

Anneli Aejmelaesus / Drew Longacre / Natia Mirotadze (eds.)

# From Scribal Error to Rewriting

How Ancient Texts Could and Could Not Be Changed



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# De Septuaginta Investigationes (DSI)

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Volume 12

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## MasPs<sup>a</sup> and the Early History of the Hebrew Psalter

### Introduction

The constant and ceaseless quest of the human mind to impose meaningful organisation on the input provided is known in cognitive psychology as the *Gestalt* effect and is a fundamental feature of human life. No observer is objective. Let us remember that the raw data are *not* self-interpreting. Each human brings to the data a metanarrative as the mind seeks to assemble all the data and order them into a cohesive and meaningful whole.<sup>2</sup> Naturally there will be competing explanations to explore and we have a marvellous opportunity at the Symposium in Tbilisi to consider which larger picture is able to encompass the most data in the simplest way and offer explanatory power in other areas of knowledge that are related.

This expression of epistemological foundations is never more important than in dialogue over the early history of the Hebrew Text and in particular, the focus of our research—an early text known as MasPs<sup>a</sup> and the role it may or may not play in the history of the Hebrew Psalter.

### MasPs<sup>a</sup>

The text known as Masada Psalms fragment “a” is part of a scroll of the Book of Psalms 25.5 cm in height. It was discovered November 20, 1963 in a room designated Casemate 1039. There is evidence that the room was inhabited by one of the families of the Zealots, but “the circumstances of the discovery and the objects found there gave the impression that articles from various rooms were thrown into disorder into this one, and heaped up there.”<sup>3</sup> MasPs<sup>a</sup> consists of two

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1 We would like to express our gratitude and thanks to Paul Sanders and especially Raymond de Hoop for constructive and detailed criticism of an earlier draft of this work. Nonetheless, the opinions expressed as well as the errors must remain ours.

2 Langer calls this “premature cognitive commitments”. See E.J. Langer, *Mindfulness* (Boston: Da Capo, 1989, 2014).

3 Shemaryahu Talmon with Carol Newsom and Yigael Yadin, *Masada VI: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 76. Nahman Avigad believes the Romans threw the spoils of coins and documents on the heap of stones in this room after the Zealots removed the wood they needed from the roof and the ballista stones fell in. See E. Netzer, “The Last Days and Hours at Masada by Nahman Avigad”, in



fragments that can be conjoined on the basis of matching up the contours of the edges and also of the text in its three columns.

Yadin designated the script or writing “late Herodian formal style” and proposed a date of the first half of the first century C.E., 20–30 years before the fall of Masada.<sup>4</sup> Close attention to palaeography in the *editio princeps* by Talmon led him to classify the script simply as “formal Herodian” and date the fragment to the end of the last century B.C.E. (30–1 B.C.E.). In the 2007 *Festschrift* for Florentino García Martínez, Armin Lange concurred with a date of 30–1 B.C.E.<sup>5</sup> Emanuel Tov in his Third Edition of *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* also altered his dates for the Masada Psalms fragments to 50–30 B.C.E.,<sup>6</sup> but as of a 2013 publication, Peter Flint nowhere discusses the proposed re-dating by Talmon.<sup>7</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar challenged the dating of MasEzek by Talmon as “formal Herodian” and evaluated the script as “late Herodian formal style”<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, Talmon compares the script of MasEzek to MasLev<sup>a,b</sup> and MasDeut and does not compare it to the script of MasPs<sup>a</sup>.<sup>9</sup> Tigchelaar also acknowledges that paleographical experts vary widely in dating some manuscripts and calls for a re-evaluation of the later Herodian and post-Herodian hands.<sup>10</sup> An earlier date would have some significance for Flint’s approach to the Qumran Psalters (discussed *infra*).

The consonantal text is almost identical to that of the later MT, but the manuscript has a special layout and in Talmon’s view is almost certain to have been brought to Masada from Jerusalem by the Zealots.<sup>11</sup> E. Tov argues that the non-biblical texts discovered at Masada were brought there by fugitives from Qumran.<sup>12</sup> This is based largely on similarities between non-biblical texts found at both sites. While the biblical corpora at Masada and Qumran are similar in fa-

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R. Ngo (ed.), *Masada: The Dead Sea Desert’s Fortress* (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2014), 11.

4 Y. Yadin, “The Excavations of Masada 1963/64. Preliminary Report”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 15 (1965) 103–4.

5 A. Lange, “‘Nobody Dared to Add to Them, to Take from Them, or to Make Changes’ (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.42): The Textual Standardization of Jewish Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in A. Hilhorst/É. Puech/E. Tigchelaar (ed.), *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (Supplements for the Journal for the Study of Judaism 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 110, n. 14.

6 E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd revised and expanded edn; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 29.

7 P.W. Flint, “The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls: Psalms Manuscripts, Editions, and the Oxford Hebrew Bible”, in S. Gillingham (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Approaches: Conflict and Convergence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 11–34.

8 E. Tigchelaar, “Notes on the Ezekiel Scroll from Masada (MasEzek)”, *Revue de Qumran* 22/86 (2005) 273–5.

9 Talmon, *Masada* VI, 60.

10 Tigchelaar, “Notes on the Ezekiel Scroll from Masada (MasEzek)”, 274.

11 Talmon, *Masada* VI, 24.

12 E. Tov, “A Qumran Origin for the Masada Non-Biblical Texts?” *DSD* (2000) 57–73.

vouring Torah, Prophets, and Psalms, this argument is not significant for determining the source of the biblical texts. What has not been adequately explored are the differences between MasPs<sup>a</sup> and biblical texts found at Qumran. Tov argues that though the biblical texts from Masada may have come from Qumran, the character of the manuscripts and the text make it probable that they were from Jerusalem as the home of the later mediaeval MT.<sup>13</sup> Possibly MasPs<sup>a</sup> came from the Jerusalem Temple, while the non-biblical texts were brought to Masada by fugitives from other sites. We cannot be sure based on evidence available at the present time.

We shall analyse in turn (1) the character of the text, (2) the layout of the manuscript, and (3) its putative provenance. Few variants obtain between MasPs<sup>a</sup> and the MT as represented by the Aleppo Codex and the Leningrad Codex. Aside from a couple of instances of spelling words מָלֵא instead of חָסַר and also a couple occurrences of the reverse situation, six variants are listed by Talmon in increasing measure of significance. The reading of MT is presented left of the bracket; the reading of MasPs<sup>a</sup> is after it to the right:

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| 83:14a   | אלהים [אֱלֹהֵי]                             |
| 81:9b    | אם תשמע קולי [אִם-תִּשְׁמַע-לִי]            |
| 83:8a    | גבל עמון ועמלק [גָּבַל וְעַמּוֹן וְעַמְלָק] |
| 83:7a    | אלהי אדום [אֱלֹהֵי אֲדוֹם]                  |
| 83:10a/b | אֶסְרָא init 10b] trahit ad fin 10a         |
| 83:12a   | שיתמו sup lin MasPs <sup>a</sup>            |

The reading in 81:9b is probably a harmonisation with v. 12. The variant in 83:8a entails a *waw* in a list. The difference between “gods” and “tents” in 83:7a is doubtless due to metathesis. The problem in 83:10 is a difference in stichometry, to be discussed later. The case of 83:12a is a *prima manus* correction for a parablepsis based on homoioteleuton. None of these are significant variants. Emanuel Tov has rightly classified the manuscript as an example of the proto-MT (Tov, 2008), which belongs to what he terms “the first circle” of texts, i.e. master scrolls preserved in the setting of the Temple. We can note that MasPs<sup>a</sup> has 29–30 lines per column, which aligns with deluxe scroll standards, while 11QPs<sup>a</sup> has only 16–17 lines and 4QPs<sup>b</sup> also has only 16–17 lines. The number of lines per column sets MasPs<sup>a</sup> apart from the Qumran manuscripts and indicates that it was a master scroll or copied from one and corrected. These are the most complete examples from Qumran Psalms, exhibiting both top and bottom margins. Analysis and attention will be focused on the layout of the text.

13 Tov, “A Qumran Origin”, 61, 71.

## Colometry in MasPs<sup>a</sup> and Pausal Forms/ Accents in the Masoretic Text

One full column of text is extant as well as two half columns of text to the left and right side of the fully preserved column. The description by Talmon is as follows:

Lines are invariably divided into hemistichs, forming two half-columns separated by a margin of between 1–2.3 cm, depending on the amount of text which the scribe accommodated in the first half-line. Whereas the beginnings of lines, viz. of the first stichs, are justified, the beginnings of the second half-lines are irregular. A hemistich contains between 2–5 words, contingent on the length of words and the sense unit: e.g. *בַּחֲשֵׁכָה יִתְהַלְכוּ* (col. II, l. 8b); *גָּבַל וְעִמּוֹן וְעַמְלֵק* (l. 20b); *פִּלְשֶׁת עִם יִשְׂבִּי צוּר* (l. 21a); *הִיו זָרוּעַ לְבָנֵי לוֹט סֵלָה* (l. 22a). The shortest fully preserved hemistich, *מִזֶּאֱבָב וְהַגְרִים* (col. II, 20a), contains ten letters and one inter-word space, viz. 11 spaces altogether; the longest, *וְכִזְבַּח וְכִצְלֻמֶּנֶע [כ] ל [ג] סִיכְמוּ* (col. II, l. 25a) 20 letters and three spaces, viz. 23 spaces in all. The shortest line, *קֶשֶׁת לִפְנֵי רוּחַ כֹּאשׁ תִּבְעֵר יָעַר* (col. II, l. 27), has 20 letters and four inter-word spaces, i.e. a total of 24 spaces; the longest, *וְכִזְבַּח וְכִצְלֻמֶּנֶע [כ] ל [ג] סִיכְמוּ אֲשֶׁר אִמְרוּ נִירְשָׁה לָנוּ* (col. II, l. 25), 35 letters and seven inter-word spaces, viz. 42 spaces in all. (83)<sup>14</sup>

Talmon immediately follows this description by the statement that “in the masoretic [sic] tradition this system of half-lines, termed *עַל גְּבִי אֲרִיחַ*, half-brick on top of half-brick, is essentially based on verses composed of sense units based upon *parallelismus membrorum*.”<sup>15</sup> His analysis is premature. While a number of aspects of the manuscript (e.g. *gewil* material prepared for writing) correspond to the later rabbinic regulations for the proper preparation of biblical texts, there is also *development* to be noted between MasPs<sup>a</sup> and Masoretic manuscripts.<sup>16</sup>

For the sake of clarity in analysis and description, let us define the terminology used in describing lineation both in the manuscript and in poetry. Hebrew poetry is generally based on couplets—occasionally triplets—containing two (or three, even four) cola. ‘Hemistich’ is the term used by Talmon for colon in his description of colometry or stichometry. Each column of MasPs<sup>a</sup> normally contains two cola of text that are divided by a space. The two cola of text correspond generally to the standard couplet of poems in Hebrew. For Psalms 81, 82, 84, and 85, the superscription occupies the right hand colon while the left hand colon is *vacat*.

<sup>14</sup> As a minor point, we may note that the shortest fully preserved hemistich is in fact col. III, l. 22a (= 84:13a) containing *יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת*, i.e. nine letters and one inter-word space.

<sup>15</sup> Talmon, *Masada* VI, 83.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. b. Meg. 16b and Soferim 12:10. Tov notes that the exact form in stichometry required by the Talmud is not found at Qumran. See E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 174.

In every case the superscription is either longer or shorter than an average colon. For 83, 84, and 85, an entire empty line is also left between the end of the previous psalm and the beginning of the next. In 83, the text of the psalm begins in the left hand colon while the superscription is in the right hand of the same line. Here the superscription is the length of an average colon.

Psalms 81–85 contain a number of triplets (e.g. 81:6, 8, 11). Each member of the triplet that makes up the verse is treated as a colon in the manuscript. This better coincides with the definition of a line of Hebrew poetry based on syntax by M. O'Connor in *Hebrew Verse Structure* than the treatment in our later Masoretic manuscripts.<sup>17</sup>

Comparison between the layout of MasPs<sup>a</sup> with the layout of the text, the pausal forms and the accents in the Aleppo Codex as representative of the Masoretic Text (MT-A) is instructive. First, in only one instance in MasPs<sup>a</sup> the scribe placed an interval or space in the middle of a half-line or hemistich (in the terminology of Talmon): col. II l. 24 = 83:11b. In this hemistich, לַאֲדָמָה marks the end of a colon and שִׁיתָמוּ begins the next colon according to the accents and layout in MT-A. After a close look at the photograph, we would disagree with the reconstruction of Talmon. There is a normal inter-word space between שִׁיתָמוּ and נִדְבִימוּ. Therefore שִׁיתָמוּ belongs with 83:12a and not with 11b. Appropriate space between hemistichs exists between לַאֲדָמָה and שִׁיתָמוּ.

Second, in terms of pausal forms, comparison reveals that the end of cola in MasPs<sup>a</sup> correspond to 37 pausal forms (i.e. all of the pausal forms in MT for the delimited stretch of text), 138 neutral forms, and one contextual form (designated in the first column of the table as P, N, and C respectively).

Third, comparison in terms of accents in MT with intervals or spaces in MasPs<sup>a</sup> requires discussion. Paul Sanders has shown in his analysis of colometry in the Aleppo Codex that in the three Books of Poetry, only the following disjunctive accents mark the end of a colon (numbered according to disjunctive value):

*silluq* [1], *ole weyored* [2], *'atnaḥ* [3], *revia<sup>s</sup> gadol* [4]\*, *ṣinnor* [7]\*

According to Sanders, the accents indicated by an asterisk only mark the end of a colon if they are preceded by a weaker disjunctive accent.<sup>18</sup>

In MasPs<sup>a</sup> the end of a half-line always corresponds to a disjunctive accent in MT (63× = *silluq*, 5× = *'ole weyored*, 54× = *'atnaḥ*, 9× = *rebia'*, 2× = *ṣinnor*, 3× = *dehi*, and 1× = *pazer*). All cases of *silluq* [1], *'ole weyored* [2], *'atnaḥ* [3] mark a

17 M.P. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (2nd edn; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980, 1997). See the discussion below of the layout in the Aleppo Codex.

18 P. Sanders, "The Colometric Layout of Psalms 1 to 14 in the Aleppo Codex", in M. Korpel/J. Oesch (ed.) *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division* (Pericope 3; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002) 226–57.

colon end. Both cases of *šinnor* are preceded by a weaker disjunctive accent and so match MT in marking a colon end.

The instances of *rebia'* and *dehi* call for comment. In Ps 81:6a, 11a, and 82:5a the hemistich is ended by a *rebia' gadol*. Thus accentuation in MT matches colometry in MasPs<sup>a</sup>. In Ps 83:7a, 18a; 84:2a, the hemistich is ended by means of a so-called defective *rebia' mugraš*, because the *gereš* is lacking. This is important since in general, when we find such a defective *rebia' mugraš*, the *'atnaḥ* is missing and the defective *rebi'a mugraš* has the function of *'atnaḥ*. This implies that in these cases accentuation in MT matches the colometry in MasPs<sup>a</sup>. In Ps 84:3c, the *rebi'a* is preceded by an *'atnaḥ* and is a plene *rebi'a mugraš*, which as a rule does not mark the end of a colon.

In Ps 84:11a we have *rebi'a qatan* preceding *'ole weyored*. Normally *rebi'a qatan* does not mark a colon end, but rather *'ole weyored* in this situation. If the restored text and its stichometry is correct, it is not in line with accentuation in MT. In v. 11b we are dealing with a *rebi'a gadol* which has in this particular position (no preceding disjunctive, like *mehuppak* and *'azla legarmeh*; cf. Ps 81:6a, 11a; 82:5a) the function of a precursor for the combination *dehi*—*'atnaḥ*. The stichometry suggested by the restored text would be somewhat odd. A probable reconstruction, not completely in line with the accentuation, could be:

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| בְּחֶרְתִּי הִסְתּוֹפֶה    | כִּי טוֹב־יּוֹם בְּחֶצְרֵיךָ מֵאֵלֶיךָ |
| מִדּוֹר בְּאֵהֱלֵי־רֶשַׁע: | בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵי                        |

For a short stich or colon, see e.g. Ps 84:2b, 13a.

In Ps 84:4a a colon end has *pazer* and in 84:4d, 7a, and 9a a colon end corresponds to *dehi* in MT. In all cases the poetry entails a triplet. This explains why colon ends are marked by the disjunctive accents *šinnor* [7], *dehi* [9], and *pazer* [10]. We can consider colometry in MasPs<sup>a</sup> equal to accentuation in MT-A. A similar situation to Ps 84:3c and 11b is Ps 84:4e where *'atnaḥ* is found with *צְבָאוֹת*. This contradiction to MT-A also entails a triplet.

Finally we must mention 83:18a where the word *וַיִּאֲבֹדוּ* with *silluq* is penultimate and the final word in the colon of MasPs<sup>a</sup> is *וַיִּדְעוּ* with *rebi'a gadol*. This based entirely upon reconstruction of MasPs<sup>a</sup>. If the reconstruction of Talmon is correct, the colometry is contrary to MT-A, but preferred by the editors of BHS.

In sum, only five cola (Ps 83:18a; 84:3c, 11a, 11b; 84:4e) of 138 in MasPs<sup>a</sup> (in case reconstruction is correct), i.e. 3.6%, contradict the tradition in MT. If Ps 83:18a is discounted, the percentage of difference is 2.9%. The physical layout of the text of the Masada Psalms scroll, then, uses spacing as terminal markers<sup>19</sup> to

19 We are using the term “terminal markers” according to the definition and usage of E.J. Revell, *The Pausal System: Divisions in the Hebrew Biblical Text as Marked by Vowelings and Stress Position* (R. de Hoop/P. Sanders (ed.); Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2015).

divide the text into cola (grammatical and sense units) identical to the MT tradition over 1000 years later. This, in itself, is astonishing. At the same time, clearly the tradents of MasPs<sup>a</sup> construed the text in a slightly different way, and there is change from the time of MasPs<sup>a</sup> to that of MT.

## H = Hemistich

| 81       | MT-A                                 | MasPs <sup>a</sup>        | Accents at H End                      |
|----------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Column I |                                      |                           |                                       |
| 1a N     | לְמַנְצַח   עַל־הַגִּתִּית לְאַסָּף: | [למנצח על הגתית לאסף]     | H1: <i>silluq</i><br>H2: <i>vacat</i> |
| 2a N     | הֲרַנִּינוּ לֵאלֹהִים עֻזָּנוּ       | [הרנינו לאלהים עוזנו]     | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 2b N     | הֲרִיעוּ לֵאלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב:           | [הריעו לאלהי יעקב]        | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 3a N     | שְׁאוֹזְמֶרָה וּתְנוּתָךְ            | [שאוֹזמֶרָה ותנו תך]      | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 3b P     | כְּנֹר נָעִים עַם־נָבֶל:             | [כנור נעים עם [נ]בל]      | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 4a N     | תִּקְעוּ בַחֲדָשׁ שׁוֹפָר            | [תקעו בחדש שופר]          | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 4b N     | בְּכֶסֶה לְיוֹם חֲגֹנוּ:             | [בכסה ליום חגנו]          | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 5a N     | כִּי חָק לְיִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא           | [כי חק לישראל הוא]        | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 5b N     | מִשְׁפָּט לֵאלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב:          | [משפט לא]הי יעקב]         | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 6a N     | עֲדוֹת   בִּיהוֹסֵף שְׁמוֹ           | [עדות ביהוסף שמו]         | H1: <i>rebi'a</i>                     |
| 6b P     | בִּצְאָתוֹ עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם       | [בצאתו על ארץ מצרים]      | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 6c P     | שֹׁפֶת לֹא־יִדְעָתִי אֲשַׁמְעֶ:      | [שפת לא ידעתי אשמע]       | H1: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 7a N     | הַסִּירוּתִי מִסֶּבֶל שְׁכֻמוֹ       | [הסירותי] מסבל שכמו]      | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 7b N     | כִּפְיוֹ מְדוּד תַּעֲבֹרְנָה:        | [כפיו מדוד תעברנה]        | H1: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 8a N     | בַּצָּרָה קָרָאתָ וְאַחֲלָצְךָ       | [בצ[ר]ה ק[ר]את וא[ח]לצכה] | H2: <i>'ole weyored</i>               |
| 8b N     | אֲעֻנְךָ בִּסְתֵר רַעַם              | [אענך בסתר רעם]           | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 8c P     | אֲבַחֲנֶךָ עַל־מִי מְרִיבָה סֵלָה:   | [אבח]נך על מי מריבה סלה]  | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 9a P     | שָׁמַע עָמִי וְאָעִידָה בְּךָ        | [שמע עמי ואעידה בך]       | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 9b N     | יִשְׂרָאֵל אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי:        | [ישראל אם תשמע קולי]      | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 10a N    | לֹא־יִהְיֶה בְּךָ אֵל זָר            | [לא יהיה בך אל זר]        | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 10b N    | וְלֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵל נָכָר:     | [ולא] תשתחוה לאל נכר]     | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 11a N    | אֲנֹכִי   יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ           | [אנכי יהוה אלהיך]         | H1: <i>rebi'a</i>                     |
| 11b P    | הַמַּעֲלֶךְ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם        | [המעל]ך מארץ מצרים]       | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 11c N    | הַרְחֹב־פִּיךָ וְאִמְלֹאֵהוּ:        | [הרחב פיך ואמלאהו]        | H1: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 12a N    | וְלֹא־שָׁמַע עָמִי לְקוֹלִי          | [ולא] שמע עמי לקולי]      | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 12b N    | וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־אָבָה לִי:          | [וישראל לא אבה לי]        | H1: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 13a N    | וְאַשְׁלַחֵהוּ בַּשְּׂרִירוֹת לְבָם  | [ואש]לחהו בשרירות לבם]    | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                     |

|       |                                  |                       |                   |
|-------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 13b N | יָלְכוּ בְּמוֹעֲצוֹתֵיהֶם:       | [ילכו במועצותיהם]     | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 14a N | לֹא עָמִי שָׁמַע לִי             | [לו] עמי שמע לי       | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 14b P | יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּדַרְכֵי יְהִלְכוּ: | [ישראל בדרכי יהלכו]   | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 15a N | בְּמַעַט אוֹיְבֵיהֶם אֲכַנֶּנִּי | [כמעט אויביהם אכניע]  | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 15b N | וְעַל צָרֵיהֶם אֲשִׁיב יָדִי:    | [ועל צריהם אשיב ידי]  | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 16a N | מִשְׁנֵאִי יִהְיֶה יִכְחֹשׁ לִי  | [משנאי יהיה יכחשו לו] | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |

## Column II

|       |                                |                    |                   |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 16b N | וְיִהְיֶה עֵתָם לְעוֹלָם:      | [ויהי עתם לעולם]   | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 17a N | וַיֹּאכִילֵהוּ מִחֶלֶב חֹטֵה   | ויאכילהו מחלב חטה  | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 17b P | וּמִצֹּר דָּבַשׁ אֲשִׁבִּיעֵד: | [ומצור דב]ש אשביעד | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
|       |                                |                    | H2: <i>vacat</i>  |

|           | MT-A                                   | MasPs <sup>a</sup>    | Accents at H End                            |
|-----------|--|-----------------------|---|
| <b>82</b> | Column II Continued                    |                       |   |
| 1a N      | מִזְמוֹר לְאַסָּף                      | מזמון [ר] לאסף        | H1: <i>'ole weyored</i><br>H2: <i>vacat</i> |
| 1b N      | אֱלֹהִים נֹצַב בְּעֵדֶת־אֵל            | אלהים נצב בעדת אל     | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                           |
| 1c N      | בִּקְרֹב אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט:           | בקרב אלהים ישפט       | H2: <i>silluq</i>                           |
| 2a P      | עַד־מָתִי תִשְׁפֹּט־עוֹלָם             | עד מתי תשפט עול       | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                           |
| 2b P      | וּפָנִי רְשָׁעִים תִּשְׁאוּ־סֶלָה:     | ופני רשעים תשאו סלה   | H2: <i>silluq</i>                           |
| 3a N      | שִׁפְטוּ־דֹל וִיתוֹם                   | שפטו דל ויתום         | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                           |
| 3b N      | עֲנִי וְרֵשׁ הִצְדִּיקוּ:              | עני ורש הצדיקו]       | H2: <i>silluq</i>                           |
| 4a N      | פִּלְטוּ־דֹל וְאֶבְיוֹן                | פלטו דל ואביון        | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                           |
| 4b N      | מִיַּד רְשָׁעִים הִצִּילוּ:            | מיד רשעים הצילו       | H2: <i>silluq</i>                           |
| 5a N      | לֹא יִדְעוּ וְלֹא יִבִּינוּ            | לא ידעו ולא יבינו     | H1: <i>rebi'a</i>                           |
| 5b P      | בְּחִשְׁכָּה יִתְהַלְכוּ               | בחשכה יתהלכו          | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                           |
| 5c P      | יִמוּטוּ כָּל־מוֹסְדֵי אֶרֶץ:          | ימוטו כל מוסדי ארץ    | H1: <i>silluq</i>                           |
| 6a N      | אֲנִי־אֲמַרְתִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם       | אני אמרתי אלהים אתם   | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                           |
| 6b N      | וּבִנִּי עֲלִיוֹן כָּלֶכֶם:            | ובני עליון כלכם       | H1: <i>silluq</i>                           |
| 7a N      | אֲכֹן כְּאָדָם תִּמּוּתוֹן             | אכן כאדם תמותון       | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                           |
| 7b P      | וּכְאֶחָד הַשָּׂרִים תִּפְלוּ:         | וכאחד השרים תפלו      | H1: <i>silluq</i>                           |
| 8a P      | קוֹמָה אֱלֹהִים שִׁפְטָה הָאָרֶץ       | קומה אלהים שפטה הארץ  | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                           |
| 8b N      | כִּי־אַתָּה תִּנְחַל בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִם: | כי אתה תנחל בכל הגוים | H1: <i>silluq</i>                           |

|           | MT-A                                      | MasPs <sup>a</sup>         | Accents at H End  |
|-----------|---|----------------------------|-------------------|
| <b>83</b> | <b>Column II Continued</b>                |                            |                   |
|           |   |                            | linea vacat       |
| 1a N      | שִׁיר מְזֻמֹּר לְאַסָּף:                  | שִׁיר מְזֻמֹּר לְאַסָּף    | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 2a P      | אֱלֹהִים אֶל־מִי־לֶךְ                     | אלהים אל דמי לך            | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 2b N      | אֶל־תַּחֲרֹשׁ וְאֶל־תִּשְׁקֹט אֵל:        | אל תחרש ואל תשקט אל        | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 3a N      | כִּי־הִנֵּה אֹיְבֶיךָ יִהְיֶינָה          | כי הנה אויביך יהמיון       | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 3b N      | וּמִשְׁנֵאִיד נִשְׂאוּ רָאשׁ:             | ומשנאיד נשאו ראש           | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 4a N      | עַל־עֲמֹד יַעֲרִימוּ סֹד                  | על עמד [יע]ר[ימו ס]וד      | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 4b N      | וְיִתְעַצּוּ עַל־צַפּוֹנִיד:              | ויתיעצו על צפוניד          | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 5a N      | אָמְרוּ לָכֹה וְנִכְחַדְיָם מִגּוֹי       | אמרו לכו ונכח[יד]ם מגוי    | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 5b N      | וְלֹא־יִזְכֹּר שֵׁם־יִשְׂרָאֵל עוֹד:      | ולא יזכר שם ישראל עוד      | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 6a N      | כִּי נִוְעֲצוּ לָב יַחֲדוּ                | כי נועצו לב יח[דו]         | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 6b P      | עֲלִיד בְּרִית יִכְרְתוּ:                 | עליד ברית יכרתו            | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 7a N      | אֱלֹהֵי אָדָם וּשְׁמַעָאִים               | אלהי אדם וישמעא[לים]       | H2: <i>rebi'a</i> |
| 7b N      | מוֹאֵב וְהַגָּרִים:                       | מואב והגרים                | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 8a N      | גָּבַל וְעִמּוֹן וְעַמְלֶק                | גבל עמון ועמלק             | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 8b N      | פִּלְשֶׁת עִם־יִשְׂבִי צוֹר:              | פלשת עם ישבי צור           | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 9a N      | גַּם־אֲשׁוּר נִלּוּה עִמָּם               | גם אשור נלוה עמם           | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 9b P      | הִיוּ זְרוּעַ לִבְנֵי־לוֹט סֵלָה:         | היו זרוע לבני לוט סלה      | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 10a N     | עֲשֵׂה לָהֶם כְּמִדִּין                   | עשה להם כמדין כסירא        | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 10b N     | כְּסִיסְרָא כִּיבִין בְּנַחַל קִישׁוֹן:   | כיסין בנחל קישון           | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 11a N     | נִשְׁמְדוּ בְּעֵין דָּאֵר                 | נשמדו בעין דאר             | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 11b N     | הִיוּ דָּמֹן לֵאדָמָה:                    | היו דמן לאדמה              | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 12a N     | שִׁיתָמוּ נְדִיבִימוּ כְּעָרֵב וְכִזְאָב  | שיתמו נדיבימו כערב וכזאב   | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 12b N     | וְכִזְבַּח וְכִצְלָמְנַע כְּלִי־סִיכְמוֹ: | וכזבח וכצלמנע [כ]ל[נ]סיכמו | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 13a N     | אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ נִירְשָׁה לָנוּ            | אשר אמרו נירשה לנו         | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 13b N     | אֵת נֹאוֹת אֱלֹהִים:                      | את נאות אלהים              | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 14a N     | אֱלֹהֵי שִׁיתָמוּ כְּגִלְגַּל             | אלהים שיתמו כגלגל          | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 14b N     | כָּקֵשׁ לִפְנֵי־רוּחַ:                    | כקש לפני רוח               | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 15a P     | כָּאֵשׁ תִּבְעֶר־יָעַר                    | כאש תבער יער               | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 15b N     | וְכִלְהָבָה תִּלְהֹט הָרִים:              | וכלהבה תלהט הרים           | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 16a P     | כֵּן תִּרְדָּפָם בְּסַעֲרָךְ              | כן תרדפם בסערך             | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |
| 16b N     | וּבְסוּפְתָךְ תִּבְהֹלֵם:                 | ובסופתך תבהלם              | H1: <i>silluq</i> |
| 17a N     | מִלֵּא פָנֵיהֶם קִלּוֹן                   | מלא פניהם קלון             | H2: <i>'atnah</i> |



|           | MT-A  | MasPs <sup>a</sup>              | Accents at H End               |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>83</b> | Column III  |                                 |                                |
| 17b N     | וִיבְקֶשׁוּ שִׁמְךָ יְהוָה:                         | [ויבקשו שמך יהוה]               | H1: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 18a N     | יִבְשׁוּ וִיבְהִלּוּ עַד־עַד                        | [יבשו ויבהלו עדי עד]            | H2: <i>rebi'a</i>              |
| 18b P     | וַיִּחַפְּרוּ וַיֹּאבְדוּ:                          | וִיחַ [פרו ויאבדו וידעו]        | H1: <i>silluq</i> + וידעו      |
| 19a P     | וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי־אַתָּה שִׁמְךָ יְהוָה לְבָדָד       | [כי אתה שמך יהוה לבדד]          | H2: <i>'atnah</i>              |
| 19b P     | עָלִיזִין עַל־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ:                         | עלי [זן על כל הארץ]             | H1: <i>silluq</i>              |
| <b>84</b> |   |                                 | linea vacat                    |
| 1 N       | לִמְנַצַּח עַל־הַגִּתִּית לְבִנֵּי־קֶרֶחַ מִזְמוֹר: | למנצח [על הגתית לבני קרח מזמור] | H1: <i>silluq</i><br>H2: vacat |
| 2a N      | מִה־יָדִידוֹת מִשְׁכָּנוֹתֶיךָ                      | מה ידידות [משכנותיך]            | H1: <i>rebi'a</i>              |
| 2b N      | יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת:                                    | [יהוה צבאות]                    | H2: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 3a N      | נִכְסְפָה וְגַם־כָּלְתָהּ   נַפְשִׁי                | נכספה וגם כ [לתה נפשי]          | H1: <i>šinnor</i>              |
| 3b N      | לְחֻצְרוֹת יְהוָה                                   | [לחצרות יהוה]                   | H2: <i>'ole weyored</i>        |
| 3c N      | לְבִי וּבִשְׂרֵי יִרְגָּנוּ                         | לבי ובשרי יר [נגנו]             | H1: <i>rebi'a</i>              |
| 3d P      | אֶל אֱלֹהִי:  | [אל אל חי]                      | H2: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 4a N      | גַּם־צִפּוֹר   מִצָּאָה בַּיִת                      | גם צפור מצא [ה בית]             | H1: <i>pazer</i>               |
| 4b N      | וְדָרֹר   קֶזֶל                                     | [ודרור קז לה]                   | H2: <i>šinnor</i>              |
| 4c N      | אֲשֶׁר־שָׁתָה אֶפְרָחִיהָ                           | אשר שתה א [פרחיה]               | H1: <i>'ole weyored</i>        |
| 4d N      | אֶת־מִזְבְּחוֹתֶיךָ                                 | [את מזבחותיך]                   | H2: <i>dehi</i>                |
| 4e P      | יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת מַלְכִּי וְאַלְהִי:                 | יהוה צבאות [מלכי ואלהי]         | H1: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 5a P      | אֲשֶׁרִי יוֹשֵׁבִי בֵיתְךָ                          | [אשרי יושבי ביתך]               | H2: <i>'atnah</i>              |
| 5b P      | עוֹד יִהְלֹךְ סָלָה:                                | עוד יהלוך ס [לה]                | H1: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 6a P      | אֲשֶׁרִי אָדָם עוֹז לוֹ בְּךָ                       | [אשרי אדם עוז לו בך]            | H2: <i>'atnah</i>              |
| 6b N      | מְסֻלוֹת בִּלְבָבָם:                                | מסלות בלבבם                     | H1: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 7a N      | עֲבְרִי   בְּעֶמֶק הַבְּכָא                         | [עברי בעמק הבכא]                | H2: <i>dehi</i>                |
| 7b N      | מַעֲזֵן יִשִּׁיתוּהוּ                               | מעזן ישיתוהו                    | H1: <i>'atnah</i>              |
| 7c N      | גַּם־בְּרָכוֹת יַעֲטָה מוֹרָה:                      | [גם ברכות יעטה מורה]            | H2: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 8a P      | יִלְכוּ מִחִיל אֶל־חִיל                             | ילכו מחיל אל ח [יל]             | H1: <i>'atnah</i>              |
| 8b N      | יִרְאֶה אֱלֹהִים בְּצִיּוֹן:                        | [יראה אל אלהים בציון]           | H2: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 9a N      | יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת                            | יהוה אלהים צב [אות]             | H1: <i>dehi</i>                |
| 9b N      | שְׁמַעַת תַּפְלָתִי                                 | [שמעת תפלתי]                    | H2: <i>'atnah</i>              |
| 9c P      | הָאֲזִינָה אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סָלָה:                   | ה [אזינה] אלהי ע [קב סלה]       | H1: <i>silluq</i>              |
| 10a N     | מִגִּנְנוּ רָאָה אֱלֹהִים                           | [מגננו ראה אלהים]               | H2: <i>'atnah</i>              |

|       |  |                            |                                       |
|-------|--|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 10b P | וְהִבֵּט פָּנָי מִשִּׁיחָד:            | וה[בט פני משיחד]           | H1: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 11a N | כִּי טוֹב יוֹם בַּחֲצִיֵּיךְ           | [כי טוב יום בחצריך]        | H2: <i>rebi'a</i>                     |
| 11b N | מֵאֲלֶף בְּחֶרְתִּי                    | [מאלף בחרתי]               | H1: <i>rebi'a</i>                     |
| 11c C | הַסְתּוֹפֵף בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵי            | [הסתופף בבית אלהי]         | H2: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 11d N | מְדוֹר בְּאֵהֱלֵי־רֹשַׁע:              | מד[ו]ר באה[לי רשע]         | H1: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 12a N | כִּי שָׁמַשׁ וּמִגֵּן יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים  | [כי שמש ומגן יהוה אלהים]   | H2: <i>'ole weyored</i>               |
| 12b N | חֹן וְכְבוֹד יִתֵּן יְהוָה             | חן וכבוד יתן יה[וה]        | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 12c N | לֹא יִמְנַע טוֹב לַהֲלָכִים בְּתָמִים: | [לא ימנע טוב להלכים בתמים] | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 13a N | יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת                        | יהוה צבאות                 | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 13b P | אֲשֶׁרִי אָדָם בִּטָּח בְּךָ:          | [אשרי אדם בטח בך]          | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 85    |  |                            | linea vacat                           |
| 1 N   | לִמְנַצַּח   לְבִנְיָ־קֶרַח מִזְמוֹר:  | למנצח לבני קרח מזמ[ור]     | H1: <i>silluq</i><br>H2: <i>vacat</i> |
| 2a P  | רָצִיתִי יְהוָה אֶרְצֶךְ               | רציתי יהוה ארצך            | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 2b N  | שָׁבַת שָׁבוֹת יַעֲקֹב:                | [שבת שבות יעקב]            | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 3a P  | נִשְׂאֵת עֵזְךָ עִמָּךְ                | נשאת עון עמך               | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 3b P  | כִּסִּיתִי כָל־חַטָּאתֶם סֵלָה:        | [כסיתי כל חטאתם סלה]       | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 4a P  | אֶסְפֶּת כָּל־עֲבֹרֶתְךָ               | אספת כל עברתך              | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 4b P  | הַשִּׁיבוֹת מִחֶרֶן אֶפֶךְ:            | [השיבות מחרון אפך]         | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 5a N  | שׁוֹבְנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעֵנוּ           | שובנו אלהי ישענו           | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 5b N  | וְהִפֵּר כַּעֲסְךָ עִמָּנוּ:           | [והפר כעסך עמנו]           | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |
| 6a N  | הַלְעוֹלָם תִּאֲנַף בְּנוּ             | הלעולם תאנף בנו            | H1: <i>'atnah</i>                     |
| 6b N  | תִּמְשֹׁךְ אֶפֶךְ לְדָר וְדָר:         | [תמשך אפך לדר ודר]         | H2: <i>silluq</i>                     |

Fourth, comparison between MasPs<sup>a</sup> and the Aleppo Codex (A) in terms of the layout of the text requires evaluation. Here we are comparing the layout in a *co-dex* transmitting the same textual tradition in a *scroll* approximately 1000 years later in time. A first look indicates an almost identical layout. The Masada Psalms scroll has one column of text divided into bicola by intervals or spaces. The layout of the Aleppo Codex entails two columns of text per page (at least in Psalms). Each column of a page of the Aleppo Codex corresponds to a single column in MasPs<sup>a</sup>, and usually lines of text are divided into two parts by an interval or space.

Paul Sanders produced a significant study of the colometry of Psalms 1–14 in the Aleppo Codex.<sup>20</sup> He classifies the colometry evinced there in 13 categories. At least 50% of the time, each line contains a couplet (two cola) separated by a space. For the remaining 50%, two, three, or even four cola per line are written in different patterns, occasionally with no interval or space at all. He concludes that

20 Ibid.

this is due mainly to the fact that the page size demanded by the codex format required narrower columns of text.

We shall carefully compare the approach to stichometry in A against that in MasPs<sup>a</sup>. A chart displays the differences between the layout in A and MasPs<sup>a</sup>. Each line in the chart shows only one colon or half-line in the column of MasPs<sup>a</sup>. The column to the right shows how the two cola of the Masada Psalms manuscript are arranged as one line in the Aleppo Codex. Verse numbers follow MT. The number in the most right column is the category from Sanders for this pattern of colometry in the Aleppo Codex, elaborated infra.

### Stichometry of MasPs<sup>a</sup> versus the Aleppo Codex

| 81       | MasPs <sup>a</sup>      | Aleppo Codex (A)  |
|----------|-------------------------|---|
| Column I |                         |   |
| 1a       | [למנצח על הגתית לאסף]   | 13 למנצח   על-הגתית לאסף                                    |
| 2a       | [הרנינו לאלהים עוזנו]   | 1 הרנינו לאלהים עוזנו   הריעו לאלהי יעקב:                   |
| 2b       | [הריעו לאלהי י]עקב      |   |
| 3a       | [שאוֹזמרה ותנו תף]      | 1 שאוֹזמרה ותנוֹתָ   כְּנֹזר נָעִים עַם־נָבֹל:              |
| 3b       | [כנור נעים] עם [נ]בל    |   |
| 4a       | [תקעו בחדש שופר]        | 1 תקעו בחדש שופר   בַּפֶּסֶה לְיוֹם חַגֵּנוּ:               |
| 4b       | [בכסה ליום] חגנו        |   |
| 5a       | [כי חק לישראל הוא]      | 1 כִּי חֶק לְיִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא   מִשְׁפָּט לְאֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב: |
| 5b       | [משפט לא] להי יעקב      |   |
| 6a       | [עדות ביהוסף שמו]       | 4 עֵדוּת   בִּיהוֹסֵף שְׁמוֹ   בַּצָּאֲתוֹ עַל־אֶרֶץ        |
| 6b       | [בצאתו על א]רץ מצרים    |   |
| 6c       | [שפת לא ידעתי אשמע]     | 9 מִצְרַיִם שִׁפְתָּ לֹא־יָדַעְתִּי אֲשַׁמַּע: הַסִּירוֹתִי |
| 7a       | [הסירותי] מסבל שכמו     | 1 מִסָּבֵל שְׁכֵמוֹ   כַּפִּיז מִדּוֹד תַּעֲבֹרְנָה:        |
| 7b       | [כפיו מדוד תעברנה]      |   |
| 8a       | [בצ]רה ק[ר]את וא[ח]לצך  | ? בַּצָּרָה קָרָאתָ וְאֶחָלֶצְךָ   אֲעַנְדָּ בִּסְתֵר       |
| 8b       | [אענד בסתר רעם]         |   |
| 8c       | [אבח]נד על מי מריבה סלה | ? רַעַם אֲבַחֲנֶנְךָ עַל־מִי   מְרִיבָה סֵלָה:              |
| 9a       | [שמע עמי ואעידה בד]     | 4 שְׁמַע עַמִּי וְאֶעֱיֶדְךָ בְּדָ   יִשְׂרָאֵל             |
| 9b       | [י]שראל אם תשמע קולי    | 1 אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי:   לֹא־יִהְיֶה בְּךָ אֵל זָר            |
| 10a      | [לא יהיה בד אל זר]      |   |
| 10b      | [ולא] תשתחוה לאל נכר    | 4 וְלֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לֵאלֹהִי נֹכֶר:   אֲנִכְלִי יְהוָה    |
| 11a      | [אנכי יהוה אלהיך]       | 4 אֱלֹהֶיךָ הַמַּעֲלֶה   מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם הָרְחֹב          |
| 11b      | [המע]לך מארץ מצרים      |   |
| 11c      | [הרחב פיך ואמלאהו]      | 1 פִּיךָ וְאִמְלֵאֵהוּ:   וְלֹא־שָׁמַע עַמִּי לְקוֹלִי      |

|           |                       |    |   |
|-----------|-----------------------|----|---|
| 12a       | [ולא] שמע עמי לקולי   |    |   |
| 12b       | [וישראל לא אבה לי]    | 4  | וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־אָבָה לִי: וְאַשְׁלַחַהּוּ             |
| 13a       | [ואש]לחהו בשירות לבם  | 4  | בְּשִׁרְיֹת לְבָבָם יֵלְכוּ בְּמוֹעֲצוֹתֵיהֶם:          |
| 13b       | [ילכו במועצותיהם]     |    |   |
| 14a       | [לו] עמי שמע לי       | 1  | לֹו עַמִּי שִׁמְעָ לִי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּדַרְכֵי יְהִלְכוּ: |
| 14b       | [ישראל בדרכי יהלכו]   |    |   |
| 15a       | [כמעט] אויביהם אכניע  | 4  | בְּמַעַט אוֹיְבֵיהֶם אֲכַנֶּיַע וְעַל צָרֵיהֶם          |
| 15b       | [ועל צריהם אשיב ידי]  |    |   |
| 16a       | [משנא]י יהוה יכחשו לו | 1  | אֲשִׁיב יָדִי: מִשְׁנֵאֵי יְהוָה יִכְחָשׁוּ             |
| Column II |                       |    |   |
| 16b       | [ויהי עתם] לעולם      | 11 | לֹו יְהִי עֵתָם לְעוֹלָם: וְיֹאכִילֵהוּ                 |
| 17a       | ויאכילו מחלב חטה      |    |   |
| 17b       | [ומצור דב]ש אשביעך    | 1  | מִחֶלֶב חֲטָה וּמִצֹּר דָּבֶשׁ אֲשִׁבִּיעֲךָ:           |
|           | linea vacat           |    | linea vacat   |

|    | MasPs <sup>a</sup>    | Aleppo Codex |  |
|----|-----------------------|--------------|--|
| 82 | Column II Continued   |              |  |
| 1a | מזמו[ר] לאסף          | 13           | מִזְמוֹר לְאַסָּף  |
|    | linea vacat           |              |  |
| 1b | אלהים נצב בעדת אל     | 4            | אֱלֹהִים נִצָּב בְּעֵדֶת־אֱלֹ                                |
| 1c | בקרב אלהים ישפט       | 1            | אֱלֹהִים יִשְׁפֹּט: עַד־מִתִּי תִשְׁפֹּט־עוֹלָם              |
| 2a | עד מתי תשפטו עול      |              |  |
| 2b | ופני רשעים תשאו סלה   | 1            | וּפְנֵי רָשָׁעִים תִּשְׁאוּ־סֵלָה: שְׁפֹט־דָּל וְיִתּוֹם     |
| 3a | שפטו דל ויתום         |              |  |
| 3b | עני ורש הצדי[קו]      | 1            | עָנִי וְרָשׁ הַצַּדִּיקוֹ: פִּלְטוּ־דָּל וְאַבְיוֹן          |
| 4a | פלטו דל ואביון        |              |  |
| 4b | מיד רשעים הצילו       | 1            | מִיַּד רָשָׁעִים הַצִּילוּ: לֹא יִדְעוּ וְלֹא יִבִּינוּ      |
| 5a | לא ידעו ולא יבינו     |              |  |
| 5b | בחשכה יתהלכו          | 1            | בְּחֹשֶׁכָה יִתְהַלְכוּ: יְמוּטוּ כְּלִי־מוֹסַדֵי אָרֶץ:     |
| 5c | ימוטו כל מוסדי ארץ    |              |  |
| 6a | אני אמרתי אלהים אתם   | 1            | אֲנִי־אָמַרְתִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם וּבִנִּי עֲלִיוֹן כָּלְכֶם: |
| 6b | ובני עליון כלכם       |              |  |
| 7a | אכן כאדם תמותון       | 4            | אָכֵן כְּאָדָם תָּמוּתוֹן וּכְאֶחָד                          |
| 7b | וכאחד השרים תפלו      |              |  |
| 8a | קומה אלהים שפטה הארץ  | 1            | הִשָּׁרִים תִּפְלוּ: קוּמָה אֱלֹהִים                         |
| 8b | כי אתה תנחל בכל־הגוים | 1            | שְׁפֹטָה הָאָרֶץ כִּי־אַתָּה תִּנְחַל בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִם:      |

|     | MasPs <sup>a</sup>           | Aleppo Codex  |
|-----|------------------------------|---|
|     | Column II Continued          |   |
| 83  | linea vacat                  | linea vacat   |
| 1a  | שיר מזמור לאסף               | 13 שִׁיר מִזְמוֹר לְאַסָּף:                                     |
| 1b  | linea vacat                  |   |
| 2a  | אלהים אל דמי לך              | 4 אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵי־דָמִי־לְךָ אֶל־תַּחֲרֹשׁ וְאַל־              |
| 2b  | אל תחרש ואל תשקט אל          |   |
| 3a  | כי הנה אויבך יהמיון          | 1 תִּשְׁקֹט אֵל: כִּי־הִנֵּה אוֹיְבֶיךָ יִהְיֶינָה              |
| 3b  | ומשנאיד נשאו ראש             | 4 וּמִשְׁנֹאִיד נִשְׂאוּ רָאשׁ: עַל־עֶמֶד                       |
| 4a  | על עמד [יער]ימו סוד          | 1 יַעֲרִימוּ סוֹד וַיִּתְּעֻצּוּ עַל־צַפּוֹנִיד:                |
| 4b  | ויתעצו על צפוניך             |   |
| 5a  | אמרו לכו ונכחד [יד]ם מגוי    | 4 אָמְרוּ לָכוּ וְנִכְחָדִים מִגּוֹי וְלֹא־יִזְכָּר             |
| 5b  | ולא יזכר שם ישראל עוד        | 1 שֵׁם־יִשְׂרָאֵל עוֹד: כִּי נִוָּעֲצוּ לֵב יַחֲדוּ             |
| 6a  | כי נועצו לב יח[דו]           |   |
| 6b  | עליך ברית יכרתו              | 4 עָלֶיךָ בְּרִית יִכְרְתוּ: אֶהְיֶה אֲדוֹם                     |
| 7a  | אלהי אדום וישמעא[לים]        |   |
| 7b  | מואב והגרים                  | 1 וַיִּשְׁמַעְאֲלִים מוֹאָב וְהַגָּרִים:                        |
| 8a  | גבל עמון ועמלק               | ? גָּבַל וְעַמּוֹן וְעַמְלֶק פִּלְשֶׁת עִם־יִשְׂבִּי צוֹר:      |
| 8b  | פלשת עם ישבי צור             |   |
| 9a  | גם אשור נלוה עמם             | 4 גַּם־אַשּׁוּר נִלְוָה עִמָּם הֵיוּ זָרוּעַ                    |
| 9b  | היו זרוע לבני לוט סלה        | 1 לִבְנֵי־לוֹט סֵלָה: עֲשֹׂה־לָהֶם כְּמִדִּין                   |
| 10a | עשה להם כמדון כסירא          |   |
| 10b | כיבין בנחל קישון             | 4 בְּכִסְיָרָא כִּיבִין בְּנַחַל קִישׁוֹן: נִשְׁמְדוּ בְּעֵין־  |
| 11a | נשמדו בעין דאר               |   |
| 11b | היו דמן לאדמה                | 4 דָּאֵר הָיוּ דִּמְן לְאֶדְמָה: שִׁיתְמוּ נְדִיבָמוּ           |
| 12a | שיתמו נדיבמו כערב וכזאב      |   |
| 12b | וכזבח וכצלמנע [כל] ל[נ]סיכמו | 1 כְּעָרֶב וְכִזְאָב וְכִזְבַּח וְכִצְלָמָנַע כָּל־נִסְיָכָמוּ: |
| 13a | אשר אמרו נירשה לנו           | 1 אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ נִירְשֶׁה לָנוּ אֵת נְאוֹת אֱלֹהִים:           |
| 13b | את נאות אלהים                |   |
| 14a | אלהים שיתמו כגלגל            | 1 אֱלֹהֵי שִׁיתְמוּ כְּגִלְגַּל כָּקֶשׁ לִפְנֵי־רוּחַ:          |
| 14b | כקש לפני רוח                 |   |
| 15a | כאש תבער יער                 | 1 כְּאֵשׁ תִּבְעַר־יַעַר וְכִלְהָבָה תִּלְהֹט הָרִים:           |
| 15b | וכלהבה תלהט הרים             |   |
| 16a | כן תרדפם בסערך               | 1 בֶּן תִּרְדָּפָם בְּסַעֲרְךָ וּבִסּוּפָתְךָ תִּבְהֹלֵם:       |
| 16b | ובסופתך תבהלם                |   |
| 17a | מלא פניהם קלון               | 1 מִלֵּא פָנֵיהֶם קָלוֹן וַיִּבְקְשׁוּ שְׂמֶךְ יְהוָה:          |

| MasPs <sup>a</sup> | Aleppo Codex   |
|--------------------|--|
| <b>83</b>          | Column III   |
| 17b                | [ויבקשו שמך יהוה]  |
| 18a                | [יבשו ויבהלו עדי עד]   |
| 18b                | [יחפרו ויאבדו וידעו]   |
| 19a                | [כי אתה שמך יהוה לבדך]                                       |
| 19b                | [עליון על כל הארץ]   |
| <b>84</b>          |  |
| 1                  | 13 למנצח עליהגיתית לבני־קרח מזמור: [על הגתית לבני קרח מזמור] |
| 2a                 | 3 מה־ידידות משכנותיך יהוה צבאות:                             |
| 2b                 | [יהוה צבאות]   |
| 3a                 | 3 נכספה וגם כלתה נפשי לחצרות יהוה                            |
| 3b                 | [לחצרות יהוה]  |
| 3c                 | 4 לבי ובשרי ירגזו אל אֱלֹהֵי: גִּם־צִפּוֹר                   |
| 3d                 | [אל אל חי]:  |
| 4a                 | 4   מַצֵּאָה בַּיִת ודָרֹר   קֵן לָהּ   אֲשֶׁר־שָׁתָה        |
| 4b                 | [ודרור קן לה]  |
| 4c                 | 4 אֶפְרָחֶיהָ אֶת־מִזְבְּחוֹתֶיךָ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת            |
| 4d                 | [את מזבחותיך]  |
| 4e                 | 1 מַלְכִי וְאֱלֹהֵי: אֲשֶׁר־יֹשְׁבֵי בֵיתְךָ                 |
| 5a                 | [אשרי יושבי ביתך]  |
| 5b                 | 4 עוֹד יִהְיֶה לְלוֹד סֵלָה: אֲשֶׁר־יֹאדָם עוֹז־             |
| 6a                 | [אשרי אדם עוז לו בד]   |
| 6b                 | 4 לִי בָד מְסֻלוֹת בְּלִבָּם: עֲבָרִי   בְּעֵמֶק הַבְּכָא    |
| 7a                 | [עברי בעמק הבכא]   |
| 7b                 | 4 מַעֲנֵן יִשְׁתַּוְּהוּ גַם־בְּרִכּוֹת יַעֲטָה מוֹרָה:      |
| 7c                 | [גם ברכות יעטה מורה]   |
| 8a                 | 1 יִלְכּוּ מִחִיל אֶל־חִיל יִרְאֶה אֱלֹהִים בְּצִיּוֹן:      |
| 8b                 | [יראה אל אלהים בציון]  |
| 9a                 | 3 יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת שְׁמֵעָה תְּפִלָּתִי              |
| 9b                 | [שמעה תפילתי]  |
| 9c                 | 4 הַאֲזִינָה אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סֵלָה: מִגִּנְנוּ רָאָה         |
| 10a                | 4 אֱלֹהִים וְהִבֵּט פָּנָי מִשִּׁיחָד: כִּי טוֹב־יָוִם       |
| 10b                | [והבט פני משיחך]   |
| 11a                | 4 בַּחֲצִידֶךָ מֵאֲלֹף בְּתֻרָתִי הִסְתּוֹפֶף                |
| 11b                | [מאלף בחרתי]   |
| 11c                | 1 בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵי מְדוֹר בְּאֶהְלֵי־רָשָׁע:                  |
|                    | [הסתופף בבית אלהי]   |

|       |                            |    |  |
|-------|----------------------------|----|--|
| 11d   | מד[ו]ר באה[לי רשע]         |    |  |
| 12a   | כי שמש ומגן יהוה אלהים     | 2  | כי שמש ומגן יהוה אלהים חן וכבוד יתן יהוה |
| 12b   | חן וכבוד יתן יהוה          |    |  |
| 12c   | [לא ימנע טוב להלכים בתמים] | 3  | לא ימנע טוב להלכים בתמים:                |
| 13a   | יהוה צבאות                 | 1  | יהוה צבאות אשרי אדם בטח בך:              |
| 13b   | [אשרי אדם בטח בך]          |    |  |
| <hr/> |                            |    |  |
| 85    |                            |    |  |
| <hr/> |                            |    |  |
| 1     | למנצח לבני קרח מזמור[ור]   | 13 | למנצח לבני קרח מזמור:                    |
|       |                            |    | linea vacat                              |
| 2a    | רצית יהוה ארצך             | 1  | רצית יהוה ארצך שבת שבות יעקב:            |
| 2b    | [שבת שבות יעקב]            |    |  |
| 3a    | נשאת עון עמך               | 1  | נשאת עון עמך כסית כל חטאתם סלה:          |
| 3b    | [כסית כל חטאתם סלה]        |    |  |
| 4a    | אספת כל עברתך              | 1  | אספת כל עברתך השיבות מחרון אפך:          |
| 4b    | [השיבות מחרון אפך]         |    |  |
| 5a    | שובנו אלהי ישענו           | 1  | שובנו אלהי ישענו והפר כעסך עמנו:         |
| 5b    | [והפר כעסך עמנו]           |    |  |
| 6a    | הלעולם תאנף בנו            | 1  | הלעולם תאנף בנו תמשך אפך לדר ודר:        |
| 6b    | [תמשך אפך לדר ודר]         |    |  |

Most lines are classified as either category 1 or 4 defined by Sanders as follows:

### Category 1

The lines of Category 1 show one blank space. The last word before the blank space (on the right) is the last word of a colon. The first word after the blank space (on the left) is the first word of the following colon. The last word on the line is the last word of that colon and touches the left margin. The first word on the line (on the right) is commonly the first word of the first colon, but in some cases one or more words of the first colon have been written on the preceding line.<sup>21</sup>

zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz

yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy

or

(yyyyy)

zzzzzzzzzzzzzzzz

yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy

21 P. Sanders, "The Colometric Layout", 231–2.

## Category 4

The lines of Category 4 show one blank space. The word immediately preceding the blank space (on the right) is the last word of a colon as delimited by the accents. The word immediately following the blank space (on the left) is the first word of the following colon. However, the last word on the line bears a conjunctive or a minor disjunctive accent that does not suggest the end of a colon. The first word on the line (on the right) is commonly the first word of the first colon, but one or more words of this colon may have been written on the preceding line.<sup>22</sup>

4. zzzzzzzz                      yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy  
  (zzzzzzzz)

or

(yyyyy)  
zzzzzzzz                      yyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy  
  (zzzzzzzz)

In Category 13, lines are left blank on the left. Two situations are outside the categories given by Sanders for his analysis of Psalms 1–14. In Ps 81:8a, 8b, 8c, the scribe appears to have arranged bits of three cola across a couple of lines as follows:

yyyyyyyyyy                      xxxxxxxxxx  
zzzzzzzzzz                      zzzzyyyyyy

To illustrate the approach of the scribe of the Aleppo Codex, the last word of 81:6b in MasPs<sup>a</sup> is at the beginning of the next line in A. The stichometry in A and MasPs<sup>a</sup> is not synchronised until 7b. The last word of 8b is at the beginning of the next line in A. The bound phrase in 8c is broken by a major space and split in two in A to re-synchronise (read across line 8c for מְרִיבָה מִי in A). Similar examples exist, e.g. in Ps 81:11a and 13a. Finally, note that the scribe of the Aleppo Codex has parts of 6b–6c–7a all on one line with no spaces. It is not possible to compare the two texts in every line since, e.g. 83:18b involves reconstruction in MasPs<sup>a</sup> and we do not know if the word וידעו belonged to 18b or 19a as in A.

The differences between MasPs<sup>a</sup> and A are due not only to the narrow page of the codex format as Sanders showed, *but also* to different approaches to arranging tricola and places where there is simply a real difference in stichometry.

These data show that in the intervening centuries between MasPs<sup>a</sup> and A, with the move from scroll to codex and the vowels and accents now represented in writing, the presentation as two hemistichs divided by a space on one line is only a

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 234–6.



memory. Note particularly 81:6a where the scribe of A puts a space between the bound and free members of a bound phrase. Unlike MasPs<sup>a</sup>, where spacing is the key to dividing the text into sense units, the pausal forms and accents are the key terminal markers in A and the spacing is only a memory of a past scribal technique.

Unfortunately only a handful of Hebrew biblical manuscripts are known between the III–VII centuries C.E. Two separated fragments of Exodus belong to the same manuscript, MS London-Ashkar. These manuscripts are not listed by Tov in the most recent revision of *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* in 2012. Paul Sanders in a recent article has shown that the Ashkar-Gilson Hebrew Manuscript at Duke University was part of a model scroll that had an important influence on later manuscripts like the Aleppo and Leningrad Codices.<sup>23</sup> Although these are not manuscripts of the Psalms, they may provide a plausible bridge between MasPs<sup>a</sup> and the early Masoretic manuscripts. More research is needed to cast light on the evolution from the first century B.C.E. to the tenth century C.E. in light of these texts.

### Hebrew Manuscripts from III–VII Centuries C.E.

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Genesis   | Cambridge T-S NS 3.21 and 4.3  |
| Exodus    | Duke University, Ashkar-Gilson Hebrew Manuscript #2 + MS London, formerly of Jew's College |
| Exodus    | Oxford Bodleian Lib. Ms. Heb. D.89 (P) i   |
| Leviticus | EGLev  |
| Numbers   | Berlin, Staatliche Museum, P 10598   |
| Kings     | Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Pap. 47–48   |
| Job       | Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Ant. Pap. 49–50  |

We can now focus attention on the question of other texts that show the special layout of MasPs<sup>a</sup> and also ask the question: how far back can this tradition be traced? An essay by Emanuel Tov published in 1996 was the first attention given to texts from the Judean Desert with a special layout for poetical units.<sup>24</sup> Tov

23 P. Sanders, “The Ashkar-Gilson Manuscript: Remnant of a Proto-Masoretic Model Scroll of the Torah”, *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 14 Article 7 (2014) 1–25. [http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article\\_201.pdf](http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article_201.pdf) accessed on December 14, 2014.

24 E. Tov, “Special Layout of Poetical Units in the Texts from the Judean Desert”, in J. Dyk (ed.), *Give Ear to My Words: Psalms and other Poetry in and around the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of Professor N. A. van Uchelen* (Amsterdam: Societas Hebraica Amstelodamensis, 1996) 115–28.

improved upon his own research in his magisterial volume on scribal practices appearing in 2004.<sup>25</sup>

### MSS With 2 Hemistichs Per Line and a Space Between Hemistichs:

- 4QpaleoDeut<sup>r</sup> (not dated; Deut 32, reconstructed)
- 1QPs<sup>a</sup> (not dated; Ps 119 only, other Psalms in prose, reconstructed)
- 4QPs<sup>c</sup> (50–68 C.E.; Pss 16–53)
- 8QPs (1–100 C.E.; only Pss 17–18 preserved)
- 11QPs<sup>b</sup> (30–1 B.C.E.; Ps 119 only, other Psalms in prose)
- 5/6HevPs (50–68 C.E.; Pss 7–16, 18, 22–25, 29–31)
- MasPs<sup>a</sup> (30–1 B.C.E.; fragments of Pss 81–85)
- 4QProv<sup>a</sup> (50 B.C.E.–30 C.E.; Prov 1–2)
- 2QSir (50–1 B.C.E.; Sir 6; Reconstructed)
- MasSir (10 B.C.E.–50 C.E.; Sir 39–44)

Three of the ten texts are doubtful as they are fragmentary and involve reconstruction. Tov lists twenty other texts laid out in colometrically, but either they have no spaces between hemistichs or display a different approach in layout. He also lists thirty-one texts that could display a stichometric layout for poetry but do not. We have checked all of the manuscripts in the photographs. Tov rightly notes that MasPs<sup>a</sup> is a deluxe manuscript among all of those exhibiting stichometry. The one manuscript at Qumran which most closely resembles MasPs<sup>a</sup> is 4QPs<sup>b</sup> although it has only one hemistich per line in the column of text and it only has 16–17 lines per column compared to 29–30 lines in MasPs<sup>a</sup>. The stichometry and text of 4QPs<sup>b</sup> are not as close to MT as MasPs<sup>a</sup> and so belongs to the “second circle of texts”, i.e. biblical texts circulating apart from the setting of the Temple.

How far back can the tradition exhibited by MasPs<sup>a</sup> be traced? Perhaps related to this question is the provenance of MasPs<sup>a</sup>. Division of poetic lines dates to at least the first millennium B.C.E. As a number of scholars have noted, there is a funerary inscription in Aramaic from the fifth century B.C.E. where the genre is poetry (KAI 269). The inscription has four lines corresponding to the four couplets of poetry, but there are no spaces to mark the hemistichs.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 166–78.

<sup>26</sup> J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions. Volume II. Aramaic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), 120–1 and Figure 13. For an actual photograph, see H. Donner/W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (3 volumes; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962–1964), pl. 34.

There is also interesting evidence from the Septuagint. The John Rylands Papyrus 458 from the second century B.C.E. preserves fragments of Deut 22–28. Spaces between words function as terminal markers equivalent to pausal forms and accents in MT, although there are a few differences from MT.<sup>27</sup> Similar evidence is provided by the spacing in the Fouad Papyrus from approximately 50 C.E., which presents Deut 32 in one hemistich per line.<sup>28</sup> 1QDeut<sup>b</sup> is an example in Hebrew from Qumran where the spacing corresponds to the vowels and accents added later in MT.<sup>29</sup>

The great uncials of the Septuagint of the fourth century offer surprising data. Before the development of the codex, the books of the Bible were copied first one book per scroll and later in blocks where several books of the same genre were transmitted in a single scroll or smaller codex. The evidence for this is supplied in Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis* where he lists all the manuscripts in the blocks in which they were transmitted. (This section is entitled "Übersicht über das handschriftliche Material für die einzelnen Teile des A.T.").<sup>30</sup> There are seven blocks as follows:

- 1) Octateuchus
- 2) Reg., Par., Esdr.
- 3) Est., Idt., Tob.
- 4) Mac. I–IV
- 5) Ps.Od.
- 6) Libri sapientiales (Prov. Eccl. Cant. Iob. Sap. Sir. Ps. Sal.)
- 7) XVI prophetae

In the fourth century C.E. when scribes attempted to produce a pandect Bible, they had to assemble a group of seven codices or rolls, roughly speaking. The colophons present early evidence for this. The colophon to Codex Sinaiticus speaks of a book that contained Kingdoms through Esther, i.e. the historical literature. Here Esther was part of the second block and not part of the third with Judith and Tobit. The columns and layout in Codex Sinaiticus further support this. The historical books and prophets before the poetical books are written in

27 E.J. Revell, "The Oldest Evidence for the Hebrew Accent System", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 54 (1971) 214–22. See also E.J. Revell, "The Occurrence of Pausal Forms", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 57/2 (2012) 213–30; idem, "Minor Pausal Forms and their Function", *Vetus Testamentum* 65/3 (2015) 457–65; idem, "Pausal Forms Marked with Conjunctive Accents", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 61/1 (2016) 67–84.

28 See P. Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32 (Oudtestamentische Studiën 37; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 121–2 and passim.

29 Ibid, 214.

30 A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testament* (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 2; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914), 373–439.

four columns as are the gospels which follow. Nonetheless the poetical books are written in two columns. This is due to the fact that it was normal practice for scribes to follow the physical layout of the source text in spite of the fact that it was common practice to reproduce poetic text in longer lines than the short columns of prose text.

We compared the stichometry of MasPs<sup>a</sup> with that of Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. A chart details the comparison hemistich for hemistich. The first chart gives an illustration using Psalm 81.

### Illustration

| 81  | MasPs <sup>a</sup>         | Codex Sinaiticus                                  |
|-----|----------------------------|---|
|     | Column I                   |   |
| 1a  | [למנצח על הגתית לאסף]      | εις το τέλος ὑπερ των ληγων ψαλμος τω<br>ασαφ'    |
| 2a  | [הרנינו לאלהים עוזנו]      | αγαλλιασθε τω θω τω βοηθω ημων                    |
| 2b  | [הריעו לאלהי י' עקב]       | αλαλαξατε τω θω ἱακωβ                             |
| 3a  | [שאוֹזמרה ותנו תף]         | λαβετε ψαλμον και δοτε τυμπανον                   |
| 3b  | [כנור נעים] עם [נ]בל       | ψαλτηριον τερπονν μετα κιθαρας                    |
| 4a  | [תקעו בחדש שופר]           | καλπικατε εν νεομηνια καλπιγγι                    |
| 4b  | [בכסה ליום] חגנו           | εν ευσημω ημερα εορτης ημων                       |
| 5a  | [כי חק לישראל הוא]         | οτι προσταγμα τω ἱσραηλ εκτιν                     |
| 5b  | [משפט לא] להי יעקב         | και κριμα τω θω ἱακωβ                             |
| 6a  | [עדות ביהוסף שמו]          | μαρτυριον εν τω ἰωσηφ εθετο αυτον                 |
| 6b  | [בצאתו על א] רץ מצרים      | εν τω εξελθεν αυτον εκ γης αιγυπτου               |
| 6c  | [שפת לא ידעתי אשמע]        | γλωσσαν ην ουκ εγνων ηκουσεν                      |
| 7a  | [הסירותי] מסבל שכמו        | απεστησεν απο αρσεων τον νωτον αυτου              |
| 7b  | [כפיו מדוד תעברנה]         | αι χειρες αυτου εν τω κοφινω εδουλευσαν           |
| 8a  | [בצ] רה ק[ר] את וא[ח] לצכה | εν θλιψει επεκαλεσω μαι και ερυσαμην σε           |
| 8b  | [אענך בסתר רעם]            | επηκουσα σου εν αποκρυφω καταγιδος                |
| 8c  | [אבח] נד על מי מריבה סלה   | εδοκιμασα σε επι ὑδατος αντιλογιας<br>διαψαλμα    |
| 9a  | [שמע עמי ואעידה בך]        | ακουσον λαος μου και λαλησω σοι                   |
| 9b  | [י]שראל אם תשמע קולי       | ἱσραηλ και διαμαρτυρομαι σοι                      |
| 10a | [לא יהיה בך אל זר]         | εαν ακουσης μου ουκ εκται εν σοι θες<br>προσφατος |
| 10b | [ולא] תשתחוה לאל נכר       | ουδε προσκυνησεις θω αλλοτριω                     |
| 11a | [אנכי יהוה אליהך]          | εγω γαρ ειμι κς ο θες σου ο αναγαγων              |

|     |                       |  |        |
|-----|-----------------------|--|--------|
| 11b | [המע]לך מארץ מצרים    | σε εκ γης αιγυπτου   | 2H » 1 |
| 11c | [הרחב פיך ואמלאהו]    | πλατυνον το στομα σου και πληρωσω αυτο                           |        |
| 12a | [ולא] שמע עמי לקולי   | και ουκ ηκουσεν ο λαος μου της φωνης μου                         |        |
| 12b | [וישראל לא אבה לי]    | και ισραηλ ου προσεσχεν μοι                                      |        |
| 13a | [ואש]לחהו בשרירות לבם | και εξαπεστετε ιλα αυτους κατα τα επιτηδευματα των καρδιων αυτων |        |
| 13b | [ילכו במועצותיהם]     | πορευονται εν τοις επιτηδευμασιν αυτων                           |        |
| 14a | [לו] עמי שמע לי       | ει ο λαος τ ηκουσεν μου  |        |
| 14b | [ישראל בדרכי יהלכו]   | ιςραηλ ταις οδοις μου ει επορευθη                                |        |

### Detailed Comparison of Stichometry in MasPs<sup>a</sup> with Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus

| 81       | MasPs <sup>a</sup>      | Cod. Sinaiticus           | Cod. Vaticanus     |
|----------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Column I |                         |                           |                    |
| 1a       | [למנצח על הגתית לאסף]   | H1: = S                   | = B                |
|          | linea vacat             | H2: = S                   | = B                |
| 2a       | [הרנינו לאלהים עוזנו]   | H1: = S                   | = B                |
| 2b       | [הריעו לאלהי י]עקב      | H2: = S                   | = B                |
| 3a       | [שאזזמרה ותנו תף]       | H1: = S                   | = B                |
| 3b       | [כנור נעים] עם [נ]בל    | H2: = S                   | = B                |
| 4a       | [תקעו בחדש שופר]        | H1: = S                   | = B                |
| 4b       | [בכסה ליום] חגנו        | H2: = S                   | = B                |
| 5a       | [כי חק לישראל הוא]      | H1: = S                   | = B                |
| 5b       | [משפט לא] להי יעקב      | H2: = S                   | = B                |
| 6a       | [עדות ביהוסף שמו]       | H1: = S                   | = B                |
| 6b       | [בצאתו על א]רץ מצרים    | H2: = S                   | = B                |
| 6c       | [שפת לא ידעתי אשמע]     | H1: = S                   | = B                |
| 7a       | [הסירותי] מסבל שכמו     | H2: = S                   | = B                |
| 7b       | [כפיו מדוד תעברנה]      | H1: = S                   | = B                |
| 8a       | [בצ]רה ק[ר]את וא[ח]לצבה | H2: = S                   | = B                |
| 8b       | [אענך בסתר רעם]         | H1: = S                   | = B                |
| 8c       | [אבח]נך על מי מריבה סלה | H2: = S (לה l. separatim) | B = S              |
| 9a       | [שמע עמי ואעידה בך]     | H1: = S                   | 9a + 9b l.<br>unum |

|           |                       |     |                        |                   |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----|------------------------|-------------------|
| 9b        | [י]שראל אם תשמע קולי  | H2: | 9b + 10a linea unum    |                   |
| 10a       | [לא יהיה בד אל זר]    | H1: |                        | = B               |
| 10b       | [ולא] תשתחוה לאל נכר  | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 11a       | [אנכי יהוה אלהיך]     | H1: | 11a + 11b linea unum   | = B               |
| 11b       | [המע]לך מארץ מצרים    | H2: |                        | = B               |
| 11c       | [הרחב פיך ואמלאהו]    | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 12a       | [ולא] שמע עמי לקולי   | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 12b       | [וישראל לא אבה לי]    | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 13a       | [ואש]לחהו בשרירות לבם | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 13b       | [ילכו במועצותיהם]     | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 14a       | [לן] עמי שמע לי       | H2: | = S                    | = B <sup>31</sup> |
| 14b       | [ישראל בדרכי יהלכו]   | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 15a       | [כמעט] אויביהם אכניע  | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 15b       | [ועל צריהם אשיב ידי]  | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 16a       | [משנא]י יהוה יכחשו לו | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| Column II |                       |     |                        |                   |
| 16b       | [ויהי עתם] לעולם      | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 17a       | ויאכילהו מחלב חטה     | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 17b       | [ומצור דב]ש אשביעד    | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
|           | linea vacat           | H2: | non vacat              | non vacat         |
| <hr/>     |                       |     |                        |                   |
| <b>82</b> | Column II Continued   |     |                        |                   |
| 1a        | מזמו[ר] לאסף          | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
|           | linea vacat           | H2: | non vacat              |                   |
| 1b        | אלהים נצב בעדת אל     | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 1c        | בקרב אלהים ישפט       | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 2a        | עד מתי תשפטו עול      | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 2b        | ופני רשעים תשאו סלה   | H2: | = S (סלה l. separatum) | = B               |
| 3a        | שפטו דל ויתום         | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 3b        | עני ורש הצדי[קו]      | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 4a        | פלטו דל ואביון        | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 4b        | מיד רשעים הצילו       | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 5a        | לא ידעו ולא יבינו     | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 5b        | בחשכה יתהלכו          | H2: | = S                    | = B               |
| 5c        | ימוטו כל מוסדי ארץ    | H1: | = S                    | = B               |
| 6a        | אני אמרתי אלהים אתם   | H2: | 6a + 6b linea unum     | B = S             |
| 6b        | ובני עליון כלכם       | H1: |                        |                   |
| 7a        | אכן כאדם תמותון       | H2: | = S                    | = B               |

31 The word ישראל at the beginning of 14b is at the end of 14a; nonetheless there is a colon in B before it and a colon at the end of 14b to mark the correct stichometry.

|    |                       |         |     |
|----|-----------------------|---------|-----|
| 7b | וכאחד השרים תפלו      | H1: = S | = B |
| 8a | קומה אלהים שפטה הארץ  | H2: = S | = B |
| 8b | כי אתה תנחל בכל הגוים | H1: = S | = B |

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**83** Column II Continued

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|     | linea vacat                    | H2: non vacat            | non vacat |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| 1a  | שיר מזמור לאסף                 | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 2a  | אלהים אל דמי לך                | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 2b  | אל תחרש ואל תשקט אל            | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 3a  | כי הנה אויבך יהמיון            | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 3b  | ומשנאיך נשאו ראש               | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 4a  | על עמד [יע]ר[ימו ס]וד          | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 4b  | ויתיעצו על צפוניך              | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 5a  | אמרו לכו ונכח[יד]ם מגוי        | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 5b  | ולא יזכר שם ישראל עוד          | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 6a  | כי נועצו לב יח[דו]             | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 6b  | עליך ברית יכרתו                | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 7a  | אלהי אדום וישמעא[לים]          | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 7b  | מואב והגרים                    | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 8a  | גבל עמון ועמלק                 | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 8b  | פלשת עם ישבי צור               | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 9a  | גם אשור נלוה עמם               | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 9b  | היו זרוע לבני לוט סלה          | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 10a | עשה להם כמדון כסירא            | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 10b | כיבין בנחל קישון               | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 11a | נשמדו בעין דאר                 | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 11b | היו דמן לאדמה שיתמו            | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 12a | נדיבמו כערב וכזאב              | H2: 12a + 12b linea unum | B = S     |
| 12b | וכזבח וכצלמנע [כ]ל<br>[ג]סיכמו | H1:                      |           |
| 13a | אשר אמרו נירשה לנו             | H2: 13a + 13b linea unum | B = S     |
| 13b | את נאות אלהים                  | H1:                      |           |
| 14a | אלהים שיתמו כגלגל              | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 14b | כקש לפני רוח                   | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 15a | כאש תבער יער                   | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 15b | וכלהבה תלהט הרים               | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 16a | כן תרדפם בסערך                 | H2: = S                  | = B       |
| 16b | ובסופתך תבהלם                  | H1: = S                  | = B       |
| 17a | מלא פניהם קלון                 | H2: = S                  | = B       |

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| 83  | Column III                         |                        |           |
|-----|------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| 17b | [ויבקשו שמך יהוה]                  | H1: = S                | = B       |
| 18a | [יבשו ויבהלו עדי עד]               | H2: = S                | = B       |
| 18b | ויח[פרו ויאבדו וידעו]              | H1: trahit ad 19a      | B = S     |
| 19a | [כי אתה שמך יהוה לבדך]             | H2: trahit ad 19b      | B = S     |
| 19b | עלי[ון על כל הארץ]                 | H1:                    | B = S     |
| 84  | linea vacat                        | H2: non vacat          | non vacat |
| 1a  | למנצח [על הגתית לבני קרח<br>מזמור] | H1:                    | = B       |
|     | linea vacat                        | H2: non vacat          | non vacat |
| 2a  | מה ידידות מ[שכנותיך]               | H1: 2a + 2b linea unum | B = S     |
| 2b  | [יהוה צבאות]                       | H2:                    |           |
| 3a  | נכספה וגם כ[לתה נפשי]              | H1: 3a + 3b linea unum | B = S     |
| 3b  | [לחצרות יהוה]                      | H2:                    |           |
| 3c  | לבי ובשרי יר[ננו]                  | H1: 3c + 3d linea unum | B = S     |
| 3d  | [אל אל חי]                         | H2:                    |           |
| 4a  | גם צפור מצא[ה בית]                 | H1: = S                |           |
| 4b  | [ודרור קן לה]                      | H2: 4b + 4c linea unum | B = S     |
| 4c  | אשר שתה א[פרחיה]                   | H1:                    |           |
| 4d  | [את מזבחותיך]                      | H2: 4d + 4e linea unum | B = S     |
| 4e  | יהוה צבאות [מלכי ואלהי]            | H1:                    |           |
| 5a  | [אשרי יושבי ביתך]                  | H2: = S                | = B       |
| 5b  | עוד יהללוד ס[לה]                   | H1: = S (l. separatum) | B = S     |
| 6a  | [אשרי אדם עוז לו בדך]              | H2: = S                | = B       |
| 6b  | מסלות בלבבם                        | H1: = S                | = B       |
| 7a  | [עברי בעמק הבכא]                   | H2: 7a + 7b linea unum | B = S     |
| 7b  | מעין ישיתוהו                       | H1:                    |           |
| 7c  | [גם ברכות יעטה מורה]               | H2: = S                | = B       |
| 8a  | ילכו מחיל אל ח[יל]                 | H1: = S                | = B       |
| 8b  | [יראה אל אלהים בציון]              | H2: = S                | = B       |
| 9a  | יהוה אלהים צב[אות]                 | H1: 9a + 9b linea unum | B = S     |
| 9b  | [שמעה תפלתי]                       | H2:                    |           |
| 9c  | ה[אזינה] אלהי יע[קב סלה]           | H1: = S (l. separatum) | B = S     |
| 10a | [מגננו ראה אלהים]                  | H2: = S                | = B       |
| 10b | וה[בט פני משיחך]                   | H1: = S                | = B       |
| 11a | [כי טוב יום בחצריך]                | H2: trahit ad 11a      | B = S     |
| 11b | [מאלף בחרתי]                       | H1: ≠ S                | B = S     |
| 11c | [הסתופף בבית אלהי]                 | H2: trahit ad 11c      | B = S     |
| 11d | מד[ו]ר באה[לי רשע]                 | H1: = S                | = B       |
| 12a | [כי שמש ומגן יהוה אלהים]           | H2: trahit ad 12b      | = B       |
| 12b | חן וכבוד יתן יה[וה]                | H1: trahit ad 12c      | B = S     |



|     |                          |     |                        |           |
|-----|--------------------------|-----|------------------------|-----------|
| 12c | [לא ימנע טוב להלכים]     |     |                        |           |
| 12c | [בתמים]                  | H2: | = S                    | = B       |
| 13a | יהוה צבאות               | H1: | 13a + 13b linea unum   | B = S     |
| 13b | [אשרי אדם בטח בד']       | H2: |                        |           |
| 85  | linea vacat: H1 + H2     |     | non vacat              | non vacat |
| 1   | [למנצח לבני קרח מזמ[ור]] | H1: | = S                    | = B       |
|     |                          | H2: | non vacat              | non vacat |
| 2a  | רצית יהוה ארצך           | H1: | = S                    | = B       |
| 2b  | [שבת שבות יעקב]          | H2: | = S                    | = B       |
| 3a  | נשאת עון עמך             | H1: | = S                    | = B       |
| 3b  | [כסית כל חטאתם סלה]      | H2: | = S (סלה l. separatum) | B = S     |
| 4a  | אספת כל עברתך            | H1: | = S                    | = B       |
| 4b  | [השיבות מחרון אפך]       | H2: | = S                    | = B       |
| 5a  | שובנו אלהי ישענו         | H1: | = S                    | = B       |
| 5b  | [והפר כעסך עמנו]         | H2: | = S                    | = B       |
| 6a  | הלעולם תאנף בנו          | H1: | = S                    | = B       |
| 6b  | [תמשך אפך לדר ודר]       | H2: | = S                    | = B       |

The result is interesting. Of approximately 145 hemistichs, the stichometry of B differs in 8 and combines 26 lines into 13 while that of S differs in 9 and combines 26 lines into 13. B has *διάψαλμα* on the same line in one instance as in the case of MasPs<sup>a</sup>. Everywhere else in both B and S *διάψαλμα* is given a line by itself due to the fact that there is not sufficient room to have it on the line to which it belongs. In sum, both B and S agree with the stichometry of MasPs<sup>a</sup> in over 75% of the lines, and B is a bit closer than S. Even the combined lines match the ends of lines in MasPs<sup>a</sup> so that the agreement could be claimed to be 99%. And although Talmon argues strongly for the stichometry of MT which places Sisera with 83:10b, he does not note that both B and S place it with 10a as in MasPs<sup>a</sup>.<sup>32</sup> Thus five hundred years after the original translation, B and S have largely preserved the terminal markers of a Hebrew parent text like MasPs<sup>a</sup>. The evidence suggests that the original translation into Greek followed the stichometric layout in poetic texts and even in the earliest texts had spaces corresponding to the reading tradition, and that this tradition was preserved for some time. The correspondence with Codex Alexandrinus, a century later, is not as strong.

32 Talmon, Masada VI, 88–9.

## Conclusions

The connection between MasPs<sup>a</sup> and MT-A is strong. (1) The wording of the text between the two manuscripts was nearly identical with few significant variants. (2) The breaks between couplets (i.e. the space between the A and B cola) and the ends of the couplets were shown to agree closely with the Masoretic terminal markers (pausal forms and accents). Although the Masoretes employed a system of spaces within each column of text, development had occurred between the time of MasPs<sup>a</sup> and the Masoretes to the extent that the spaces in the Aleppo codex appear only to be a memory of the earlier stichometry. Unfortunately there are no known Hebrew Psalms manuscripts from the III–VII centuries which might illuminate the exact points of development. (3) The stichometries of MasPs<sup>a</sup> and the codices of Sinaiticus and Vaticanus agreed in the couplet and line breaks to an even higher degree than MT showing significant continuity from MasPs<sup>a</sup> to at least the fourth century C.E. This demonstrates that MasPs<sup>a</sup> represents a much older tradition than just the end of the first century B.C.E. or beginning of the first century C.E.

Emanuel Tov has already identified MasPs<sup>a</sup> as a witness to the proto-MT on the basis of its text and physical layout and has concluded that it was part of the inner circle of texts, that is, those texts which are believed to be connected to the Temple.<sup>33</sup> We have shown that MasPs<sup>a</sup> not only has a near identical text to the Aleppo codex but also has divisions according to terminal markers in the later manuscript, further demonstrating that MasPs<sup>a</sup> and Aleppo can be traced either to a common source or that Aleppo came from an intermediate manuscript which was both derived and developed from MasPs<sup>a</sup>.

In 2010 Eugene Ulrich stated, “despite suggestions to the contrary, the future still awaits demonstration that the texts preserved in the medieval MT transmit the texts guarded by the priests in the Jerusalem temple as opposed to other popular or ‘vulgar’ texts that were less well preserved by less well qualified people. Nor has a line of succession—from temple priests to Pharisees to rabbis—been

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33 E. Tov, “The Text of the Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek Bible Used in the Ancient Synagogues”, in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) 171–88, on p. 177. For ancient testimonia to texts in the temple see (1) passages from the OT (Exod 25:16; 40:20; Deut 10:12; 31:9; 31:24–26; Josh 24:25–26 et al.). The OT attests the same practice of storing up documents in the shrine as other ancient peoples. For the Hittites, cf. G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (2nd edn; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999). For the general practice in the ancient Near East, cf. K. Van Der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 6. (2) The following passages from the Second Temple Period: CD A 7:14–18; *Letter of Aristeas* 30, 32, 39, 41, 46; 2 Maccabees 2:13–15; *Jewish War* 7.148–150 and thirteen other places in Josephus.

convincingly shown.”<sup>34</sup> Further work should be undertaken to determine the exact linkages between priests and Pharisees at Masada and how the Pharisaic texts come into the possession of the rabbis. We cannot provide full demonstration for this succession here, but our study has increased the probability of such a linkage between the text of Psalms of the Second Temple and the text of Psalms of the Masoretic text.<sup>35</sup>

### Implications for the Work of Peter Flint

Peter Flint has devoted enormous research on all the fragments of the Psalms at Qumran. His work is well known and need not be rehearsed here in detail. He seeks to develop a trajectory from 4QPs<sup>a</sup>—an extremely fragmentary text—to 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and from there to our MT Psalter of 150 psalms. Although the text of the Psalms at Qumran does not differ greatly from MT, the arrangement and number does; additional Psalms are included. Is Flint’s reconstruction persuasive?

First, he does not engage the convincing research of Roger Beckwith in 1996 and Jonathan Ben-Dov in 2008 whose extensive studies on astronomy and calendrical issues demonstrate that the Qumran Community added psalms and arranged them differently due to their solar calendar and the liturgical system based thereon.<sup>36</sup>

Second, nowhere in his many contributions can we see any treatment of the superscription to LXX Psalm 151:

Οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ιδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυὶδ  
καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ· ὅτε ἐμονομάχησεν τῷ Γολιὰδ.

This psalm is autobiographical regarding David and outside the number. When he fought Goliath (Translation ours).

34 E. Ulrich, “Methodological Reflections, on Determining Scriptural Status in First Century Judaism”, in M.L. Grossman (ed.), *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010) 145–61, on p. 155.

35 We did not have space to analyze MasPs<sup>b</sup>, but most scholars, including Peter Flint, have analysed it and have concluded that it represents the end of the book of Psalms and there was no Psalm 151. If this conclusion is granted, then Masada also possessed a text which would indicate that the final shape of the Psalter agreed with the later Masoretic Psalter. Cf. P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book Of Psalms*, 140–1.

36 R.T. Beckwith, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian*, 141–66; J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 49–52.

The superscription specifically states that Psalm 151 is “outside the number”. Therefore the translator of the Greek Psalter was aware of 150 as a fixed number at the time of translation. The number 150 is also considered proven from MasPs<sup>b</sup> (a text which we have not had time to analyse) by most scholars, including Flint.<sup>37</sup>

We do not, of course, have an exact date for the translation of the Hebrew Psalms into Greek. Surely it was translated after the Torah, but almost certainly before the Prologue to Greek Ben Sira. As Jannes Smith notes in an excellent contribution to the forthcoming Brill publication *Textual History of the Bible*, Munnich, Olofsson, and Schaper argue for a date in the second century B.C.E.<sup>38</sup>

The problem is compounded by the proposal of Ulrich and Rösen-Weinhold that our current Greek Psalter is a revision of the original. While intriguing, this theory about a phantom translation of a phantom parent text remains unverified.<sup>39</sup> Comparison with the book of Daniel is invalid since of approximately 90 extant manuscripts of Daniel only 3 attest the OG (88, 967, Syh) as opposed to that of Theodotion, whereas of approximately 1,300 known manuscripts of the Psalter all attest the same text.<sup>40</sup> There is no manuscript evidence for Ulrich’s proposed OG.

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37 P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book Of Psalms*, 140–141.

38 J. Smith, “10.3.1. Septuagint [Psalms > Primary Translations]”, in A. Lange/E. Tov (ed.), *Textual History of the Bible: The Hebrew Bible Volume 1C, Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 82–88.

39 There is not space here to rehearse the convincing evidence provided by Smith that it is unlikely.

40 This number is based on current research of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 2015.

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