Textual History of the Bible

PREVIEW

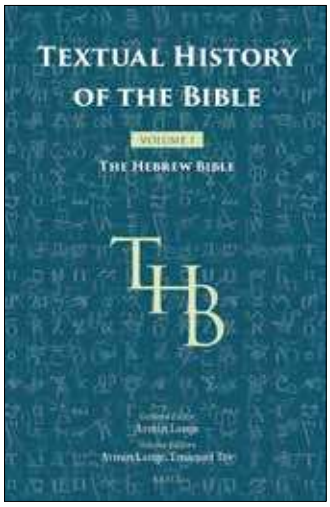
General Editor
Armin Lange

Volume Editors
Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov,
Matthias Henze, Russell E. Fuller

BRILL

Textual History of the Bible

Edited by: **Armin Lange** (General Editor), **Emanuel Tov**, **Matthias Henze**, **Russell E. Fuller**



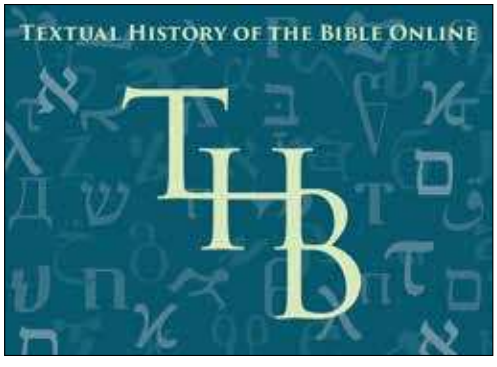
Vol. 1: The Hebrew Bible
Vol. 2: Deuterocanonical Scriptures
Vol. 3: A Companion to Textual Criticism
Vol. 4: Indices, and Manuscript Catalogues

• Planned Pub Date Volume 1 - 2016
• ISBN 978 90 04 23181 8
• Hardback
• List Price to be announced

The **Textual History of the Bible** brings together for the first time all available information regarding the textual history, textual character, translation techniques, manuscripts, and the importance of each textual witness for each book of the Hebrew Bible, including its deutero-canonical scriptures. In addition, it includes articles on the history of research, the editorial histories of the Hebrew Bible, as well as other aspects of text-critical research and its auxiliary fields, or Hilfswissenschaften, such as papyrology, codicology, and linguistics. The THB will be published by Brill both in print and in electronic form.

Added features of the **Online edition of the THB** compared to the printed volume include:
- cross-references in the form of hyperlinks, taking you with a single mouse-click to your target and back.
- Full Text Search and Advanced Search options helping you find any concept you may be looking for without having to wait for the indexes in vol. 4.
- cross-searching with other Brill online products, e.g. the Dead Sea Scrolls online.

For many biblical versions and/or biblical books, the THB has sparked new research. With the publication of THB 1, Brill publishers will therefore launch a peer reviewed **supplement series which** will include monographic studies, scholarly tools, and collective volumes on the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible. All THB authors and readers are invited to contribute.



Also Available Online

Textual History of the Bible Online

• More information on brill.com/thbo
• Available since 2015
• ISSN 2452-4107
• Textual History of the Bible Online

Purchase Options and 2015 Prices
• Outright Purchase Price EUR €2.700 / US$ 3,250

The *Textual History of the Bible* (THB) – Introduction

Manuscript finds such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Cairo Genizah manuscripts, the discoveries at Nag Hammadi, and many more have radically changed our knowledge of the textual history of the Jewish and Christian Bibles. The new insights have led to several noticeable paradigm shifts in the field of text criticism. Textual witnesses are no longer regarded as quarries for textual variants but are studied as texts and traditions in their own right. For instance, the study of the Septuagint is today a blossoming field of its own, with other versions of the Bible following suit. The biblical scrolls from Qumran testify to the plurality of the biblical texts during Second Temple times. Their study has also taught us that each biblical book has a textual history of its own, independent of the rest of the Hebrew Bible, before its canonization and, in some cases, even after it. Textual critics focus not only on the reconstruction of a supposed biblical *Urtext* but aim as much to reconstruct the entire textual histories of the biblical texts. In many cases, the early textual history of a biblical book also sheds light on its late redaction history, which leads to a merging of the so-called higher and lower criticisms. Biblical texts and translations are furthermore studied as a part of the reception history of the Bible.

The new text finds and the paradigm shifts in textual criticism not only opens up new ways to study the biblical texts but also creates a need for a new reference work that answers old and new questions. How do you find information about the Vulgate of Qohelet, or the Septuagint of Esther, or the Targum of Jeremiah? Which biblical book was translated into which languages? What is the manuscript evidence, what is the text-critical values of each language tradition? For some books and translations, such information is readily available but more often it is not. Overviews of recent research on a given textual version tend to be far from systematic and are prone to miss crucial information. In addition, many relevant studies are published in languages that few scholars can read and that can be accessed only in remote locations, for example studies of versions in the less common languages.

In textual criticism today, the study of the versions and of different manuscript traditions has become fragmented. For example, specialists on the Hebrew or Greek texts of the Hebrew Bible cannot be expected to be experts of the Old Slavonic or Arabic versions. With such fragmentation of expertise come boundaries that make communication between the various subfields of textual criticism increasingly difficult.

As a new type of reference work, the *Textual History of the Bible* (THB) aims to bring together *all* available information regarding the textual history, textual character, translation techniques, manuscripts, and the importance of each textual witness for each book of the Hebrew Bible, including its deutero-canonical scriptures. In addition, it includes entries on the history of research, the editorial histories of the Hebrew Bible, as well as other aspects of text-critical research and its auxiliary fields, or *Hilfswissenschaften*, such as papyrology, codicology, and linguistics.

The THB will be the first reference work of its kind. It brings information to the attention of textual critics in particular, and biblical scholars in general, which was previously only known to highly specialized experts. At the same time, it invites its readers to participate in the scholarly debate by giving voice to dissenting opinions in its entries. The treatment of each version could be considered a small monograph in its own right. The THB is groundbreaking in several respects. It pays special attention to the secondary readings in MT and is first to offer a systematic study of the textual character of the non-aligned Hebrew texts. The THB pioneers the study of many primary translations, for instance it features an analysis

of the translation technique of the Vulgate. It is furthermore, the very first tool that devotes significant attention to the secondary translations. While the study of the Hebrew sources and the primary translations are usually based on editions, the secondary translations are usually studied from manuscripts. THB is a good starting point for text-critical analysis of all biblical versions and books because it offers the reader information about all the textual evidence for a specific biblical book *and* all the evidence for a specific textual source in one reference work.

The THB's editor in chief (Armin Lange, University of Vienna) works in cooperation with three volume editors (Russell E. Fuller, University of San Diego; Matthias Henze, Rice University; Emanuel Tov, Hebrew University of Jerusalem) and many area editors. All editors and authors are recognized specialists in their fields. The THB will be published by Brill both in print and in electronic form. The electronic version of THB 1 will be available at the annual SBL meeting of 2015, followed by its printed version in April 2016. Volumes 2 and 3 will be published in 2017 and 2019 respectively.

The THB consists of four volumes.

Volume 1: The Hebrew Bible, editors Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov

This volume covers the books of the Hebrew canon. The volume opens with a series of overview articles on the history of the Jewish and Christian canons, on the ancient Hebrew and Aramaic texts. These entries are followed by articles on the different primary translations (Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Latin, and Aramaic) and uniquely the secondary translations as well (Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Old Slavonic, and Arabic) most of which were sourced from the Greek.

The main body of the volume is structured according to the biblical canon, with multiple entries on the Pentateuch, the Former Prophets, the Latter Prophets, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, the Five Scrolls, Ezra-Nehemiah, and First and Second Chronicles. The Pentateuch section as a whole begins e.g. with articles on the textual history of the Pentateuch: on the ancient Hebrew-Aramaic texts, and on the medieval MT. It then discusses the primary translations (the multiple Greek versions, the *Targumim*, the Peshitta, Vulgate, and Arabic translations) and the secondary translations (the *Vetus Latina* and the Coptic, the Ethiopic, the Late Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Old Slavonic, and Arabic translations). The point here is to provide the reader with sufficient information about *all* available versions of each biblical book, a discussion of the extant manuscripts, of the modern editions, the specific characteristics of each version, and their text-critical significance.

THB 1 concludes with a series of articles on the biblical text as it is attested in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, in Josephus, Philo, the New Testament, Rabbinic Literature, the Greek Church Fathers, the Latin Church Fathers, the Syriac Church Fathers, and the Coptic Church Fathers.

The THB 1 print version will comprise of a total of 353 articles, over 1600 pages, presented in two volumes. For each textual version 15 area editors, who are highly recognized specialists in their field, have invited contributions from 120 authors.

Volume 2: Deutero-Canonical Scriptures, editor: Matthias Henze

THB 2 is dedicated to ancient Jewish literature that is *not* part of the Hebrew Bible but that *was* held or *is being* held in canonical esteem by at least *one* of the Christian churches. In some cases such texts might have enjoyed scriptural authority in Judaism during the Second

Temple period. The following deutero-canonical Scriptures will be included: 1–2 Baruch, 4 Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah, Prophecy of Pashur, Additions to Daniel, Ben Sira, 1 Enoch (+ Book of Giants and 2–3 Enoch), Additions to Esther, 3–6 Ezra, Jubilees, Judith, 1–4 Maccabees, the Ethiopic book of Maccabees, Prayer of Manasseh, Psalms 151–55, Psalms and Odes of Solomon, Tobit, Wisdom of Solomon. As in THB 1 there will be an entry for each version of these books in addition to an article surveying their textual histories. In contrast to the Hebrew Bible, the translations of the deutero-canonical texts do not always form a coherent translational version such as the Vulgate but are more fragmented. The overview articles for THB 2 are therefore structured according to language only (Hebrew Texts, Aramaic Texts, Greek Texts, Syriac Texts, Latin Texts, Ethiopic Texts, Coptic Texts, Armenian Texts, Georgian Texts, Slavonic Texts, Arabic Texts). THB 2 will comprise a total of 205 articles written by 95 authors, overseen by 11 area editors.

Volume 3: A Companion to Textual Criticism, editor Russell E. Fuller

In addition to the text-specific issues addressed in THB 1 and 2, THB 3 will cover a range of other matters that pertain to modern textual criticism. The student of text criticism might ask: When was the idea of an *Urtext* first suggested? What is a *homoiarkton* and why does it occur? When was a certain codex written, and what exactly does it contain? Which scribal materials and tools were used at a given time? How can the date of a manuscript be determined? Do biblical manuscripts employ a Hebrew idiolect? THB 3 tries to address these and related questions. Its entries will span the history of research of textual criticism from antiquity until today. It will include entries on modern Bible editions, on textual criticism and textual transmission, on texts, manuscripts, codices, and manuscript collections, on issues of science and technology, and on various languages and linguistics.

Volume 4 will contain Indices and Manuscript Catalogues

The THB Supplements

For many biblical versions and/or biblical books, the THB has sparked new research. With the publication of THB 1, Brill publishers will therefore launch a peer reviewed supplement series which will include monographic studies, scholarly tools, and collective volumes on the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible. All THB authors and readers are invited to contribute.

Armin Lange

Table of Contents for Textual History of the Bible, vols. 1–2

THB 1 (two parts): The Hebrew Bible – editors Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov

Area editors: Alessandro Bruni (Georgian and Old Slavonic Translations), Ignacio Carbajosa (Syriac Translations: Peshitta, Syro-Hexapla, Syro-Lucianic, Jacob of Edessa), Claude Cox (Armenian Translations), Steve Delamarter (Ethiopic Translations), Beate Ego (Targumim), Frank Feder (Coptic Translations), Peter Gentry (Pre- and Post-Hexaplaric Translations and the Hexapla), Michael Graves (Vulgate), Armin Lange (Ancient Hebrew/Aramaic Texts), Meira Polliack (Arabic Translations), Michael Segal (The Biblical Text as Attested in Ancient Literature), Emanuel Tov (Septuagint), Julio Trebolle Barerra and Pablo Torijano Morales (Vetus Latina), Sidnie White Crawford (Samaritan Pentateuch).

(*chapters 1 and 11 expanded, other chapters collapsed*)

THB 2: Deutero-Canonical Scriptures – editor Matthias Henze

Area editors: Randall D. Chesnutt (Prayer of Manasseh), Kelley Coblentz Bautch (1 Enoch), Lutz Doering (Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah and the Book of Jubilees), Deborah Gera (Judith), Matthew Goff (Wisdom of Solomon), Michaela Hallermayer (Tobit), Matthias Henze (Additions to Daniel and Esther, Psalms 151–55); Karina Hogan (3–6 Ezra), Michael Lattke (Odes and Psalms of Solomon), Daniel R. Schwartz (1–4 Maccabees), Benjamin G. Wright (Ben Sira)

(*chapters 1 and 14 expanded, other chapters collapsed*)

1.4.7 Armenian Translations

1.4.7.1 Origin and Historical Data

The story of the translation of the Bible into Armenian is related in Koriwn's *Life of Mashtots'*, written in the early 440s.[1] Here, we learn that it was Mashtots' who, ca. 406, invented the Armenian alphabet, in Syria; the city is not named but he had met with the bishops of Edessa and Amida. Following this, he travelled to Samosata where a scribe designed the shape of the letters. The work of translation into Armenian began with the book of Proverbs,[2] perhaps because it stood at the beginning of a manuscript that included only a part of the Bible. The language of the parent text is not specified: Was it Syriac or Greek? Given the close ties to Syria, it makes sense that the translators worked from Syriac manuscripts but Koriwn says that Mashtots' had sent students to Samosata to study Greek. At any rate, this question of a Syriac or Greek parent text continues to bedevil research on the various parts of the Armenian Bible.[3]

Mashtots' and his students returned to Armenia and continued their work of translation. He then travelled to Constantinople where he was received by the Greek Patriarch, Atticus, and returned home with books of the Greek church fathers. Following further preaching trips,[4] Mashtots' and Sahak devoted themselves to improving the literary situation of Armenia. The Catholicos Sahak began to write and translate, as formerly. From what language(s) is not specified. Then students were sent to Syria and on to the West and sometime after the Council of Ephesus (431) these students returned to Armenia with "reliable (հաստատուն) copies of the God-given writings," i.e., the Scriptures, patristic works, and church canons. Next Koriwn states, in ch. 19:

> the blessed Sahak, who earlier had rendered the collection of ecclesiastical books from the Greek language into Armenian—as well as much true wisdom of the holy patriarchs—again, with Eznik, set himself to establish (հաստատէր) the earlier, chanced-upon and hurried translations by means of the true (ճշմարիտ) exemplars that had been brought. And they also translated much commentary on the Bible.

The question is, what does հաստատէր (lit., "he was establishing") mean? Did they *revise* the earlier translations and, if so, *all* of them? Indeed, had *all* the Scriptures been translated by that time? What is meant by հաստատուն "reliable" and ճշմարիտ "true"? Were the manuscripts brought back from Constantinople thought to contain, say, the most highly regarded form of the text in that city? In the light of modern textual research, I am inclined to think that reference is being made, for the Old Testament, to manuscripts that reflected the work of the great Origen and Lucian (→ 1.3.1.2): for details, see the contributions devoted to individual books (e.g., → 2.5.5; → 11.4.5).

This two-stage presentation of the work of translation, i.e., initial translation and "establishing" it, has led to a frequently repeated generalization that the Armenian Bible was translated from Syriac (→ 1.3.4) and then revised on the basis of Greek witnesses. What actually occurred is a far more complex process than this simple assertion suggests (for example, → 2.5.5 [Pentateuch];

1 Abeghian, *Life*.

2 Koriwn, *Life*, ch. 8.

3 For examples, see Cowe, "Two Armenian Versions."

4 Koriwn, *Life*, chs. 16–18.

→ 10.4.5 [Psalms]; → 18.4.5 [Daniel]; → 20.4.5 [Chronicles]).

1.4.7.2 Scope of the Corpus; Manuscripts

Armenian manuscripts of the Bible generally contain the books included in the LXX, with the books of the so-called Apocrypha following the historical books, and with the Twelve Prophets following Isaiah. There are about one hundred complete Bibles extant; in addition, there are partial Bibles that contain only the Pentateuch, the Wisdom books, the Old Testament or part of it, other combinations, or, in the case of Psalms, sometimes a single book. For example, about one hundred manuscripts preserve Deuteronomy, 150 contain Job, and 125 contain Daniel. These manuscripts are preserved largely in four major manuscript libraries: the Matenadaran (Yerevan), the Jerusalem Patriarchate, San Lazzaro (Venice), and Vienna, in order of size of collection.

Dating of the Textual Tradition

Though the Armenian translation of the Bible was made in the fifth century, manuscripts date predominantly from the medieval period, from the thirteenth century and later. In the Cilician period, there was a massive growth in manuscript production and, as it happens, rather developed text forms came to dominate the textual tradition by the sheer number of witnesses attesting them. A few earlier text fragments are extant, such as the eighth-century fragment of Job that contains about two dozen verses from Job 37 and 38 (→ 11.4.5) or the fragments preserved as fly leaves in later manuscripts.

1.4.7.3 Zohrapian's Edition

The principal edition of the Armenian Bible is that of Zohrapian, published in 1805. It is a diplomatic edition: Venice ms 1508, dated 1319, is printed as text and, for the Old Testament, six other manuscripts and the edition of Oskan (1666)[5] are cited in an apparatus. Zohrapian uses imprecise terminology like "some witnesses" or "one exemplar" to identify readings at variance from his base text in an apparatus, but his edition stands head and shoulders above many editions of texts in his day because he does not tamper with the text: it is a faithful copy of his base manuscript. Manuscripts can change their textual character from one book to another and that is true of ms Venice 1508: in Deuteronomy (→ 2.2.5) and Job (→ 11.4.5), its text is a developed text with many secondary readings, but in Psalms (→ 10.4.5) it is a first-rate witness to the original Armenian text; in Ecclesiastes (→ 13–17.2.5.3) it again preserves an early form of the text. That is, as is true of all manuscripts, collations are required to assess the textual purity of individual witnesses.

1.4.7.4 History of Research: Arm 1 and Arm 2

The modern study of the Armenian version began with Lyonnet.[6] His *Les Origines* has deservedly influenced all subsequent scientific research because of the methodology that Lyonnet adopted. He attempts to "get behind" the late type of text preserved by Zohrapian's manuscript, and the text of the Gospels in his edition, to recover evidence of a translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. In order to recover the earlier text form, he examines quotations of the Gospels in Armenian historical and ecclesiastical authors; Armenian translations of Greek and Syriac ecclesiastical writings, under the assumption that translators would replace rather than translate quotations of the text; the Georgian version (→ 1.4.8), often thought to derive, at least in part, from the Armenian; and,

5 Oskan, *Bible*.

6 Lyonnet, *Les Origines*.

finally, the text as preserved in Armenian liturgical books, such as lectionaries. This was a groundbreaking approach. Lyonnet designated the earlier text form as "Arm 1," and the later as "Arm 2." Both his methodology and his terminology have been used in attempts to recover the earliest form of the text in other parts of the Bible.[7]

Translation Technique

Arm 1 and Arm 2 differ in terms of translation technique. In contrast to Arm 2, which tends toward literalism and the reproduction of grammatical forms of the parent text, Lyonnet called attention to a different set of translation traits in Arm 1: the use of a finite verb rather than circumstantial participle; addition of personal pronouns after the verb; the frequent use of *ete* "that" to introduce a citation, corresponding to *d* in Syriac; phrases like "land of the Egyptians" rather than "Egypt"; the orthography of proper nouns (e.g., *Isahak* in Arm 1, as opposed to *Sahak* in Arm 2); Syriacisms, like the repetition of cognates, as in գոյծ գոյծէ "(our Father) works work" (John 5:17).[8] Cowe made an insightful comparison of the translation technique of Arm 1 and Arm 2 in Chronicles.[9] Zohrapian's edition of Ecclesiastes reproduces Arm 1 in the text and extensively cites Arm 2 in the apparatus (→ 13–17.2.5.3). That Arm 1 and Arm 2 are extant for some books does not mean that both translations exist, or ever existed, for all books of the Old Testament. Preparation of the critical edition of Job (→ 11.4.5) did not uncover two forms of text, Arm 1 and Arm 2; Job does not display the literalism characteristic of Arm 2 but has features identified with Arm 1.

1.4.7.5 Text-Critical Value: Textual Allegiances

Most of the Armenian Bible awaits a critical edition. Zeytunian's editions of the pentateuchal books[10] are not "critical" in the sense of an eclectic text as close to the original as possible, like the Göttingen LXX. Their principal gain over Zohrapian lies in their more extensive collations, evidenced in the apparatus. Only Job exists in a critical edition among books that are part of the Hebrew Bible. However, on the basis of work done prior to the *Textual History of the Bible*, the following textual allegiances have been identified:

- Deuteronomy—Byzantine Greek text, influenced by the Hexapla (→ 2.5.5)
- Ruth—*kaige* Greek (→ 13–17.2.5.1)
- 1–2 Samuel, i.e., 1–2 Reigns—Lucianic Greek text (→ 3–5.2.5.3)
- 1–2 Chronicles, i.e., 1–2 Supplements—(→ 20.4.5)
  Arm 1: based on a Lucianic Greek text
  Arm 2: based on a Hexaplaric Greek text
- Epistle of Jeremiah—Greek (→ II.2.4.7)
- Job—Lucianic Greek text (→ 11.4.5)
- Daniel— (→ 18.4.5)
  Arm 1: derives from the Peshitta and a Lucianic Greek text simultaneously
  Arm 2: revision of Arm 1 on the basis of another Greek text

7 See Cox, "The Use of Lectionary Manuscripts."

8 Lyonnet, *Les Origines*, 51–53.

9 Cowe, "Two Armenian Versions."

10 A.S. Zeytunian (ed.), *Girkʻ Tsnndotsʻ: Kʻnnakan Bnagir* (*The Book of Genesis: Critical Text*) («Matenadaran» HHTʻH; Yerevan: Academy of Sciences, 1985); A.S. Zeytunian (ed.), *Girkʻ Elitsʻ: Kʻnnakan Bnagir* (*The Book of Exodus: Critical Text*) («Matenadaran» HHTʻH; Yerevan: Academy of Sciences, 1992); A.S. Zeytunian (ed.), *Girkʻ Ghevtatsʻwotsʻ: Kʻnnakan Bnagir* (*The Book of Leviticus: Critical Text*) («Matenadaran» HHTʻY 4; Antelias: Cilician Catholicosate, 1993); A.S. Zeytunian (ed.), *Girkʻ Tʻwotsʻ: Kʻnnakan Bnagir* (*The Book of Numbers: Critical Text*) («Matenadaran» HHTʻY; Antelias: Cilician Catholicosate, 1998); A.S. Zeytunian (ed.), *Girkʻ Erkrordoumn Orinatsʻ: Kʻnnakan Bnagir* (*The Book of Deuteronomy: Critical Text*) («Matenadaran»; Etchmiadzin: Mair Atʻor Surp Etchmiadzin, 2002).

– The Canticle of Azariah (= Dan 3:26–45)—(→ II.3.7)
  Arm 1: Lucianic Greek text (and Peshitta)
  Arm 2: revision on the basis of a Greek text[11]

It appears that the parent texts of the Armenian version of the Old Testament as it now exists were predominantly Greek and thus it is a witness to the text of the LXX (→ 1.3.1.1). Some traces of the Peshitta (→ 1.3.4) exist in Genesis (→ 2.5.5), though these may not be text-based; in Psalms there is also evidence of such a connection (→ 10.4.5). See further in Cowe's entry for Arm-Lam (→ 13–17.2.5.4), the Peshitta element he has identified in the Armenian translation of that book.

Cowe has noted various kinds of agreements with the Peshitta in Arm-Dan (→ 18.4.5) that have the support of all fifteen manuscripts he used for his edition of Daniel and still more that are attested by part of the Armenian tradition: for example, at Dan 8:7, the majority of Armenian manuscripts attest ի ձեռաց նորա "from its hands," i.e., "its power" (= Theodotion's ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ) whereas several manuscripts attest ի ձեռաց բոշիւ "from the he-goat."[12]

1.4.7.5.1 Text-Critical Value

The text-critical value of the Armenian version lies in its early date, its textual affiliations, and the facility of Armenian in rendering Greek. In the case of Job (→ 11.4.5), it is as early as our earliest witness to the Lucianic text of that book (→ 11.3.6). From the standpoint of the Hebrew Bible, any remnants of Peshitta-based readings (→ 1.3.4) are of special interest. As it is often a Hexaplaric witness, the Armenian version preserves the literal translation of Theodotion (→ 1.3.1.2) where Origen added it to the LXX as, extensively, in Job (→ 11.3.5). The Hexaplaric character (→ 1.3.1.2.7) of the Armenian version is especially strong in Genesis and Exodus, as the frequent preservation of the Hexaplaric sign tradition indicates (→ 2.5.5). Finally, some Armenian manuscripts preserve as marginal readings translations of "the Three," Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (→ 1.3.1.2), in substantial numbers (181) and sometimes uniquely (in sixty-nine instances).[13]

1.4.7.5.2 Theological Interpretations in the Armenian Translation

Like its parent text(s), the Armenian version is a large collection that is the work of various translators. There is no single theological *tendenz* that extends across the corpus. At times, a certain nuance is introduced; at other times, there may be a word or two or a few words of interpretive addition, as in Arm 1 in Ecclesiastes; at still other times, there are more significant changes, as with the changes of the verb tenses in Arm-Pss. Occasionally there are notable exegetical shifts, as at the LXX-Ps 45:6, where God is said to be in the midst of the inhabitants of the city, "in the midst of them," rather than "in its midst," i.e., in the midst of the city.[14] But broad generalizations should be avoided, especially because much of this type of analysis remains to be done.

Claude Cox

(the bibliography is not included in this prepublication brochure)

11 For bibliographical details, see Cox, "The Syriac Presence," 48.

12 Cowe, *Daniel*, 250–89 (285).

13 Cox, *Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion*, 402.

14 Cox, "The 'Songs of Zion' in Armenian," 54–59.

2.1 Textual History of the Pentateuch

(**2.1.1 Torah as a Unit** is not included in this prepublication brochure)

2.1.2 Extant Witnesses (→ 2.2; → 2.4)

2.1.2.1 Earliest Textual Evidence

The earliest textual evidence for the Torah, dating to the mid-third century B.C.E., is among the oldest for Scripture as a whole. It is probably no coincidence that five of the eight oldest paleographically dated scrolls contain segments of the Torah (4QExod-Lev^{f} dated to 250 B.C.E. [→ 2.2.1.7.9], 4QpaleoDeut^{s} dated to 250–200 B.C.E. [→ 2.2.1.10], 4QExod^{d} dated to 225–175 B.C.E. [→ 2.2.1.8], and 6QpaleoGen and 6QpaleoLev, both dated to 250–150 B.C.E. [→ 2.2.1.8; → 2.2.1.10]).

The earliest remnants of the Old Greek version, usually dated to 285 B.C.E. (→ 1.3.1.1.5), are a century later: Greek scrolls and codices dating from the second century B.C.E. onwards were discovered in the Judean Desert and Egypt (→ 1.3.1.1.6).

There is no older evidence for the Torah, with the exception of the silver rolls from Ketef Hinnom dating to the seventh or sixth century B.C.E. (see Tov, **TCHB*, 111; → 2.2.5.3), which may be disregarded in the present context since they do not contain a proper biblical text.

Close connections between Torah texts and later books reflect different types of literary links, but little solid evidence is available about possible variants in the later books that quote from the Torah. This pertains to the relation between Ezekiel and Leviticus and that between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy. On the other hand, the Chronicler reflects many textual variants as well as original readings when compared with the Torah, for example in the genealogical lists in the first chapters of 1 Chronicles. However, the date of the variants in Chronicles cannot be determined as they may derive from any period in the transmission of that book, either from the time of the Chronicler himself or from a later period. The so-called paleo-Hebrew Torah fragments from Qumran do not precede the time of the fragments written in the square script, as they are dated to the Hasmonean period or later (→ 2.2.1).

2.1.3 Textual Features Common to the Torah Books

The five books of the Torah share various textual features. Some of them reflect the stage of the combined Torah scrolls, while others preceded that stage.

- Orthography. The orthography of MT cannot be presented as consistent or uniform, neither in the Torah nor in the other books. Nevertheless, the five books of the Torah share certain spelling features that set them apart from the other books. It has been suggested that the Torah and Kings reflect a more conservative (defective) orthography than the rest of the biblical books and that they also contain the highest degree of internal consistency; in the Torah, this description applies especially to Exodus and Leviticus.[1]
- Harmonization is a major feature characterizing most Torah texts, especially the Hebrew source of LXX (→ 1.3.1.1.12), SP (→ 1.2.3), and the pre-Samaritan Qumran

1 Thus F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible* (BibOr 41; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1986), 312–18. A. Murtonen, "The Fixation in Writing of Various Parts of the Pentateuch," *VT* 3 (1953): 46–53 notes that the Decalogue and the book of the covenant (Exodus 21–23) are more defective (and hence earlier) than the other segments of the Torah and, by the same token, he found differences between the various Pentateuchal sources.

scrolls. Though harmonization occurs to some degree in all Scripture books, noticeable for example in LXX-Cant, the various texts of Samuel–Kings//Chronicles and the parallel chapters in such books as Psalms, Jeremiah 52//2 Kgs 24:18–25:30, it features as a major phenomenon in the Torah in the non-legal sections, probably due to its popularity (see below, → 2.1.5).
– Larger number of textual branches than in other books (see below, → 2.1.5).

Special Textual Features in Leviticus

The book of Leviticus differs textually from the other Torah books. Only in this book are there no frequent differences between the textual sources such as evidenced for the other four Torah books (see below, → 2.1.4). If we link this situation to the fact that the orthography of this book is among the most conservative in Scripture (see above, → 2.1.3), we note that this book was changed very little in the period for which we have textual evidence. This situation derives from the fact that Leviticus contains only legal sections that were not submitted to major rewriting. This is not to say that scribes did not rewrite laws, but in the period for which we have textual evidence, only scant textual evidence has been preserved for such rewriting. Some legal rewriting is recognizable in the 4QRP texts (→ 2.2.1.7) and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Exod 35–40 (→ 1.3.1.1.12), both probably reflecting exegetical rewriting based on a text like MT.

2.1.4 Literary Variants

Some of the groups of differences between the textual sources (usually blocks of variants) reflect different literary stages of the biblical books, and hence pertain to the literary development of Scripture books. Two groups of such variants may shed light on the Documentary Hypothesis (see below, → 2.1.4.2).

2.1.4.1 Literary Variants in the Torah

Literary differences between MT and the other textual sources are recognized in several concentrations. The first two groups received much attention in scholarship, and the others less so:

1) Editorial innovations of the SP group as compared with MT and LXX (→ 1.2.3);

2) Literary and exegetical innovations of three manuscripts of the 4QRP cluster (4QRP^{c,d,e});[2]

3) Differences between MT, LXX, and SP in *Genesis 5 and 11* in genealogies, in which three possible tendencies are recognized. It seems that MT is not recensional in Genesis 11, but may be so in Genesis 5. On the other hand, the *Vorlage* of LXX and SP probably revised MT or a similar text in both chapters in a certain direction, in similar, yet different ways. I posit two recensions (SP, LXX) and one text (MT) in Genesis 11, and possibly three recensions in Genesis 5. The analysis of these chronological systems pertains to the primacy of MT, LXX, SP, or another system in these chapters, and is irrelevant for the source-critical analysis;[3]

4) *Gen 31:46–48* appear in LXX in the sequence 46, 48a, 47. In vv. 45–46, Jacob and his relatives erect a pillar and make a mound. According to LXX, Laban announces that this mound will be a witness between the two (v. 48a), and afterwards they name the place "Mound of Witness" (v. 47). MT+[4]

2 The other two manuscripts of 4QRP, 4QRP^{a,b}, belong to the SP group (→ 1.2.3).

3 See my study "The Genealogical Lists in Genesis 5 and 11 in Three Different Versions," in Tov, **Collected Writings 3*, 221–38 and the bibliography mentioned there. Elaborating on his earlier work, **Genesis 1–11*, R. Hendel repeated in a later study that three different recensions were at work in ch. 5: "A Hasmonean Edition of MT Genesis? The Implications of the Editions of the Chronology in Genesis 5," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 1 (2012): 1–17.

4 The symbol MT+ refers to the evidence of the MT group (MT, T, S, V).

places the Aramaic and Hebrew names (v. 47) before Laban's statements (v. 48a), probably representing a later addition located in different places in MT+ and LXX;

5) *Num 10:34–36*. In LXX, the order of these verses differs from MT+ (35, 36, 34). The sequence of LXX, in which v. 35, referring to *the* Ark, comes immediately after v. 33, where the Ark is also mentioned, is possibly more natural, while in MT+ v. 34 comes between the two. The differing sequences were created by the late addition in different places of the "Song of the Ark" (vv. 35–36), which originally was not included in its present position;

6) *Different Literary Editions of Numbers in* LXX *and* MT+ *Visible in Small Details?* In LXX-Num, small pluses appear in Num 2:7, 14, 20, 22, 29 (same plus in all verses); 3:10; 7:88; 10:6a; 14:23 = Deut 1:39; 23:3 (= 4QNum^{b}); 23:7 = 24:2, 23; 32:30 = context; 36:1 = 27:1. In Num 9:22–23, LXX has a shorter text (MT+ adds details from vv. 21–22; 13:33; 15:35).

The two traditions differ twice in important sequence details. In the census in Numbers 1, in the *Vorlage* of LXX, Gad (MT+ vv. 24–26) follows Manasseh (vv. 34–35). The position of Gad in MT+ is less appropriate, after Reuben (vv. 20–21) and Simeon (vv. 22–23), probably influenced by the sequence in Num 2:10–16 (Reuben, Simeon, Gad). The same change also took place in LXX-Num 26, where Gad was moved from the triad Reuben-Simeon-Gad (vv. 5–18) to vv. 24–27, following Issachar.

7) *LXX-Exod 35–40* possibly reflects a Hebrew version that is very different from MT, but further research needs to be carried out on these difficult chapters (see below, → 2.1.4.2).

(**2.1.4.2 The Documentary Hypothesis** is not included in this prepublication brochure)

2.1.5 Textual Development of the Torah

By its very nature, textual criticism deals with the written stage of the development of a composition. This description therefore focuses on the textual history of that composition starting with the earliest textual evidence, disregarding oral development. Thus, by definition, this analysis does not refer to the comparison or recording of different parallel stories in the Torah.

Our description takes the textual evidence as its point of departure, and not any of the textual theories on the history of the Scripture text, such as de Lagarde's theory of the original text, Kahle's theory of early parallel texts, or the local texts theory (→ 1.1.1.3; → 1.2.1). All these abstract theories revolve around general ideas and not the evidence itself. In contrast, the following description attempts to be text-based, but is not necessarily more objective than any of the others.

No solid facts are known about the textual condition of the Torah prior to 250 B.C.E., that is, the period of the first Qumran fragments (→ 2.1.2.1 above; → 2.2.1.7.9), and therefore whatever happened before the third pre-Christian century is mere speculation. For example, scholars speculate on the original text(s) of the biblical books and on the number of copies that circulated in ancient Israel in early times. Large-scale differences between texts, such as in Genesis 5 and 11 (see above, → 2.1.4.1) may have been created in these early centuries, but it is hard to date these and similar developments.

Written documents must have existed from a very early period although the date of the beginning of the textual transmission is unknown. It is natural to assume that the textual transmission began when the compositions contained in the biblical books had been completed. However, limited copying had already begun at an earlier stage when segments of the Scripture books existed in written form prior to the completion of the composition process. A description of

the transmission of the biblical text thus begins with the completion of the literary compositions and, to a certain extent, even beforehand.

It seems that each of the literary genres developed differently during the course of their textual transmission. Major differences between textual witnesses are probably found in all types of literature. On the whole, scribes who allowed themselves the liberty of changing the content did so more frequently in prose than in poetry segments because prose texts can be rewritten more easily than poetry. However, by way of exception, some poetic texts in post-Pentateuchal books and in the Torah were nevertheless rewritten.[5] Note, for example, the rewritten Song of Miriam in 4QRP^{c} (4Q365) 6a ii and c. On the other hand, in the final stages of the literary development of the Torah such as reflected in the textual witnesses, little rewriting activity is evidenced in the reworking of legal sections. Thus, there are hardly any cases where a law has been added or omitted in one of the textual witnesses. There are also almost no instances in which a law has been harmonized to another one when they differed. For example, it would have been easy to adapt a law in Deuteronomy to a parallel one in Exodus, Leviticus, or Numbers or vice versa but, with very few exceptions, changes of this kind simply were not made. The editors/scribes knew the limitations of their activities, and had they inserted such changes in legal material, they would have been changing divine utterances and would have obliterated the differences between the various Pentateuchal books.

The textual development of the five books of the Torah differed from that of the other Scripture books, but this fact has escaped the attention of scholars[6] with the exception of an important study made by Kahle on the basis of the limited evidence that was available to him in 1915.[7] The central position of the Torah becomes clear when the following three criteria are reviewed:

1) The percentage of copies of the individual books of the Torah found at Qumran (43%) is twice as high as its relative position among the Bible books (22.5%), and three times as high (62.5%) at the other Judean Desert sites.[8] Genesis and Deuteronomy were especially popular, not only among the Torah books, but also among the combined Scripture books, along with Isaiah and Psalms. The popularity of the Torah is also shown by the large number of its Targumim (Onqelos and three different Pales-

5 Note the creation of the different versions of poetical texts in Jeremiah and Ezekiel as evidenced in a comparison of LXX and MT (→ 1.3.1.1.12) and Papyrus 967 (Chester-Beatty IX–X) of LXX with all other sources (→ 8.3).

6 For example, this aspect was been mentioned by G.J. Brooke, "Torah in the Qumran Scrolls," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition: Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag* (eds. H. Merklein et al.; Bonn: Anton Hain, 1993), 97–120; S. White Crawford, "The Qumran Pentateuch Scrolls: Their Literary Growth and Textual Tradition," in *The Qumran Legal Texts between the Hebrew Bible and Its Interpretation* (eds. K. De Troyer and A. Lange; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 3–16.

7 P. Kahle, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," *TSK* 88 (1915): 399–439; repr. in P. Kahle, *Opera Minora* (Leiden: Brill, 1956), 3–37. This study is quoted according to the page numbers of the latter publication. When Kahle wrote his study in 1915, he was familiar with less than half of the Torah texts known today but, even within the triad of witnesses of MT, LXX, and SP, he sensed that they reflected a special reality that differed from that of the other Scripture books. Some of the major conclusions of that study may not be acceptable, but Kahle opened up the area of the Torah for wide investigation and he had important insights into the nature of SP and LXX.

8 For the figures, see Tov, **TCHB*, 96–98 and E. Tov, "Some Thoughts about the Diffusion of Biblical Manuscripts in Antiquity," in *Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (eds. S. Metso et al.; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 151–72.

tinian Targumim: Pseudo-Jonathan, the Fragment Targum, and the Targum included in Codex Neofiti [→ 2.4.3.3]). These manifold translations reflect the importance of the Aramaic versions of the Torah for rabbinic Judaism. For all other books, only a single Targum is known apart from the two Targumim of Esther (→ 13–17.1.3);

2) The Torah is unique in that its textual branches are much more numerous than those of the other Scripture books. In the other Scripture books one finds attestations of a unified textual branch (Judges, Job, Ruth, Qohelet, Lamentations, Psalms, and probably also Isaiah) and rarely of three branches (Joshua and Samuel), but usually of two different branches (MT and LXX), as in 1–2 Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Proverbs, Esther, Canticles, Daniel, Ezra–Nehemiah, and Chronicles. The large number of text branches in the Torah text indicates the wide exegetical activity displayed in the changes inserted in the Torah, including completely rewritten segments. Such activity took place in spite of its special sacred character and, more likely, because of it. Paradoxically, because of its popularity, the text of the Torah was altered more than that of the other books;

3) The Torah is unique in that it is the only Scripture book in which *textual* features are recognizable, namely harmonizations and variants replacing problematic readings, all of which reflect a free approach to the text.

Thanks to the Qumran discoveries, we are now aware of many textual branches[9] of the Torah contained in groups of texts and individual texts, together constituting more than ten branches.[10] In my view, all these texts, with the exception of the liturgical texts, enjoyed the status of authoritative Scripture texts. In the current state of knowledge (2015), the MT group may be considered as reflecting the oldest tradition of the Torah text, or the "trunk," from which the other textual groups branched off, while the status of items **9–12** is unclear.

1) MT (proto-Masoretic texts; → 2.2.2): all the texts found at the Judean Desert sites except for Qumran are virtually identical to the medieval text of MT (→ 1.2.2). Further, at Qumran we find many scrolls that are *close* to MT and are often named "MT-like" or "semi-Masoretic." In my view (→ 2.1.6 below), the proto-Masoretic texts hold a central place in the development of the Torah text, while the great majority of the other texts represent later developments.

The following sources probably derived from the proto-MT group, as most of them contain many secondary readings in comparison with MT although they contain

9 The nature of these "branches" in relation to the "tree" or the "trunk" is unclear because it is not known which part of the texts extant in the last centuries B.C.E. and the first century C.E. has been preserved until today. As a result, the distance between the various witnesses and their number cannot be assessed well. The term "branch" may in some cases seem exaggerated, and for some witnesses the term "twig" may be more appropriate (suggested by S. White Crawford, personal communication, 2015). For example, in the case of the SP group, I name the ancient pre-Samaritan scrolls together with the medieval sources as representing two twigs coming from a common branch. I consider the related pre-Samaritan text 4QNum^{b} a separate branch because of its idiosyncratic nature (see the remark below), but others may consider this a twig in the SP group. Likewise, the nature and number of the Reworked Pentateuch texts and liturgical texts needs to be further defined.

10 All of these are "texts" with the exception of the SP group (SP and the pre-Samaritan texts), which reflects a recension. The most characteristic readings of the SP group were created by substantial editorial changes inserted in the earlier text. For an analysis of these editorial changes, see M. Segal, "The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Materia giudaica* 12 (2007): 5–20; Tov, **HB, GB, and Qumran*, 57–70; M. Kartveit, *The Origin of the Samaritans* (VTSup 128; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 259–312; M.M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011).

primary readings as well. These sources probably branched off from MT as one large LXX-SP Palestinian group (**2–4**), from which again further branches and twigs developed. Virtually all rewritten compositions are based on this text, while the MT text is quoted only in rabbinic literature.[11]

2) The first textual tradition that branched off from the LXX–SP group (→ 2.2.3) was the *Vorlage* of LXX (→ 2.4.1), reflecting early as well as late elements.

3–4) At a later stage, the SP (→ 2.2.4) group branched off from the common LXX–SP source. The SP group consists of three layers in historical sequence: a single pre-Samaritan text 4QNum^{b} (**3**), the other pre-Samaritan texts (**4**), and the medieval texts continuing the pre-Samaritan texts (**4a**).

5) Two additional texts (group **5**) reflect a further development of SP, viz., 4QRP^{a} (4Q158)[12] and 4QRP^{b} (4Q364), but they differ substantially from SP since that group almost never inserts elements not found elsewhere in MT. On the other hand, group **5** inserts exegetical elements that are not found in MT/SP (→ 2.2.1.7; → 2.2.3.4).

6–7?) Three exegetical Torah scrolls, 4QReworkedPentateuch$^{c–e}$, probably representing three textual branches and bearing the misleading name of a non-biblical composition, display a very free approach to the biblical text (→ 2.2.1.7; → 2.2.3.4). They contain running biblical texts intertwined with large and small exegetical additions such as an expanded Song of Miriam, not equaled by any other source. The exact number of branches or twigs cannot be calculated, but in the meantime we describe 4QRP^{c} (4Q365) as group **6** and 4QRP^{d,e} (4Q366–367) as group **7**.

8) Four texts that do not contain pure biblical content. These are liturgical texts, two of which were published as biblical texts (4QDeut^{j,k1}; → 2.2.1.7.17, → 2.2.1.7.18), probably all representing one branch. Most of these sources reflect a very free and harmonizing approach to the text: a group of *tefillin* and *mezuzot* from the Judean Desert,[13] Papyrus Nash from Egypt containing the Decalogue, and two liturgical Qumran texts that contain the same pericopes as the *tefillin* (4QDeut^{j,k1}).[14] In these texts, harmonization, including the addition of small pericopes, is the main textual-editorial feature. These texts probably carried authority as liturgical texts, but not as Scripture texts.[15]

9–12) Four texts are not exclusively close to any of the mentioned texts:[16]

---

11 See my study "The Textual Base of the Biblical Quotations in Second Temple Compositions," forthcoming.

12 The 2011 study of M.M. Zahn, "Building Textual Bridges: Towards an Understanding of 4Q158 (4QReworked Pentateuch A)," in *The Mermaid and the Partridge, Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave Four* (eds. G.J. Brooke and J. Høgenhaven; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 13–32 stressed the independent nature of that text.

13 4QPhyl A, B, G–J?, J, L–N, O?, P?, Q?, XQPhyl 1–3, and 4QMez A (probably all reflecting the same textual branch). For XQPhyl 3, see Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran* (*X Q Phyl 1–4*) (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1969), 27–29, 40–41. These *tefillin* differ from the MT-type *tefillin* and *mezuzot* (especially MurPhyl 1, 34SePhyl and 8QPhyl I and secondarily also 4QPhyl C, D–F, R, S?). For an analysis and an earlier list, see Tov, **HB, GB, and Qumran*, 27–41.

14 4QDeut^{j} contains sections from Deuteronomy 5, 8, 10, 11, 32 and Exodus 12, 13; 4QDeut^{k1} contains sections from Deuteronomy 5, 11, 32.

15 The liturgical character of 4QDeut^{j} is the more likely because of its small size. See Tov, **HB, GB, and Qumran*, 37. Note further that both 4QDeut^{j} and 4QDeut^{n} start with Deut 5:1 and continue until the beginning of ch. 6. Both texts also contain a fragment that covers Deut 8:5–10. See Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}," 151.

16 Because of their fragmentary condition, not all the Qumran texts that are probably non-aligned are included in this list. Probable candidates are: 4QGen^{k}; 4QExod^{d}, covering Exod 13:15–16 and 15:1, and thus omitting the narrative sections Exod 13:17–22 and Exodus 14, possibly containing an abbreviated Exodus text; 4QDeut^{q}, in some ways close to LXX (→ 2.2.1.6.3); 5QDeut (→ 2.2.1.5).

4Q[Gen-]Exod^{b} (→ 2.2.1.7.7), 11QpaleoLev^{a} (→ 2.2.1.7.12),[17] 4QDeut^{c,h} (→ 2.2.1.7.15; → 2.2.1.7.16). It is due mainly to a lack of knowledge that we do not know where to place these texts in the genealogical tree (stemma) of textual witnesses. They do not depend on MT, but they do not differ much from that text.

This classification does not include texts whose major deviation from the others is in their scribal character. Thus, many texts copied according to the so-called Qumran Scribal Practice reflect an orthography and morphology that diverge widely from the other texts. This practice is best known from 1QIsa^{a}, but is reflected also in several Torah scrolls and liturgical texts: 1QDeut^{a}, 4QExod^{b}, 4QNum^{b}, 4QDeut^{j,k1,k2,m}, 4QRP^{a,b,c} (4Q158, 364, 365).

Owing to several uncertainties,[18] no precise number can be given for the textual branches in the Torah, but it is probably around twelve, and much larger than the one to three branches in the other biblical books. In any event, the special sacred nature of the Torah, accepted by all, did not prevent its exegetical-literary and textual development as reflected in its widely divergent textual branches from the third century B.C.E. onwards. From our modern perspective, the opposite may have been expected, namely that the special sanctity of the Torah would have created a conservative approach of not allowing any changes in the text, as reflected in *b. Qidd.* 30a: "The ancients were called *soferim* because they counted every letter in the Torah." However, this statement reflects a time much later than that of the Qumran scrolls and it pertains only to the proto-Masoretic manuscripts.[19] This talmudic dictum shows that our modern thinking is often wrongly influenced by the character of only one segment of the transmission history of the Pentateuchal text, namely the proto-Masoretic tradition (see below, → 2.1.6).

All these data lead to the central question as to why so many textual branches were created in the Torah and not in the other books. In my view, this situation was due to the popularity[20] the Torah enjoyed because of its special sanctity.[21] The very act of inserting changes into each new copy of a Torah scroll, often creating a new textual branch, was acceptable in early times. In a way, each scribe created a new version of the composition that was equally as authoritative as its predecessors. Among the known textual sources, only MT and a few additional (non-aligned) scrolls (**9–12**) disallowed such changes, at least after the mid-third century B.C.E., from which time the oldest scrolls are known (for the dichotomy and the other texts, see below, → 2.1.6).

The popularity of the Torah also brought about the creation of many new literary works, the so-called rewritten Bible compositions that reworked the stories and legal segments of the Torah: *Jubilees*, *Enoch*, 4–11QTemple, 4QApocryphon of Moses, and many additional Qumran compositions.

17 See my study "The Textual Character of the Leviticus Scroll from Qumran Cave 11," *Shnaton* 3 (1978): 238–44 [Hebr. with Eng. summ.].

18 The following uncertainties should be taken into consideration: 1) the SP group is counted as three units, see above, and not as two or one unit(s); 2) the exact number of the liturgical texts is unknown; 3) four "non-aligned" texts were singled out, but their number could have been larger.

19 Jeremiah and Ezekiel also display recognizable features, namely a shorter text tradition (LXX and two Qumran scrolls) as opposed to a longer one (MT and two Qumran scrolls), but these features were probably created at the literary-development stage of the books.

20 See Tov, "The Scribal and Textual Transmission of the Torah Analyzed in Light of Its Sanctity," in *Pentateuchal Traditions in the Late Second Temple Period: Proceedings of the International Workshop in Tokyo, August 28–31, 2007* (eds. A. Moriya and G. Hata; JSJSup 158; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 57–72.

21 In light of this, it is noteworthy that the copying procedures of the Torah were virtually identical to those of the other biblical books and all the non-biblical books. See Tov, **Scribal Practices*, 99–103, 108–18.

These new compositions created additional textual branches in addition to those of the direct text witnesses. The biblical quotations in these texts were not based on MT, but on the popularizing pre-Samaritan text tradition and the Hebrew source of LXX, as is visible in 4QTest,[22] 4QComm Gen A (4Q252), 4–11QTemple,[23] *Jubilees*,[24] the Genesis Apocryphon (probably),[25] CD, and the Cave 4 scrolls of the *Damascus Document*.[26] Furthermore, it is also significant that two of the exegetical texts, 4QRP^{a} (4Q158) and 4QRP^{b} (4Q364), also reflect this tradition. The Qumran textual evidence does not show a preponderance of these pre-Samaritan texts since the textual tradition that was close to proto-MT was more central for the Qumranites. On the other hand, the liturgical texts were probably based on MT, but this assumption cannot be proven conclusively.

It is noteworthy that the popularity and frequent use of Isaiah and Psalms, representing different literary genres, did not create deviating text branches. Probably the scribes of these books did not feel at ease rewriting Isaiah's prophecies or the psalmic literature, while other scribes felt at ease touching the stories of the Torah.

A description of the features of the textual branches of the Torah allows us to better understand the relation between them and to compose a genealogical tree (*stemma*) that displays these relations graphically. After all, we often try to express an opinion on the relation between all ancient texts as background material for the exegetical and textual comparison of these texts. In so doing, one often tries to bypass the issue of the so-called original text(s) of Hebrew Scripture. This stemma pertains only to the Torah. At the top of the stemma[27] stand the sources that do not display secondary features, namely proto-MT (**1**) continued by the medieval text. From this text

22 In this sectarian text, each of the biblical sections reflects a different textual pattern: Exod 20:21 (a pre-Samaritan text combining MT-Deut 5:28–29 and 18:18–19 as in SP), Num 24:15–17 (undetermined character), and Deut 33:8–11 (very close to the non-aligned scroll 4QDeut^{h}).

23 See E. Tov, "The Temple Scroll and Old Testament Textual Criticism," *ErIsr* 16 (Harry M. Orlinsky Volume; eds. B.A. Levine and A. Malamat; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1982), 100–11 [Hebr. with Eng. summ.]; L.H. Schiffman, "The Septuagint and the Temple Scroll: Shared 'Halakhic' Variants," in *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)* (eds. G.J. Brooke and B. Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 277–97. I consider the *Vorlage* of this scroll "non-aligned," while Schiffman emphasizes the links between LXX and the Temple Scroll.

24 According to J.C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 137, *Jubilees* especially reflects readings of SP and LXX, texts that were "at home in Palestine." Similarly, Lange, **Handbuch*, 165.

25 See J.C. VanderKam, "The Textual Affinities of the Biblical Citations in the Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL* 97 (1978): 45–55.

26 See the data provided by Lange, **Handbuch*, 158–64.

27 A different type of *stemma* is presented by Lange, **Handbuch*, 173. Among the leading ideas of that *stemma* that differ from our own reconstruction are: 1) LXX preceded MT; 2) SP preceded MT; 3) 4QDeut^{q} ought to be positioned closer to LXX. In determining proximity between textual sources, common mistakes ("Leitfehler") are often taken into consideration. However, in my view, in the case of Hebrew Scripture too few sources have been preserved in order to make this argument a sound principle. See also n. 39. Another type of stemma is presented in the exemplification of Kahle's ideas presented best in a chart in E. Sellin and G. Fohrer, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, ^{10}1965), 567 in which the development of the text of the Torah is described as a three-branched tree (MT, LXX, and SP), presenting three text types. This chart illustrates the classical view of both the tripartite division and the character of the textual witnesses that remained standard in the research until the importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls

branched off the "MT-like" texts, several *tefillin*, and several ancient versions (T, V, *kaige*-Th, Aquila, and Symmachus). Rather unexpectedly, contextual harmonization becomes the main criterion for characterizing the texts.[28] These harmonizations appear more in the Torah than in the other books, not because these books provide fewer occasions for harmonization, but because the scribes of the Torah scrolls endeavored to create what they considered to be near-perfect copies of the most sacred book of all.

All other texts branched off from MT or the LXX–SP branch, directly or indirectly. The major branch that branched off from the trunk (MT) is the LXX–SP branch: The Hebrew source of LXX (**2**) and the SP group (**3** [4QNum^{b}] and the other pre-Samaritan texts together with medieval SP [**4**]) are often closely related as they shared many harmonizations and other remarkable secondary readings.[29] Presumably the common ancestor of these two textual traditions branched off from MT or a similar text. SP itself developed that text further away from its source; **5**–**7**?) At a later stage, the exegetical copies of 4QRP^{c-e} branched off from the pre-Samaritan texts. **8**) The liturgical texts (probably all representing one branch, authoritative as liturgical texts but not as Scripture, probably branched off from the LXX-SP group, **9**–**12**). The place in the stemma of several non-aligned texts (4Q[Gen-]Exod^{b}, 11QpaleoLev^{a}, 4QDeut^{c,h}) is unclear. They are sometimes inferior to MT, but often not, and there is insufficient evidence to present them as offshoots of MT.

In this way, we are able to describe in broad strokes the development of the textual witnesses of the Torah. Surprisingly or not, in the Torah the proto-Masoretic texts stand at the top of the *stemma*. In my view, these texts derived from a single copy or a very closely knit tradition. Most other texts branched off from MT, and their secondary features are often visible in their harmonizing character. E. Eshel had a premonition of the importance of this development when naming a group of Hebrew texts "harmonistic."[30] I go one step further in recognizing harmonizing tendencies also in LXX and in additional Hebrew texts.

Needless to say, this description sketches the development of the texts only in general lines. With regard to individual readings, we are reminded of the famous dictum of de Lagarde: "ich glaube ... das keine hds der LXX so gut ist, dass sie nicht oft genug schlechte lesarten, keine so schlecht dass sie nicht mitunter ein gutes körnchen böte." [I believe ... that no manuscript of the LXX is so good that it contains no bad readings, and that not one is so bad that it does not contain an occasional pearl.][31]

---

became truly felt. A further type of stemma of the text of Exodus is offered by R.S. Hendel, "Assessing the Text-Critical Theories of the Hebrew Bible after Qumran," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. T.H. Lim and J.J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 281–302.

28 Thus already E. Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}." The importance of this textual and literary criterion is also stressed much by Carr, **Formation*, 90–98.

29 Already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was realized that these two sources were closely related to each other. From the seventeenth century onwards, it was declared that 1,900 of the assumed 6,000 differences between SP and MT involved readings common to SP and LXX. After scholars had recognized this situation, an endless number of theories appeared concerning the special relation between SP and LXX. Such theories derived from the restricted view that the biblical text was current in two or three "recensions" and that all textual witnesses necessarily belonged to one of them. In this case, it was suggested that LXX was translated from SP, or that SP was revised according to LXX, or, conversely, that LXX was revised according to SP (→ 1.3.1.1.14).

30 Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}," 117–54.

31 De Lagarde, **Anmerkungen*, 3 n. 1.

2.1.6 Two Different Scribal Approaches toward the Sacred Status of the Torah

The Torah had a distinctive, sacred status that could have influenced all of its scribes to approach that book with special care and a lower level of scribal intervention than the other Scripture books. However, the evidence does not support such an assumption across the board. When examining the approach of scribes towards the Torah, a clear distinction can be made between two types of scribes (→ 1.2.2.3): 1) scribes of all the ancient Torah scrolls except for those of the proto-Masoretic tradition; and 2) scribes copying the proto-MT scrolls and subsequently MT. The Torah was greatly hallowed by all the scribes, more so than the other books. However, the adoption of this sanctity had different implications for different groups of scribes. In the period for which we have textual evidence (from 250 B.C.E. onwards), for the scribes of group 2 this sanctity implied an approach of not changing the content. On the other hand, all other scribes (group 1) approached that text like any other text, Scripture or otherwise, freely changing its content, language, small details, and orthography, thus multiplying textual variation. The two groups are unequally distributed among the known scrolls because group 1 contains many more different *types* of witnesses. On the other hand, among the Judean Desert texts, the proto-Masoretic texts are the most frequent.[32]

With regard to both groups, it should be emphasized that in most technical areas, scribes did not distinguish between biblical and non-biblical scrolls.[33] This conclusion pertains to the following parameters: writing materials; technical aspects of the writing (length of scrolls, sheets, and columns; number of columns per sheet; height of columns, margins, horizontal and vertical ruling; repair-stitching; patching; initial and final handle sheets; use of guide dots/strokes); writing practices, such as divisions between words, small sense units (stichs and verses), and larger sense units, the special layout of poetical units, scribal marks, correction procedures, and scripts.[34]

2.1.6.1 Scribes of All the Texts Except for MT

The scribes of the many different Torah texts found in the Judean Desert together with SP and LXX did not interpret the concept of sanctity in the same way as the scribes of the proto-MT texts. They display a free approach at all levels as is visible in the comparison of these sources with the proto-MT texts and any of the sources of the other Scripture books:

– *Editorial intervention.* The various witnesses of the Torah (SP, many Qumran

32 For a different opinion on the number of proto-Masoretic Torah scrolls that once existed, see → 1.2.2.2.3.

33 Under these circumstances, it would not be unusual to find scribes who copied both a Torah scroll and other scrolls. Such a scribe has not been found, but relevant evidence has been found beyond the Torah in the scribe who copied the non-biblical texts 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb, and the biblical 4QSam^{c}. The hand of this scribe is also visible in several corrections in 1QIsa^{a}. For further details regarding Qumran scribes who wrote more than one manuscript, see Tov, **Scribal Practices*, 23–24.

34 The rules for the writing of sacred texts recorded in *Massekhet Soferim* and in earlier rabbinic sources create the impression that they were devised especially for the writing of sacred books. However, most details recorded there pertain to writing practices employed in an identical way in non-sacred texts during the Second Temple period. For example, *Sop.* 1.15 states that texts that deviate from the norm regarding the indication of open and closed sections cannot be used as sacred writings. However, this practice, which is basically a paragraphing system, was followed in most compositions written in the Qumran period, biblical and non-biblical. Thus, the practice itself was not limited to the copying of Scripture, and hence was not sacred, but the tradition of indicating a specific type of paragraphing in a given instance in MT carried authority.

scrolls listed above in → 2.1.5, the *Vorlage* of LXX) reflect the same degree of editorial intervention as in the other books.

– *Orthography and morphology.* The scribal practice of applying a special, very full orthography and a special morphological system to a number of Qumran scrolls was used for Torah scrolls as well. This aberrant orthography and morphology, best known from 1QIsa[a] (→ 6.2.1.1), is found also in 1QDeut[a], 2QExod[b]?, 2QNum[b]?, 2QDeut[c]?, 4Q[Gen-]Exod[b], 4QExod[j]?, 4QNum[b], 4QDeut[j] V–XII, 4QDeut[k1], 4QDeut[k2], and 4QDeut[m]. Most of these scrolls are also copied inconsistently and in careless handwriting.
– *Harmonizations.* The manuscripts of the Torah contain many harmonizing additions and changes in small details. Contrary to the majority view in the scholarly literature, this phenomenon actually prevails more in LXX than in SP (→ 1.3.1.1.12). Although there are no comparative statistics regarding the level of harmonization in the various Scripture books, we cannot avoid the impression that there are more such phenomena in the Torah than in the other books. There are many occasions for harmonization in the prose books from Joshua to 2 Kings and in Chronicles that have remained unharmonized. The absence of major harmonizing in the post-Pentateuchal books must be ascribed to a lack of interest in making the details in these books match one another. Presumably there was a constant interest in improving the divine message of the Torah; from a textual point of view, these improvements involved a great amount of freedom.
– *Scribal intervention.* A calculation of the average number of corrections in each scroll[35] shows that the approach towards biblical texts including the Torah is not more careful than that towards non-biblical texts. At the same time, many biblical scrolls display a low level of scribal intervention, especially texts written in the paleo-Hebrew script[36] as well as several other texts. Most other Torah texts hold an intermediate position regarding the amount of scribal intervention.

As a result, paradoxically, many scrolls of the Torah were rewritten and changed more extensively than the texts of other biblical books in the Second Temple period, due to the Torah's popularity resulting from its sanctity, thus causing increased textual variation (see above, → 2.1.5).

2.1.6.2 Scribes of the Proto-Masoretic Tradition

The major feature of the proto-Masoretic texts as compared with the other texts is their precision in matters of content and scribal conventions. This precision is also visible in the Torah pericopes included in the *tefillin* of the MT type (especially MurPhyl, 34SePhyl, and 8QPhyl I; see n. 33 above). These pericopes are written in the orthography of MT and reflect the pericopes prescribed in rabbinic literature, differing from the *tefillin* that contain different pericopes and are written in the Qumran Scribal Practice. Accordingly, the concept of sacredness

35 The level of scribal intervention can be measured by dividing the number of lines preserved (in full or in part) by the number of instances of scribal intervention (linear or supralinear corrections, deletions, erasures, reshaping of letters). A high level of scribal intervention (an average of one correction in less than ten lines) is visible in 1QIsa[a] and several other biblical scrolls, including two Torah scrolls: 4QDeut[m] (Qumran scribal practice), 5QDeut, 4QJosh[b], 4QJudg[b], 4QIsa[a], 4QJer[a], 4QXII[c], 4QXII[e], 11QPs[a], 4QCant[b], 4QQoh[a]. See the tabulations in Tov, **Scribal Practices*, 279–88, 332–35.

36 4QpaleoGen-Exod[l] (MT), 4QpaleoExod[m] (SP), 4QpaleoDeut[r] (MT), 11QpaleoLev[a] (independent). See below.

adopted by the circle that perpetuated the proto-Masoretic text was that of not changing the Torah text, at least as it is known to us from the period of the mid-third century B.C.E. onwards.

Reflecting this approach, the proto-Masoretic texts found at the various sites in the Judean Desert other than Qumran were copied with great care. They were internally identical, and virtually agree with the medieval MT. These texts differ as much from codex MT[L] as the medieval manuscripts of MT differ from one another (Tov, **TCHB*, 26–35). The MT-like manuscripts from Qumran are slightly more distant from the medieval manuscripts (Tov, **TCHB*, 26–35). It seems to us that this identity could have been achieved only if all the manuscripts from the Judean Desert were copied from a single source, a master copy (or copies) located in a central place, probably the temple until 70 C.E., and subsequently in another central location (Jamnia?).[37]

Two features reflect the scribal care of the proto-Masoretic tradition:

– *Deluxe format*. A remarkably large percentage of the proto-Masoretic Judean Desert scrolls display a *deluxe* format,[38] reflecting scribal care. This format was used especially for biblical scrolls, and among them in particular for Torah scrolls. From 50 B.C.E. onwards, large *deluxe* scroll editions were prepared especially for proto-Masoretic biblical scrolls, and within that group, mainly for the Torah.[39] In fact, *all* the scrolls from Naḥal Ḥever, Murabba'at, and Masada for which the margins are known are of this type, while MasLev[a] (2.8 cm), MasLev[b] (2.7 cm), and 5/6HevPs (2.5–2.7 cm) come very close (all the biblical scrolls found at these sites attest an unpointed text that is almost completely identical to the medieval consonantal text of MT).
– *Paleo-Hebrew Torah Scrolls*. The preserved Bible texts written in the paleo-Hebrew script contain only texts of the Torah and Job.[40] These ancient books were thus singled out for writing in the paleo-Hebrew script. Texts written in that script were

37 This identity is evident from the discussion in *b. B. Bat.* 14b and from the names of the three scrolls found in the temple court relating to passages in the Torah. See *m. Kelim* 15.6; *m. Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 3.4; *b. B. Bat.* 14b; *b. Yoma* 69a–b; *y. Sanh.* 2.20c.This master copy is known from rabbinic sources as the *sefer ha-'azara* probably referring only to the Torah, but it stands to reason that the other Scripture books were also found in the temple. In rabbinic literature, a scroll copied from this master copy was named a "corrected scroll," *sefer muggah*. For this purpose, the temple employed professional *maggihim*, "correctors" or "revisers," whose task it was to safeguard precision in the copying of the text. For example, "*maggihim* of books in Jerusalem received their fees from the temple funds" (*b. Ketub.* 106a). Tov, **TCHB*, 29–31 suggested that some of these "corrected copies" were found in the Judean Desert at sites other than Qumran (the first circle), and that the MT-like copies found at Qumran (the second circle), which are more distant from MT, were copied from them.

38 The assumption of *deluxe* editions is based on the following parameters: 1) Large margins usually accompany texts with a large format; 2) The great majority of the scrolls written in *deluxe* format reflect the medieval text of MT. Since the *deluxe* format was used mainly for scrolls of the Masoretic family, we assume that these scrolls followed the rules of the spiritual center of Judaism in Jerusalem, the same center that subsequently formulated the writing instructions that were transmitted in the Talmud and *Massekhet Soferim*; 3) As a rule, *deluxe* rolls had fewer mistakes that needed correction and are therefore characterized by a low level of scribal intervention.

39 For a list, see Tov, **Scribal Practices*, 125–29. The Torah scrolls are: 2QNum[a], 4QGen[b], 4QExod[c], 4QpaleoGen-Exod[l], 4QpaleoExod[m], 4QDeut[g], 4QDeut[k1], MurGen, MurNum, XHev/SeNum[b], 34SeNum, MasDeut. Among the thirty Judean Desert luxury scrolls, twelve (40%) are of the Torah.

40 Note that the latter is traditionally ascribed to Moses.

copied more carefully than most texts written in the square script. Most of these paleo-Hebrew texts reflect the proto-Masoretic text, but since 4QpaleoExod^{m} (close to SP) reflects a different tradition, the very minimal scribal intervention should not be connected to the proto-Masoretic character of these scrolls, but rather to the milieu in which scribes wrote in this special script (Sadducees?).[41]

(**2.1.7 Authoritative Status**, **2.1.8 History of Research** and the bibliography are not included in this prepublication brochure)

Emanuel Tov

41 Thus Tov, **Scribal Practices*, 248.

15.1 Textual History of Qohelet

15.1.1 Earliest Developments

Text-critical research on the Hebrew text of Qohelet has largely been confined to the commentaries on the book and articles on specific verses. Euringer's 1890 study goes through the book proposing corrections.[1] It is difficult to see any notable developments in the modern ideas of the *text* of Qohelet, but opinions have changed with regard to the formation of the book in its earliest stages.

The authorial unity of the book of Qohelet, though assumed by traditional commentators, was strongly contested in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some scholars argued on literary grounds that several important stages in the book's development can be identified.

In 1893, Siegfried employed source-critical methodology to identify numerous layers: the original Qohelet, a Sadducee influenced by Epicureanism, a "Chakham" (sage), a "Chasid" (an orthodox pietist), four main glossators, two epilogists, some unidentifiable glossators, and two editors.[2] Siegfried's working principle was that each writer must be absolutely consistent and represent a distinct point of view.

No one seems to have accepted Siegfried's intricate theory, but it did provide a grid for some more moderate proposals. The influential commentary of Barton,[3] for example, affirmed the basic unity of the book, as assembled from Qohelet's words by an editor, but assigned third-person utterances, including the epilogue, to an editor or glossator. Further additions were by a Chasid glossator, who added pietistic sentiments, such as the affirmation of retribution (Qoh 2:26), and a Chakham, a sage who affirmed the value of wisdom. The components that Barton (pp. 43–46) identifies as secondary can be listed as typical of commentators of his era: By the Chasid: Qoh 2:26; 3:17; 7:18b–26b, 29; 8:2b, 3a, 5, 6a, 11–13; 11:9b; 12:1a, 13, 13–14; By the Chakham: Qoh 4:5; 5:3, 7a; 7:1a, 3, 5, 6–9, 11, 12, 19; 8:1; 9:17–18; 10:1–3, 8–14a, 15, 18, 19; Editorial addition: "says Qohelet" in Qoh 1:2; 7:27; and Qoh 12:8, 11–12. Podechard used a similar model, discerning three main stages: the original book, additions by a Chasid, and additions by a Chakham.[4]

A more restrained analysis distinguishes some pietistic glosses, but without major revisions or additions. Crenshaw, for example, regards the following as secondary: Qoh 2:26a; 3:17a; 8:12–13; 11:9b; perhaps Qoh 5:18 and 7:26b, as well as Qoh 12:9–11, 12–14.[5]

The literary-critical attempt to restore the original text of Qohelet assumes that Qohelet was a consistently radical, pessimistic, and skeptical thinker, so that statements that do not fit this image must be assigned to other writers. The problem with all the theories of later additions is that the statements considered traditional and conservative use vocabulary and style typical of ones considered in line with Qohelet's spirit. They are, moreover, often intertwined with observations of life's inequities and absurdities.

1 Euringer, *Masorahtext des Koheleth*. Though outdated in many ways, this book is valuable as a compilation of information. Euringer assembles a wide variety of sources, including some that get little attention in the commentaries, including the secondary translations, namely the Syro-Hexapla, Coptic, and Old Latin. He also cites rabbinic sources and has an extensive appendix with rabbinic citations of Qohelet.

2 Siegfried, *Prediger und Hoheslied*, 2–12.

3 Barton, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*.

4 Podechard, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 142–70, with a detailed survey of earlier research.

5 Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 48.

Moreover, the putative additions do not fulfill the purposes ascribed to their authors, for they do not neutralize the skeptical statements but simply contradict them. They are sometimes located *before* the unorthodox opinions they are supposed to neutralize.[6] The fundamental problem with the source-critical assumption is that Qohelet is inconsistent throughout. He sees a world that is full of inconsistencies and contradiction, and these are what trouble him. His true consistency, in fact, lies in his insistence on observing both sides, positive and negative, of all that is valued in life, primarily work, pleasure, wisdom, justice, etc.

Most commentators regard the title (Qoh 1:1) and the epilogue (Qoh 12:9–14) as later additions to Qohelet's words. Many see two stages in the epilogue (Qoh 12:9–12 and 13–14). Among the commentators arguing for the essential unity of Qoh 1:2–12:8 are Gordis,[7] Hertzberg,[8] and Seow.[9]

There is no textual evidence for any of the literal-critical theories. LXX and the Peshiṭta include all of the 222 verses of MT-Qoh (and no more). 4QQoh[a] (which covers Qoh 5:13–17; 6:1, 3–8, 6:12–7:6, 7–10, 19–20) includes Qoh 7:1a, 3, 6, 9, 19, which various scholars consider secondary (→ 15.1.2.2).

Fox has gone further and argued that the third-person statements, as well as Qoh 7:27, are authorial and constitute a frame narrative in the voice of the author, who is relaying the words of a fictional sage, Qohelet. Several ancient Near Eastern wisdom books use a framing device of this sort.[10] Longman likewise regards the book as a unity, with Qohelet's words framed by the narrator's. He adduces the example of Akkadian fictional autobiographies.[11]

The book is basically a textual unity that has reached us in a form that is probably close to the original. This does not exclude the possibility of minor changes, including additions, in the Hebrew transmission. One likely gloss is Qoh 11:9b, which disrupts a series of imperatives.

15.1.2 Hebrew Texts

In the absence of evidence for a text form that differs significantly from MT, we can at most retrieve some early variants from the Qumran fragments and the ancient translations, particularly LXX, and suggest conjectural emendations. All the variants for which there is textual evidence are minor.

The only Hebrew manuscripts earlier than the medieval Masoretic codices are two sets of fragments from Qumran (→ 15.1.2.2). These agree with MT except insofar as they introduce (or perhaps preserve, → 15.2.2.3) features of non-Masoretic orthography and morphology that are in line with some Qumran practices (for a different view, see → 15.2.1 and → 15.2.3). Both LXX (→ 13–17.1.1.3) and Peshiṭta (→ 13–17.1.4.3) reflect Hebrew source texts close to MT.

The following survey begins with the Hebrew sources, then looks at the ancient versions, and finally offers a selection of plausible conjectural variants.

---

6 For fuller argumentation, see Fox, *A Time to Tear Down and a Time to Build Up: A Rereading of Ecclesiastes*.

7 Gordis, *Koheleth: The Man and his World*, 69–74. Gordis maintains the book's "integrity" by identifying many of the pietistic sentiments as unmarked quotations.

8 H.W. Hertzberg, *Der Prediger* (KAT 17; Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1963), 41. Hertzberg, 39–41, provides a good survey of the theories on the book's composition.

9 C.L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 18C; New York: Doubleday, 1997), 38–43.

10 Fox, "Frame-Narrative and Composition in the Book of Qohelet," 83–106. A similar approach is taken by Longman, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, who compares this text to Akkadian fictional autobiographies (pp. 18–20).

11 Longman, *The Book of Ecclesiastes.*

15.1.2.1 Qere-Ketiv

Most of the *Qere-Ketiv* pairs in Qohelet pertain to orthographic and morphological differences. The *Qere* is usually preferable in terms of the syntax and context (Qoh 4:8, 17; 7:22; 10:10).[12] (We should recognize, however, that these unproblematic readings may be later than the more difficult text.) There are minor consonantal differences at Qoh 5:8 (*K* הִיא "is," *Q* הוּא "is" [*Q* preferable]); 5:10 (*K* רְאִיַּת "seeing," *Q* רְאוּת "sight" [equal]); 6:10 (*K* שֶׁהַתְּקִיף "one who is stronger," *Q* שֶׁתַּקִּיף "one who is stronger" [*Q* preferable]); 9:4 (*K* יִבָּחֵר "is chosen," *Q* יִחָבֵר "is joined" [*Q* preferable]); 10:3 (*K* כְּשֶׁהַסָּכָל, "when the fool," *Q* כְּשֶׁסָּכָל "when a fool" [equal]); 10:10 (*K* הַכְשֵׁיר "to make suitable," *Q* הַכְשֵׁר "to make suitable" [*K* preferable[13]]); 10:20 (*K* הַכְּנָפִים "the winged [creature]," *Q* כְּנָפַיִם "a winged [creature]" [equal]); 12:6 (*K* יְרֻחַק "is distant," *Q* יֵרֻתֵּק "is severed" [*Q* preferable]). The alternative readings affect interpretation only in Qoh 9:4 and 12:6.

The *Qere* variants serve to cue readers on pronunciation while protecting the text proper—the *Ketiv*—from graphic "correction" by alerting copyists to readings that might seem natural but should not be incorporated in the text. Evidence that the *Qere* forms are not textual variants is the abbreviated form in which they are sometimes cited in the MasP. In Qoh 10:10b, for example, where the *Ketiv* is הַכְשֵׁיר "making suitable," MasP has 'יתיר י "an extra *yod*." This is a statement about the spelling of the *Ketiv*, directed to scribes. It is not a cue to readers, nor is it a way of recording a variant text. To be sure, some *Qere* forms may have existed in manuscripts known to the Masoretes, but this does not mean that the MasP cited these to preserve them.[14] On the *Ketiv-Qere*, see → 1.5.4.2.

15.1.2.2 4QQoh[a] and 4QQoh[b]

The two sets of Qumran fragments, 4QQoh[a] (4Q109; → 15.2.3.1) and 4QQoh[b] (4Q110; → 15.2.3.2), are the only pre-medieval texts of Qohelet.[15] In 4QQoh[a], there are ninety-five words that are legible or can be restored with certainty as words appearing in MT. Among them are at least thirteen consonantal variants as well as seventeen orthographic ones, all in plene spellings. There is one morphological difference (ה[ואה] for הוּא in Qoh 7:2), which introduces a form common in Qumran documents. In 4Qoh[b], of the twenty legible or securely reconstructible words, there are two orthographic variants, both providing a plene writing, and one morphological variant.

The table below shows the substantial variants in the two manuscripts, excluding orthographical and morphological details.[16]

In most of the above variants, the Qumran reading is secondary. (Not noted above are Qoh 6:8, 12; and 7:6, where 4QQoh[a] seems to differ from MT but is illegible.) In three cases, Qoh 7:5, 7, and 19, the Qumran reading seems earlier. The orthographical variants in Qumran are invariably later in character than the MT readings. In two cases, priority cannot be determined. The Qohelet scrolls show evidence of scribal modifications in the direction of simplification and updating

12 For an evaluation of these readings, see A. Schoors, "Kethibh-Qere in Ecclesiastes," in *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata* (OLA 13; Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 215–22.

13 The correct vocalization is הַכַּשִּׁיר "the skilled man" (as in Aramaic); hence "but the skilled man has the advantage of wisdom."

14 Another example (of many) is in Prov 23:6, where the *Ketiv* is תַּאֲוָו and the MasP has תַּאֲוָיו (both meaning "desire"). This cannot possibly be intended as a textual variant.

15 Published by Ulrich, "Qohelet."

16 Based on Ulrich, "Qohelet," 222–26. English translations are guided by **DSSB*.

	MT	4QQoh[a]	Explanation of Qumran Variant
5:14	כַּאֲשֶׁר (= LXX) "as"	כיא "because"	apparently an attempt to clarify the syntax of MT
5:15	וְגַם (= LXX) "and also"	גם "also" (MT[Kenn80,147,180,188])	equally valid
6:3	מִמֶּנּוּ הַנֶּפֶל (= LXX) "[better] than he is a stillborn child"	הנפל ממנו "a stillborn child [is better] than"	word-order inversion; equally valid
6:6	וְאִלּוּ (= LXX) "and though"	ואם לוא "and even if [לוא]"	the variant represents the constituents of ואלו even though ואם לוא does not have the required sense of "if"
6:8	כִּי מַה (= LXX) "for what"	כמה "how much"	a copyist error creating a contextually inferior reading
7:2	מִשְׁתֶּה (= LXX) "feasting"	מ]חה ש "leasure"	adjusting to 7:4
7:2	סוֹף כָּל (= LXX) "end of all"	כול סוף "all the end"	word-order inversion; inferior
7:4a	בְּבֵית (= LXX) "in the house"	בית "house"	haplography
7:5	מֵאִישׁ שֹׁמֵעַ (= LXX) "than a man who hears"	מלשמוע, corr., "than to hear"	מלשמוע is superior to MT. The supralinear correction shows that the variant was present in the source manuscript.
7:7	וְיאַבֵּד (= LXX) "and destroys"	ויעוה "and perverts"	synonymous variants. MT may represent a simplification of the rare עוה.
7:19	תָּעֹז "strengthens"	תעזר "helps" (= LXX βοηθήσει)	synonymous variant.[17] תעזר represents a normalization of the rare עזז ל-.
7:19	אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ "who are"	ש[היו] "who are"	morphological updating to LBH
7:20	אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה "that he does"	ש[יע]שה "that he does"	morphological updating to LBH
	MT	4QQoh[b]	
1:14	שֶׁנַּעֲשׂוּ "that occur"	אשר נעשו "that occur"	MT updates the morphology to LBH.

in the first century of the book's existence.[18] Similar activity is visible in a few cases in MT (→ 15.2.2).

Although the variants of 4QQoh[a] are few in number and statistical conclusions cannot be drawn, the *density* of its variants is worthy of attention. Among the readable ninety-five words in this manuscript, thirteen are substantive variants, or 13.6 percent of the total, and seventeen are orthographical variants, or 17.8 percent of the total, together 31.57 percent. It is suggestive to compare 1QIsa[a] (→ 6.2.1.1; → 6.2.3), in which Ulrich and Flint count "well over 2600" textual variants.[19] This is 15 percent of the 17,000 words in MT-Isa, in a manuscript characterized by frequent modifications of spelling and wording, mostly for the sake of easier study and understanding. Since most of the non-Masoretic readings in 4QQoh[a] move from Masoretic readings toward greater simplification and clarification, we may

17 On the interchangeability of these roots, see Brin, "The Roots עזר and עזז in the Bible."

18 According to Ulrich ("Qohelet," 221), F.M. Cross dated this manuscript to 175–150 B.C.E. Most commentators date Qohelet itself to the mid-third century B.C.E. See Schoors, *Preacher*, 499–502.

19 Ulrich and Flint, **DJD* XXXII, Part 2, 89.

tentatively categorize 4QQoh[a] as deriving from proto-MT (→ 15.2.2).[20]

15.1.3.1 Septuagint (→ 13–17.1.1.3)

The literalistic, mimetic character of LXX-Qoh justifies a fair degree of confidence in reconstructing its *Vorlage*, which was very likely close to MT (→ 15.2.2). A few likely variants are listed in → 13–17.1.1.3.4. The list could be expanded by, for example, variants in Qoh 2:25 (πάρεξ αὐτοῦ = ממנו, "except for him" = Peshiṭta and some MT manuscripts, for מִמֶּנִּי, "except for me"); 5:5 (τοῦ θεοῦ = האלהים, "God" for הַמַּלְאָךְ, "the messenger," a significant variant); 5:16 (καὶ πένθει = ואבל, "and mourning" wrongly, for יֹאכַל, "he eats"); and perhaps 5:19 (περισπᾷ αὐτὸν = מענהו, "keeps him occupied" = Peshiṭta and Targum, for מַעֲנֶה, "answers"). There are also differences in implicit vocalization.

(**15.1.3.2 Peshitta**, **15.1.3.3 Other Translations**, **15.1.4 Conjectures** and the bibliography are not included in this prepublication brochure)

15.1.5 Implications for Exegesis

All the witnesses are closely aligned to MT. The possibility that other textual forms with greater divergences in wording and quantity once existed cannot be disproved, but nothing in MT has the character of a later supplement, with the arguable (but uncertain) exception of the sentences that speak of Qohelet in the third person: Qoh 1:1, 2; 7:27; and 12:9–14, and perhaps Qoh 11:9b. Neither are such supplements reflected in the ancient versions and Hebrew manuscripts.

Qohelet is one of the few books in the Bible for which it is meaningful to speak of an *Urtext*, a textual form produced by a single author and from which all evidence ultimately derives (→ 1.1.1.3.4). In support of this hypothesis is a literary argument for the book's unity. The book presents itself as the intellectual autobiography of a single person (not as a collection of proverbs) and shows considerable cohesion (even repetitiveness) in style and thought. The unmistakable tensions and contradictions within Qohelet's words are best explained as expressions of the writer's thoughts as he observes the strains and fissures in life itself. Indeed, Qohelet himself is aware of these contradictions and responds in frustration, calling them הבל "vanity/absurd."

Even apart from this hypothesis, MT is a solid basis for exegesis, while the other texts and translations provide little evidence for alternative textual traditions.

Michael V. Fox

20 For a slightly different view, see → 15.2.3.1.

15.2.2 (Proto-)Masoretic Texts and Ancient Texts Close to MT

The only complete Hebrew text of Qohelet is MT-Qoh. It is also the only textual witness to the (proto-)Masoretic text of Qohelet. The two Qumran manuscripts 4QQoh[a] and 4QQoh[b] attest only to small portions of the book and are non-aligned in character (→ 15.2.1). Because MT-Qoh and the known textual sources of the book—especially the early version of Qohelet—are close to one another, there is general agreement that the Hebrew text of Qohelet did not suffer much during its transmission and is rather close to the supposed Hebrew original of the book.[1] Although the known textual transmission of Qohelet was very tight, the fact that, apart from 4QQoh[a] and 4QQoh[b], nothing is known about the textual history of Qohelet before the book was translated into Greek (→ 13–17.1.1) begs for caution with regard to the closeness of MT-Qoh to the *Urtext* of Qohelet.[2]

(**15.2.2.1 History of Research** and **15.2.2.2 Manuscripts and Editions** are not included in this prepublication brochure)

15.2.2.3 The Nature and Text-Critical Character of (Proto)-MT-Qoh

As in several other books of the Hebrew Bible, MT-Qoh attests to isolated cases of orthographic and morphological peculiarities that are close to the so-called Qumran orthography (→ 1.2.2). These isolated cases include the spelling of the 2nd per. masc. sg. suffix as כָה- instead of ךָ- (Qoh 2:1 אֲנַסְּכָה) and unusual plene spellings. In Qoh 5:10, what should be a *qames chatuf* is realized with a *cholem magnum*: אוֹכְלֶיהָ instead of אָכְלֶיהָ. Another characteristic of this orthographic system is that לֹא is regularly written as לוֹא. Although the spelling לוֹא does occur in the (proto-)Masoretic texts of other biblical books, it can be found in MT-Qoh only in Qoh 10:11 (בְּלוֹא). Otherwise, MT-Qoh consistently uses the spelling לֹא (Qoh 1:8, 11, 15; 2:10, 21, 23; 3:11; 4:3, 8, 12, 13, 16; 5:4, 9, 14, 19; 6:2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10; 7:10, 17, 20, 21, 28; 8:5, 8, 13, 17; 9:11, 12, 15; 10:10, 14, 15, 17; 11:2, 4, 5; 12: 1, 2, 6). Another unusual plene spelling is הַקּוֹהֶלֶת instead of הַקֹּהֶלֶת in Qoh 12:8. Otherwise, (הַ)קֹהֶלֶת is consistently spelled defectively (cf. Qoh 1:1, 2, 12, 7:27, 12:9, 10). These isolated cases of variant spellings are surprising, as MT-Qoh is in its orthography relatively consistent,[3] the coherent spelling of לֹא mentioned above being just one of many examples.

For me, the best explanation for such isolated forms of non-Masoretic orthography and morphology is that the text of MT-Qoh goes back to an orthographic revision. This orthographic revision reworked a parent text that adhered at least to some extent to the so-called Qumran orthography, towards the orthography and morphology so well known from MT. During this revision, isolated baroque spellings were overlooked.[4] Such a revision becomes all the more likely because 4QQoh[a] is a copy of Qohelet ascribed to the years 175–150 B.C.E.

---

1 Cf., e.g., Salters, "Textual Criticism," 54.

2 For a different view, see → 15.1.

3 A. Schoors, "The Use of Vowel Letters in Qoheleth," *UF* 20 (1988): 277–86; Schoors, *Preacher*, 22–33; C.L. Seow, "Linguistic Evidence and the Dating of Qohelet," *JBL* 115 (1996): 643–66, esp. 645.

4 For other remnants of the so-called Qumran orthography in (proto)-Masoretic texts and the orthographic revision of MT, see A. Lange, "The Question of the So-Called Qumran Orthography, the Severus Scroll, and the Masoretic Text," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 3 (2014): 424–75.

and employs the plene spellings and morphological forms of the Qumran orthography (→ 15.2.1.1). The orthographic system applied to the book by the *Urtext* of Qohelet can no longer be ascertained.

Although MT-Qoh is regarded as close to the *Urtext* of Qohelet[5] on a textual level, it is not free of secondary readings. The secondary readings of MT-Qoh attest to harmonizations, linguistic and stylistic corrections, as well as interpretative readings. On the whole, the intentional secondary readings of MT-Qoh can be described as editorial in nature (→ 1.2.1 and → 1.2.2). While the number of intentional secondary readings in MT-Qoh will remain debated, their existence cannot be denied.

– Examples of harmonizing readings can be found in Qoh 1:2 and 2:10. In Qoh 1:2, MT reads קֹהֶלֶת "preacher" but LXX-Qoh reads ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής "the preacher." LXX-Qoh agrees well with the other two occurrences of the phrase in Qoh 7:27 and 12:8 (אָמַר הַקֹּהֶלֶת "the preacher says"; for Qoh 7:27, see below). In Qoh 1:2, MT has deleted the article of הַקֹּהֶלֶת in harmonization with the phrase דִּבְרֵי קֹהֶלֶת "words of a preacher" in Qoh 1:1.[6] In Qoh 2:10, LXX-Qoh reads ὅτι καρδία μου εὐφράνθη ἐν παντὶ μόχθῳ μου "because my heart found pleasure in all my toil" instead of the כִּי־לִבִּי שָׂמֵחַ מִכָּל־עֲמָלִי "because my heart found pleasure from all my toil" in MT-Qoh. The *Vorlage* of LXX-Qoh reads בכל instead of מכל. LXX-Qoh is supported in its reading by MT^{Kenn225,226,348}. MT-Qoh adjusted בכל to מכל in harmonization with the מִכָּל־עֲמָלִי at the end of Qoh 2:10.[7]
– Examples of linguistic and stylistic corrections occur in Qoh 5:14; 6:4; 7:5, 7. In Qoh 5:14, MT-Qoh corrected an assertive כיא "indeed" (4QQoh^{a}) to כַּאֲשֶׁר "like." The conjunction כִּי produces a more difficult text and was smoothened by MT-Qoh.[8] In Qoh 6:4, 4QQoh^{a} reads לך "it went" instead of the יֵלֵךְ "it will go" in MT-Qoh. LXX-Qoh has πορεύεται "it goes," which renders the Hebrew participle הוֹלֵךְ. Because 4QQoh^{a} spells the particle as הולך, the Qumran manuscript should be regarded as reading a perfect form,[9] which LXX-Qoh misinterpreted as a participle.[10] MT-Qoh subsequently changed the perfect to an imperfect in grammatical harmonization with the imperfect form יְכֻסֶּה "will be covered" at the end of Qoh 6:4.[11] In Qoh 7:5, MT-Qoh reads the singular גַּעֲרַת "rebuke" while 4QQoh^{a} has the plural געורות "rebukes." The plural form is unique in pre-rabbinic Hebrew[12] and MT-Qoh adjusted it to the more common singular form in harmonization with the singular number of the word שִׁיר "song" in Qoh 7:5b. In Qoh 7:7, MT-Qoh reads the word with וְיאַבֵּד "and destroys" (cf. LXX) but

5 See n. 1.
6 Goldman, "Qoheleth," 65*; against Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 102.
7 Goldman, "Qoheleth," 72*; against Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 132.
8 Against G.W. Nebe, "Qumranica I," *ZAW* 104 (1994): 307–22, esp. 312, and Goldman, "Qoheleth," 85*, כיא does not preserve a textual plus at the beginning of Qoh 5:14 but is a variant reading of כַּאֲשֶׁר (cf. J. Muilenburg, "A Qohelet Scroll from Qumran," *BASOR* 135 [1954]: 20–28, 27; E. Ulrich, "Ezra and Qohelet Manuscripts from Qumran [4QEzra and 4QQoh^{a,b}]," in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* [eds. E. Ulrich et al.; JSOTSup 149; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992], 139–57, 144; Ulrich, "Qohelet," **DJD* XVI: 221–27, 223; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 207).
9 Against Salters, "Textual Criticism," 56.
10 Cf. Salters, "Textual Criticism," 56; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 212.
11 Cf. M.V. Fox, *A Time to Tear Down and a Time to Build Up: A Rereading of Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 243; Goldman, "Qoheleth," 87*; against Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 212.
12 Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 236.

4QQoh[a] attests to the reading וּיעוֹתֹ "and perverts." The root עוה is unique in the book of Qohelet while forms of the root אבד occur five times (Qoh 3:6; 5:13; 7:15; 9:6, 18). Therefore, MT-Qoh and LXX-Qoh replaced וּיעוֹתֹ with וְיאַבֵּד and καὶ ἀπόλλυσι respectively.[13]

– An interpretative variant can be found in Qoh 5:5. LXX-Qoh reads πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ "before God" (לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים) while MT-Qoh has לִפְנֵי הַמַּלְאָךְ "before the angel." MT-Qoh wants to avoid the impression of saying something negative about God and hence changes הָאֱלֹהִים to הַמַּלְאָךְ out of fear of irreverence.[14]

Next to such editorial changes, rare cases of unintentional scribal corruption occur in MT-Qoh, too. The reading אָמְרָה קֹהֶלֶת "she said a preacher" in Qoh 7:27 resulted from a misplaced space between the two words. The original reading was אָמַר הַקֹּהֶלֶת "the preacher said"; cf. LXX-Qoh εἶπεν ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής.[15] Similar incorrect divisions of words can be found in Qoh 7:19; 8:1; and 10:1.[16] Other accidental secondary readings in MT-Qoh resulted from character confusion: מִמֶּנִּי "from me" in MT-Qoh 2:25 instead of מננו "from him" (cf. MT[Kenn147,294,488,588,DeRossi592]; LXX; and S); מְצוֹדִים "nets" in MT-Qoh 9:14 instead of מצורים "fortifications" (cf. MT-[DeRossi10]; LXX; and S).[17]

In addition to the reasons given at the beginning of this article, such secondary readings suggest that caution is needed in equating MT-Qoh with the *Urtext* of Qohelet. So far, no shared characteristic of the secondary readings in MT-Qoh has emerged that could point to a coherent textual layer. Therefore, for the time being, it seems unlikely that the secondary readings of MT-Qoh represent a separate literary edition of the book or a revision of its Hebrew text.

What can be observed with regard to the differences between MT-Qoh on the one hand and the ancient versions, including 4QQoh[a] and 4QQoh[b], on the other hand is also reflected in the medieval manuscripts. This is illustrated by the many disagreements among Masoretic manuscripts noted by Kennicott and De Rossi for Qohelet.[18] Sometimes these disagreements among the later Masoretic manuscripts have parallels among the ancient versions, as they present similar emendations for similar textual problems. An example is MT-Qoh 1:10: MT[Kenn17,DeRossi187,386,443] as well as LXX, V, and T read here the plural היו "were" instead of the singular הָיָה "was" in MT-Qoh.[19]

15.2.2.4 Date and Milieu

It remains uncertain when the orthographic revisions, textual harmonizations, and interpretative changes in MT-Qoh were applied and who was responsible for them. It is even impossible to decide whether the editorial, harmonizing, and interpretative readings described above were the work of a single scribe or were inserted by several scribes at different points in time. The latter seems more likely.

That 4QQoh[a] employs the so-called Qumran orthography within the years 175–150 B.C.E. could argue for a *terminus post quem*

13 Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 238.

14 A.H. McNeile, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes: With Notes and Appendices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), 68; Salters, "Textual Criticism," 67–68; Fox, *Time*, 232; Goldman, "Qoheleth," 83*; against Euringer, *Masorahtext*, 66–67, and Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 196.

15 Cf., e.g., Euringer, *Masorahtext*, 92; Salters, "Textual Criticism," 68; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 264.

16 Cf. Salters, "Textual Criticism," 68.

17 For these two examples of character confusion, see Euringer, *Masorahtext*, 54–55; Salters, "Textual Criticism," 65, 68; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 140–41, 309.

18 Kennicott, *1776–1780, 2.549–61; De Rossi, *1784–1788, 3.247–64.

19 Cf. Salters, "Textual Criticism," 62; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 110; Goldman, "Qoheleth," 66*.

in or after that time frame for the orthographic revision of MT-Qoh. However, the Qumran library leaves no doubt that manuscripts employing the orthographic system of MT coexisted in the late Second Temple period with those using Qumran orthography. The evidence from other books of the Hebrew Bible makes it likely that the orthographic revision that led to the text of MT-Qoh was finished by the late first century B.C.E.[20]

15.2.2.5 Relevance for Exegesis and Literary Analysis

Due to the fact that there are few preserved textual differences among 4QQoh^{a} and 4QQoh^{b}, MT-Qoh, and the ancient versions, and because the harmonizations in MT-Qoh are not concerned on the whole with the philosophy expressed by Qohelet, little can be said about the relevance of MT-Qoh for exegesis.[21] If 4QQoh^{b} contained additional text between Qoh 1:14 and Qoh 1:15 (→ 15.2.1.1), then MT-Qoh might have erased some especially provocative statements.

D.A. Bruno, *Sprüche, Prediger, Klagelieder, Esther, Daniel: Eine rhythmische und textkritische Untersuchung* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958), 208–17.

S. Euringer, *Der Masorahtext des Koheleth kritisch untersucht* (Leipzig: J.C. Hindrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1890).

Y.A.P. Goldman, "Qoheleth קהלת," in **BHQ Part 18*, 25–53, 13*–17*, 64*–112*.

Y.A.P. Goldman, "Le texte massorétique de Qohélet, témoin d'un compromis théologique entre les 'disciples des sages' (Qoh 7,23–24; 8,1; 7,19)," in *Sôfer Mahîr: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker Offered by Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (eds. Y.A.P. Goldman et al.; VTSup 110; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 69–93.

F. Horst, *Libros Cantici Canticorum et Ecclesiastes*, **BHS*, 1336–54.

Kennicott, *1776–1780, 2.549–61.

N. Mizrahi, "Qohelet 6:5b in Light of 4QQoh^{a} ii 2 and Rabbinic Literature," *Text* 21 (2002): 159–74.

De Rossi, *1784–1788, 3.247–64.

R.B. Salters, "Textual Criticism and Qoheleth," *JNSL* 23/1 (1997): 53–71.

A. Schoors, "Ketibh-Qere in Ecclesiastes," in *Studia Paulo Naster Oblata*, vol. 2: *Orientalia Antiqua* (ed. J. Quaegebeur; OLA 13, Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 215–22.

A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study in the Language of Qoheleth* (OLA 41; Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 33–40.

C.-L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 18C; New York: Doubleday, 1997).

Armin Lange

20 See Lange, "Question."

21 Goldman, "Le texte massorétique de Qohélet," wants to detect a theological revision in MT-Qoh 7:19, 23–24 and 8:1, which adjusts the thought of Qohelet towards the Torah-centered character of Judaism around the turn of the era. His arguments are based on a comparison of MT-Qoh and LXX-Qoh. While Goldman's arguments are interesting, it needs to be asked if LXX-Qoh could not represent an interpretative translation in Qoh 7:19, 23–24 and 8:1 that applied a specific theological reading to Qohelet. It also needs to be emphasized that the central role of the Torah in Judaism did not emerge around the turn of the era.

13–17.1.1.3 Qohelet

13–17.1.1.3.1 Background

Ἐκκλησιάστης "Ecclesiast" is derived from ἐκκλησία "assembly." This translation of the original Hebrew name Qohelet (Qoh 1:1), itself a word of uncertain origin, is thought to designate a member of the assembly or, more likely, the one who speaks publicly, and whom Jerome refers to as the *contionator*, i.e., the "preacher." Consisting of "sayings" (ῥήματα), this peculiar book expounds the teaching of the Ecclesiast, the result of a somewhat disillusioned wisdom. Long the subject of discussion, its inclusion in the Jewish canon (→ 1.1.2.1) took place at a late date. Qohelet was finally integrated into the Megilloth. In the Greek Bible, Ecclesiastes was inserted after Proverbs and before Canticles, while the other three of the Five Scrolls are placed elsewhere.

13–17.1.1.3.2 Original Form

Barthélemy[1] viewed the Greek translation of Ecclesiastes as the work of Aquila in the early second century C.E. Since then, however, the attribution of the Greek Ecclesiastes to Aquila has been challenged.[2] Scholars now prefer to speak of a school that predates Aquila and is linked to the *kaige*-Theodotion group, which is currently dated to the first century C.E. (→ 1.3.1.2.4). The problem of the Hexaplaric materials attributed to Aquila with regard to Qohelet remains a complex issue.[3]

13–17.1.1.3.3 Translation Character, Translation Technique

The Greek translation of Ecclesiastes, the last of all the books of the Septuagint to have been translated, is extremely literal and adopts a stereotyped rendering of the Hebrew vocabulary and syntax, so much so that entire passages are sometimes difficult to understand for a Greek speaker with no knowledge of Hebrew. Through its rigorous adherence to the original text, this translation technique introduces a certain degree of crudeness into the Greek. Thus, typical aspects of Aquila's technique such as the systematic rendering of the accusative particle אֵת with the preposition σύν "with,"[4] the regular translation of the preposition לְ "for" as ἐν "in,"[5] or the absence—out of respect for the Hebrew—of articles in the Greek of Qohelet[6] (even when the Greek language requires one) are all part of this formal correspondence between the Greek and the Hebrew (→ 1.3.1.2.4). The same holds true for the persistent rendering of גַּם "also" as καί γε "and even," one of the characteristic features

1 Barthélemy, **Devanciers*, 21–33.

2 See Hyvärinen, *Die Übersetzung von Aquila*, 99; J. Jarick, "Aquila's Kohelet," *Text* 15 (1990): 131–39; P. Gentry, "The Relationship of Aquila and Theodotion to the Old Greek of Ecclesiastes in the Marginal Notes of the Syro-Hexapla," *Aramaic Studies* 2 (2004): 63–84.

3 See Barthélemy, **Devanciers*, 22–30; P. Gentry, "Hexaplaric Materials in Ecclesiastes and the Role of the Syro-Hexapla," *Aramaic Studies* 1 (2003): 5–28; P. Marshall, "A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Ecclesiastes" (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2007).

4 See Barthélemy, **Devanciers*, 15–26; J. Ziegler, "Die Wiedergabe der nota accusativi 'et, 'aet- mit σύν," *ZAW* 100 (1988): 222–23.

5 See, e.g., Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 51.

6 On this point, see J. Ziegler, "Der Gebrauch des Artikels in der Septuaginta des Ecclesiastes," in *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu Ehren aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages* (eds. D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and W. Wevers; MSU 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1990), 83–120.

of the *kaige* group.[7] The standardization of the vocabulary is also an aspect of this trend to literalness, as in the choice of σοφία for חָכְמָה (both meaning "wisdom"), σοφός for חָכָם (both meaning "wise"), ἥλιος for שֶׁמֶשׁ (both meaning "sun"), or ἀγαθός for טוֹב (both meaning "good"), or of rarer words such as ματαιότης "vanity" for הֶבֶל "absurd" or μόχθος "hardship" for עָמֵל "toil." Instances of homophony are not uncommon and have, in the eyes of some, less to do with interpretation than with literalness.[8] However, the translator makes skillful use of the possibilities offered by the Greek language by creating rhetorical and poetic effects[9] and, for instance, by playing on verbal prefixes in order to convey the meaning of the diversity of Hebrew roots with the help of composite Greek verbs.[10] Furthermore, a particular type of philosophical or moral vocabulary pertaining, among other things, to "knowledge" (γνῶσις or ἐπιστήμη), "choice" (προαίρεσις), and "courage" (ἀνδρεία) doubtlessly lends this Jewish translation a Hellenistic flair that evokes both the Greek philosophical tradition and the historical reality of the times.[11]

13–17.1.1.3.4 Text-Critical Value

In view of this extreme respect for the original text, which was probably very close to that of MT, discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Greek are rare: Examples include the addition of Ισραηλ "Israel" in Qoh 1:1, the repetition of οἶδεν "he knows" in Qoh 8:1a, or of καρδία "heart" in Qoh 9:1, the doublets in Qoh 2:15 and 7:22, or the divergences in Qoh 1:18 or 2:12c, which may be explained by alternative consonantal readings or vocalization (in Qoh 7:19, e.g., 4QQoh^{a} is concordant with LXX). In certain cases, some have indeed suspected the existence of a different Hebrew substratum that was deliberately altered at a later date.[12] But in reality, as for instance in the case of הוֹלֵלוֹת "madness" in Qoh 1:17 (which corresponds to παραβολάς "derangements" in LXX),[13] there is no compelling reason to question the originality of MT.[14]

Cecile Dogniez

(the bibliography is not included in this prepublication brochure)

---

7 See, e.g., Barthélemy, **Devanciers*, 32–33; P.J. Gentry, "Ecclesiast," **NETS*, 649.

8 See Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 56–57.

9 See J.K. Aitken, "Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes," *BIOSCS* 38 (2005): 55–77.

10 See Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 59.

11 See, e.g., G. Bertram, "Hebräischer und griechischer Qohelet: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der hellenistischen Bibel," *ZAW* 64 (1952): 26–49; Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 81–83.

12 See Y.A.P. Goldman, "Le texte massorétique de Qohelet, témoin d'un compromis théologique entre les 'disciples des Sages' (Qo 7,23–24; 8, 1; 7, 19)," in *Sôfer Mahîr. Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker Offered by Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (eds. Y.A.P. Goldman, A. van der Kooij, and R.D. Weis; VTSup 110; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 69–93.

13 See Y.A.P. Goldman in the apparatus of the **BHQ* in *Part 18: General Introduction and Megilloth*, 26.

14 See J.D. Meade and P.J. Gentry, "Evaluating Evaluations: The Commentary of BHQ and the Problem of הוֹלֵלוֹת in Ecclesiastes 1:17," in *Sophia-Paideia: Sapienza e educatione* (*Sir 1,27*): *Miscellanea di studi offerti in onore del prof. Don Mario Cimosa* (eds. G. Bonney and R. Vicent; Rome: LAS, 2012), 197–217.

15.6 Coptic

The Wisdom of Solomon was probably first translated into Coptic in the fourth century C.E., during the flourishing of the Sahidic (Upper Egyptian/Southern) dialect that would remain the classical, literary variant of Coptic through the seventh or eighth century C.E. This period witnessed extensive production of Coptic literature and particularly biblical translations (→ I.1.4.2), the latter deriving chiefly from the Old Greek (→ I.1.3.1.1) versions preserved in the unical manuscripts. Beginning in the eleventh century or so, the Bohairic (Northern) dialect began to replace Sahidic, remaining to this day the liturgical language of the Coptic Orthodox Church.[1]

15.6.1 Manuscript Evidence

Wisdom (together with the book of Ben Sira → 4.7) stands out amongst Coptic biblical texts insofar as it is preserved more or less completely in Sahidic, between two manuscripts. The first belongs to a parchment codex likely presently residing in Turin, Museo Egizio Cat. 7117 ($Cop^{Sa\ 98}$). It was published by Paul de Lagarde in 1886, and contains practically the entire text of Wisdom as well as of Ben Sira (together they comprise the "Turin Wisdoms").[2] The second belongs to a roughly contemporaneous papyrus codex that can now be found in London at the British Museum, Cat. BL. Ms. Or. 5984 ($Cop^{Sa\ 75}$). Published by Thompson in 1908, it contains Ben Sira as well, following the books of Job (→ I.11.4.2), Proverbs (→ I.12.4.2), Ecclesiastes (→ I.13–17.2.2), and Canticles (→ I.13–17.2), an order also found in Codex Vaticanus (LXX^{B}).[3] These two versions differ from one another only slightly, but enough that their respective *Vorlagen* were not necessarily identical.[4] Nonetheless it can be said that $Cop^{Sa\ 98}$ contains somewhat fewer errors and lacunae than $Cop^{Sa\ 75}$, and therefore some hold that $Cop^{Sa\ 98}$ contains an older text than $Cop^{Sa\ 75}$.[5] There are other additional leaves and fragments of the Sahidic version, but these are of only supplementary value to $Cop^{Sa\ 98}$ and $Cop^{Sa\ 75}$.[6] A Sahidic ostracon tells us that in the vicinity of seventh–eighth-century Thebes, the text of Wisdom was regarded as consisting of seventeen chapters, whereas the standard text today has nineteen.[7] Finally, a significant portion of the text (ca. 9–15%) survives in the Bohairic dialect, preserved in the lectionaries of the Coptic Church.[8] Unpreserved in the later, paper Bohairic Bibles, Wisdom has served in Coptic tradition primarily in the liturgical sphere.[9]

15.6.2 Translation Style

Our understanding of the Coptic versions of Wisdom remains relatively primitive; there is no critical edition of the text (as

1 Nagel, "Old Testament," 1836–40; Takla, "Coptic Old Testament," 8–9.

2 De Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca*, 65–106.

3 Thompson, *The Coptic* (*Sahidic*) *Versions*, 60–126; Takla, "Coptic Old Testament," 62.

4 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 54–56.

5 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 56; Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 26.

6 J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 26; for further leaves and fragmenta, see the continually updated series Schüssler, **Biblica Coptica*.

7 See the discussion of Crum in Winlock and Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, 197. I thank Ivan Miroshnikov for alerting me to this reference. For a photograph of the ostracon, see → 10.4.5.

8 Collected and published in Burmester, "Bohairic Pericopae." See further Takla, "Coptic Old Testament," 61; Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 66.

9 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 56; Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 26.

with most of the Coptic Old Testament). Ziegler referred to the Sahidic versions and Bohairic lectionaries noted above in his Göttingen edition of Wisdom.[10] Following Till, he recognized that the text-critical value of the Sahidic translation of Wisdom for a better reconstruction of the Greek text is negligible, since the translation that our two major manuscripts derive from does not aim at wooden literalism but a free and comprehensible rendering in Coptic.[11] Variance from the Greek uncials usually appears to result from choices in translation or scribal errors (within Coptic transmission).[12]

Thus, for instance:

Cop^{Sa}-Wis 5:15(14): ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲗⲟⲩⲥ ⲉϥⲱⲟⲟⲙⲉ ⲉⲁⲩⲟⲗⲟϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲓⲧⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲍⲁⲧⲛⲩ[13]
"like a fine *spider's web* scattered by a whirlwind"

LXX-Wis 5:14: ὡς φερόμενος χνοῦς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου
"like *chaff* blown about by the wind.

The word χνοῦς "chaff" was likely mistaken for ⲍⲁⲗⲟⲩⲥ "spider's web" in scribal dictation. This is not to say that there are no true variants in the Sahidic tradition. For instance:

Cop^{Sa}-Wis 7:17–18: ⲛ̄ⲧⲟϥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲁϥϯ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲛ̄ⲙⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ, ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ̄ ⲡⲧⲱⲱ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲅⲉⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲧⲟⲓⲭⲓⲟⲛ, ⲧⲉⲍⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲑⲁⲛ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲥⲛⲟⲩ, ⲛ̄ⲱⲓⲃⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲁⲏⲣ ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲃⲟⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ
"… He (God) gave me true knowledge of what exists; to know the extent of the cosmos and the activity of the elements, the first and the last and the middle of the *stars*, the changes of the *airs* and the turnings of the seasons …"

LXX-Wis 7:17–18: … ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μεσότητα χρόνων τροπῶν ἀλλαγὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς καιρῶν …
"… first and last and middle of *times*, the alternations of the *solstices* and the changes of the seasons …"

Cop^{Sa}-Wis 17:17: ⲡⲉϩⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲉⲩⲟⲩⲱϩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧ ⲉⲩϩⲛⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲩⲉ[14]
"the sound of birds alighting, falling down …"

LXX-Wis 17:18: ἡ ἀντανακλωμένη ἐκ κοιλότητος ὀρέων ἠχώ,
"the echo bouncing from a hollow of the mountains …"

One can find similar examples in the Bohairic lectionaries, as noted by Burmester.[15]

Equally interesting is what these Coptic translations reveal about the reception of the text in its later Egyptian context. The translator aims to simplify the text, transmuting complex Greek into straightforward Coptic. For example, the Coptic language makes wide use of Greek loanwords, terms immediately recognizable to any student of the language and often used by the translator of our text to render more abstruse Greek terminology.[16] Some of these renderings are more successful than others; observe the awkward compound ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ ⲙ̄ⲡⲧⲁⲙⲓ "ruler of creation" for γενεσιάρχης

10 Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*.

11 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," esp. 52–53, 56. While my evaluation of the text follows that of Till, the examples I produce here to support it are my own.

12 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 63–64.

13 Cop$^{Sa\ 75}$: ⲟⲩⲧⲛⲩ, "wind."

14 The rest of the passage is lacunous. Cop$^{Sa\ 75}$ preserves a slightly different variant: ⲛ̄ϩⲉⲛϩⲁⲗⲏⲧ ⲉⲩⲛⲏⲩ ⲉϩⲣⲁⲓ […]ⲉⲓⲁ.

15 E.g., Burmeister, "Bohairic Pericopae," 464–65.

16 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 59–62; Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 27.

"creator" (Wis 13:3).[17] Furthermore, the Greek passive is often rendered not with the bulky "dynamic passive" construction (a third-person plural commonly employed in Coptic to render passive meaning), but a crisper, second-person active voice (addressed to God as the agent of action).[18] Conversely, the translator's attempt to clarify the meaning of the text tells us that at least one intended audience of Wisdom in Late Antique Egypt must have been relatively unlearned,[19] which raises interesting questions about the context in which this translation took place. A central topic of Wisdom is Egyptian idolatry and its ostensible discontents; was its Coptic translator spurred to action by the persistence of idolatrous practices amongst Egyptian peasants? Thus, the Coptic versions of Wisdom command the attention not only of biblical text critics, but also of historians of Egypt in Late Antiquity.

O.H.E. Burmester, "The Bohairic Pericopae of Wisdom and Sirach," *Bib* 15 (1934): 451–65; 16 (1935): 25–174.

P. de Lagarde, *Aegyptiaca* (Göttingen: Arnoldi Hoyer, 1883).

P. Nagel, "Old Testament, Coptic Translations of," *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 8:1836–40.

Schüssler, **Biblica Coptica*.

H. Takla, "An Introduction to the Coptic Old Testament," *Coptica* 6 (2007): 1–115.

H. Thompson, *The Coptic* (*Sahidic*) *Versions of Certain Books of the Old Testament: From a Papyrus in the British Museum* (London: Oxford University Press, 1908).

W.C. Till, "Die koptischen Versionen der Sapientia Salomonis," *Bib* 36 (1955): 51–70.

H.E. Winlock and W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, part 1: *The Archeological Material* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 3; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926).

D. Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 43; New York: Doubleday, 1979).

J. Ziegler (ed.), *Sapientia Salomonis* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum 12.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).

Dylan Burns

17 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 60, includes this example in his list of Greek loanwords rendering more complex morphs in the original Greek, but it should rather be included in his list of Graeco-Coptic compounds on p. 61. As recognized by Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 55, the scribe of Cap$^{Sa\ 75}$ must have been misled here by a sloppy dictation of the text, here writing *marenjō*[.

18 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 62.

19 Till, "Koptischen Versionen," 58, 65.

- Notes -

Contact

If you would like to get in touch with the Brill publishing team please feel free to contact us.

Suzanne Mekking, *Sr. Acquisitions Editor*
mekking@brill.com

Bas van der Mije,
Project Manager Reference Works
mije@brill.com

BRILL
P.O. Box 9000
2300 PA Leiden
The Netherlands
VAT number NL 001539243 B01
Commercial Register Leiden 28000012

Where to Order

Journal Orders Worldwide & Book Orders outside the Americas

BRILL
c/o Turpin Distribution
Stratton Business Park
Pegasus Drive
Biggleswade
Bedfordshire SG1 8 8TQ
United Kingdom
T +44 (0) 1767 604-954
F +44 (0) 1767 601-640
brill@turpin-distribution.com

Book Orders in the Americas

BRILL
c/o Turpin Distribution
143 West Street
New Milford, CT 06776
USA
T (844) 232-3707
(toll free, US & Canada only)
T +1 (860) 350-0041
F +1 (860) 350-0039
brillna@turpin-distribution.com

Online Products & Primary Source Collections

sales-nl@brill.com (outside the Americas)
sales-us@brill.com (in the Americas)

Or contact your Library Supplier

For sales information and contact details of our sales representatives, please visit brill.com/services/trade

For General Order Information and Terms and Conditions please go to

brill.com

brillonline.com

Brill's VAT registration number is NL8088.46.243 B01
Commercial Register Leiden 28000012

Printed in the Netherlands

THB is aimed at all scholars and students of the Bible. By making it available digitally as well as in print, the work will be accessible to a broad audience through the webpages of university libraries.

Armin Lange is professor for Second Temple Judaism at the University of Vienna, the Director of Vienna University's institute for Jewish Studies, and a member of the International Team editing the Dead Sea Scrolls. He has published extensively on the Hebrew Bible, its textual criticism, Second Temple Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Emanuel Tov, Hebrew University, Jerusalem is J.L. Magnes Professor of Bible emeritus at that University. He has published many monographs on the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible and Qumran, and was the editor-in-chief of the Dead Sea Scrolls publication project. He is appointed member of the Israel Academy of Sciences.

Matthias Henze is the Isla Carroll and Percy E. Turner Professor of Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism at Rice University and the director of Rice's program in Jewish Studies. The focus of his published work is on the Jewish literature composed around the turn of the Common Era.

Russell Fuller joined the faculty of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of San Diego in 1992. He is a professor of biblical studies with a specialty in the area of Hebrew Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. He is a member of the International Team editing the Dead Sea Scrolls.