* ends in a big loop. The leg is rather cursive, and almost imperceptible, שלוח 6 6, while in 7 2 the leg is very elongated.
- יא. *Mem* is bizarre and very angular, and no one *mem* is the same as another. Its base is sometimes rounded, but at times very long and plain. In 5 6, 11 it might be made in three movements. The normal type is found in המסוח 6 2, דמלך 6 6, and מסוח 6 8. A less typical, thicker example occurs in the second *mem* in משאחיל 5 11. The final *mem* is closed in הלוח 6 6, but open in כרנים 6 6. Here the lower horizontal stroke goes up in a strange way. Normally it descends as in הלוח 6 6. It is open also in מסוח 6 9, normal in כננים 6 9.
- יב. *Nun* is rather angular, 5 10, and final *nun* is almost upright, lacking a head, 1 1; 2 2.
- יג. *Samek* is always closed, although not completely in 6 7. Triangular in 2 2, square in 5 6, 12, it seems to exhibit transitional features.
- יד. There are two types of *ayin*—one small, placed above the line, and a little square, עשה 5 13, the other showing a tendency to lengthen, פסער 5 7, פסיר 6 3. Both types are found in 2 3. *Ayin*, made as a small 'v' with a short tail, seems to be in a transitional state.
- טו. The head of *pe* is well marked and its base is horizontal, 2 2; 6 7.
- טז. The head of *sade* is deep, and the bottom trace is angular, 5 8; 6 7.
- יז. The prolongation of the head of *qop* is always open. This is a constant feature, as can be seen in 5 4, 8, 6 7, 8, 9, 10.

7. *Reš* is rather small. It differs clearly from *dalet*, which has a very big head, although the head of the *reš* in 6 3 is also rather large.
8. Very cursive, *šin* is made in two movements. The central stroke is short and very high. It is never found on the lower angle, 2 2; 5 14; 6 6, 7, 8, 10, which is a peculiarity of the copyist's hand.
9. The foot of the left leg of *taw* is made in three different ways. It is almost imperceptible in 5 7, normal and rounded in 6 2, and angular in 5 10.

No intervals are found in the preserved fragments, although the scribe left a small gap of 7 mm in frg. 5 3, apparently due to a defect in the leather. The reconstruction of columns allows us to suppose that 4QKgs had intervals at the same points as 11: after 7:22 (e), 7:26 (e 11), apparently *o* in 4QKgs), 7:37 (o 11^L, e 11^A), 7:39 (o), 7:50 (e), 7:51 (e), 8:11 (e) (cf. below).

The orthography is fuller than that of 11 (which is itself not consistent), except for one case, although the orthography of 4QKgs is still not very full.

7:21 (1 2)	עמדים] 2 Chr 3:17] העמדים	עמדים
		7:2, 3, 6, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22 ^{bis} , 41, 42; but עמדים 7:6, 21, 41 ^{bis}
7:30 (3 2)	חפוח] חפוח	
7:30 (4 2)	לכבוד] לכבוד	εὐδὸς λουτήριον (כבוד), cf. (ה)כבוד 11 in 1 Kgs 7:38 ^{ter} and 2 Chr 6:13
7:34 (5 5)	המבנה] המבנה	11, cf. 11 מבנה 7:27, 28, 30, 32, 35, 38; מבנה 7:34 ^{bis} , 35
7:36 (5 7)	המבנה] המבנה	
7:38 (5 10)	המבנה] המבנה	
8:6 (6 8)	מקבו] מקבו	11

Reconstruction of Columns and Lines

There is enough evidence at our disposal to fix the positions of the seven extant pieces of 4QKgs in two columns of the scroll and to establish the number of lines in each column. The evidence is three-fold. Firstly, the bottom margin of frg. 5, the left margin of frg. 6, and the central margin of frg. 2 are preserved. Secondly, the shapes of damage of frgs. 5 and 6 correspond to each other (the lines 5 1 to 6 5, and 5 7 to 6 11; i.e. I 16 = II 15, and I 22 = II 21). Thirdly, the 11 text of 1 Kings 7–8 serves as a parallel for reconstruction, because in the main it is faithfully reproduced in the extant pieces of 4QKgs. The goal of this reconstruction is to try to establish the exact position of the word לשכונָה (2 ii) in the second column and consequently to identify the verse in the 11 (7:50 or 51?), to which this word could belong or be related.

Mus. Inv. 1108. PAM 43.079 (42.279).

Frg. 1 1 Kings 7:20-21

	א[רבסן]	1
	העמודי[ב]	(21) 2
	העלם[ה]	3

L. 2 (7:20) Traces of the heads of the letters forming the sequence וד-י and an ink trace of the final *mem* are preserved.

L. 3 (7:21) The ink traces at the right edge of the leather probably belong to a *he*. Because of wrinkling on the left edge of the leather the letters *waw* and *dalet* cannot be seen in the photograph but are almost completely preserved in the original. They become visible by unfolding the leather. The wrinkling prevents one from seeing the ink, as is also the case in line 1. The rest of *dalet* is similar in form to that of line 2.

Frg. 2 i-ii 1 Kings 7:25-27

Col. ii	Col. i	
	שלושה פנים[	1
	שה שפת כוס פרח שושן[	(26) 2
לשכח[	ה עשר נחשת ארבע[	(27) 3

L. 1 (7:25) The *lamed* שלשה is no longer visible on the leather and on PAM 43.079, but it can still be seen in the older photograph PAM 42.279; similarly the top right portion of the second *sin* is visible only in that photograph. The *nun* פנים, although damaged, is certain; it is followed by an ink trace that probably belongs to the bottom of the *yod*; the base of the final *mem* remains.

L. 2 (7:26) The *sin* of שה is probable, although deformed by wrinkling. The letters composing the word שושן have suffered because of surface damage to the leather.

L. 3 (7:27) The ink trace on the right edge, more visible in PAM 43.079, probably belongs to the left upper part of a *taw*. In נחשת the characteristic traces of the *sin* are preserved, and the head of the *taw* is certain. Ref in ארבע is almost complete.

Col. ii The leather has been torn obliquely. It is still possible to observe on the leather that the stem of the *lamed* continued upwards. The head of the *kap* is well preserved (compare with 2 2; 3 2; 5 5, 10). The ink on the edge of the leather could be *bet*, *he* or *waw*, probably *waw*.

VARIANT

Col. ii] לשכח[See discussion under Reconstruction below.

Frgs. 3-4 1 Kings 7:29-31

	יות מעלנה מורד ¹⁰ וא[רב]	1 14
	[כתפת להם מתחת לכיור	2
	עלה בא[מה ופיה] ע[נ]	(31) 3

The blank space at the end of line 2 is part of the left margin.

L. 1 (7:29) **מַלְאָכָה**. The ink traces may belong to the lower parts of an *‘ayin* and of a *šin*.

L. 1 (7:30) **וְאֵרִים**. The traces of the *reš* and *bet* are faint but certain.

L. 3 (7:31) **וְעָלָה בְּאֵמָה**. The first ink trace signals the upper left tip of an *‘ayin*. The *he* is certain. A faint trace of the head of a *bet* is probable. An ink trace on the edge, which is more clear on the leather, may correspond to the upper right portion of an *‘alep*.

L. 3 (7:31) **עָלָה**. The letter space count allows us to attribute the ink spots to traces of an *‘ayin* and the stem of a *lamed* in the expected **עָלָה**.

Frg. 5 1 Kings 7:31-42

	מַן	1
	עַלְלוֹתָן ³²	2
	אֵמָה וְהֵצִין	(33) 3
	וְחִשְׁקִים וְחִשְׁלִין	(34) 4
	מִן הַמְכֻנֶּה לְחִפְיָה ³⁵ וְבִין	5
	(וְ)חִפְיָה וּמִסְנֵרְחִיָּה מִמֶּנּוּ ³⁶	6
	אֲרִיֹת וְחִמְרוֹת מִמֶּעַר אֵן	(37) 7
	מִדָּה אֶחָד וְקֶצֶב אֶחָד לְכֻלָּהֶן	(38) 8
	יָכִיל הַכִּיּוֹר הָאֶחָד אֲרִבֵּן	9
	הַמְכֻנֹּת ³⁹ וְיָתֵן אֵן	10
	מִשְׁמָאלוֹ וְאֵלָן	(40) 11
	אֶת הַסִּירִין	12
	עָשָׂה לָמֵן	(41) 13
	הַשִּׁבְכָן	14
	וְאֶת הַרְ"ג ⁴²	15

bottom margin

The right margin with a stitched edge is extant, as well as part of the bottom margin.

L. 2 (7:31) **עַלְלוֹתָן**. Only the lower portion of the *lamed* and *taw* are preserved. A part of the right leg of the *taw* is visible.

L. 3 (7:32) A small space of 7 mm separates **אֵמָה** from **וְהֵצִין**. The leather has a hole, skipped over by the scribe, which on the photograph gives the impression of ink traces

L. 4 (7:33) **וְחִשְׁלִין**. An ink trace on the edge of the break is the only remainder of a possible *reš*.

L. 5 (7:34) לַמִּצֵּיָה. Only two ink traces probably corresponding to the head of a *kap* are preserved, followed by the left upper part of a *taw*.

L. 5 (7:35) וּבִן. As in the preceding line the bottom of a possible *reš* remains.

L. 6 (7:35) The *yod* is lost because of damage to the leather at this point and on the margin. The *gimel* is almost completely preserved. The bottom of a probable *nun* is visible.

L. 8 (7:37) The base of the *bet* is almost certain. Four points signal the extremities of an *'alep*. On the leather an ink trace of a *nun* is visible.

L. 9 (7:38) Only the left stroke of an *'alep* is preserved. The *bet* has lost its base.

L. 11 (7:39) The top right angle of a probable *taw* is visible.

L. 12 (7:40) A faint trace of the vertical stroke of a *reš* is visible.

L. 13 (7:40) The *mem* is certain although only its right side is preserved.

L. 14 (7:41) On the leather an ink trace of the bottom of the *kap* forms a ligature with the *waw*.

L. 15 (7:42) The trace of ink to the left of *reš* could be either a *yod* or a *mem* (cf. מִן דַּרְמִים).

VARIANTS

- 7 36 (7) מַעֲבָר מִן כַּמְעַר] מַעֲבָר. Cf. the equally obscure parallel מַעֲבָר in מ at 7:30; and note the similar כ/ס change in מַעֲבָר 1QIsa^a/מַעֲבָר מ at Isa 40:17.
- 7:37 (8) מִן קָצֵב] סָט וְקָצֵב. מ omits אַחַד קָצֵב of מ; the addition of *waw* could be an attempt better to integrate this gloss in the context (cf. 6:25).
- 7 40 (12) הַסִּירָח מִן הַכִּירָח] מִן הַכִּירָח 2 Chr 4:11. מִן הַסִּירָח 43 MSS Kenn. מִן הַכִּירָח 2 Chr 4:11.

Frg. 6 1 Kings 7:51-8:9

אֵל בֵּיתִן	1
אֲשֵׁי הַמִּשְׁחָה נִשְׂאֵן	(8.1) 2
אֲבִירָה יְהוָה מַעֲרִיר דָּן	(2) 3
עַם בְּחַג הוּא חֹדֶשׁ הַשָּׁנָה	(3) 4
וְעָלָה אֶת אֲרוֹן יְהוָה וְאֶת אֹתֹתָיו	5
לְכַתֹּבִים וְהַלְלוּם יְהוָה וְהַמְלִיךְ שְׁלֹמֹה וְכָל	6
אֲבָחִים צִאֵן וּבִקֵּר אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִסְפְּרוּ וְלֹא	7
יִיָּדְעוּ אֵל מִקְדֹּשׁ לְדַבֵּר בְּבֵית אֵל קֹדֶשׁ	(6) 8
וְאֵם פְּרָשֵׁי כְנָפַיִם אֵל מְקוֹם הָאֲרוֹן וְיִסְכּוּ	(7) 9
אֲרָשֵׁי הַבְּרִים מִן הַקֹּדֶשׁ	(8) 10
וְיָרֶם שְׁעֵי הַלְּחֹחַ הָאֲבָנִים	(9) 11

The left margin is extant.

L. 1 (7:51) The base of the *bet* is preserved. The bottom of the *yod* forms a ligature with the *bet*, and the lower part of its head is visible. The two vertical strokes and the base of the left leg of the *taw* are partly preserved. An ink trace visible on the right of the leather probably belongs to the base of another *taw*.

L. 2 (8:1) Only the left stroke of the *'alep* is preserved. The *sin* is partly lost but certain. Faint traces of *yod* and *'alep* are visible on the leather.

L. 5 (8:4) An ink spot on the edge of the leather may belong to an *'ayin*.

L. 6 (8:4) The left tip of the head of a *kap* is still visible. *Kap* is preferable to *waw* (כ' וזנים).

L. 11 (8:9) The extant ink traces probably correspond to the top of *rei* and *qop*.

VARIANTS

- 8:2 (4) חוש] חוש 2 Chr 5:3
 8:6 (8) לדביר] אל דביר 2 Chr 5:7
 8:7 (9) פרשי] פרשי 2 Chr 5:8
 8:7 (9) על] אל (επ) 2 Chr 5:8
 8:7 (9) ויכבו] ויכבו 2 Chr 5:8
 8:9 (11) לחוח 2 Chr 5:10] לחוח 2 Chr 5:10. The duplication of the article in this MS (הלוחות האבנים) probably reflects the double reading לחוח האבנים (2 Chr 5:10) / לחוח הבריית (4QKgs, 2 Chr), cf. the similar duplicate in 2 Kgs 7:13 והמון ישראל... ישראל (המון).

Frg. 7 1 Kings 8:16-18

]היות נגיד על עמי	1
]היות על עמי על	(17) 2
]שראל ¹⁸ ויאמר	3

All letters are certain, although many of them are damaged. In line 3 an ink trace above the *sin* is visible.

VARIANTS

- 8:16 (1)]היות נגיד על עמי] > 2 Chr 6:5. The text partially preserved by this MS belongs to a reading lost by homoioteleuton in 2 Chr 6:5, but preserved in the parallel text 2 Chr 6:5b-6a:
 להיות עמי עם ולא בחרו באיש להיות נגיד על עמי ישראל ואבחר ביהושע
 להיות עמי עם ואבחר ביהושע להיות נגיד על עמי ישראל
 The second part of the reading lost by 2 Chr 6:5 is attested also by 2 Chr 6:5b and 2 Chr 6:6: καὶ ἐξελεξάμεθα ἐν 'Ιερουσαλὴμ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μου ἐκεῖ (cf. the reconstruction of lines below).
- 8:16 (2) על] > 2 Chr 6:6

Frg. 8 Unidentified Fragment

כִּוְהַנִּים

1

אִשֶׁר כִּנְל

2

]וְהָ

3

(left? or) bottom margin

Frg. 8 preserves either a left margin or more probably a bottom margin, which would reach 18 mm. A further line may have existed beneath line 3, traces of which would not have been preserved if the line ended before an interval. The distance between lines varies from 6 to 7 mm.

Frg. 8 is physically very similar to frgs. 1-7 of 4QKgs. The script here, however, seems more Herodian than the still transitional hand of frgs. 1-7. The letters on this fragment are of greater caliber and more elongated, and particularly *kap* and *šin* differ from those on the other fragments. The big head of the *kap* on frg. 8 contrasts with the imperceptible head of the other exemplars. The *šin* is made in three movements, not in two, as on the other fragments. The size of the *reš* is greater and not as angular. Although the *he* may be the same, the probable *yod* of line 1 differs from the *yod* with the angular head of the other fragments (cf. 7 2).

It is therefore not certain that this fragment belongs to 4QKgs, although it is not impossible. The fragment appears with frgs. 1-7 on PAM 43.079 but not on the older PAM 42.279. Moreover, the preserved text has no counterpart in \mathfrak{M} of Kings; given the strong 'massoretic' character of the other fragments, this fact can be a further argument that this fragment did not belong to 4QKgs.

There is now an additional fragment located with frgs. 1-8 in the museum, although it has not been photographed and is therefore not on Plate XXXVII. Measuring 2.5 mm high and 3 mm wide, it preserves only the letter *reš* which is more similar in shape to the *reš* on frg. 8 than to those of the other fragments.

L 1 The vertical stroke forming a ligature with the *nun* could belong to a *yod*. An ink trace on the edge could belong to a final *mem*, possibly completing the word כִּוְהַנִּים, 'priests'.

L 2 The final letter may be a *waw*, although a *yod* is also possible. The reading אִשֶׁר כִּנְל is probable.

L 3 There is a trace of an unidentifiable letter on the left edge of the leather. The *het* is damaged but certain. The preceding ink spot could signal the head of a *yod*.

Reconstruction of the Columns

The evidence and clues discussed below help us see how the extant fragments fit into two contiguous columns, and also permit us some further speculation. I am grateful to Prof. Hartmut Stegemann of Göttingen who provided the following data and analysis.

The evidence of the originals of the extant fragments clearly shows that frg. 6 was on the layer above frg. 5 in a pile of similarly shaped fragments.

The text of frg. 5 comes from 1 Kgs 7:31-42.

The text of frg. 6 comes from 1 Kgs 7:51-8:9.

Therefore, (a) frg. 6 comes from a place *left* of frg. 5 and (b) this scroll was damaged at a time when the beginning of the text was outside and the end of the text inside the scroll.

The reconstruction of the biblical text left of frg. 5 and right of frg. 6 results in columns about 11.5 cm wide.

The distance between correspondent points of damage in frg. 5 and frg. 6 is then about 21 cm.

Since the patterns of damage in the upper left part of frg. 5 and the upper left part of frg. 6 are very similar and the texts on the two fragments are very near to one another, there would have been no other fragment intervening between them.

Therefore, the relatively large distance of about 21 cm between corresponding points of damage clearly demonstrates that those fragments were very far from the end of the scroll when the scroll sustained its damage.

Up to this point, every statement is quite exact and in no way 'speculative', but the following arguments are more hypothetical.

The two columns of this scroll represented by frgs. 1-7 cover roughly the text of four pages of *BHS*. Therefore, one may conclude that, on the average, one column of 4QKgs corresponds to approximately two pages of *BHS*.

From the text represented by frgs. 1-7 (1 Kgs 7:19-8:19) to the end of the book of 2 Kings, there are in *BHS* (p. 674 minus p. 574 =) 100 pages; this corresponds to 50 columns in this scroll. In 4QKgs, one column plus the margin between it and the next column measured c.12.5 cm, thus eight complete columns would measure one meter of the scroll, and the 50 columns would measure 6.25 meters.

This evidence is illuminated by the *Temple Scroll* (11QT^a), where the width of the columns (including margins) similarly averages c.12.5 cm, even though individual column widths vary. 11QT^a had 66 columns, plus a 'long' handle sheet at its end; and 11QT^a was also damaged with the end of its text inside (like 4QKgs).

The fiftieth column before the end of 11QT^a is its col. XVI. Here the distances between corresponding points of damage are about 14 cm, as opposed to the 21 cm for 4QKgs. The leather of 11QT^a is very thin: evidently, each turn of this scroll took 1 mm more than the preceding turn, or, in other words, the distances between corresponding points of damage increase 1 mm after each turn, from one layer of the scroll to the next one.

The leather of the fragments of 4QKgs is a little bit thicker than that of 11QT^a. Therefore, it seems plausible that the 'increase' from turn to turn in the 4QKgs scroll was about 1.5 mm. In that case the scroll would end with the conclusion of the Book of 2 Kings—50 columns (or 6.25 meters) to the left of the column represented by frg. 5.

Reconstruction Col. II 1 Kings 7:42-8:19

55	לכסות את שתי גלגל הכתרת אשר על פני העמודים ⁴³ ואת המכות עשר ואת הכרת	1
52	עשרה על המכות ⁴⁴ ואת הים האחד ואת הבקר שנים עשר חתת הים ⁴⁵ ואת הסירות	2
57	ואת היעים ואת המורקות ואת כל הכלים האהל אשר עשה חדרם למלך שלמה בית ידוה	3
54	נחשת מרש ⁴⁶ בככר הורדן יצקם המלך במעבה הארסה בין סכות ובין צרתן ⁴⁷ וינח	4
54	שלמה את כל הכלים מרב מאד מאד לא נחקר משקל נחשת ⁴⁸ ויעש שלמה את כל הכלים	5
55	אשר בית ידוה את מוכב החרב ואת השלחן אשר עליו לחם הפנים וזב ⁴⁹ ואת המצות	6
55	חמש מימין וחמש משמאל לפני הדביר וזב סגור והפירח והנחת והמלקחים וזב	7
54	⁵⁰ והספות והמזרות והמורקות והכפות והמתוחות וזב סגור והפחות לדלתות	8
	ובית הפנים לקדש הקדשים לדלתו הבית להיכל וזב <i>vacat</i>	9
55	⁵¹ והשלם כל המלאכה אשר עשה המלך שלמה בית ידוה ויבא שלמה את קרשי דוד אביו	10
	את הכסף ואת הזהב ואת הכלים נתן באצרות בית ידוה <i>vacat</i>	11
54	^{8:1} אז יקרא שלמה את זקני ישראל את כל ראשי המסות נשאי האבות לפני ישראל	12
56	אל המלך שלמה יירשם להעלות את ארון ברית ידוה מעיר הורד היא ציון ² ויקהלו	13
52	אל המלך שלמה כל איש ישראל בירת האתנים בנת הוא חרש השכיבי ³ ויבאו כל	14
51	זקני ישראל וישאו הכתנים את הארון ⁴ ויעלו את ארון ידוה ואת אהל מעד	15
54	ואת כל כלי הקדש אשר באהל ויעלו אותם הכתנים והגלים ⁵ המלך שלמה וכל עדת	16
54	ישראל הנערים עליו אחו לפני הארון מובחים צאן ובקר אשר לא יספרו ולא	17
52	ימנו מרב ⁶ ויבאו הכתנים את ארון ברית ידוה אל מקמו לדביר הבית אל קדש	18
56	הקדשים אל החזן כנפי הכרובים ⁷ כי הכרובים פרשו כנפים אל מקום הארון ויסכו	19
57	הכרובים על הארון ועל כריו מלמעלה ⁸ ויארכו הכרובים ויראו ראשי הכרובים מן הקדש	20
63	על פני הדביר ולא יראו החוצה ויהיו שם עד היום הזה ⁹ אין בארון ראשי הכרובים מן הקדש	21
51	אשר נחם שם משה בחרב אשר כרת ידוה עם בני ישראל בצאצאם מארץ מצרים ¹⁰ ויהי	22
54	בצאת הכתנים מן הקדש והענן מלא את בית ידוה ¹¹ ולא יכלו הכתנים לעמד לשרת	23
	מפני הענן כי מלא כבוד ידוה את בית ידוה <i>vacat</i>	24
50	¹² אז אמר שלמה ידוה אמר לשכן בערפלי ¹³ בנה בניתי בית וכל לך מכון לשכחך	25
51	עולמים ¹⁴ ויסכו המלך את פניו ויברך את כל קהל ישראל וכל קהל ישראל עמד	26
52	¹⁵ ויאמר ברוך ידוה אלהי ישראל אשר דבר בפני את דוד אבי ובידו מלא לאמר	27
51	¹⁶ מן היום אשר הוצאתי את עמי את ישראל ממצרים לא בחרתי בעיר מכל שבטי	28
54	ישראל לבנות בית ליהוה שמי שם ולא בחרתי באיש ליהוה עבד על עמי ישראל	29
52	ואבחר בירושלם ליהוה שמי שם ואבחר ברוד ליהוה על עמי על ישראל ¹⁷ ויהי	30
52	עם לבב דוד אבי לבנות בית לשם ידוה אלהי ישראל ¹⁸ ויאמר ידוה אל דוד אבי	31
50	יען אשר היה עם לבבך לבנות בית לשמי הטיבתי כי היה עם לבבך ¹⁹ רק אחוה לא	32

Reconstruction Col. I 1 Kings 7:19-42

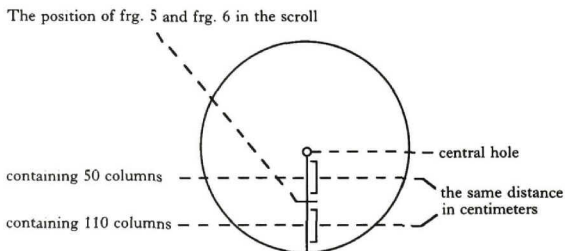
52	באלם ארבע אמה וכתרה על שני העמודים גם ממעל למעמ' <u>זבסן אשר לעבר</u>	1	1
54	שבכה והדמונים מאחים שרים סביב על הכתרה השנית ²¹ וייקם את <u>העמודים</u> לאלם	1	2
	היכל ויקם את העמוד הימני ויקרא את שמו יכין ויקם את <u>העמוד השמאלי</u>	1	3
50	ויקרא את שמו באז ²² ועל ראש העמודים מעשה ששן ותחם מלאכת העמודים <i>vocat</i>		4
55	²³ ויעש את הים מוצק עשר באמה משפתו עד שפתו עגל סביב וחמש באמה קומתו וקזה		5
53	שלשים באמה יסב ארוז סביב ²⁴ ופקעים מתחה לשפתו סביב סבבים ארוז עשר באמה		6
53	מקפים את הים סביב שני סורים הפקעים יצקים ביצקו ²⁵ עמד על שני עשר בקר		7
56	שלשה פנים צפתה ושלשה פנים ימה ושלשה פנים נגבה ושלשה פנים מורחה והים	2	8
55	עליהם מלמעלה וכל אוריהם ביחה ²⁶ ועביו שש ושפתו כמעשה שש כוס פרח ששן	2	9
	אלפים בת יכיל <i>vocat</i> ²⁷ ויעש את המכונת עשר נחשת ארבע	2	10
56	באמה ארך המכונה האחת וארבע באמה רחבה ושלש באמה קומתה ²⁸ חזה מעשה המכונה		11
54	מסגרת להם ומסגרת בין השלבים ²⁹ ועל המסגרות אשר בין השלבים אריוח בקר		12
56	וכרובים ועל השלבים כן ממעל ומתחת לאריות ולבקר ליות מעשה מרד ³⁰ ואיבנה	3-4	13
57	אופני נחשת למכונה האחת וסרני נחשת וארבעה פעמחין כחפות להם מחותן לכיור	3-4	14
52	הכחפות יצקות מעבר איש ליות ³¹ ופיהו מביח לכתרה ומעלה באמה ופיהו עגל	3-4	15
48	מעשה כן אמה חצי האמה וגם על פיה מקלעה ומסגרתים מרבעות לא	5	16
62	עגלות ³² וארבעת האופנים למתחת למסגרות וידוה האופנים במכונה וקומת האופן האחד	5	17
49	אמה חצי ³³ האמה ובעשה האופנים כמעשה אופן המרכבה ידוהם וגביהם	5	18
51	וחשקיהם וחשקיהם ³⁴ ויעש ארבעה כחפות אל ארבע פנות המכונה האחת	5	19
54	מן המכונה לחפיה ³⁵ ובאש המכונה חצי האמה קומה עגל סביב ועל ראש המכונה	5	20
49	ויחדה ומסגרתיה ממנה ³⁶ ויפוחה על הלחת ידחיה ועל ומסגרתיה כרובים	5	21
53	אריות והמירות ממער איש ליות סביב ³⁷ כזאת עשה את עשר המכונות מוצק אחד	5	22
	מדה אחת וקצב אחד לכלתנה <i>vocat</i> ³⁸ ויעש עשרה כירות נחשת ארבעים בת	5	23
53	יכל הכיור האחד ארבע באמה הכיור האחד כיור אחד על המכונה האחת לעשר	5	24
50	המכונות ³⁹ ויתן את המכונה חמש על כתף הבית מימין וחמש על כתף הבית	5	25
49	משמאל ואין הים נתן מכתף הבית הימנית קדמה ממול ⁴⁰ ויעש חדרים	5	26
52	את הסינות ואת היעים ואת המורקות ויכל חדרם לעשות את כל המלאכה אשר	5	27
57	עשה להלך שלמה בית ידוה ⁴¹ ועמודים שנים ונלח הכתרה אשר על ראש העמודים שחים	5	28
45	וחשבנות שחים לכמות את שחי נלח הכתרה אשר על ראש העמודים	5	29
50	ואת הרים ארבע מאות לשחי השבכות שני סורים רמים לשבכה האחת ⁴²	5	30

But the question now is how to determine where the original scroll began.

Most of the more than 800 scrolls from the Qumran caves are badly damaged, and usually only a few fragments of each survived. Statistically, about half of those 'remaining fragments of a particular scroll' come from the middle layers of the scroll as it had been deposited, i.e., the outer as well as the inner layers of those scrolls were destroyed—mainly by humidity—and only some fragments which were roughly equidistant from the inner hole of the scroll and from its outmost layer could survive.

If indeed, as the statistical evidence indicates, the fragments surviving from 4QKgs also come from the middle layers of the original scroll, this scroll must have been a very large one, containing the books of Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, and 1–2 Kings.

From the beginning of the book of Joshua (p. 354 in *BHS*) to the 4QKgs fragments (p. 574 top), there are about 220 pages. This would correspond to about 110 columns in our scroll, agreeing very well with the position of the surviving fragments in what had been the middle of the scroll:



In this case, the scroll would have contained a total of 160 columns, and its length would have been 160 x 12.5 cm = 20 meters. This is highly speculative; but it may not be impossible (Torah scrolls were still longer!).

Reconstruction of the Lines

On most scrolls, the number of lines per column is the same within a given sheet. In the complete Isaiah scroll (1QIsa^a), however, there are three sheets which contain columns with differing numbers of regular lines (see M. Burrows, *The DSS of St. Mark's Monastery* [New Haven: ASOR, 1950] pp. xvii-xviii):

Sheet	Col.	Number	Sheet	Col.	Number	Sheet	Col.	Number
	(= plate)	of lines		(= plate)	of lines		(= plate)	of lines
IV	XII	31	VIII	XXVI	32	XII	XXXVII	29
	XIII	31		XXVII	29		XXXVIII	30
	XIV	32					XXXIX	31
	XV	32					XL	32

Also in 4QKgs, col. II may have had one line, or two lines (!), more than col. I within the same space from the top to the bottom of the column (see the reconstruction of cols. I-II above). The lines of frg. 6 were evidently closer together than those of frg. 5 (see frg. 2 i-ii, where the line with *לשבת* in the left column is slightly higher than the third line in the right column with *ארבע*; thus it is closer to the top of its column). Therefore, line II 15 of our final reconstruction will have been still closer to the top of its column than the corresponding line I 16. According to Prof. Stegemann's estimation, col. II had 32 lines; but the distance from line II 32 to the bottom of the scroll would have been the same as that from I 30 to the bottom. For similar evidence, see 4Q405 (*Shir Shabbat*) frg. 3A (Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* [Atlanta: 1985], Pl. VI).

The main consequence of this reconstruction is that we are able to establish that the letters *לשבתן* in frg. 2 ii are to be fixed at the beginning of line 9 (or 10) of the column that follows frgs. 2-5. These letters form the word *לשבת*, which is not found in the \mathfrak{M} of Kings but is present in a parallel passage of 1 Chr 28:12 (*הלשבות*). Both the passage in Kings (vv 48-51) and that in 1 Chronicles 28:12-18 contain the same terms but they are more developed and occur in a different order in Chronicles: cf. *כל הכלים* (1 Chr 28:13); *אוצרות* (v 12), *הקדשים* (v 17), *המזבחות* (v 15), *המזרח* (v 16), *השולחן* (v 18), *מובח הזהב* (v 12).

Conclusion

This manuscript stands in the proto-rabbinic textual tradition. The positive evidence is provided by the readings *ויסב* and *אל* at frg. 6 9 (8:7), in agreement with \mathfrak{M} against \mathfrak{G} and Chr. The negative evidence is stronger. 4QKgs agrees with \mathfrak{M} Kgs (and Chr) against \mathfrak{G} in all the frequent and substantial variants which give to the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek its very strong character and which reflect an intensive editorial activity: the omissions in 7:20b, 30b-32a, 38b; 8:1a, 2, 3a, 4, 5-8b, the additions in 7:45b and 8:1a, the transpositions in 7:26 (placed before \mathfrak{M} 7:25); 7:51 followed by 7:1a, 2-12, 1b; 8:12-13 (placed after \mathfrak{M} 8:53), and other textual variants such as 7:27 (4QKgs \mathfrak{M} , *ארבע* \mathfrak{G}), etc.

4QKgs agrees, however, with certain Massoretic manuscripts \mathfrak{S} and 2 Chr against the erroneous \mathfrak{M} in *הכירה* at 7:40. The addition of *waw* in *וקצב* at 7:37 in agreement with \mathfrak{S} and \mathfrak{D} could have arisen independently in each witness. 4QKgs presents two peculiar variants that represent inferior readings: *דוש* in 8:2 and *פרש* (st. cstr.) in 8:7. Another peculiar reading of 4QKgs is that of *ל* for *אל* in 8:6. It cannot therefore be said that 4QKgs is completely deprived of its own character.

The most important reading of 4QKgs is the preservation of a substantial original reading of Kings, lost by homoioteleuton in 1 Kgs 8:16, but preserved in the parallel text of 2 Chr 6:5b-6a and partially preserved in the Old Greek text of 1 Kings 8:16.

INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

Exodus

12:43-44, 46-51

13:1-5

Deuteronomy

1:1-17, 22-23, 29-39, 41, 43-46

2:1-6, 28-30

2:8

2:24-36

3:14-29

3:18-22

3:24

3:25-26

4:1

4:13-17, 31-32

4:24-26

4:30-34

4:31-34

4:32-33

5:1-33

5:1-11, 13-15, 21-33

5:1-5, 8-9

5:28-32

6:1-3

6:1

6:4-11

7:3-4

7:12-16, 21-26

7:18-22

7:22-25

8:1-7, 10-11, 15-16

8:1-5

8:2-14

8:5-10

9:6-7

9:11-12, 17-19, 29

9:12-14

10:1-2, 5-8

10:12, 14-15

11:3, 9-13, 18

11:6-13

11:6-10, 12-13, 21?

12:18-19, 26, 31

13:5, 7, 11-12, 16

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^h

4QDeut^h

4QDeut^o

4QDeut^d

4QDeut^d

4QDeut^m

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^d

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^o

4QDeut^h

4QDeut^m

4QDeut^h

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^o

4QDeut^{k1}

4QDeut^f

4QDeutⁿ

4QDeut^p

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^m

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^h. n

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^{k1}

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^e

15:1-4, 15-19

16:2-3, 6-11, 21-22

17:1-5, 7, 15-20

17:17-18

18:1

18:6-10, 18-22

19:8-16

19:17-21

19:21

20:1-6

20:6-19

20:9-13

21:4-12

21:16?

21:23

22:1-9

22:12-19

23:6-8, 12-16, 22-26

23:18-20

23:21-26

23:22-26

23:26

24:1-8

24:1-3

24:1

24:2-7

24:16-22

25:1-5, 14-19

25:3-9

25:19

26:1-5, 18-19(?)

26:1-5

26:18-19

26:19

27:1-2, 24-26

27:1-10

27:1?

28:1-14, 20, 22-25, 29-30,

48-50, 61

28:15-18, 33-36, 47-52,

58-62

28:21-25, 27-29

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^{k2}

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^h

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^{k2}

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^{k2}

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^{k2}

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4QDeut^f

4QDeut^{k2}

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^f

4QDeut^{k2}

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^c

4QDeut^e

4QDeut^e

Deuteronomy (cont.)

29 2-5	4QDeut ^l
29 17-19	4QDeut ^c
29 22-25	4QDeut ^o
29 24-27	4QDeut ^b
30 3-14	4QDeut ^b
30 16-18	4QDeut ^{kj}
31 9-11	4QDeut ^h
31 9-17, 24-30	4QDeut ^b
31 12	4QDeut ^l
31 16-19	4QDeut ^e
32 1-3	4QDeut ^b
32 3	4QDeut ^c
32 7-8	4QDeut ^l
32 9-10 ² , 37-43	4QDeut ^o
32 17-18, 22-23, 25-27	4QDeut ^{kl}
33 1-2	4QDeut ^l
33 8-22	4QDeut ^h
34 4-6, 8 ²	4QDeut ^l

Joshua

2 11-12	4QJosh ^b
3 15-17	4QJosh ^b
4 1-3	4QJosh ^b
5-X, 2-7	4QJosh ^a
6 5-10	4QJosh ^a
7 12-17	4QJosh ^a
8 3-14, 18 ² , 34-35	4QJosh ^a
10 2-5, 8-11	4QJosh ^a
17 1-5, 11-15	4QJosh ^b

Judges

6 2-6, 11-13	4QJudg ^a
19 5-7	4QJudg ^b
21 12-25	4QJudg ^b

Kings

7 20-21, 25-27, 29-42, 50 ² , 51	4QKgs
8 1-9, 16-18	4QKgs

INDEX OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

4QDeut^a

23:26
24:1-8

4QDeut^b

29:24-27
30:3-14
31:9-17, 24-30
32:1-3

4QDeut^c

3:25-26
4:13-17, 31-32
7:3-4
8:1-5
9:11-12, 17-19, 29
10:1-2, 5-8
11:3, 9-13, 18
12:18-19, 26, 31
13:5, 7, 11-12, 16
15:1-4, 15-19
16:2-3, 6-11, 21-22
17:1-5, 7, 15-20
18:1
26:19
27:1-2, 24-26
28:1-14, 20, 22-25, 29-30,
 48-50, 61
29:17-19
31:16-19
32:3

4QDeut^d

2:24-36
3:14-29
4:1

4QDeut^e

3:24
7:12-16, 21-26
8:1-7, 10-11, 15-16

4QDeut^f

4:24-26
7:22-25
8:2-14
9:6-7
17:17-18
18:6-10, 18-22
19:17-21
20:1-6
21:4-12
22:12-19
23:21-26
24:2-7
25:3-9
26:18-19
27:1-10

4QDeut^g

9:12-14
23:18-20
24:16-22
25:1-5, 14-19
26:1-5
28:21-25, 27-29

4QDeut^h

1:1-17, 22-23, 29-39, 41,
 43-46
2:1-6, 28-30
4:31-34
19:21
31:9-11
33:8-22

4QDeutⁱ

20:9-13
21:23
22:1-9
23:6-8, 12-16, 22-26
24:1

4QDeut^j

5:1-11, 13-15, 21-33
6:1-3
8:5-10
11:6-10, 12-13, 21?
 Exod 12:43-44, 46-51
 Exod 13:1-5
32:7-8

4QDeut^{k1}

5:28-32
11:6-13
32:17-18, 22-23, 25-27

4QDeut^{k2}

19:8-16
20:6-19
23:22-26
24:1-3
25:19
26:1-5, 18-19(?)
27:1?
21:16?

4QDeut^{k3}

30:16-18

4QDeut^l

10:12, 14-15
28:67-68
29:2-5
31:12
33:1-2
34:4-6, 8?

4QDeut^m

3:18-22
4:32-33
7:18-22

4QDeut^a	4QDeut^a	4:1-3
8.5-10	32:9-10?, 37-43	17:1-5, 11-15
5 1-33		
6 1	4QJosh^a	4QJudg^a
	8:34-35	6:2-6, 11-13
4QDeut^c	5:X, 2-7	
2 8	6:5-10	4QJudg^b
4 30-34	7:12-17	19:5-7
5 1-5, 8-9	8 3-14, 18?	21:12-25
28 15-18, 33-36, 47-52, 58-62	10:2-5, 8-11	
29 22-25		4QKgs
	4QJosh^b	1 Kgs 7:20-21, 25-27, 29-42, 50?, 51
4QDeut^p	2:11-12	8:1-9, 16-18
6 4-11	3 15-17	

PLATES

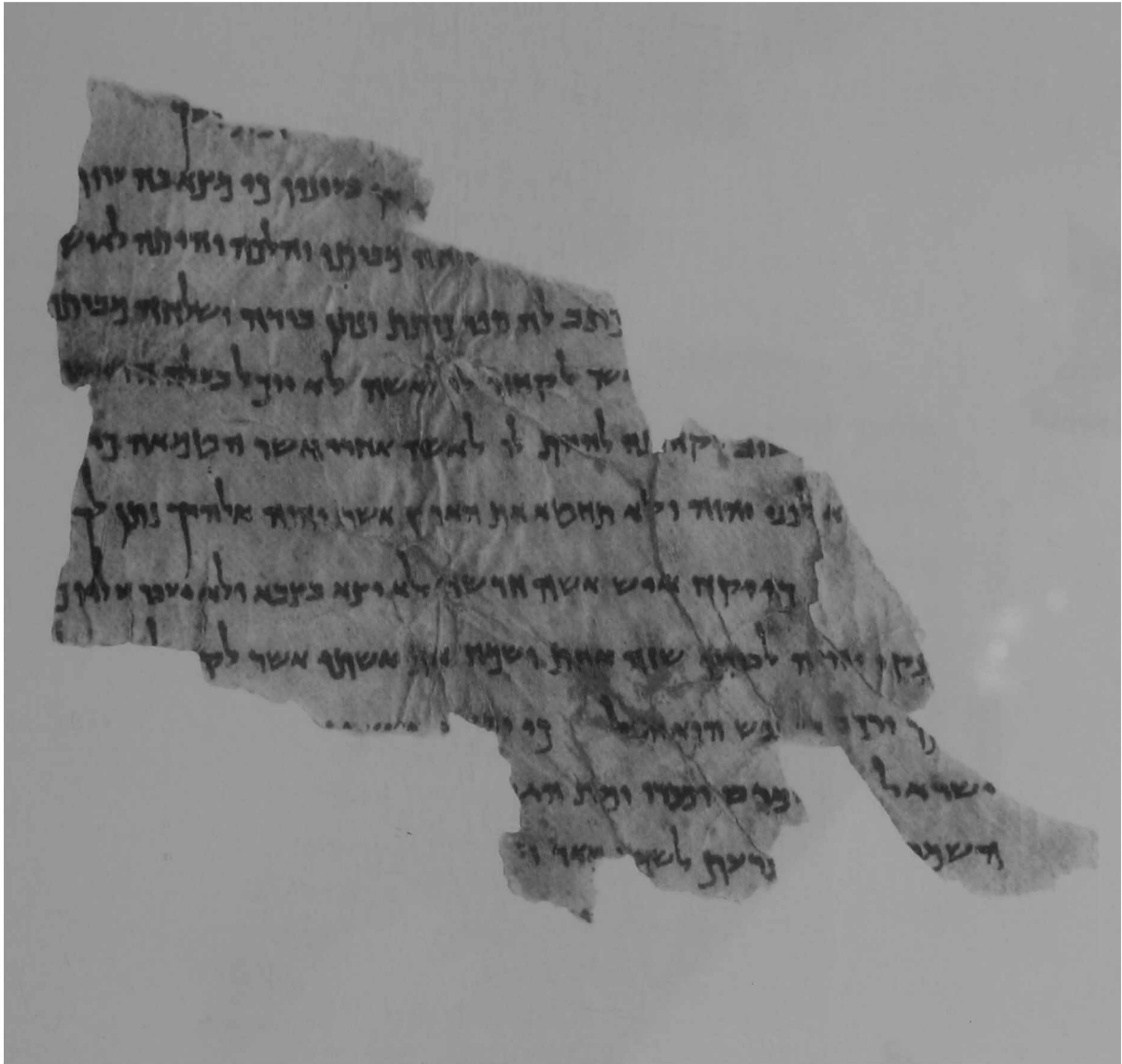
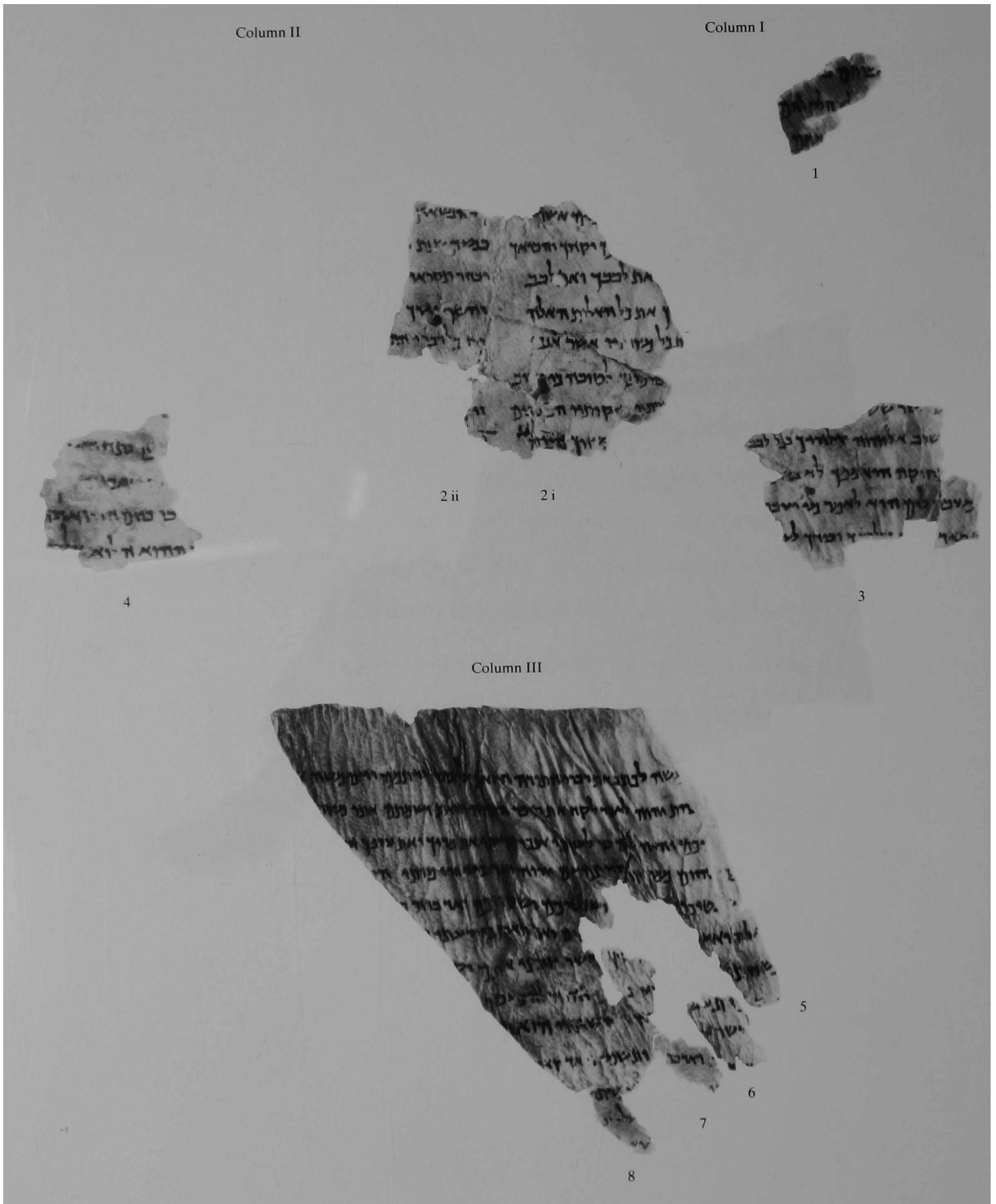
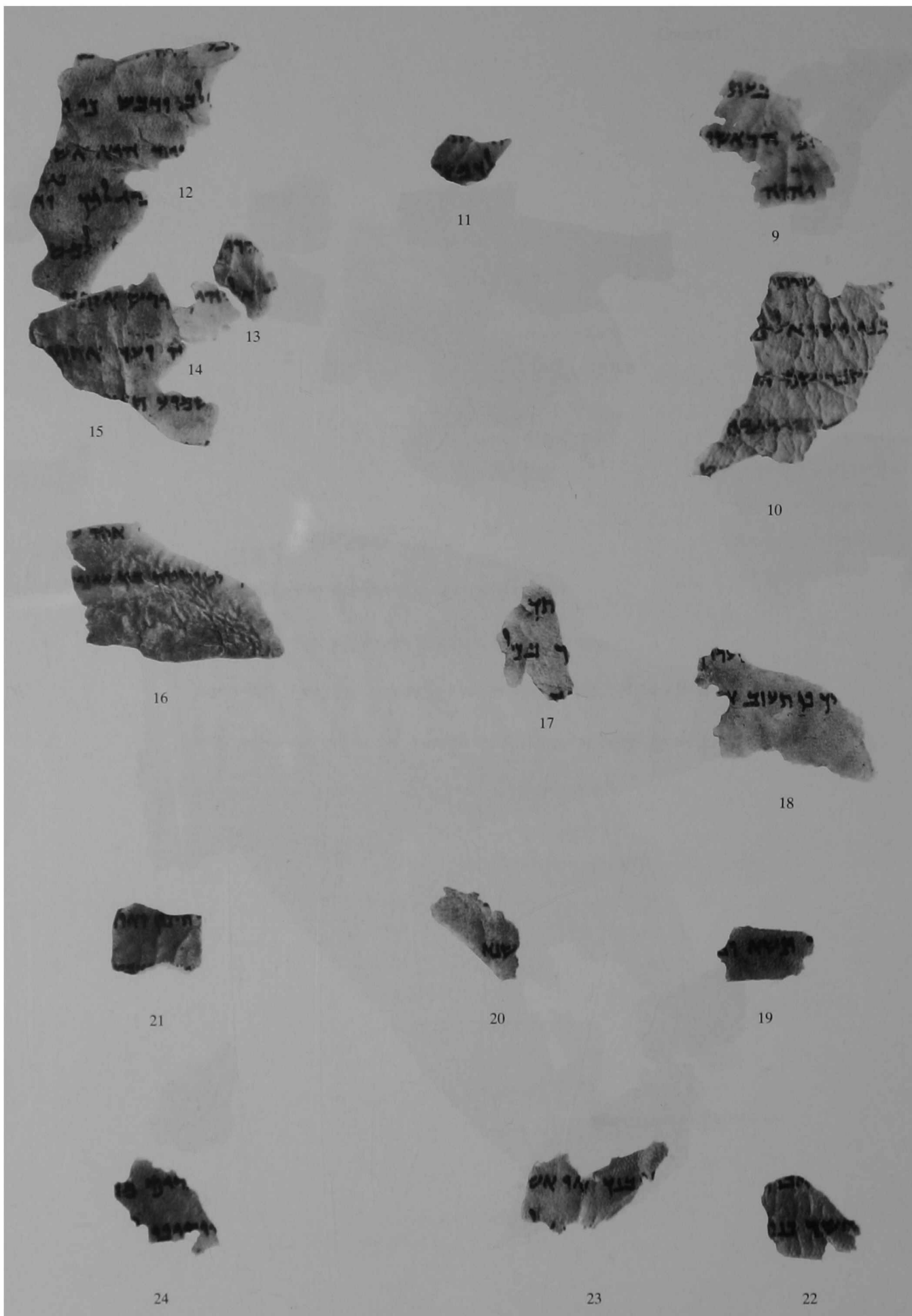
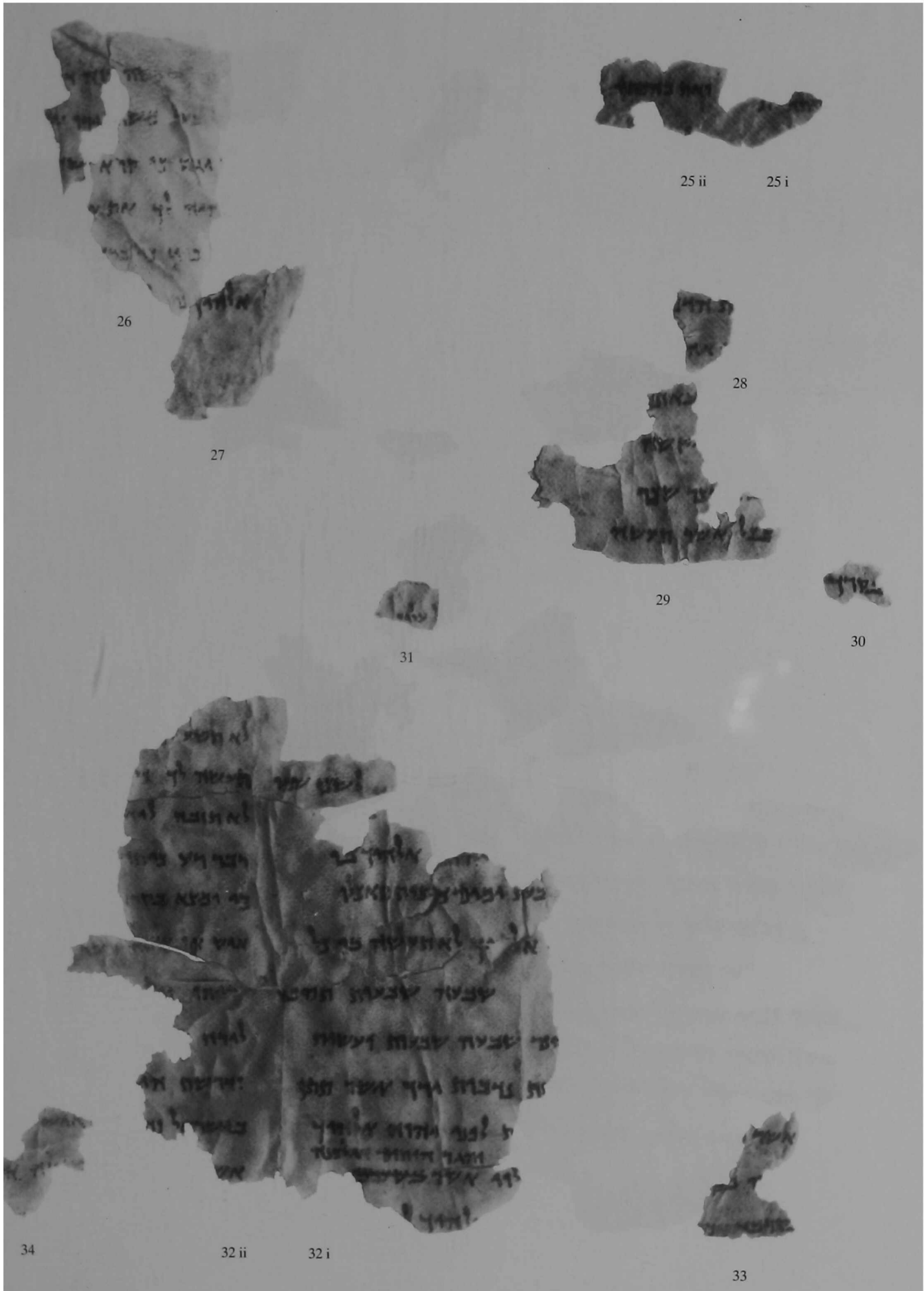


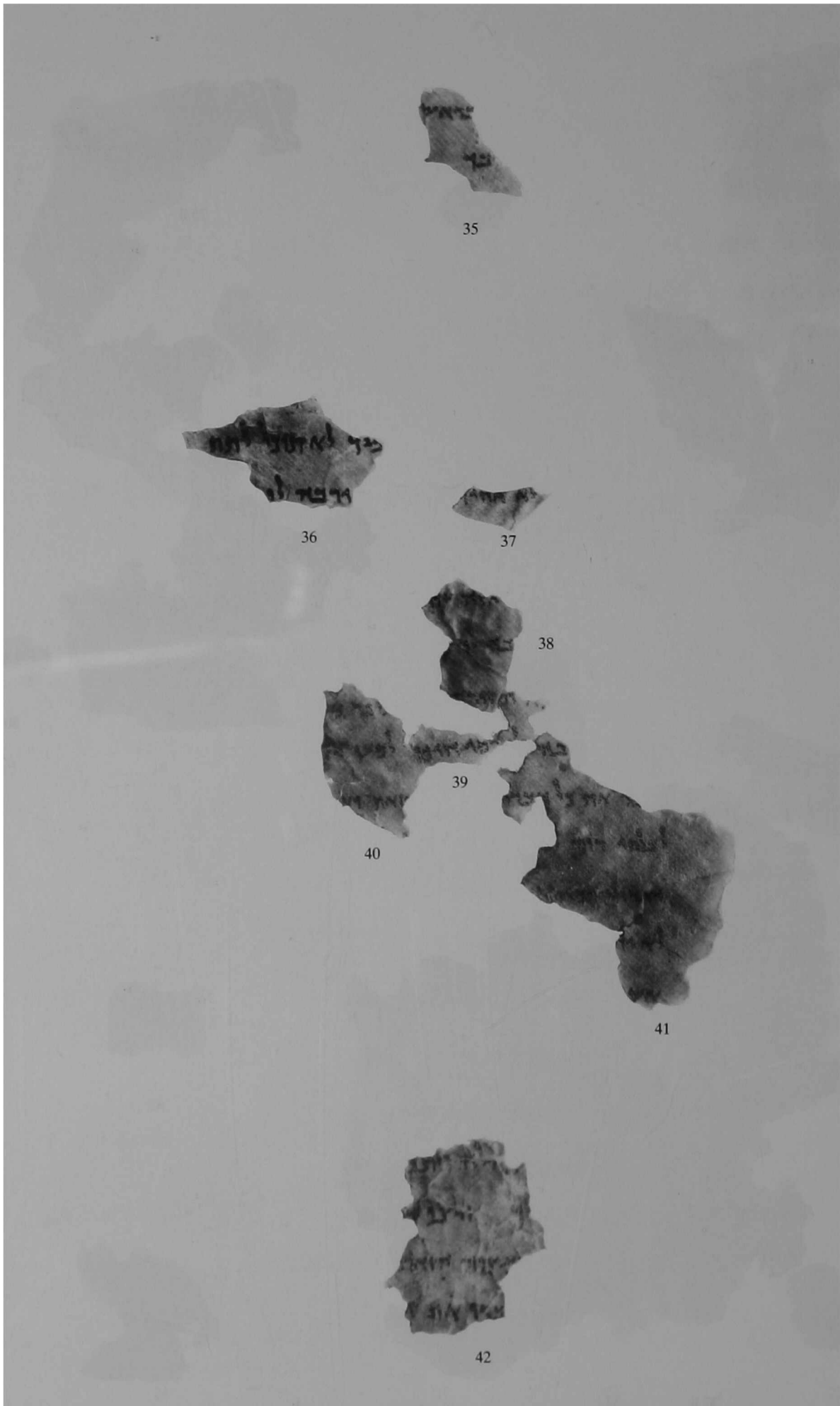
PLATE II





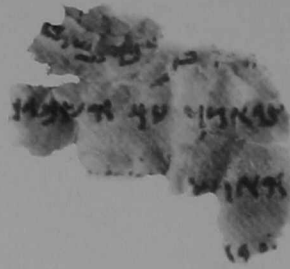




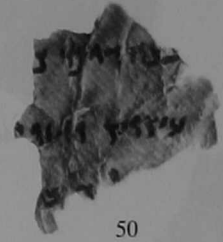




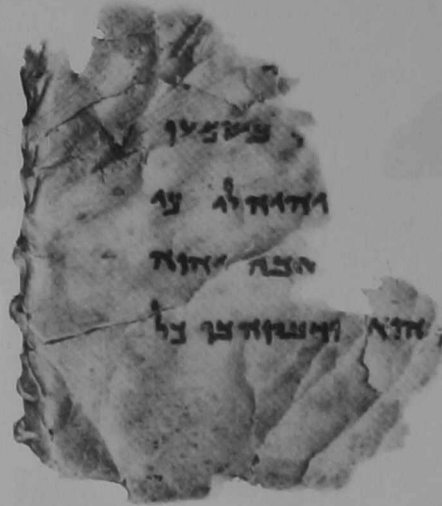
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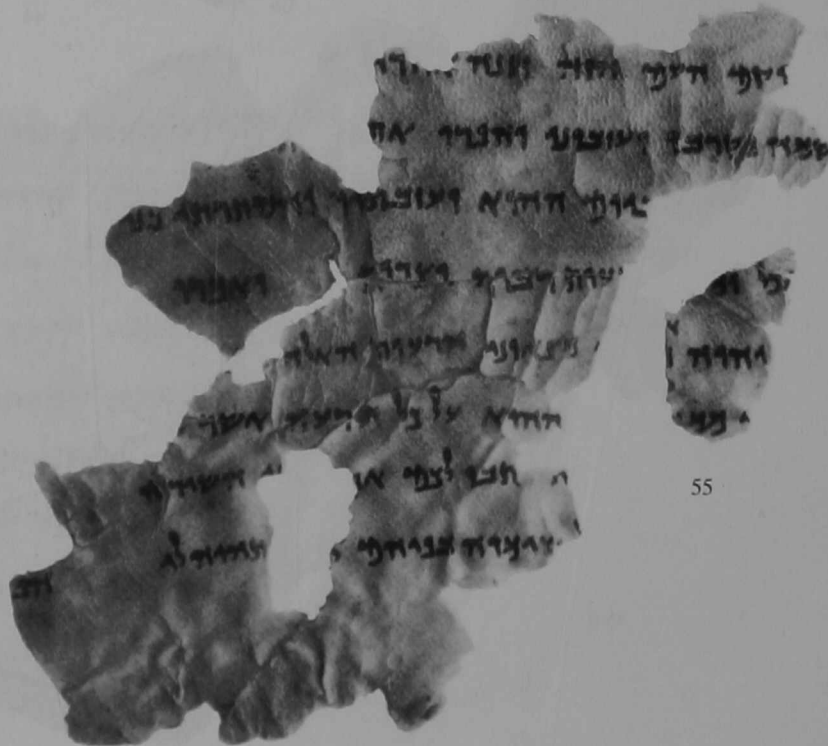
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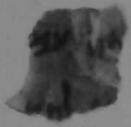
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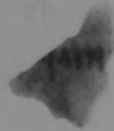
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54 i



56



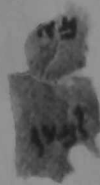
57



58



59



60



61



62



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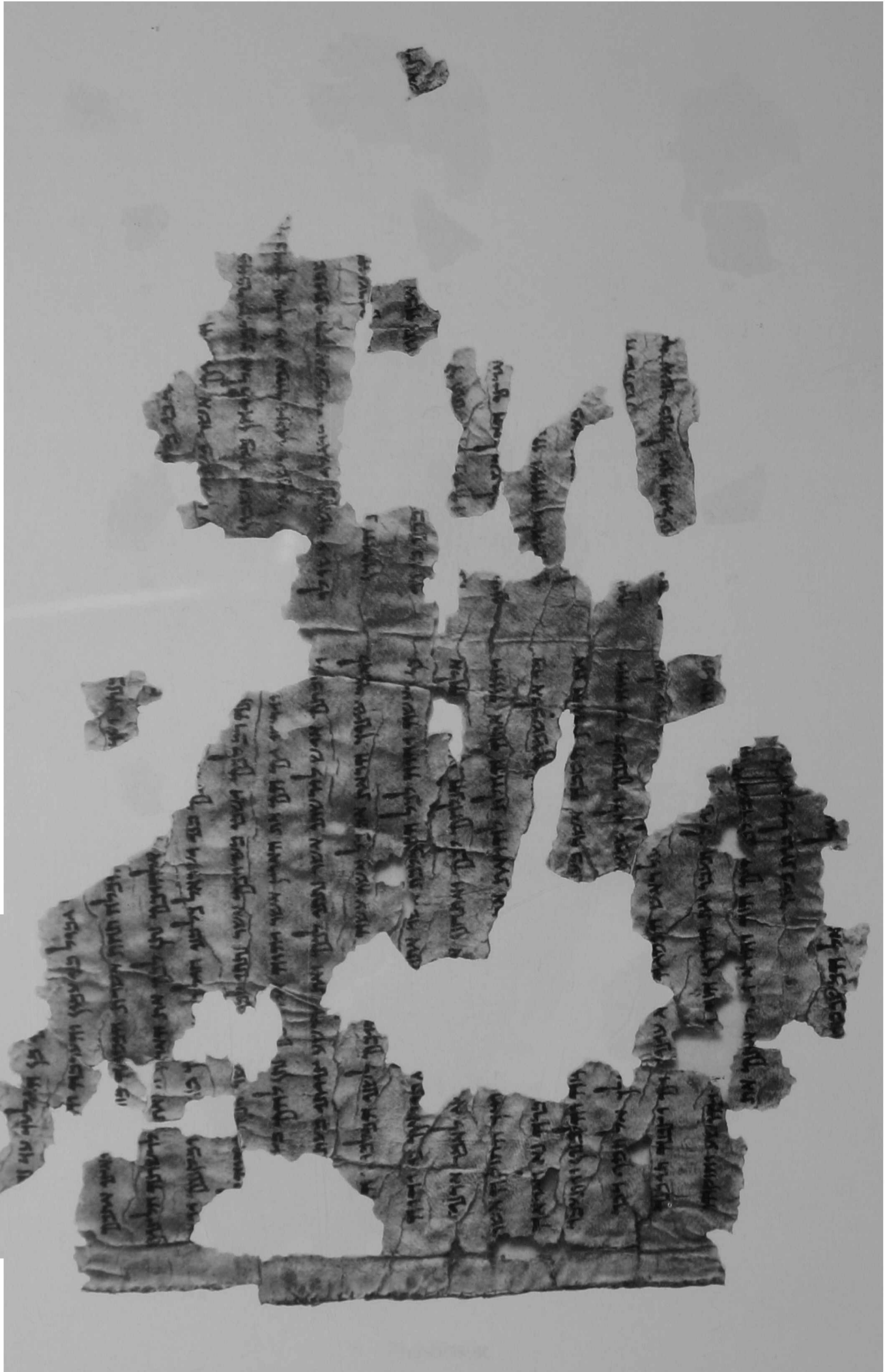


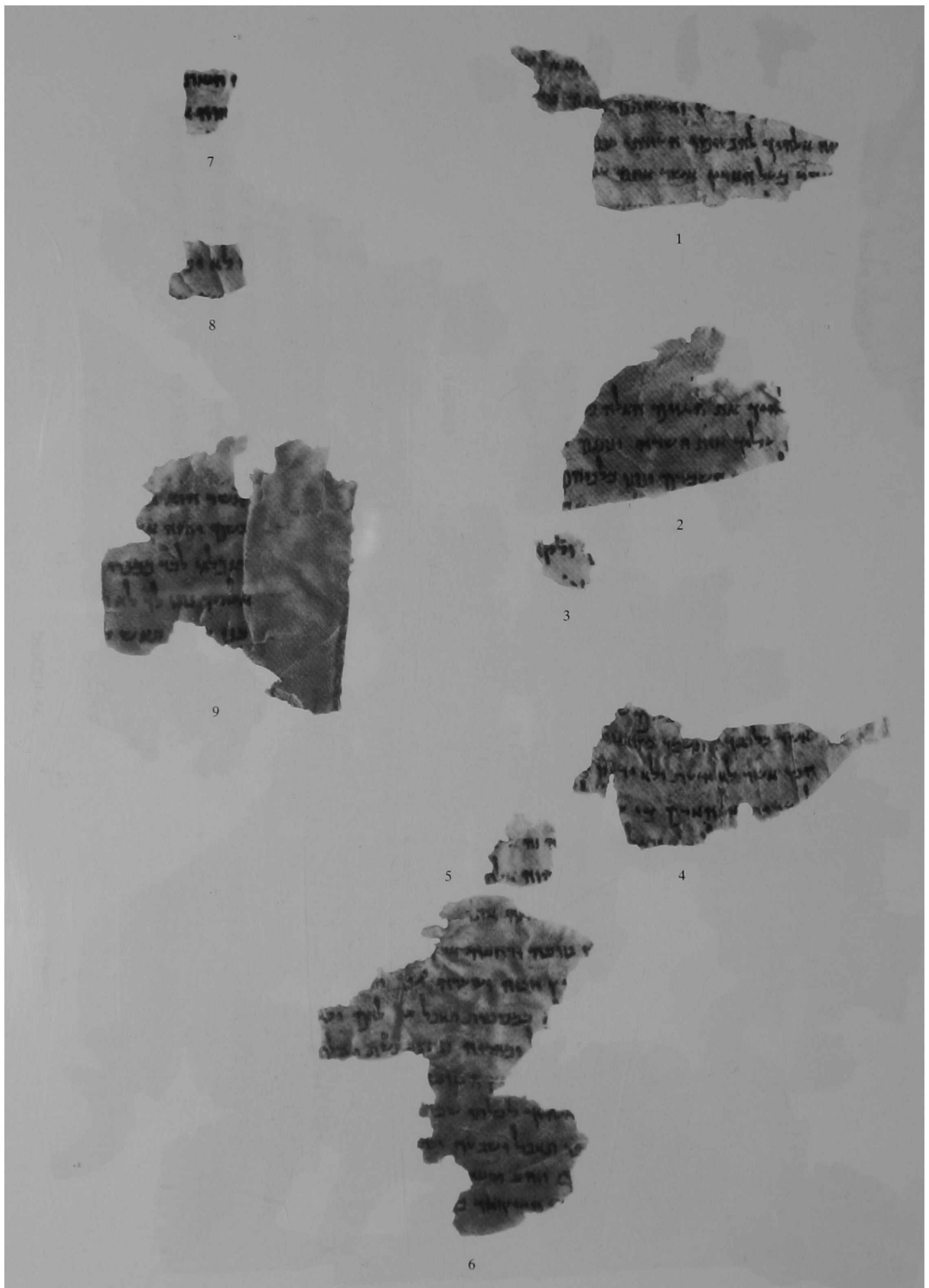
65

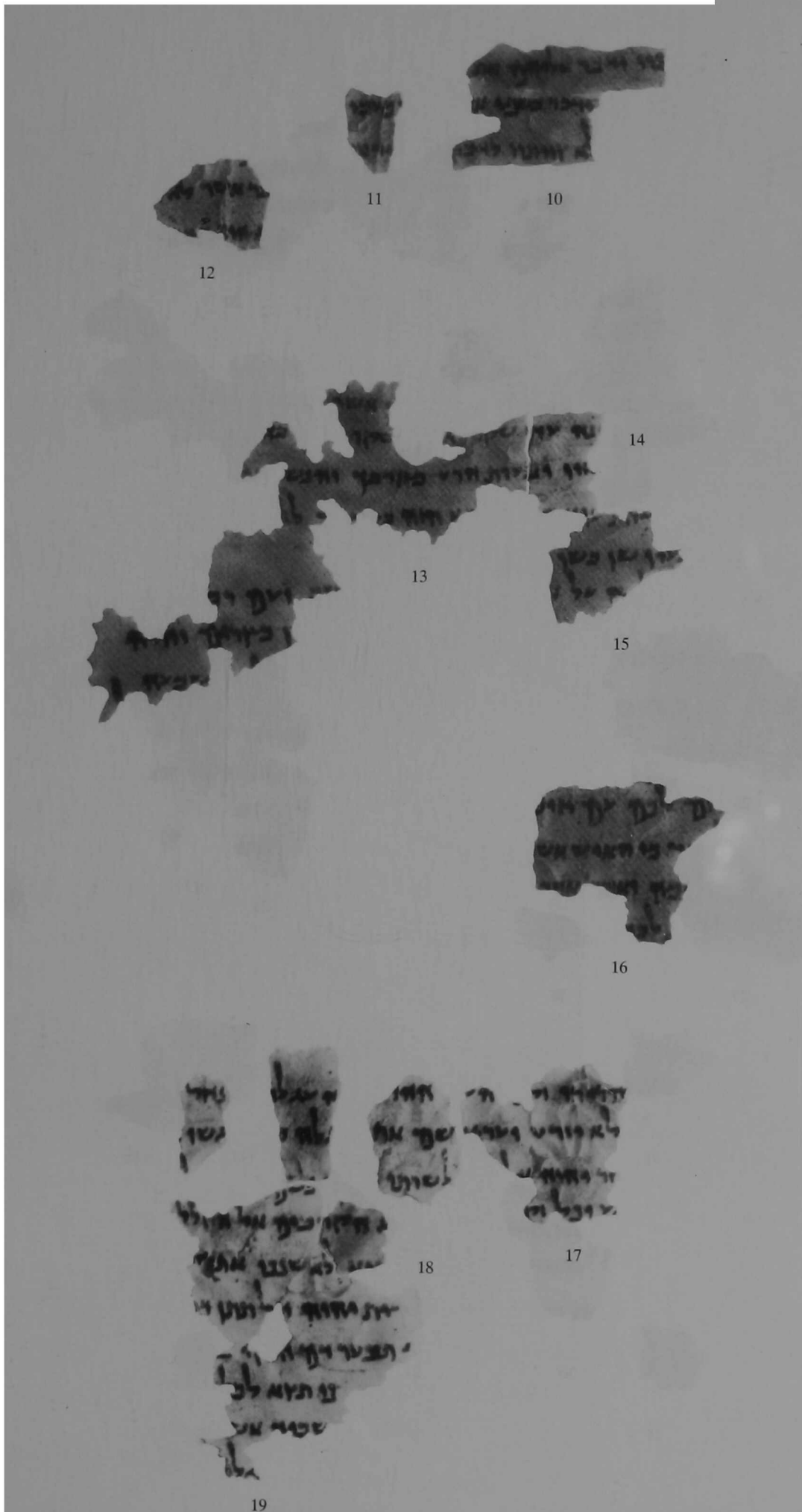


66

Column II

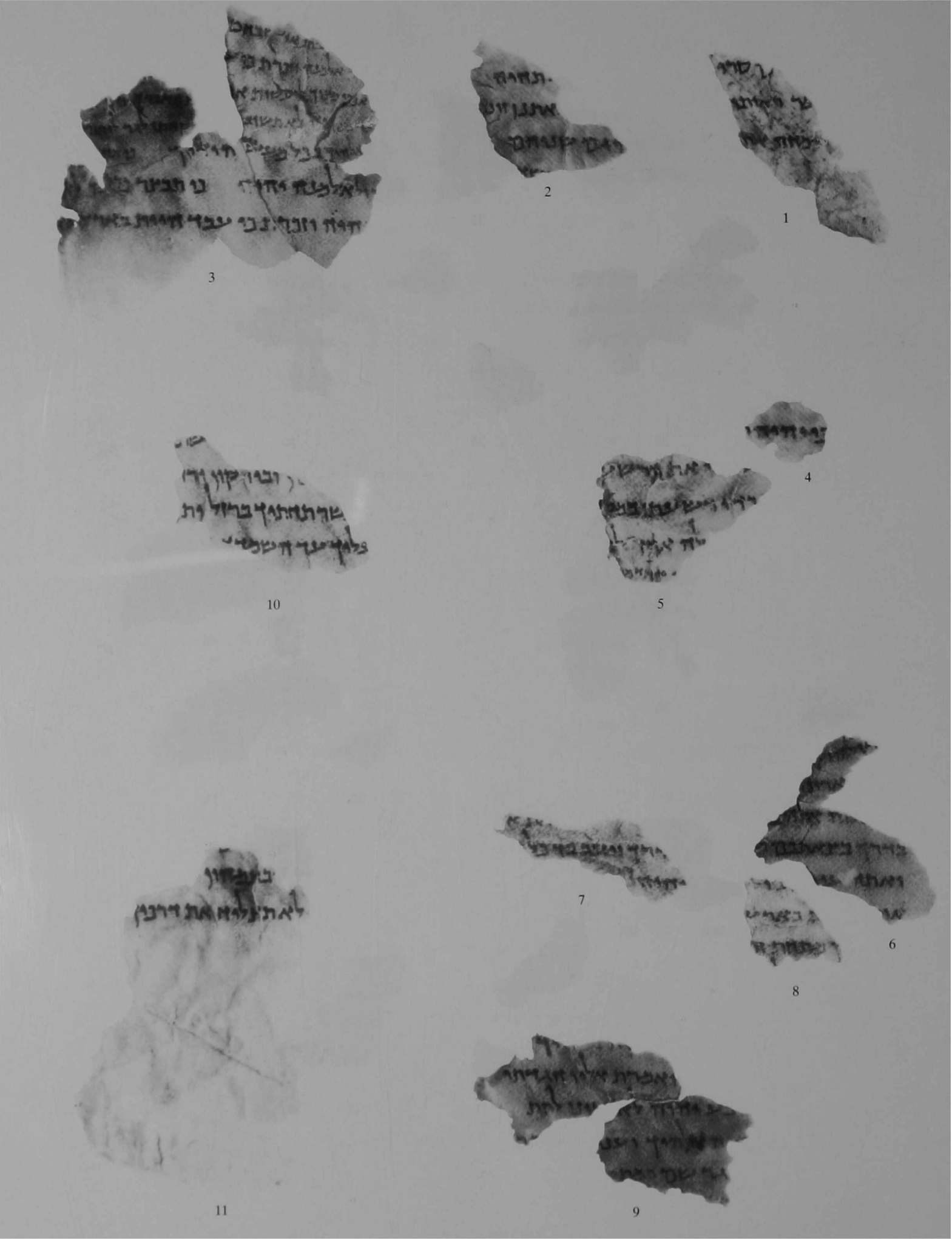


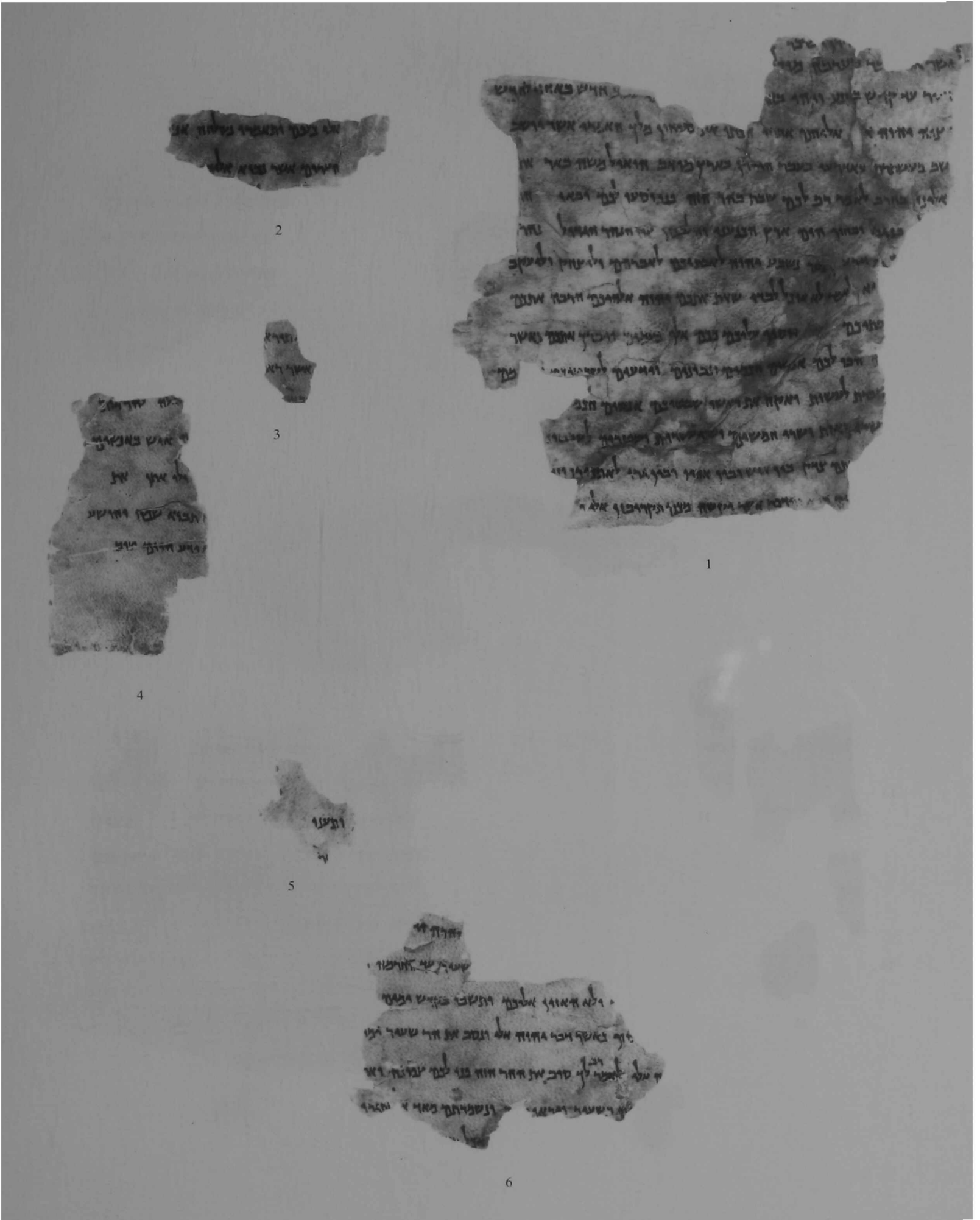












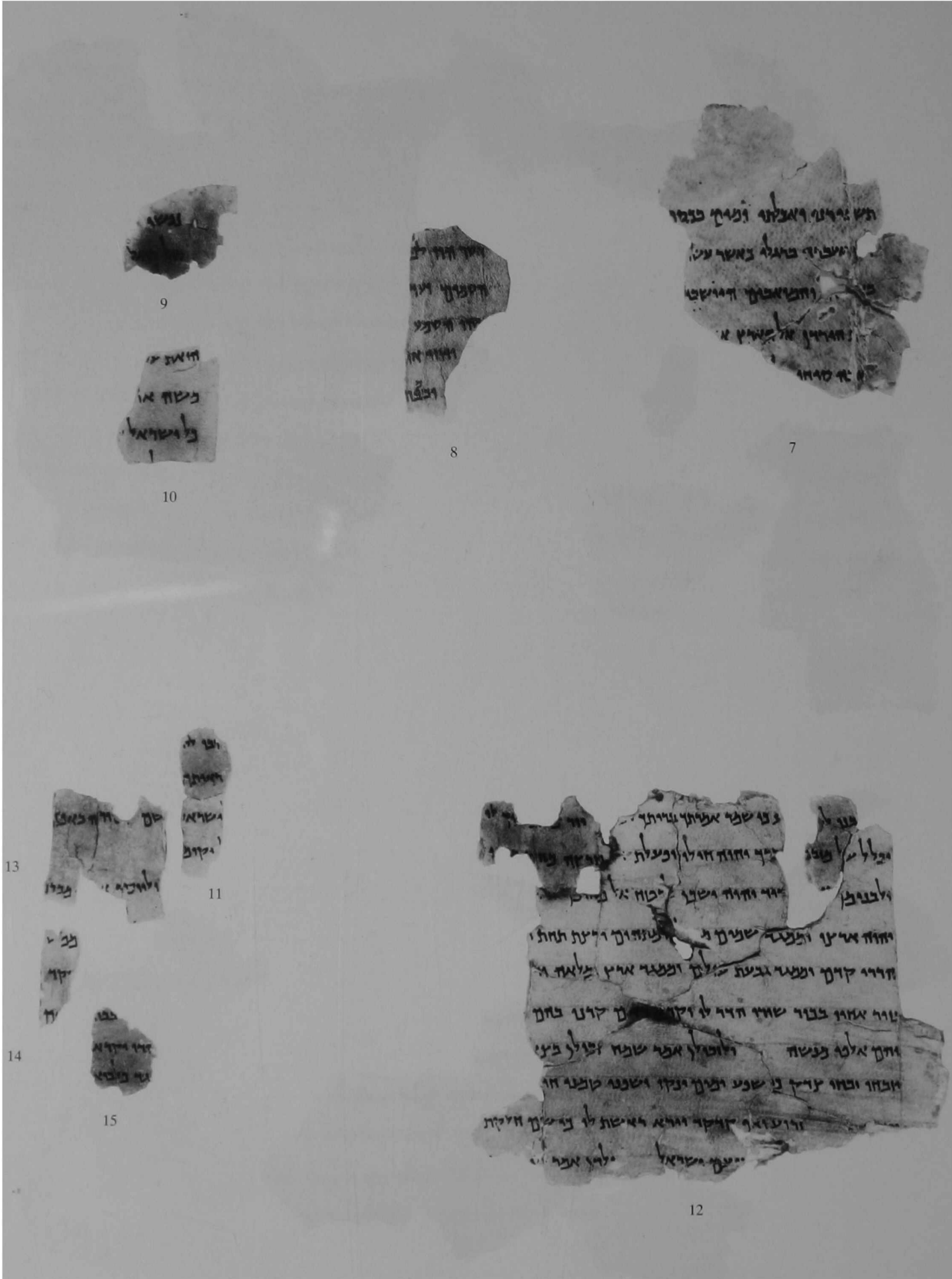
2

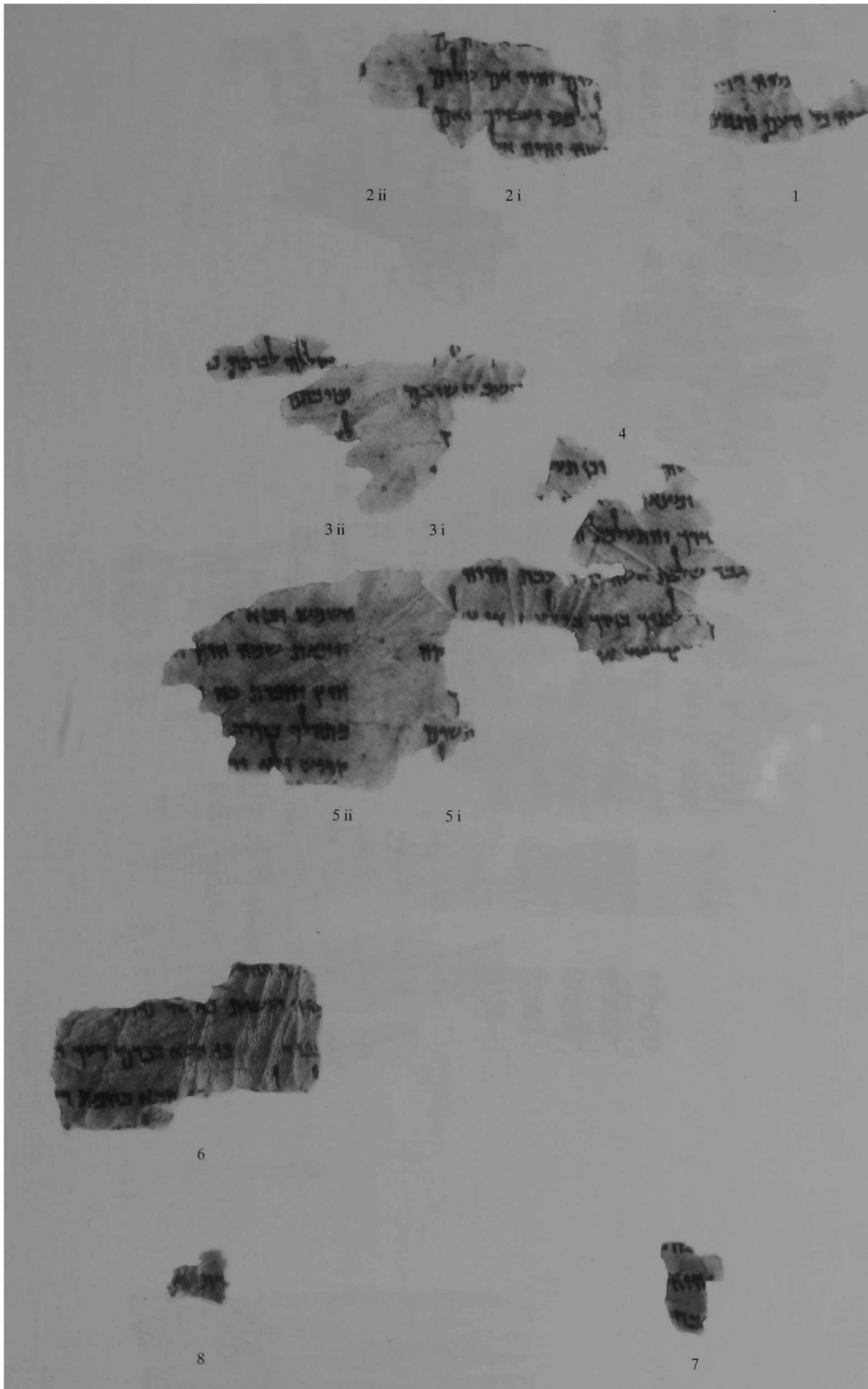
3

4

5

6





Column III

Column IV

11
 12
 13

וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

וְיָרַד
וְיָרַד

14

15
 18

וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

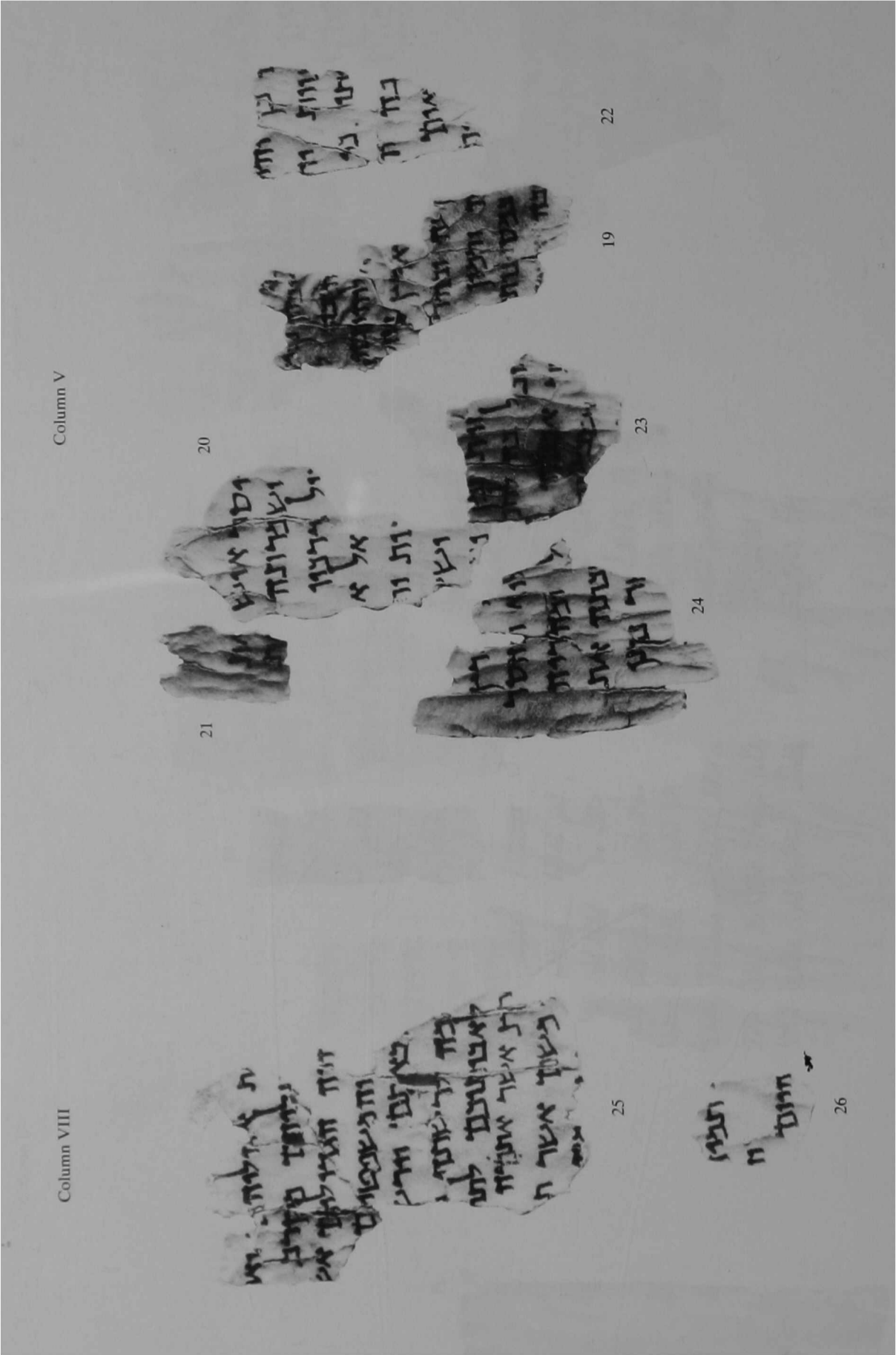
16

וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

17

וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם
 וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיָרַד מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם

37.4QDeut^f



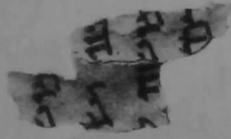
Column IX

Column X

Column XII



28



29



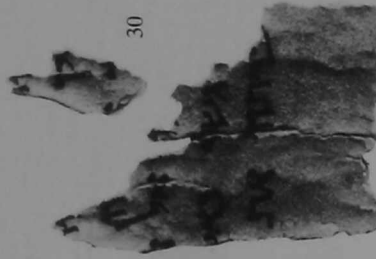
32



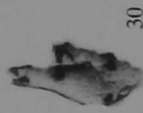
33



34



31



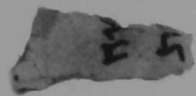
30



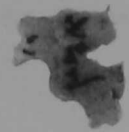
27



35



36



37



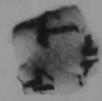
38



39



40



41



42



43



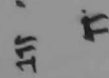
44



45

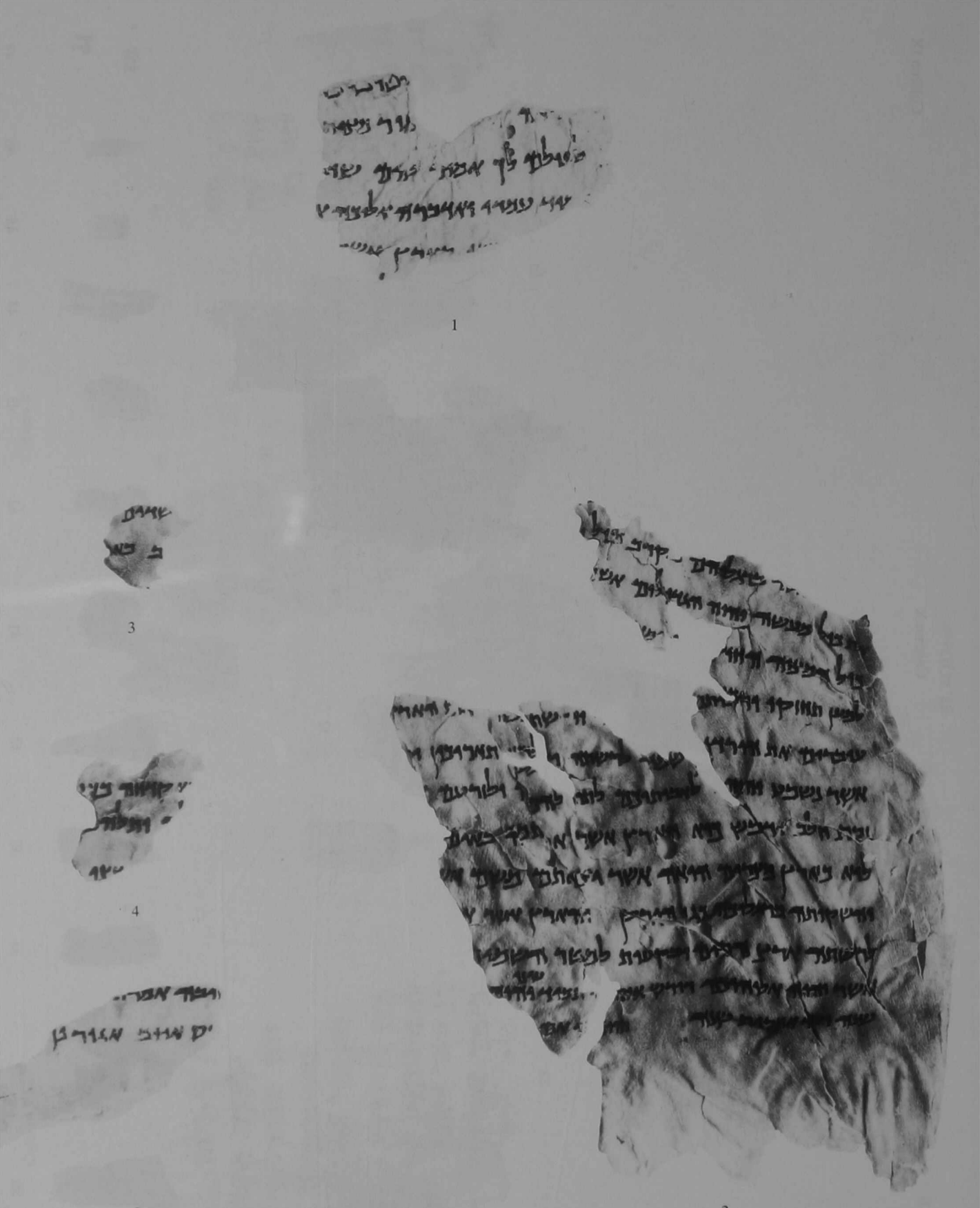


46



47

37. 4QDeut'



וְהָיָה
 כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה לָנוּ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ

1

וְהָיָה
 כִּי יִשְׁמַע

3

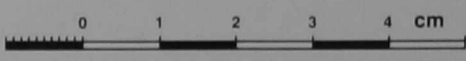
וְהָיָה
 כִּי יִשְׁמַע

4

וְהָיָה
 כִּי יִשְׁמַע

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְהָיָה לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

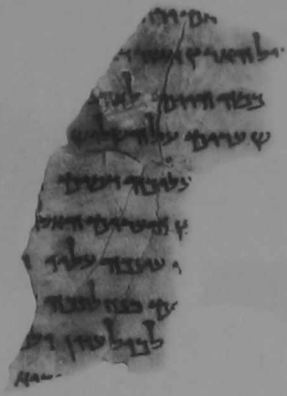
frgs. 1-5 (PAM 43.056)



38a



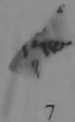
2



1



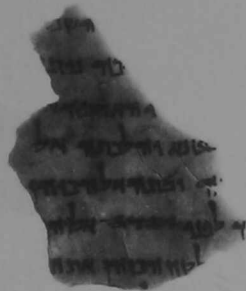
3



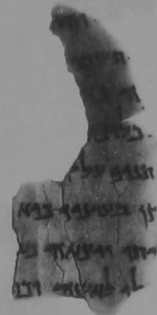
7



6



5



4



13



12



11



10

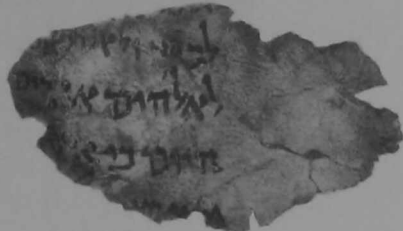


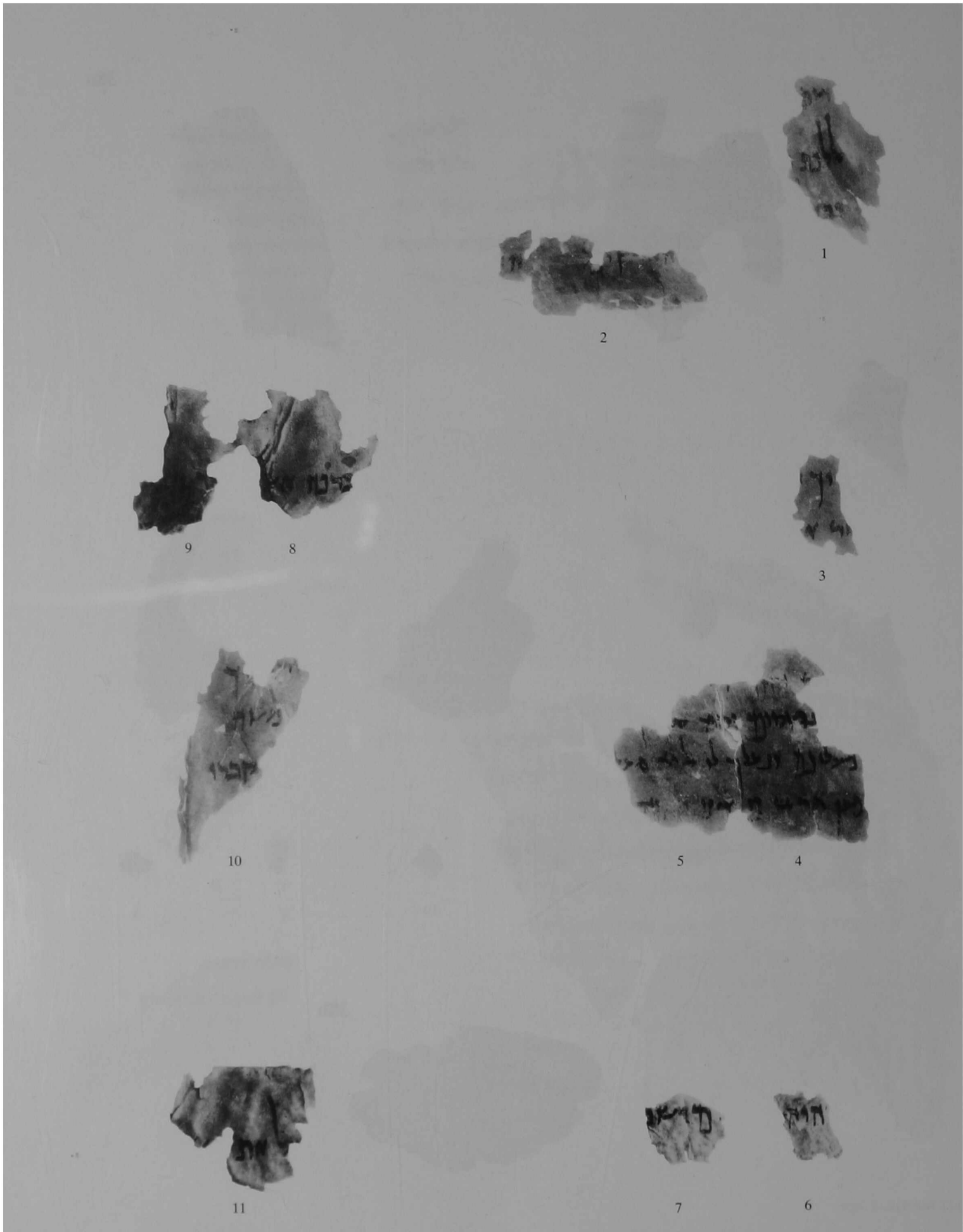
9



8

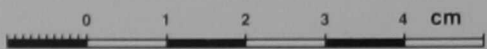
38b



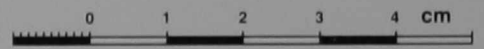


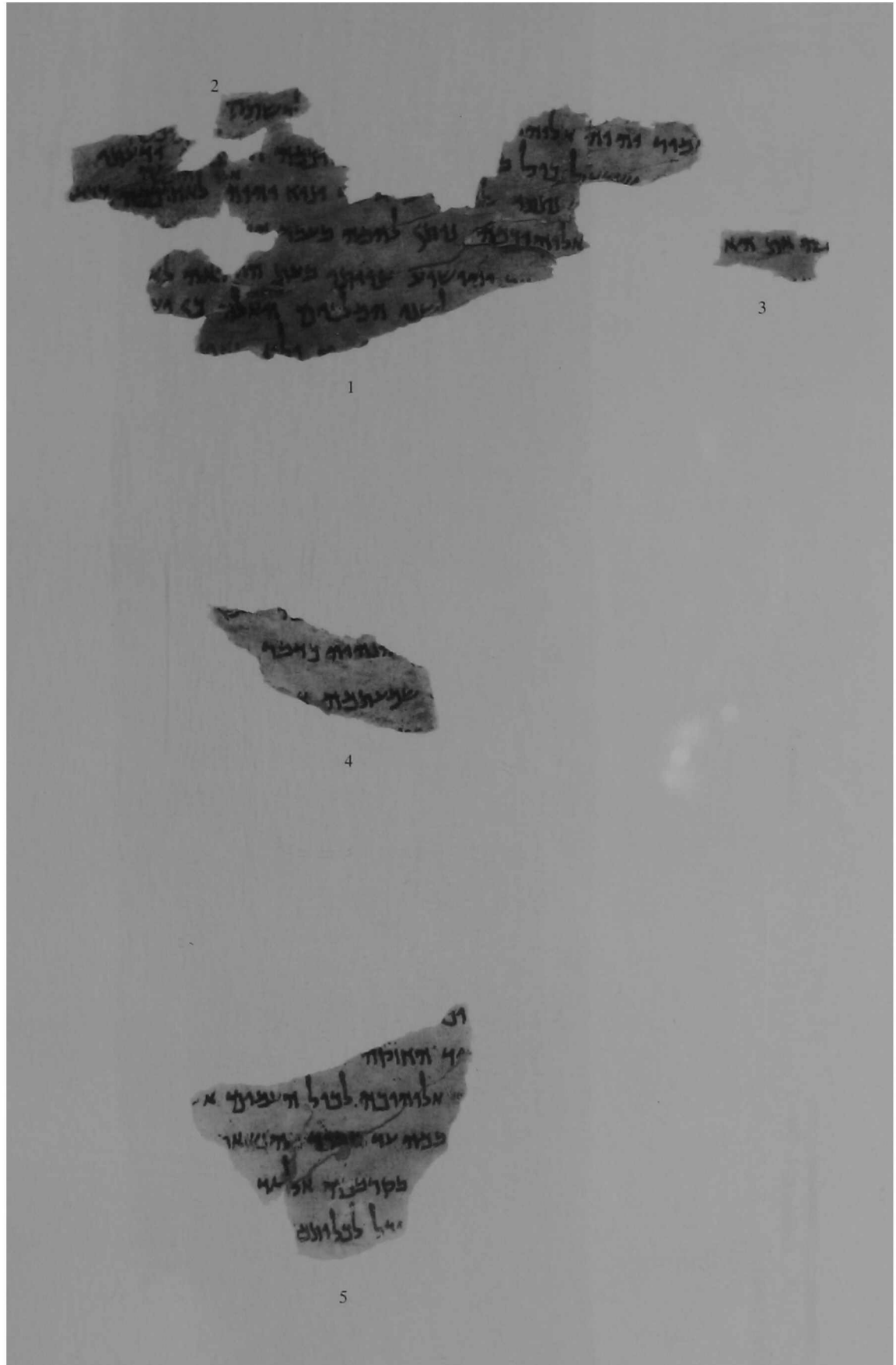
frgs. 6-9, 11 (PAM 43.052)

frgs. 1-5, 10 (IAA 204.599)



39.4QDeut¹

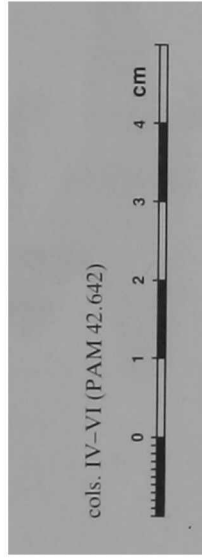
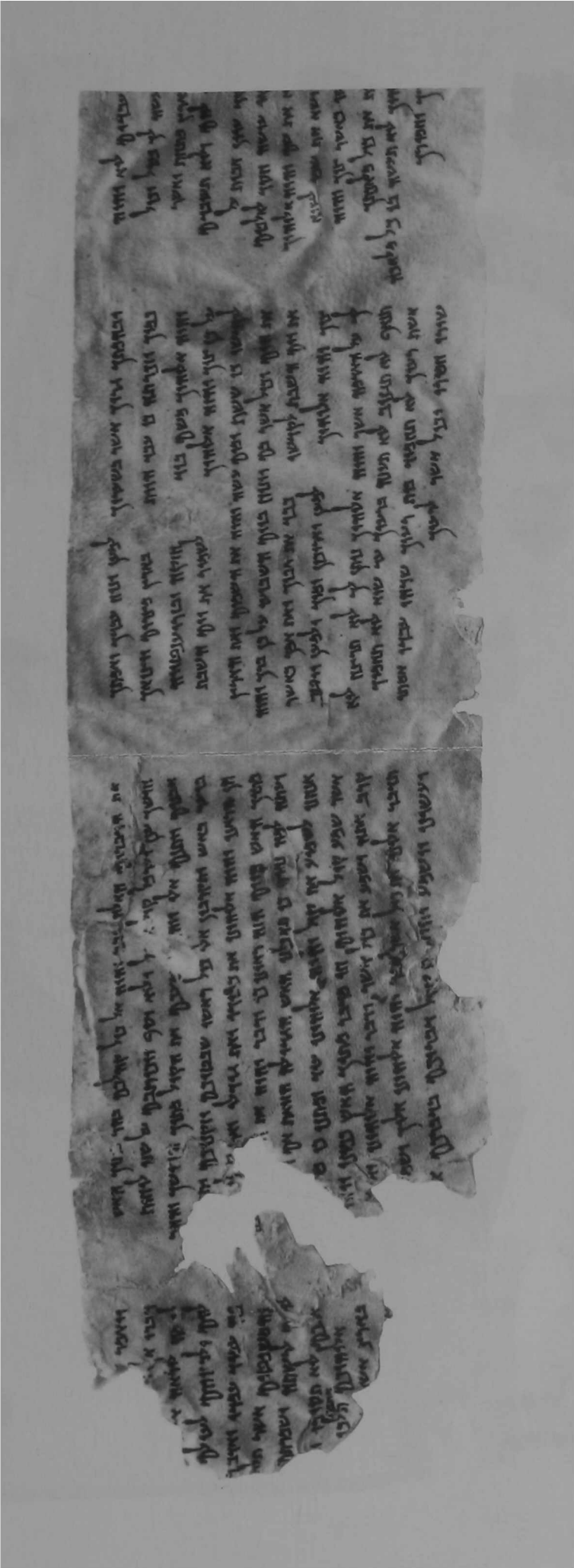




Column IV

Column V

Column VI

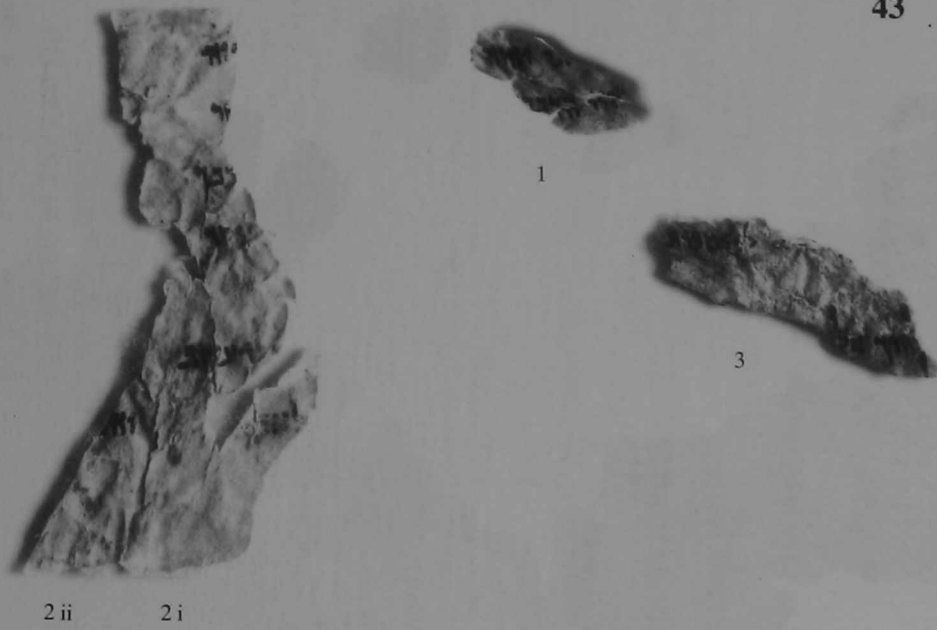


cols. IV-VI (PAM 42.642)

41.4QDeut^a



43



2 ii

2 i

1

3

44



1



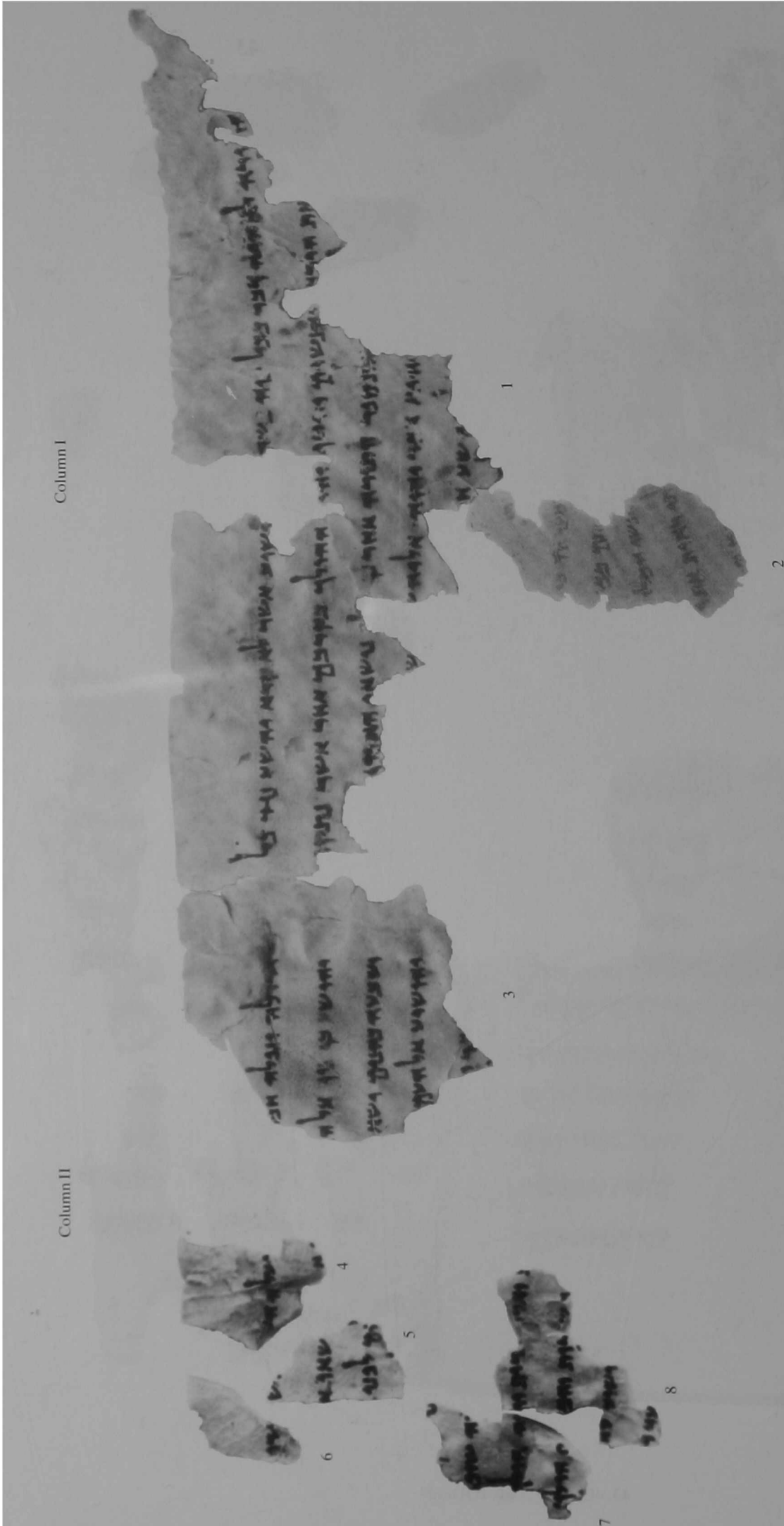
5 ii

5 i

4

3

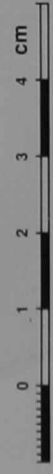
2



Column I

Column II

frgs. 4-8 (PAM 43.060)



frgs. 1, 3 (PAM 41.201), frg. 2 (IAA 329.237)



Column IV

Column V

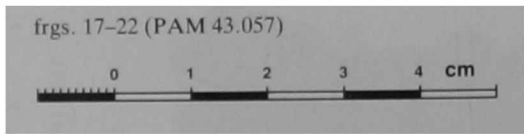
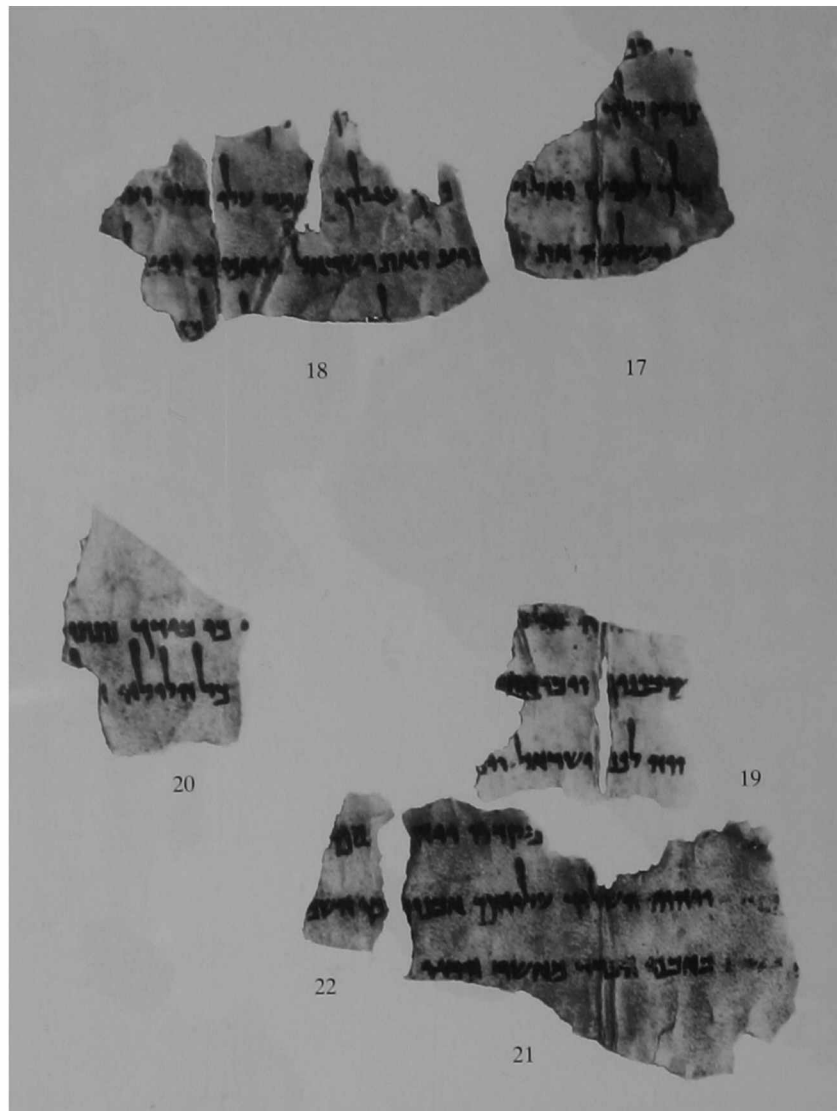


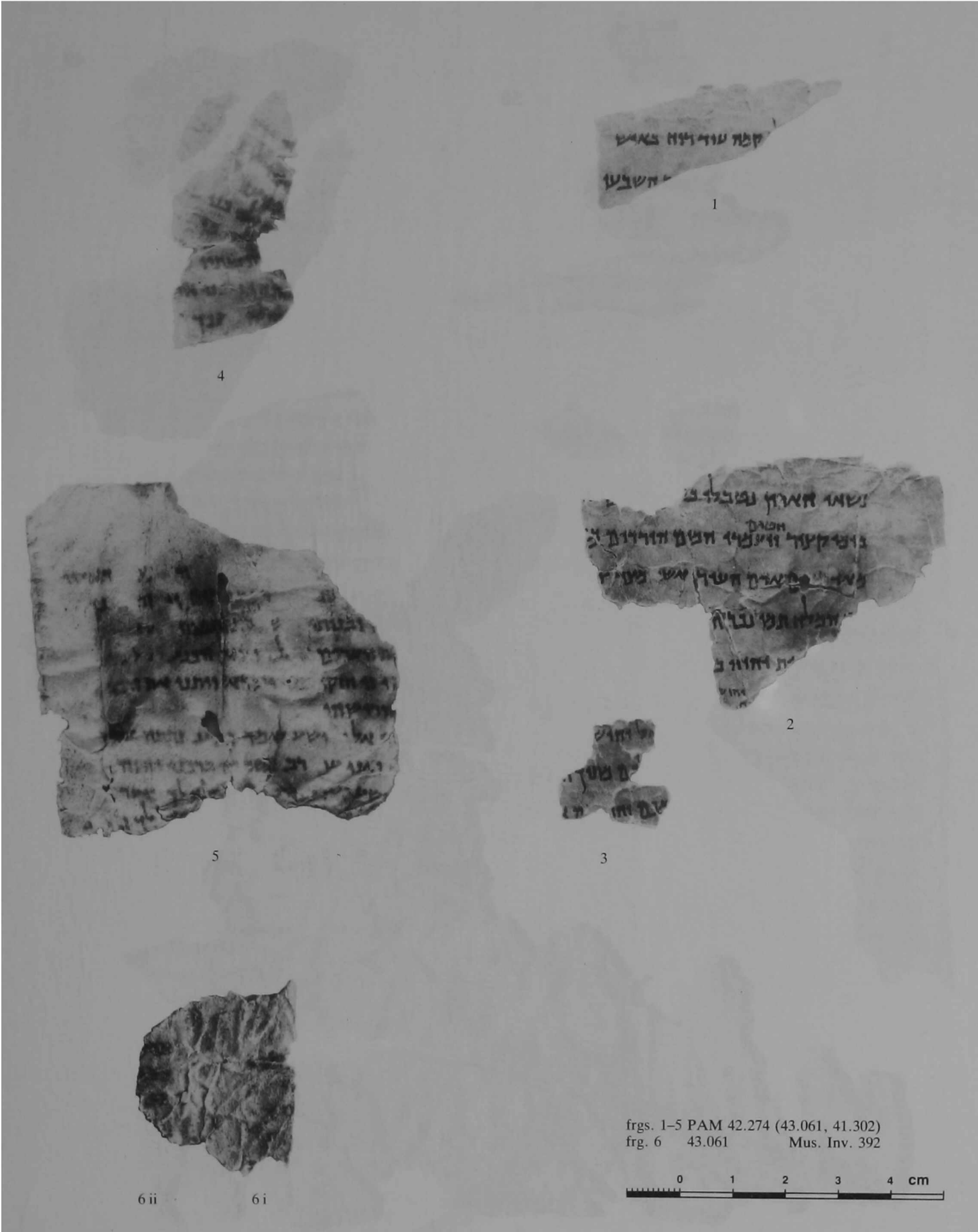
fig. 15 (PAM 41.201)

frgs. 9-14, 16 (PAM 43.060)

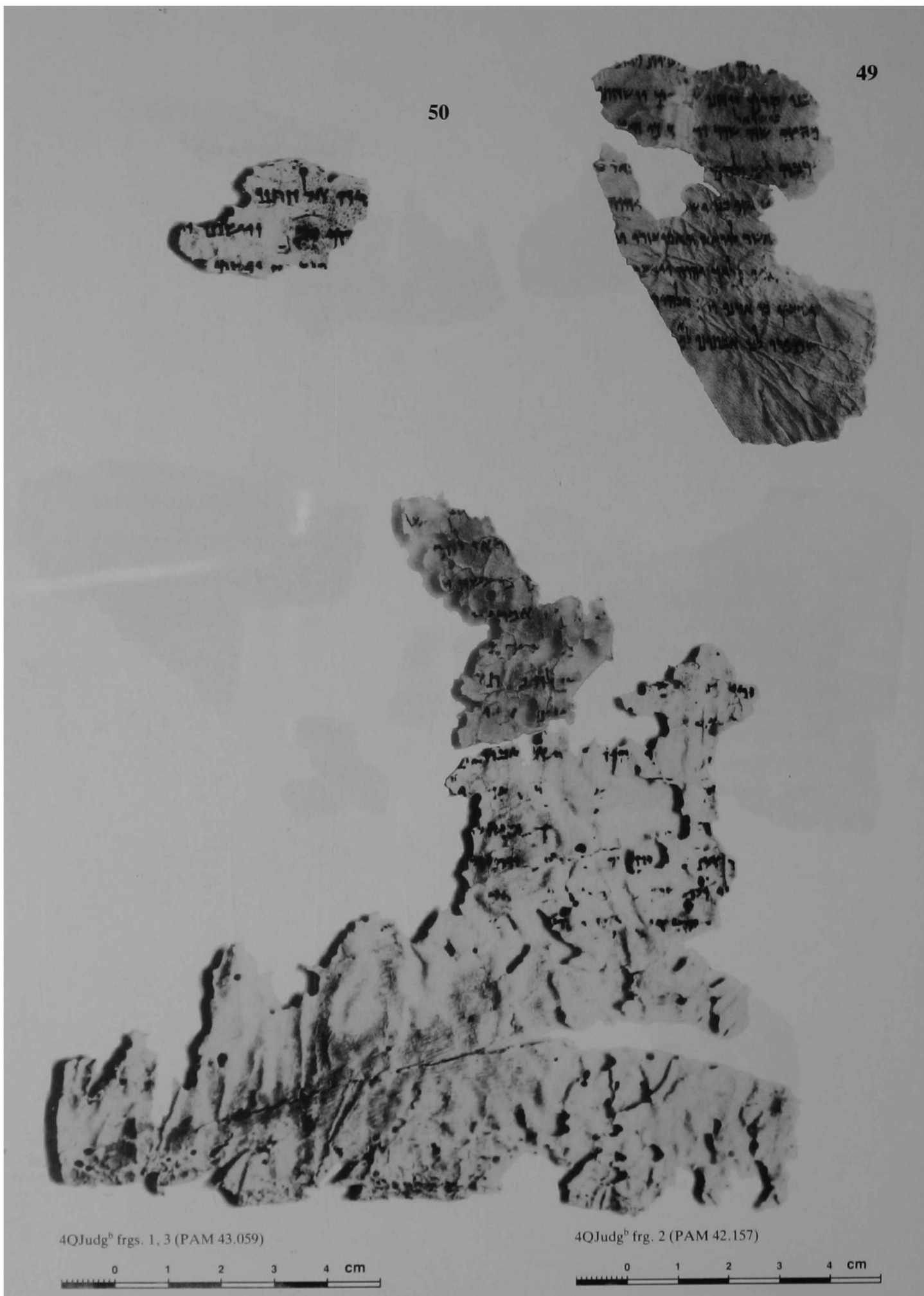


47.4QJosh^a





frgs. 1-5 PAM 42.274 (43.061, 41.302)
 fig. 6 43.061 Mus. Inv. 392



4QJudg^b frgs. 1, 3 (PAM 43.059)

4QJudg^b frag. 2 (PAM 42.157)

