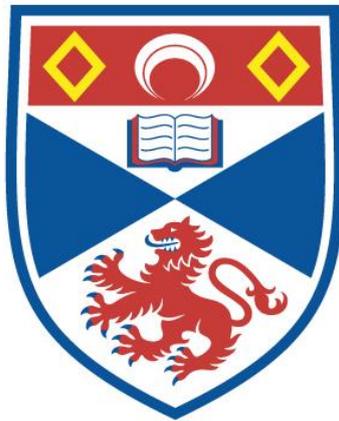


**A VIABLE APPROACH TO THE ARAMAIC OF THE NEW
TESTAMENT**

ALBERT LAURENCE ŁUKASZEWSKI

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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A Viable Approach to
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Albert Laurence Łukaszewski, B.A., M.A.T.

Thesis submitted in completion of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

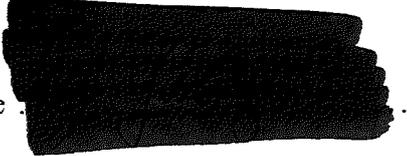
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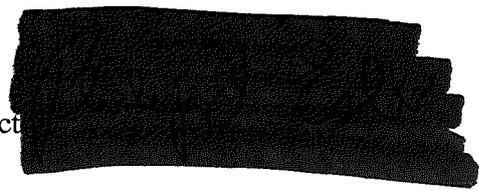
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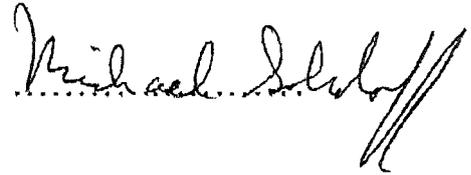
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Abstract

The present thesis addresses the problem of how New Testament scholarship may best discern and eventually reconstruct the Aramaic backgrounds to the New Testament on linguistic grounds. The major works of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are critiqued. The problems found with previous approaches highlight the need for future studies to be validated against the conclusions of a multitude of corollary disciplines. These include the morphology and syntax of the three major languages used in Judaea during the first-century CE and the translation techniques used to convey sources from one language in one of the other two. The most critical need demonstrated is that of a systematically developed awareness of first-century Judaeian literary Aramaic.

The best representative corpus of this dialect is that from Qumran. Therefore, the second part of the present thesis contains a systematically developed and paleographically verified grammar of Qumran Aramaic. This treatment summarizes the heterogeneity of Qumran Aramaic orthography, phonology, morphology, and syntax. A complementary chrestomathy and a collection of thirty-five plates of previously unpublished photographs of the Genesis Apocryphon are included in appendices.

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The present work, especially the grammar in Part II, was developed under the supervision of Professor Michael Sokoloff. I could not have studied the Qumran Aramaic material under a finer supervisor. His sagacious counsel, expansive knowledge of Aramaic dialects throughout antiquity, and ruthless eye for detail will ever be for me sources of inspiration.

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Several parts of the present work were prepared using technologically advanced means. For this reason, I here would like to mention those people who have made a significant technological contribution to the development of the present work. The database management programs were developed by Richard Goodrich, now of the University of Bristol, and myself using Python in the first instance and Perl in later cases. The paleography was done using the Gnu Image Manipulation Program (GIMP); my thanks are due to those affiliated with the GIMP project for creating such a fine graphics application.

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Various parts of this thesis were developed using Perl (e.g., the chrestomathy). In this regard, I must express my appreciation of Larry Wall and the Perl5 Porters

who have largely succeeded in making the easy things easy and the hard things possible.

Ultimately, all of these programs ran on a Linux system which was developed largely by Linus Torvalds and his band of programmers. Salutations are due each of them for creating an excellent platform for academic work. This work consequently relied on the Unix platform and those wondrous works known as `grep`, `cat`, `cut`, `sort`, and `sed`. My thanks go to all who worked in the development of these utilities and, especially, the elegant platform of Unix.

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Symbols and Abbreviations

Table 1: Symbols and Abbreviations

...	A lacuna in the text
()	A word inserted into the English translation for the sake of clarity
[]	A reconstruction in the text.
< >	A word normally required but omitted in the Aramaic text and inserted into the English translation for the sake of clarity
→	becomes
←	is derived from
abs.	absolute
BA	Biblical Aramaic
BCE	Before the Common Era
CE	The Common Era
cs.	construct
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>
<i>du.</i>	dual form
emph.	emphatic

Table 1: Symbols and Abbreviations (continued)

f.	feminine
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
l.	line
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LXX	Septuagint
m.	masculine
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
MT	Masoretic Text
n/e	not extant
<i>n. rectum</i>	<i>nomen rectum</i>
<i>n. regens</i>	<i>nomen regens</i>
OfA	Official Aramaic
pl.	plural
PTA	Aramaic of the Palestinian Targums
QA	Qumran Aramaic
QH	Qumran Hebrew
sing.	singular
TgA	The Aramaic of the later Targums

Qumran Texts Used in The Preparation of This Document

The texts listed below informed the development of the grammar included in Part II.¹ As all texts are in Aramaic, the customary suffix “ar” has not been included in the sigla we have used.

The critical editions consulted in the preparation of the database are listed in Column 3 and may also be found in Emanuel Tov, “List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert” in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert* ed. Emanuel Tov, DJD 39, 27–114. Where the work is cited more than once, the first citation contains the fuller, bibliographic listing. In addition to these printed editions, substantial use was also made of *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*, [E. Tov, ed. (Leiden: Netherlands, 1993)] and *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library, 2* [N. Reynolds, et al., eds. (Leiden: Netherlands, 1999)].

¹We regret that, due to complications in acquisition and a significant cataloguing backlog in the University Library, we were not able to make full use of DJD 36 [Stephen J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4: XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), DJD 36] at the time that the Enochic literature from Qumran was processed. We have, however, endeavored to address the work of Stuckenbruck (4Q201, 4Q203, and 4Q206) and that of Tigchelaar and García Martínez (4Q208–209) where the differences of reading, translation, or interpretation are of substantial significance for understanding the grammar of QA.

It is worth noting that literally hundreds of fragments have been discovered at Qumran. While most of these have been in Hebrew, a substantial number of Aramaic texts were found. The language of many fragments are still uncertain, and the respective documents necessarily bear a question mark in their sigla. We have avoided most of these and have restricted ourselves to the fifty-nine longest and best preserved texts, with the least emphasis on those most recently published (4Q529-549).² In some instances, we have not used a full text (e.g., 6Q8) because either (1) the reading of the parts could not be done with a similar amount of confidence to the readings of the other texts or (2) the available photographs were of insufficient quality to afford a preliminary reading.

²For the reasons concerning our de-emphasizing of DJD 31, please see our review of the same in *RBL*. Albert L. Lukaszewski, "Review of É. Puech *Qumrân Grotte 4: XXII. Textes Araméens, Première Partie*" *RBL* (2002).

Table 2: Text Number to Sigla Correlations with Short Bibliography (1Q20–4Q199)

TEXT NO.	SIGLA	PUBLICATION
1Q20	1QapGen	Dominique Barthélemy and Jozef T. Milik, <i>Qumran Cave I</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), DJD 1; Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, <i>A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: Description and Contents of the Scroll, Facsimiles, Transcription and Translation of Columns II, XIX-XXII</i> (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956); Elisha Qimron, Moshe Morgenstern and Daniel Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon" <i>Abr-Nahrain</i> 33 (1995).
1Q21	1QTLevi	Barthélemy and Milik, DJD 1.
1Q23	1QEnGiants ^a	Barthélemy and Milik, DJD 1.
1Q24	1QEnGiants ^b	Barthélemy and Milik, DJD 1.
1Q32	1QNJ?	Barthélemy and Milik, DJD 1.
2Q24	2QNJ	M. Baillet et al., <i>Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), DJD 3.
2Q26	2QEnGiant ^g	Baillet et al., DJD 3.
4Q156	4QTgLev	R. de Vaux and J.T. Milik, <i>Qumran Grotte 4: II</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), DJD 6.
4Q157	4QTgJob	de Vaux and Milik, DJD 6.
4Q196	4QpapTob ^e	M. Broshi et al., <i>Qumran Cave 4: XIV</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), DJD 19; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins</i> (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 159–236.
4Q197	4QTob ^b	Broshi et al., DJD 19; Fitzmyer, <i>Christian Origins</i> , 159–236.
4Q198	4QTob ^c	Broshi et al., DJD 19; Fitzmyer, <i>Christian Origins</i> , 159–236.
4Q199	4QTob ^d	Broshi et al., DJD 19; Fitzmyer, <i>Christian Origins</i> , 159–236.

Table 3: Text Number to Sigla Correlations with Short Bibliography (4Q201–4Q246)

TEXT NO.	SIGLA	PUBLICATION
4Q201	4QEn ^a	Josef T. Milik, <i>The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4</i> , (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
4Q202	4QEn ^b	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q203	4QEnGiants ^a	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q204	4QEn ^c	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q205	4QEn ^d	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q206	4QEn ^e	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q206 2-3	4QEnGiants ^f	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q207	4QEn ^f	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q208	4QEnastr ^a	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q209	4QEnastr ^b	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q210	4QEnastr ^c	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q211	4QEnastr ^d	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q212	4QEn ^g	Milik, <i>Books of Enoch</i> .
4Q213	4QLevi ^a	George Brooke et al., <i>Qumran Cave 4: XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), DJD 22.
4Q213a	4QLevi ^b	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q213b	4QLevi ^c	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q214	4QLevi ^d	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q214a	4QLevi ^e	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q214b	4QLevi ^f	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q242	4QPrNab	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q243	4QpsDan ^a	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q244	4QpsDan ^b	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q245	4QpsDan ^c	Brooke and others, DJD 22.
4Q246	4QapocrDan	Brooke and others, DJD 22.

Table 4: Text Number to Sigla Correlations with Short Bibliography (4Q529–11Q10)

TEXT No.	SIGLA	PUBLICATION
4Q529	4QWords of Michael	Émile Puech, <i>Qumrân Grotte 4: XXII. Textes Araméens, Première Partie</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), DJD 31.
4Q530	4QEnGiants ^b	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q531	4QEnGiants ^c	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q532	4QEnGiants ^d	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q533	4QEnGiants ^e	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q534	4QBirth of Noah ^d	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q535	4QBirth of Noah ^b	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q536	4QBirth of Noah ^c	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q537	4QTJacob?	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q538	4QTJud	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q539	4QTJoseph	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q540	4QapocrLevi ^{a?}	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q541	4QapocrLevi ^{b?}	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q542	4QTQahat	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q543	4QVisions of Amram ^a	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q544	4QVisions of Amram ^b	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q545	4QVisions of Amram ^c	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q546	4QVisions of Amram ^d	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q547	4QVisions of Amram ^e	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q548	4QVisions of Amram ^f	Puech, DJD 31.
4Q549	4QVisions of Amram ^g	Puech, DJD 31.
6Q8	6Q8papGiants	Baillet et al., DJD 3.
11Q10	11QTgJob	Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude, <i>Qumran Cave 11: II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), DJD 23.
11Q18	11QNJ	García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, <i>Qumran Cave 11: II.</i>

Part I

Toward a Viable Method

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Problem

The Semitic origins of and influences on the early Christian writings have been noted since early church tradition. The authors or redactors of several Gospel pericopae offer a phrase in the original language, usually Aramaic, and follow it with a Greek translation.¹ In Eusebius' *Demonstratio evangelica*, the apostles are portrayed as speaking Aramaic alone.² They appear to have spoken Hebrew in his quotation of Papias contained in *Historia ecclesiastica*.³ Hence, while there is consent among the church fathers that not all of the earliest Christian traditions were in Greek,⁴ there is some dispute over whether they were in Aramaic or

¹Cf. the use of μεθερμηνεύω in Matt 1.23, Mk 5.41, 15.22, 15.34, Jn 1.38, and 1.41. In Acts, translation is also employed in 4.36.

²*Dem. Ev.* III.4.44; 7.10. In both instances, Eusebius emphasizes the inability of the apostles to communicate to the Romans. The veracity of this perception is, of course, debatable.

³*Hist. eccl.* III.39.16.

⁴Cf. Stanley Porter, "Did Jesus Ever Teach In Greek?" *TynBul* 44/2 (1993), 199-235. Given the present textual sources and methods, the question of when Christian tradition was first preserved in Greek may never be answered without a considerable amount of historical speculation.

Hebrew or both.⁵

This confusion has been resolved only marginally in the intervening centuries. The early Christian authors were not ignorant of the many languages used in first-century Judaea.⁶ However, while Greek and Latin are distinguished in the writings, Hebrew and Aramaic are not.⁷

This lack of distinction compounds the difficulty of evaluating the sources used by the Gospel authors or redactors. In arguing for a non-Greek source of a New Testament passage, one can no longer proceed on the assumption that simplicity of style or Semitic “flavor” denotes an Aramaic substratum of tradition.⁸ As a consequence of the newly rediscovered awareness of the various languages used in first-century Judaea, the New Testament Aramaic problem of how best to discern an Aramaic source from its Greek trappings is of continuing importance for the linguistic study of Christian Origins.

Any approach to the problem must take account of the linguistic environs in which the earliest Christian communities existed. By definition, this concerns the

⁵This aspect of first-century Judaeian language dynamics is obfuscated further by the seemingly confused usage of Ἑβραϊστί. In his revision of Baurer’s lexicon, Frederick Danker renders this word to mean “in Hebrew/Aramaic.” Walter Bauer et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 270 Ἑβραΐς, Ἑβραϊστί.

⁶In the course of this discussion, the term ‘Judaea’ will be used to refer to the area of Coele Syria encompassing Alexandrium and Jericho in the northeast, Joppa in the northwest, and extending to the mountain ridge south of Bethlehem.

For the purpose of this discussion, we reject the use of the term “Palestine” for the land “from Dan to Beersheba” during the time preceding the Bar Kokhba Revolt as anachronistic and overly general. Where it is necessary to refer to this land during Graeco-Roman times, we shall employ the term “Eretz Israel.” Otherwise, the general region will be called Coele Syria, following the custom of Josephus and other first-century authors. When referring to texts and locations after the Bar Kokhba Revolt (c. 132) CE, we will then use the term “Palestine.” Cf. Benjamin Mazar, “The Aramaean Empire and its Relations with Israel” *Biblical Archaeologist* 25 (1962), 98-120, and Robert H. Smith, “Arabia” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

⁷Cf. Jn 19:20: Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί.

⁸Cf. §§1.2 and 3.3.3.1 (pages 4 and 65, respectively).

polyglot landscape of first-century Judaea. Early allusions to the languages of the early Christians only touched upon Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic. In more modern times, however, scholarship has detailed the use of five major linguistic forces in first-century Judaea: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, the pre-Arabic dialects, and Aramaic.⁹ The use of these is summarized below.

1.2 Language Usage and Attestation

1.2.1 Latin

The Latin textual data from first-century Judaea is relatively sparse.¹⁰ The language came to Judaea with the Roman conquest (c. 63 BCE). Fitzmyer has suggested that the scarcity of Latin texts at this time in Judaeian history is due to Roman officials communicating with the local populus in Greek, not Latin. Price surveys the situation as follows:¹¹

⁹For a fuller treatment of the first four languages, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Grand Rapids, MI/Livonia, MI: Eerdmans/Dove, 1997), 29-56, and Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Languages of Palestine, 200 B.C.E. - 200 C.E." in *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations: Proceedings of Regional Conferences of the Association for Jewish Studies Held at The University of Michigan and New York University in March-April 1975*. ed. H. H. Paper (Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978), 143-154. On Hebrew and Aramaic, see Chaim Rabin, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the First Century" in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* ed. S. Safrai et al. (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1976), *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2*. On Greek, see Gerard Mussies, "Greek in Palestine and the Diaspora" in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* ed. Samuel Safrai et al. (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum), *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2* and Gerard Mussies, "Languages (Greek)" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

¹⁰Jonathan Price has offered a succinct summary of Latin usage in the Roman Empire – both east and west. Cf. Jonathan J. Price, "The Jews and the Latin Language in the Roman Empire" in *Jews and Gentiles in the Holy Land* ed. Menachem Mor et al. (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2003), 165–167.

¹¹Price, "Jews and the Latin Language", 165.

During the period of the Roman Empire, the bulk of the Jews in the world lived in the eastern half of the empire or beyond, in Babylonia, and spoke a Semitic language and/or Greek. In this, they were no different from most of the other inhabitants of the East. Those who lived within the administrative confines of the Roman Empire had few regular or sustained contacts with the Latin language.

Within Judaea, only two sites near the Dead Sea have held Latin texts: Masada and Murabba'at.¹² There is also inscriptional evidence of Latin in the form of milestones.¹³ However, in the greater region of Coele Syria, the evidence for Latin as an official language is buttressed by an inscription on the Tiberium in Caesarea Maritima. In the orchestra of the theatre, a dedicatory inscription was found in the name of Pontius Pilate, Prefect of Judaea.¹⁴ In sum, Latin, where it was used, served primarily for official purposes but not for the economic or cultural concerns of the indigenous population.¹⁵

¹²Cf. Hannah Cotton, "Latin" in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 474-475. The Masada texts include inscriptions on jars (Mas793-852), papyri (Mas721a-7245, 749b), and various ostraca. Cotton has noted that only two Latin texts from Masada are likely to be of Jewish origin: Mas936 (a bread stamp bearing the name "Josepu") and Mas748 (a bilingual papyrus bearing Jewish names).

The texts from Murabba'at are Mur158-163. These are largely unclassified fragments. Mur159 is classified as a cursive text. However, little is known about these texts save an estimated date of the first and second century CE (Cotton, "Latin", 475). As the Murabba'at site attests to the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132 CE, the value of these texts for our discussion is minimal.

¹³Cf. M. Avi-Yonah, "The Development of the Roman Road System in Palestine" *IEJ* 1 (1950-1951), 54-60.

¹⁴Cf. Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 31, for a fuller discussion of the implications of this text for language dynamics in first-century Judaea – see esp. note 11. Cf. also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Languages" in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 474a

¹⁵Cf. Greenfield, "Languages of Palestine", 152-153. Greenfield notes: "Of the many Greek and Latin loanwords in Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic, less than five percent are Latin and many of these are Greek in form. The Latin words are primarily from the military and administrative spheres" (153).

1.2.2 Greek

Greek came to be used extensively in post-exilic Judaea with the conquest of Alexander the Great (c. 332 BCE). Prior to that time, there is no reason to doubt that Greek culture did have significant influence on Eretz Israel and Coele Syria as a whole.¹⁶ With the Greek Empire, the *κοινή* came into use from Greece to the Indus Mountains to the environs of Alexandria.¹⁷ With this conquest, Koine Greek became the administrative language throughout the region.¹⁸

Millard has noted that Latin was known more widely among the Judaeian population [Alan Millard, "Latin in First-Century Palestine" in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin and Michael Sokoloff (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1995)]. The evidence for this is primarily potsherds from Masada, labels for wine. From the inscriptions he reasons: "The wine merchants or shippers in Italy naturally wrote in their own language. When the wine reached King Herod's cellars, his butler, at least, would need to know enough Latin to select the vintage his master demanded or liked" (Millard, "Latin", 453).

In contrast to this assertion, Price offers a more nuanced perspective (Price, "Jews and the Latin Language", 166):

The Roman colonies in the Near East — e.g., Jerusalem, Caesarea, Berytus and its sister-colony Heliopolis — were islands of Roman culture which, like the Latin authors of Eretz-Israel, had little lasting cultural or linguistic influence in the areas just outside their borders. The spread of Latin from these centers was wide but superficial: mostly individual words, especially military terms, city names and personal names.

Hence, while the butler may have known enough Latin to select a vintage, such a knowledge of Latin is not sufficient to warrant significant weight in the equation of the language dynamics of first-century Judaea.

¹⁶Cf. Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel" in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (London: Tyndale, 1965), 44-50.

¹⁷On the existence of Koine Greek prior to the Alexandrian conquest, see Mussies, "Languages", esp. part C "Koine Greek."

¹⁸Fitzmyer suggests that Greek became "the" *lingua franca* throughout the Near East (Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 32). It would seem that this designation could use some nuancing as it suggests that Greek had supplanted Aramaic, a view that is not consonant with Fitzmyer's other works. This is also not supported by the significant amount of Aramaic composition that occurred at this time. Further, if Greek had fully supplanted Aramaic in the Near East, it is doubtful that the Targumic literature and the Talmudic corpora would have developed as they did, in Aramaic. The influence of Greek was clearly felt; this is evident in the loanwords found in Aramaic as early as Daniel 3.5-6. (cf. also Greenfield, "Languages of Palestine", 153).

However, Fitzmyer notes later that, while Greek influence was extensive, the Greek language never took a hold on the entirety of the population of Judaea or Eretz Israel. With regard to the

This being said, however, Greek literary documents from Judaea during the first century CE are scarce.¹⁹ Inscriptions from the environs of Jerusalem attest to non-official uses of Greek. Fitzmyer has summed up this evidence as follows:

There is the Greek inscription forbidding non-Jews to enter the inner courts of the Jerusalem temple, the Jerusalem synagogue inscription which commemorates its building by Theodotos Vettanos, a priest and leader of the synagogue, the hymn inscribed in the necropolis of Marisa, the edict of Augustus . . . found at Nazareth concerning the violation of tombs, the Capernaum dedicatory inscription, and the numberless ossuary inscriptions from the vicinity of Jerusalem.²⁰

It is unlikely that these instances of Greek were written for the indigenous population alone, but rather for foreigners as well (if not primarily). Instances of Jewish texts being written in or translated into Greek were for the benefit of non-Judaeans.²¹ Jerusalemites seem therefore to have had a comparatively high knowledge of Greek, even if they did not employ it amongst themselves.²² Green-

plethora of Hellenistic Jewish writers whose works were composed in Greek, he writes: "Though the names of a host of Hellenistic Jewish litterateurs who wrote in Greek are known . . . there are only a few whose writings are related to first-century Palestine" (Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 33).

This position is also maintained by G. Mussies. Cf. Mussies, "Greek in Palestine", 1058. However, Greenfield has argued that this paradigm is too simple a description of the situation. Cf. Greenfield, "Languages of Palestine", 150. Cf. also note 23 on page 8 of the present work.

¹⁹We here omit the several Greek texts found at Murabba'at as they are from the Bar Kokhba Revolt and are not necessarily reflective of Greek usage in the first century.

²⁰Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 35. In the light of the other Greek evidence and the nature of the Aramaic and Hebrew texts from this period, the role of Greek language ossuaries in the environs of Jerusalem suggests a large Hellenistic population and not necessarily a widespread affinity for the use of Greek.

²¹Cf. Mussies, "Languages". Mussies observes several elements which seem to indicate a high degree of Greek learning in Jerusalem: the Greek names for the musical instruments in Daniel 3, the postscript at the end of LXX Esther which describes the conditions under which the translation occurred, and the sending of the Second Book of the Maccabees to the "Jewish brethren in Egypt."

²²Cf. Jan N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Chris-*

field has summarized this mixed usage of Greek as follows: “[T]here were surely those, even in the rural areas, who could speak Greek freely, just as there were many natives who lived in urban areas who could speak only Aramaic or Hebrew, or perhaps, in the South, an Arabic dialect.”²³

1.2.3 Hebrew

Hebrew is indisputably the oldest language used in the region of Judaea.²⁴ While the use of Hebrew receded as a result of the Assyrian exile/dispersion of 722 BCE and the Babylonian exiles of 598 and 587 BCE, the language remained in colloquial use throughout the Second Temple Period and eventually developed into Mishnaic Hebrew.²⁵ The extent of this use in conjunction with the usage of Greek and of Aramaic, however, has been debated.

tians Have Known? Vol. 19, (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 180–191, and Porter, “Did Jesus Ever Teach In Greek?”, 199–235.

²³Greenfield, “Languages of Palestine”, 145. Greenfield later states: “There can be no doubt that there were Greek-speaking Jews in Jerusalem during the Second Temple period, but... these were Jews who had returned from the Diaspora and settled there” (150).

²⁴Of the languages used in first century Judaea, Aramaic is the oldest but is not attested in Judaea earlier than Hebrew.

²⁵Cf. Eduard Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQ Isa^a)* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 6, 23–30. Rendsburg has also demonstrated that the use of Hebrew never ceased in Judaea from the Exile to the Mishnaic period. There was not a period of re-introducing Hebrew to the land. Cf. Gary Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1990). Further, Greenfield refers to the Bar Kokhba letters as proof that Hebrew never ceased to be used in Judaea. Cf. Greenfield, “Languages of Palestine”, 151.

See also Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 55–58. Beyer finds the evidence for Greek and Aramaic usage in Judaea to suggest a lapse in spoken Hebrew. This overstates the evidence. As cited above, the textual evidence argues for an uninterrupted development of Hebrew from Late Biblical Hebrew to Mishnaic Hebrew. The fact that Babatha’s archive does not have Hebrew texts does not lead logically to the conclusion that Hebrew ceased to be spoken. Rather, the fact that several kinds of Aramaic have been found there suggests a highly complex linguistic situation containing, among other languages, several types of Aramaic.

On the role of Hebrew during the Second Temple Period, see also Rabin, “Hebrew and Aramaic”.

As a literary language, Hebrew is thought to be the original language for several canonical texts composed during the Second Temple Period. Among the texts in the Hebrew Bible proper, Qohelet and Song of Songs are seen to have been written in Hebrew against a Hellenistic backdrop. Esther and Daniel, both narratives set during the Babylonian exile, are generally held to have been written during the Hellenistic Period.²⁶ Also, among the Qumran scrolls, a Hebrew version of Ben Sira has been found and dated to the first half of the second century before the common era (c. 195-180 BCE).²⁷

While the vast majority of the Qumran scrolls were written in Hebrew, any generalization of this tendency is counterbalanced by the sectarian, solitary conditions under which the community seems to have lived.²⁸ Further, it is worth noting that the epigraphic evidence from this time excludes Hebrew almost completely.²⁹ This aspect of the situation argues for a restricted use of the language.

²⁶For further discussion on the precise dating of these canonical works, see Philip C. Schmitz, "Hebrew" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

²⁷Cf. Benjamin G. Wright, "Ben Sira, Book of" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 91. The Greek text dates to the late second century before the common era (c. 132 BCE).

For the Hebrew of Ben Sira as representing a diachronic development between LBH and MH, see Avi Hurvitz, "The Linguistic Status of Ben Sira as a Link between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew: Lexicographical Aspects" in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium held at Leiden University, 11–14 December 1995* ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde (Leiden: Brill, 1997), Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah XXVI, 72–86. On why QH is not properly a "spoken" language, see Avi Hurvitz, "Was QH a "Spoken" Language? On Some Recent Views and Positions: Comments" in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde (Leiden: Brill, 2000), Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah XXXVI, 110–114.

²⁸While none of the scrolls found at Qumran can be proven definitively to have been written in the area in which they were found, the script and language of the texts suggest a place of composition or copying not far removed from Judaea.

²⁹The reasons for this are speculative at best. The absence of Hebrew inscriptions does not necessarily indicate a lack of Hebrew usage but may indicate the destruction of the evidence at a later time. It is worth noting that Hebrew was once thought restricted to literary usage, before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. Cf. Beyer, *ATM*, 55-58.

To be sure, Hebrew never ceased to be used as לשון הקודש, “the holy tongue,” and as a colloquial language among certain communities; however, these communities seemed to be comparatively few and were mostly in the area of Roman Judaea.³⁰

1.2.4 Pre-Arabic Dialects

It is worth noting that other languages were used in Coele Syria besides the “standard” four, the aforementioned Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic.³¹ Throughout ancient times, Judaea and its surrounding regions were the crossroads of trade from Egypt and Arabia to Mesopotamia and beyond.³² The necessity of this trade route was largely determined by the Arabian desert. As a consequence, the populations of those areas influenced and infiltrated the language environment of the region. Egypt at this time had a similar linguistic history to that of Coele Syria, being conquered by the Greeks and later administered by the Romans. While the Nabataeans came under Greek, and later Roman, rule, this was only a part of the Arabian region.³³ Arabia, however, did not become a province of Greek or Roman rule, opting rather to pay tribute.³⁴ The Arabian regions consequently preserved their languages and were in a position to influence the language dynamics of Judaea as members of their community migrated there. Rabin has noted three major concentrations of Arab speakers in the region during the first century CE:

³⁰Cf. Greenfield, “Languages of Palestine”, 151.

³¹Nehemiah 4.7 records the use of three regional languages that seem to be distinct from Hebrew and Aramaic: Arabic, Ammonite, and Ashdodite. It is highly unlikely that local languages or dialects would have died out completely. More likely is a blending of the local language with the tongue of the conqueror. Cf. also Nehemiah 13.24 and Rabin, “Hebrew and Aramaic”, 1010-1011.

³²With regard to the Middle Aramaic dialects in the first century, these trade routes involved Judaeans, Nabataean and Palmyrene areas. See §1.2.5.1 on page 14.

³³For a more detailed discussion of the four Arabian geographical names and their history, see Smith, “Arabia”.

³⁴Josephus, *B.J.* 1.159. On the defeat of Herodian troops at Ormiza see *B.J.* 1.368.

In the northern mountain areas (Iturea) and in southern Transjordan and in the Negev, there were populations of Arab stock, shown to be so by historians' statements and by their personal names. The Nabataeans, in the South, put up numerous inscriptions in Aramaic, in a special Nabataean ductus and with certain grammatical peculiarities, containing also a small number of Arabic words. Inscriptions in Thamudic, a language belonging to the so-called proto-Arabian subgroup and written in a script originating in the Arabian Peninsula, have been found in Transjordan, and while most of these are probably later, some may go back to our period. The same applies to the numerous Arabic names found in Greek and Latin inscriptions in south-east Syria and Transjordan.³⁵

Among the earliest Christian authors, there are three references to Arabians and Arabia.³⁶ In Acts 2:11, Arabians are among the foreigners who partake in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.³⁷ Shortly after Paul's conversion, the apostle departed into Arabia for fourteen years (Gal 1:17).³⁸ Further Paul's escape from King Aretas occurred when the city was under the control of King Aretas IV, king of the Nabataeans from 9 BCE to 40 CE.³⁹ Hence, the influence of early Arabic

³⁵Rabin, "Hebrew and Aramaic", 1009-1010.

³⁶We here omit the Aramaic documents from Babatha's archive due to the fact that the relationship of the Nabataeans to the Arabic culture does not justify calling them "Arabs" in the modern sense of the term. Arabic loanwords do not suggest Nabataean as more than an Aramaic speaking group on the border of Arabia.

³⁷While there are several language groups represented in Jerusalem at this time, one can be reasonably certain of a significant minority who were Arab-speaking due to the Arab loanwords in Nabataean texts and the proximity of the Arab communities in Trans-Jordan.

³⁸*Contra* Hengel and Schwemer, Paul's use of "Arabia" is geographic and not linguistic. See n.36 (page 11). See also Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Paul Between Damascus and Antioch* (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1997), 110 n.571 and 116 n.607.

³⁹Cf. Smith, "Arabia" and "Aretas IV" in Jacob Neusner and William S. Green, eds., *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), 56.

dialects in the environs of Judaea must not be overlooked.⁴⁰

1.2.5 Aramaic

The Aramaic language is known for approximately 3,000 years and includes writings whose dates of composition range from the tenth century BCE to the present. Fitzmyer has divided the course of its development into five phases: Old Aramaic, Official Aramaic, Middle Aramaic, Late Aramaic, and Neo-Aramaic.⁴¹ In addi-

⁴⁰Rabin concludes: “[E]arly Arabic dialects, probably rather different from the later classical Arabic, were spoken in marginal areas of Palestine, and probably known to some Jews” (Rabin, “Hebrew and Aramaic”, 1010).

⁴¹Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 57–84. The following discussion on the phases of Aramaic follows Professor Fitzmyer’s description over that of Klaus Beyer. Beyer, *ATM*, 23–71. While Beyer’s scheme is simpler on one level — using the main categories of Old Aramaic, Middle Aramaic, and Modern Aramaic, it tends toward atomism. Given the obvious tendency toward over-specialization illustrated below, we find Beyer’s map too unwieldy for the purpose of the present work.

Within Old Aramaic, Beyer maintains four subcategories: Ancient Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, Old Eastern Aramaic, and Old Western Aramaic. For Beyer, Ancient Aramaic is all Aramaic prior to Imperial Aramaic (i.e., prior to 700 BCE) (Beyer, *ATM*, 25). Imperial Aramaic is all Aramaic from the Achaemenid period and the Aramaic of the following dialects (per Beyer’s division): Biblical Aramaic, Hasmonean, Babylonian Targumic, Galilean Targumic, Babylonian Documentary Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, and “Arsakidische” (the official language of the Parthians). Examples of Old Eastern Aramaic which Beyer cites are the Uruk text (an Aramaic cuneiform incantation text which is dated to Hellenistic times but whose style may betray an earlier dating. See Stephen A. Kaufman, “Aramaic” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996), Vol.4, 174), certain Palmyrene texts, Old Syriac, west Mesopotamian, and the Old Babylonian Aramaic used among the Jews. Old Western Aramaic contains the form of Old Palestinian Aramaic spoken amongst the Jews (a form characterized by the oldest manuscripts of Enoch), Old Heathen Palestinian Aramaic (“Das Heidnisch-altpalästinische”), Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and the several dialects spoken at the time of Jesus. In regard to this last item, Beyer further clarifies the language into seven subdialects: Jewish, Southwest Jewish, Samaritan, Galilean, West Jordanian, Damascan, and Orontic – a dialect presumably named after the Orontes river (near present day al-Mina).

Within his understanding of Middle Aramaic, Beyer draws a major distinction between Middle Eastern and Middle Western Aramaic. The former is seen to include Middle Syriac, Jewish Middle Babylonian, and Mandaic. The latter includes Jewish Middle Palestinian (itself comprised of Galilean, Middle Jewish, and Middle East Jordanian texts), Samaritan, Christian Palestinian, and the Aramaic of the synagogue at Dura-Europos.

Beyer’s Modern Aramaic category is similarly compartmentalized. His first division of this stage, Modern Eastern Aramaic, contains New West Syriac, New East Syriac, and New Mandaic. The second division is Modern Western Aramaic, the provenance for which dialect he describes

tion to addressing Aramaic usage during New Testament times, this brief introduction discusses the chronological setting of Qumran Aramaic amidst the major stages of the language and its synchronic relationship to the other dialects of Middle Aramaic (c. 200 BCE to 200 CE). We begin with a sketch of the various divisions and conclude with an assessment of the role Aramaic played in first-century Judaea.

1.2.5.1 A General Overview of Aramaic Usage

Old Aramaic (OA): 1000-700 BCE The palaeographic data for this period ranges from 925 BCE to 700 BCE. The texts included in this range come from Northern Syria, Upper Mesopotamia, Northern Israel, and Iran. Some of the better known texts from this period are the Tell Dan inscription, the Zakir inscription, and the Sefire treaty.⁴²

Official Aramaic (OfA): 700-200 BCE This period is alternatively named Standard Aramaic, Imperial Aramaic, or Reichsaramäisch.⁴³ During this time, the language became more standardized and widely used. Included in this

as follows: “Ein westaramäischer Dialekt wird heute nur noch in Ma'lūla und zwei anderen christlichen Bergdörfern des Antilibanon etwa 60 km noröstlich von Damaskus gesprochen, natürlich mit einem starken arabischen Einschlag” (Beyer, *ATM*, 71).

⁴²Recent grammars of Old Aramaic: Stanislaw Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, VEB, 1975), Volker Hug, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Texte des 7. und 6. Jh.s v. Chr.* (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1993), and Rainer Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.-8. Jh. v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1969).

⁴³Fitzmyer gives two dates for the beginning of this period – 700 BCE and 613 BCE – but does not explain either of them. We assume they are related to the fall of the Assyrian Empire. Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Aramaic” in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 48.

Grammars of this period of Aramaic include: Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar Of Egyptian Aramaic* 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 32. See also the first edition of the same: Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar Of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 32

phase are the Aramaic texts found on papyri, skins and ostraca from Elephantine, Aswan, and other sites from Upper Egypt to the Indus Valley. The best known literary examples from this period are the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel and the proverbs of Aḥiqar.

Around the turn of the fifth century BCE, it was made the official language of the western half of the Persian Empire by Darius I.⁴⁴ On the duration of this period, Fitzmyer notes that the epigraphic evidence for OfA extends to the eighth century BCE.⁴⁵

Middle Aramaic (MA): 200 BCE-200 CE Fitzmyer has noted that it is in this phase that local dialects take on greater significance. Whereas Official Aramaic saw minor variations from area to area, Middle Aramaic sees the stronger of these regional differences become dialects. The five major dialects of this period fall into categories of East and West. In the land of Israel and Arabia, Nabatean and Judaeen Aramaic were used. The latter is best attested in Judaeen Literary Aramaic.⁴⁶ In the East, the lands of Syria and Mesopotamia, the major dialects were based in Palmyra, Edessa and Hatra.⁴⁷

⁴⁴Klaus Beyer, *The Aramaic Language: Its Distribution and Subdivisions* trans. by J.F. Healey (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 14. Beyer notes an early example of OfA in Cowley 1, found in Egypt and dated to 495 BCE.

⁴⁵Fitzmyer, "Aramaic", 49. In listing the major Egyptian finds in OfA, Kaufman notes the Saqqarah papyrus from the late seventh-century. Cf. Kaufman, "Aramaic".

⁴⁶On Nabataean, the standard grammatical treatment remains that of Jean Cantineau: Jean Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen. I. Notions générales — Écriture, grammaire* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1930). No systematic treatment of either the Bar Kochba texts has been discovered by our research. While grammars of Qumran Aramaic are rumored to be in process, none are currently published. The grammar of Part II represents a systematic treatment of this corpus.

⁴⁷No systematic treatment of Hatran exists. For Palmyrene grammar, see Jean Cantineau, *Grammaire du Palmyrénien Épigraphique* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1935). Edessene is often considered to be early Syriac and is so described in Theodore Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* trans. by James A. Crichton 2nd ed. (London: Williams

Within Judaeen Aramaic, two general divisions may be made: (1) the Qumran scrolls and (2) the Aramaic of the Bar Kochba letters (Murabba'at, Seiyal, etc.) and the epigraphic materials (ossuaries, etc.).⁴⁸ There is a further division in this dialect that should be made for our purposes, as the latter two are significantly more similar to each other than they are to the first in terms of literary qualities.⁴⁹ Several factors suggest that they are not to be treated as identical:

1. The *terminus* for communal use of Khirbet Qumran is 68 CE, over 60 years earlier than the Bar Kochba material. This necessarily increases the likelihood of dialectal change.
2. The Aramaic preserved in the Qumran scrolls is of a literary, non-epistolary quality and, therefore, may not naturally represent the speech patterns of the community. Indeed, there is virtually no indication that any of the Aramaic texts discovered at Qumran was written by the community who used that site. Rather, they preserved earlier works.⁵⁰ In contrast, the Bar Kochba material was written out of necessity and in moments of crisis. This further suggests possible disparity between the linguistic development of the two sites.

and Norgate, 1904), xxxi–xxxiv.

⁴⁸Much of this corpus is transcribed in Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1994).

⁴⁹These corpora (i.e., the Bar Kochba letters and the epigraphic materials) are similar enough to be treated lexically together in Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Bar-Ilan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2003). While their vocabulary may be similar, the grammar reflected in each corpus should be treated distinctly, with regard for their disparity of genre and dating.

⁵⁰James C. VanderKam, "Apocalyptic Tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Religion of Qumran" in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. J. J. Collins and R. A. Kugler (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2000), *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*, 114–115.

3. The ossuaries are obviously not literary in nature and are closer to the Bar Kokhba letters than to QA.⁵¹

As a consequence of these differences, it becomes problematic to apply the grammar or lexical register of the Bar Kokhba letters in the same manner and with the same weight as one applies the data from Qumran. While they are both in Aramaic, they differ in terms of chronological, geographical, and literary character.

Late Aramaic (LA): 200-700 CE The Western dialects of this period are represented by Jewish Palestinian Aramaic,⁵² Samaritan Aramaic,⁵³ and Christian Palestinian Aramaic.⁵⁴ The Eastern dialects are Syriac,⁵⁵ Jewish Babylonian Aramaic,⁵⁶ and Mandaic.⁵⁷

⁵¹Cf. Sokoloff, *Dict. of Judean Aramaic*, 21–25.

⁵²The most comprehensive grammar of JPA remains that of Dalman. See Gustaf Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1905). However, various parts of the corpus have been reconsidered in more recent years: Steven Fassberg, “The Compound Preposition in Qumran Aramaic” *RQ* 16 (1995), and Hugo Odeberg, *The Aramaic Portions of Bereshit Rabba with a Grammar of Galilean Aramaic* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1939).

⁵³For a grammatical treatment of Samaritan Aramaic, see Rudolf Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch* (Berlin New York: W. de Gruyter, 1982).

⁵⁴The most recent treatment of CPA grammar is Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991). However, Schulthess’ volume is still invaluable for the study of CPA syntax. Friedrich Schulthess, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965).

⁵⁵The standard reference work on this dialect remains that of Nöldeke: Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*.

⁵⁶Grammatical treatments of JBA include: Shelomo Morag, *ארמית במסורת תימן* (Jerusalem: HUC Press, 1988), Shelomo Morag, *שם העצם: ארמית בבליית במסורת תימן* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2002), J.N. Epstein, *דקדוק ארמית בבליית* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1960), Caspar Levias, *A Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic* (New York: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1930), and Michel Schlesinger, *Satzlehre der aramäischen sprache des Babylonischen Talmuds* (Leipzig: Asia Major, 1928).

⁵⁷The major reference grammar of Mandaic remains Theodore Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*. However, one may also consult Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäisch*.

Neo-Aramaic (NA): 700 CE-Present These forms of Aramaic are still spoken among the peoples of northern Syria, Iran, and Iraq. They are heavily influenced by Arabic, Kurdish, and Turkish.⁵⁸

1.2.5.2 Usage in First-Century Judaea

The corpus of Qumran Aramaic ranges in dating from *c.* 200 BCE (*4QEn^a*) to the demise of the group during the Great Revolt, *c.* 68 CE.⁵⁹ Despite this broad range of dates, it is likely that the community of Qumran could read all of the texts attested in this corpus. No reason is readily apparent to argue for their keeping texts which they could not read and, therefore, could not use. They are likely, therefore, to have read and used texts from the later centuries of Official Aramaic. However, as VanderKam has demonstrated, they are not likely to have written the more apocalyptic works.⁶⁰

In the centuries preceding the exile, Aramaic was undoubtedly introduced to Judaea by traders and others who passed through the land. However, during the Babylonian and Medo-Persian administration of the region, Aramaic developed lasting roots in Judaea. These roots are evident in the inscriptional evidence of ossuaries in Aramaic which date to the Roman period, the Aramaic letters of Murabba'at and related sites, and the Aramaic texts of the Qumran corpus.⁶¹

⁵⁸The most recent grammatical treatment of this newly developed form of Aramaic is Geoffrey Khan, *A Grammar of Neo-Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1999); however, a plethora of other, non-systematic discussions of the Aramaic forms spoken in Syria, Turkey, Iraq, and Azerbaijan have also been published by Harassowitz of Wiesbaden as part of the serial *Semitica viva*.

⁵⁹VanderKam, "Apocalyptic Tradition", 120. It must be noted, however, that these dates pertain to the time frame in which the extant copies were made. One cannot be certain how far the extant copies are removed from the original and the accompanying original linguistic environment. However, this distance does not appear to have mitigated against their being used by the community reflected in the scrolls.

⁶⁰VanderKam, "Apocalyptic Tradition", 113-134.

⁶¹For comprehensive surveys of ossuaries in Eretz Israel during the Second Temple period,

It is noteworthy that each of these preserved corpora reflect the practice of the *hoi polloi*. When contrasted with the extant Greek and Latin texts, this tendency reveals a pattern of usage that is fundamental to understanding the linguistic environment of first-century Judaea. While Greek was employed for administrative affairs and civil transactions that involved the secular rulers (e.g., deeds of sale),⁶² it was seldom used for intra-Judaeian communication.⁶³ For this purpose, Aramaic was largely, though not exclusively, employed.

1.2.5.3 The Aramaic at Qumran as Representing One Dialect

Ever since the Qumran documents were discovered in 1948, the question of where on the landscape of Aramaic dialectology to place the Aramaic texts has loomed in the background of Qumranological efforts. For the first decade after discovery, the *Zeitgeist* held that Qumran Aramaic was merely an extension of Official Aramaic. In his 1958 treatment of the Genesis Apocryphon, E.Y. Kutscher asserted that the stage of Aramaic reflected in that text represents a transitional stage between Imperial and Late Aramaic. This view has formed the basis of all subsequent discussion.

see Fitzmyer and Harrington, *MPAT* and L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: The Israel Antiquities Authority; The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994). As noted above (note 25), Greenfield sees the Hebrew letters of Murabba'at as suggesting the colloquial use of Hebrew in the second century CE. Similarly, one may derive the same conclusions from the Aramaic letters.

⁶²In discussing the Babatha archive, Katzoff states the following: "Most of the documents were written in Greek, even when the principals were illiterate in that language but literate in Hebrew or Aramaic. Clearly these documents were intended for presentation, if need be, to Roman rather than to rabbinic courts. . ." Ranon Katzoff, "Babatha" in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 74. Cf. also Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 29–30.

⁶³One exception to this is the NT Epistle of James, if one accepts an early dating for it. See our paper "On the Nature of ὁ νόμος τέλειος τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας in James 1.25", presented at the SBL Pacific Regional Meeting in April of 1998.

Using Fitzmyer's model of Aramaic language development, modern scholarship has come to place Qumran Aramaic among the Middle Aramaic dialects, more specifically among the Judaean forms of the language. Beyond this point, however, there is not a major consensus regarding whether this corpus reflects one dialect or multiple dialects.

1.2.5.3.1 What is a dialect? In considering the dialectal category of Qumran Aramaic, certain preliminary issues must be considered and kept in mind. Some of these concern the semantics of definitions while others involve delineating the linguistic landscape of the time.

In modern usage, the term "dialect" is commonly used to refer to any form of provincial language. In the United States, the form of English varies widely from Alabama to Boston to Seattle to Los Angeles. In the United Kingdom, the English of Edinburgh varies markedly from that of Aberdeen, Yorkshire, Manchester, or Devon. With these variations comes different understandings of what is meant by the term "the English language". Within this common language, one finds a breakdown by larger region or country (the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia) and subsequently by smaller region (southeast, northeast, northwest, southwest) and so on. Whilst we can recognise these distinctions in our own language, the question still remains as to what should be considered a dialect. Is a language simply "a dialect with an army?"

For the purpose of this discussion, we will rely on the following definition: A dialect is the largest subset of a language which is geographically defined and is grammatically distinct from other forms of the language to such a degree that one can discern between it and the communication of other regions with consistency

and confidence.

1.2.5.3.2 Major text-critical questions which must be addressed When discussing the linguistic identity of Qumran Aramaic, there are at least three major text-critical questions which must be addressed for each text. These involve first the area and second the dating of the text's composition. By determining or, in the least, hypothesising about these two issues, one finds a basis for an historical placement of the text.

The third question is that of readership or provenance. After forming an historical setting for the text, corpus or corpora, one should form an opinion on how widely the text was read and where. This is certainly the most difficult of the three to answer with respect to the Qumran Aramaic texts. However, where a text is non-sectarian, one may posit a wider audience than that of a sectarian writing. Given their non-sectarian content, the readership of most of the Qumran Aramaic material is likely to have been wider than the sectarian, Hebrew manuscripts.

As VanderKam has demonstrated with respect to the apocalyptic literature from Qumran, none of it may be said to have been written there. If the text was written at another site, a copy was necessarily brought to Qumran. We can hypothesise with confidence that the copy we now have is not the only one to ever exist but is one of many. Given sufficient placement outside of Qumran, one can begin to generalise from linguistic trends toward dialectal nomenclature.

1.2.5.3.3 What are the commonly recognized dialects at the time of QA?

While there appears to be interplay between the five major Aramaic dialects of the Middle periods — particularly between the Aramaic of Judaea and both Nabataean

and Palmyrene — there does not appear to be any reason for significant confusion among them.⁶⁴ In this way they are regionally defined language standards.

Ed Cook has argued that these five dialects held the greatest influence in their respective centers of learning but lost influence as they approached other dialects.⁶⁵ While his evidence may be seen to suggest his conclusions, one must be careful not to see it as more comprehensive than it is.

While Cook observes eleven differences between the morphology of the five dialects, the exact number of differences between QA and the others varies. In total, one is left with a handful of differences between Qumran Aramaic and any of the other dialects.⁶⁶

⁶⁴One will note that, for example, the documents from Murabba'at, bear witness to distinctions between Judaean Aramaic and Nabataean Aramaic even though the two were used in close proximity to one another.

⁶⁵Edward M. Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology" in *Abr Nahrain Suppl.* ed. T. Muraoka. Vol. 3 (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1992), 1–21.

⁶⁶The relative pronoun in QA (דִּי/-ד) has the same morphology as that of Palmyrene and Hatran; but Edessene uses only -ד, and Nabataean reflects only the use of דִּי (Unfortunately, Cook does not enumerate the proportion by which דִּי and -ד occur, where appropriate. Further, not all of the relevant texts are published or sufficiently accessible to allow one to evaluate Cook's study properly. In order to ease the comparison of the dialects, we here use the script of the western Aramaic dialects for all examples.) While QA resembles Hatran, Edessene, and Palmyrene in its use of הֶהּ- for the masculine plural suffixial pronoun, this is in marked distinction from Nabataean's use of הֶהּ-. The Aramaic used at Qumran is to be further distinguished from Nabataean by the form of the plural demonstrative pronoun (אֵלָן vs. אֵלָה), masculine plural independent pronoun (הַמֶּן/אֵנֶן vs. אֵנֶן), the form of the derived infinitive (see Section 8.1 on page 118), and its exhibition of the infinitive.

With respect to Hatran, Qumran Aramaic is distinct in its use of אֵלָן for the plural demonstrative pronoun instead of the Hatran הֶלֶן. Further, Hatran uses הֶדִּין for the masculine singular demonstrative pronoun; QA uses דִּן as the base of its inflected forms. Where QA would use אֵנֶן or הַמֶּן for the masculine plural independent pronoun, Hatran uses הֶנֶן. Hatran, like Nabataean, does not appear to have morphological inflection for the infinitive of the derived stems. Whereas QA uses a *yod* followed by a long *a* to denote the masculine plural emphatic state, Cook finds that Hatran uses a long *e*. Whereas Hatran uses -ל for the prefix of the imperfect forms, Qumran reserves that usage for the imperfect of הוּי (For example, see לַהוּי in 4QapocrDan i.7. Cook notes only the regular use of -י to denote the imperfect). Finally, where QA uses וְהִי- to reflect the masculine singular suffixial pronoun attached to masculine plural nouns, Hatran morphology differs and employs וְהִי-.

Aside from the aforementioned difference between Edessene and Qumran Aramaic with regard to the relative pronoun, QA may be distinguished from the other dialect by its use of אֵלָן for the

Given these morphological distinctions, an argument against Qumran Aramaic as being distinguishable from Hatran, Edessene, Palmyrene, and Nabataean seems tenuous at best. The data briefly outlined here serves to illustrate that the dialect of the texts can be determined even if in the same script. This is not to say that the five dialects are not distinct, but rather the data presented does not necessitate Cook's conclusions.

In considering whether Qumran is one dialect or multiple, one must wrestle with the issue of when substandard variety becomes a dialect or subdialect. To classify the Aramaic of Qumran, it seems one must consider to what extent it is internally consistent with itself, that is its homogeneity, and compare it to how the different texts differ amongst themselves, QA's heterogeneity.

1.2.5.3.4 QA Homogeneity and Heterogeneity As may be expected, the Aramaic of Qumran is commonly considered to be a part of Judaeen Literary Aramaic, a subdialect or subset of Judaeen Aramaic. In this regard, it is very similar grammatically to Biblical Aramaic and the apparent consonantal text of Targum Onqelos

demonstrative plural pronoun where Edessene uses הלן . Where the QA demonstrative pronoun is ןן , Edessene uses לל . Edessene also differs from QA in its use of ןןן for the masculine plural independent pronoun (QA: המון/אנן). Where QA prefixes -ה and suffixes ל- to the infinitive of the derived stems, Edessene prefixes -מ and suffixes ן- . Also, Edessene uses the same suffix for the masculine plural emphatic as Hatran, which is distinct from QA. Finally, while Edessene uses -ו to denote the imperfect, similarly to QA, it also adds the use of -ן (We here must assume that Cook finds the prefix -ן in the third person imperfect. Naturally, QA, like BA, uses -ן as the prefix for the first common plural imperfect.)

Palmyrene is also to be distinguished from the Aramaic found at Qumran. The Palmyrene masculine singular demonstrative pronoun (דנה) is distinctly different from that of Qumran Aramaic (ןן). Further, Palmyrene uses the same forms as Edessene for (1) the masculine plural independent pronoun and (2) the infinitive of the derived stems, both of which differ from those of QA. Where QA uses -ayyā for the masculine plural emphatic state and Edessene uses -ē , Palmyrene uses both.

Two final distinctions may be made between Qumran Aramaic and the other major dialects of the Middle Aramaic period: the use of ןן and the attestation of the jussive. To demonstrate direct objects, Nabataean often uses ןן ; Qumran uses it occasionally, but Cook does not find it in Hatran, Edessene, or Palmyrene. Finally, Judaeen Aramaic is the only dialect of the five which manifests a distinct jussive.

to the Torah and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets, per Kaufman.

While there is significant heterogeneity within the Aramaic reflected in the Qumran texts, this is largely outweighed by the consistency one finds among the various documents.

Of the seventeen times where one finds deviations with regard to the Aph‘el, Ithpe‘el, and Ithpa‘al, all occur in the Targum to Job from Cave 11. In that text, the aforementioned stems are often written with a *he* (ח) instead of an *aleph* (א).

However, the Aramaic at Qumran, like the Aramaic from Daniel, maintains the same basic morphemes for the Pe‘al and Pa‘el. Further, *mem* (מ) is routinely used in the participle forms of the derived stems.

With even greater uniformity, the construct and absolute forms of both the noun and adjectives of Qumran Aramaic match that of Biblical Aramaic. Further, the independent personal pronouns follow the same pattern as BA. While QA attests to more demonstrative pronoun forms, it remains consistent to the BA paradigms.

1.2.5.3.4.1 Homogeneity Within Qumran Aramaic, there is considerable homogeneity. In the following part of this discussion, we highlight some of the areas in which the Aramaic of Qumran could be expected to be quite disparate if it were multiple dialects but is, instead, highly consistent.

Some examples of this consistency may be found in the verbal system,⁶⁷ the noun declensions,⁶⁸ and several elements of syntax. One notes that, overall, there is virtually no major variation in the verbal morphology of QA.

⁶⁷See Table 8.1 “An Overview of Verbal Morphology (by stem)” on page 118 and Table 8.2 “The Affirmatives of the Finite Regular Verb” on page 118.

⁶⁸See Table 8.11 “Sufformatives of the Tripartite or Regular Noun” on page 144.

There are only slight variations in the feminine singular absolute and in the feminine plural emphatic. Given the fact that these forms are used with comparatively less frequency in the language, one would not expect them to have set forms as readily as their masculine counterparts.

In terms of syntax, some examples we have culled are the syntax of the infinitive,⁶⁹ of the adjective,⁷⁰ and of the infinitive object.⁷¹

Within QA, the infinitive regularly takes on five roles: gerundive, verbal complement, purpose, result, and objective. The adjective and those pronouns which function similar to adjectives (such as כּל and דן) tend to occur after their antecedent as closely as possible.

Finally, Jean Carmignac once observed that the Genesis Apocryphon was special in that it exhibited infinitival objects.⁷² However, upon further study, one finds that much of the Aramaic texts from Qumran exhibit the same phenomenon. These, however, do not occur with rhyme or reason but may appear either before or after the infinitive by which they are governed.

From these few items, one can begin to see that there is a significant amount of consistency in Qumran Aramaic. If the texts were in different dialects, as we earlier defined dialect, it is highly unlikely that such consistency would be found.

1.2.5.3.4.2 Heterogeneity Despite this significant amount of homogeneity, Qumran Aramaic is not without its internal inconsistency. This is exemplified largely in terms of morphology.

⁶⁹See §9.1.1.2.2 “The Infinitive” (page 194) for a detailed discussion of the syntax of the infinitive with examples.

⁷⁰See §9.1.2.3 “The Construct” (page 201).

⁷¹See §9.1.5.4 “Infinitival Objects” (page 201).

⁷²Jean Carmignac, “Un aramaisme biblique et qumrânien: l’infinitif placé après son complément d’objet” *RQ* 5 (1966), 510.

The ״ל verbs exhibit considerable variety in their forms.⁷³ These are largely the same sorts of variations which one finds elsewhere. However, to have such variety within one verb type is significant. The other kinds of weak verbs do not exhibit this disparity.

Of the thirty-one texts collated here, the 11QTgJob is the only one that exhibits η at the head of haph‘els, hithpe‘als, and hithpa‘als instead of \aleph . Of the 204 finite forms which would have either an \aleph or a η preformative, 19 occur with a η and not an \aleph . Of the forty-nine possible non-finite forms, only two exhibit a η .

The QA infinitive also exhibits considerable variation.⁷⁴ Whilst the change in the preformative is predominant in 11QTgJob, the change of the sufformative is not. Of the forty-three times the sufformative η is used with an infinitive in QA, only seven occur in TgJob.

In QA noun forms, η and \aleph are interchangeable with regard to sufformatives. This orthographical phenomenon includes both the pronominal suffix and the emphatic form.

Further, the fem.pl.emph. sometimes has a medial \aleph . For example, the paradigm form קטלתא may sometimes appear as קטלאתא . Examples of this are found in 1QapGen ii.1 and xvii.13.

The 3d person plural masculine personal pronoun is typically אנן . This form occurs 18 times in the corpus. However, one also finds the form המון twice — once in 4QPrNab 4 1 and 11QTgJob xxv.2. Due to the lack of pointing in the text, it is unclear whether this is morphological or merely orthographical.

⁷³For a paradigm and examples, see Table 8.1.2.3 on “The Derived Stems of the ״ל Verb” page 131.

⁷⁴See Table 8.10 “Paradigm of the Infinitive (by stem)” on page 142.

1.2.5.3.5 Variations on a Theme Consequently, the texts do not support Qumran as being multiple dialects in the way ‘dialect’ was defined earlier. However, they are also not wholly consistent in their presentation of the language employed by the scribes.

At Qumran, there was apparently a community of users and readers whose language was influenced by the texts. We cannot tell how many people comprised the community of Qumran. We cannot tell whence they came, when they came to the community attested by the scrolls. But, the texts bear out that there was a substantial amount of common grammatical ground in their understandings of Aramaic.

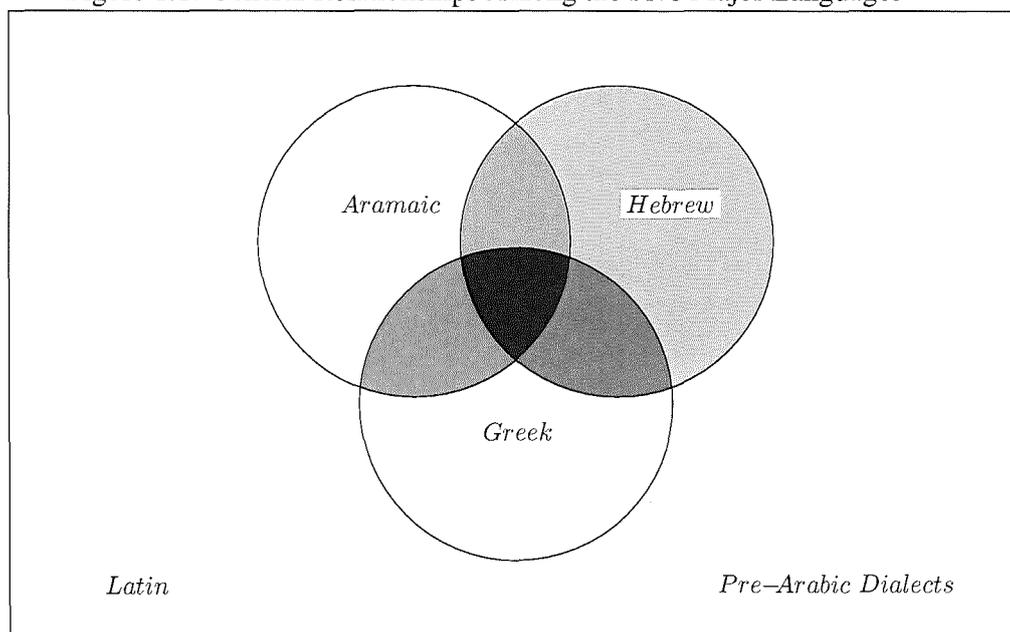
In several ways, the older manuscripts differ from the later in terms of morphology and word order. VanderKam demonstrated that the apocalyptic texts did not originate at Qumran. This includes the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the Enochic literature, Aramaic Levi, the pseudo-Daniel literature, and the Testament of Amram. It is likely that 11QTgJob did not originate in Qumran. Judging from the heterogeneity among the texts, one may suggest that they represent dialects of different locations. But nothing suggests a provenance for these copies that is outside of Judaea during the late Second Temple Period.

The heterogeneity in QA does not establish a dialect but merely a collection of anomalies. The composition of the texts being separate from Qumran does not necessitate a different dialect but rather variety within Judaeans Literary Aramaic. Therefore, QA is properly neither a single homogenous dialect nor a multitude of dialects. Rather, QA represents “variations on a theme” of Judaeans Literary Aramaic as manifest in Judaea and its environs.

1.3 Which Aramaic Dialect is Most Relevant?

In light of the foregoing discussion, a general schematic of the languages of first-century Judaea with their relative influence and apparent interrelation is illustrated in Figure 1.1.⁷⁵ One can speak of three languages with sufficient popularity and

Figure 1.1: General Relationships Among the Five Major Languages



textual witnesses to render them relevant and able to be studied with regard to first-century Judaeian language dynamics: Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic. Of these three, Greek was used predominantly for Roman civil matters or for matters in which the Romans might be involved. Hebrew was used by a significant number of communities but was not necessarily understood or used throughout the region. Rather, Aramaic was the most commonly used language in Judaea at this time,⁷⁶

⁷⁵While there was undoubtedly a degree of interrelation between all five languages, the overlap of the central three occurs with the largest qualitative and quantitative attestations.

⁷⁶Cf. Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 38.

being employed for not only intra-Judaeen legal matters but also for ossuaries and similar texts.

The two remaining languages existed largely on the margins.⁷⁷ Latin was reserved for official, administrative purposes. The pre-Arabic dialects, on the other hand, were used by those on the fringe of Judaeen society. The preserved texts of the latter do not afford much information for the language dynamics of Judaea at this time. Unfortunately, the documents representing the former are not of sufficient provenance to mitigate doubts about their relevance.⁷⁸ While Latin certainly had an influence on later Jewish literature,⁷⁹ first-century Judaeen literature does not appear to manifest similar, influential qualities.⁸⁰

However, as we illustrated with regard to Aramaic, the question must be answered: Which form of Aramaic holds the greatest relevance for discerning an Aramaic textual ancestor of a New Testament document? It was at this stage of development that significant disparity existed within general Aramaic both diachronically, between the preceding and ensuing stages of the language, and synchronically, between the various dialects of Judaea, Edessa, Nabataea, Hatra, and Palmyra as well as the appearance of Syriac in the latter half of the first century

⁷⁷We find it necessary to set Latin and the pre-Arabic dialects away from the three major languages as their exact influence is either not attested or seems to be negligible.

⁷⁸None of the Latin texts from the first-century are written by Jewish authors in Judaea. Cf. Price, "Jews and the Latin Language", 165–180.

⁷⁹For examples of this see Daniel Sperber, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1984).

⁸⁰As far as our study has concluded, a treatment of Latin influence on Jewish literature before and after the First Jewish Revolt and the Bar Kokhba Revolt is wanting. The recent work by Jonathan Price details the Jewish use of Latin but does not attempt to include the influence Latin may have had on Jewish authors writing in other languages. However, we eagerly anticipate the general availability of another study which may address this issue: Werner Eck, "The Language of Power: Latin in the Inscriptions of Judaea/Syria Palaestina" in *Semitic Papyrology in Context* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman (Leiden: Brill, 2003), Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 14, 123–144.

CE.⁸¹ Further, as we noted with particular regard to the textual attestations of the Judaeian dialects, there are substantial reasons for holding the literary Aramaic from Qumran separate from the colloquial Aramaic of the Bar Kokhba literature and the other epigraphic texts.⁸²

While the New Testament Gospels may contain traces of oral tradition, they are widely recognized as also having written sources. They are biographical narratives whose penultimate sources are commonly conceded to have been largely written, as opposed to oral, tradition.⁸³ As none of the Gospels in their present forms has a provenance in Eretz Israel, nevermind Judaea,⁸⁴ one may conclude that the tradition was born to the locus of writing or redaction mostly, if not completely, in the form of a text.

⁸¹As Amar has noted, the earliest textual evidence for Syriac dates to 50-75 CE. See Joseph P. Amar, "Syria" in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 910.

⁸²See Section 1.2.5.3 "The Aramaic at Qumran as Representing One Dialect" on page 18.

⁸³For a general schematic of how the Gospels developed from Jesus to the final forms found in the New Testament, see Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Doubleday, 1997), ABRL, 107-111, esp. p.109. Given the material shared verbatim between (a) Mark and the other two synoptic Gospels and (b) Matthew and Luke, one is hard-pressed to discount even most of it as purely oral tradition. While the Fourth Gospel rarely offers verbatim parallels to the synoptics, its being dated later than the first three Gospels by upward of twenty years renders unlikely the use of oral tradition that has not been augmented by time.

We do not here suggest that the Johannine tradition is necessarily early or late because of its apparent level of Semiticization. As both E.P. Sanders and R. Buth have observed, Semitic "flavor" does not necessitate an early dating. The textual evidence suggests that Aramaic and Hebrew continued to be used throughout antiquity. However, the existence of Aramaic or Hebrew inflection in an otherwise Hellenistic document does suggest a peculiar strand of tradition being conveyed but not necessarily created. See Edward P. Sanders, *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition* (Cambridge: CUP, 1969), SNTSMS 9, 190-256, Randall Buth, "'EDAYIN/TOTE — Anatomy of a Semitism in Jewish Greek" *MAARAV* 5-6 (1990), 33-48, and Morton Smith, "The Jewish Elements in the Gospels" *Journal of Bible and Religion* 24 (1956), 95.

For a summary of synoptic parallels in the Fourth Gospel, see Kurt Aland, ed., *Synopsis of the Four Gospels* (Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1993), 341-355. On Matthew's use of Mark, Hagner has observed that the former reproduces approximately ninety percent of the latter. See Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13* Vol. 33a, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, 1993), xlvi.

⁸⁴For the difference between "Eretz Israel" and "Judaea", see note 6 on page 3.

By restricting our discussion largely to the written material, we do not unintentionally exclude the role of the oral stratum as irrelevant. Rather, it is exceedingly difficult to determine oral tradition through a written text on grammatical grounds. Given the present means available for researching the New Testament Aramaic problem, an oral stratum cannot be ascertained with confidence, reliability, and consistency.

Despite the myriad of postulations concerning parts of the New Testament as reflecting either the *ipsissimum verbum* or the *ipsissima vox* of Jesus or the earliest disciples, no systematic approach for the recovery of this layer has been asserted. This is not to say that scholarship cannot knowingly touch upon early tradition. Rather, the methods of modern scholarship are unable to regularly and reliably traverse the bridge between the language of the written text and the language of the oral tradition.

It is an indisputable fact that the only means by which scholarship can study the languages of first-century Judaea is through written texts. Modern scholarship is yet to uncover reliably the oral language which immediately preceded the written text, the ancestor of our extant texts. Consequently, it remains to be demonstrated how one should proceed to the lips of Jesus or the Twelve from the hand of the scribe.

As is demonstrated in this first part, modern scholarship cannot ascertain reliably and consistently in which languages the source texts used in the compilation of the early Christian writings occurred (See §3.3.4 on page 76). It is even less likely that the current scholarly tools can be used to discern the speech patterns of the earliest Christians or of Jesus himself. It would be such a text or the textual ancestor of such a writing that was used in the production of the earliest Gospels.

The provenance of such a text would necessarily be closer to the local language of Judaea. The sources of the Gospels are likely to be literary and are, at least partly, from Judaea prior to the Great Revolt. Consequently, it naturally follows that when one seeks to unearth the first-century Judaeian literary sources of a Greek text, one should turn to a literary – not colloquial – body of texts.⁸⁵

The Aramaic dialect most relevant for the New Testament Aramaic problem is thus shown to be Qumran Aramaic, a part of Judaeian Literary Aramaic. In the subsequent chapters of Part I, we offer a survey of the major trends in New Testament Aramaic studies from Dalman's work at the close of the nineteenth century to Casey's treatments at the beginning of the twenty-first. As illustrated in the following chapters, New Testament Aramaic studies shifted considerably with the discoveries at Qumran. Whereas Dalman, Kahle and their adherents drew from the later Targums, Fitzmyer and those agreeable to his view would later insist on the use of Qumran Aramaic alone. The later studies of Wilcox and Casey have sought, at least in method, to cut a middle ground.

In the critical review which follows, it will be demonstrated that the work of each of these scholars is weakened by insufficient data and insufficient attention to method. Our critique will illustrate various prerequisites for addressing the New Testament Aramaic problem; perhaps the two most significant among these are the need for systematic, complementary, modern grammars of the three major Judaeian languages and enhanced studies on the translation techniques used in antiquity. Certainly the most obvious need is that of a systematically developed grammar of Qumran Aramaic. It is to this end that we offer Part II of this work,

⁸⁵By literary we here mean those texts which manifest a humane learning and which are expressed in a formal manner. Colloquial, on the other hand, refers to conversation or otherwise informal forms of communication.

“A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic.”

Chapter 2

Targumic Approaches

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, critical attempts to address the question of an Aramaic substratum were required to reconstruct an hypothetical dialect, using texts dating to immediately prior to the first century CE, Biblical Aramaic and Official Aramaic, and those which appeared earliest after it, the Aramaic of the pre-rabbinic *Megillat Ta'anit* with the Targums and Talmuds. The Targums were dated as being composed in the second century CE,¹ even though the actual documents were medieval in origin. However, the two major schools which dominated New Testament Aramaic studies through the first six decades of the twentieth century differed on which Targum to use.

The school of thought founded by Dalman held that *Targum Onqelos* best represented the Aramaic of first-century Judaea. This argument was asserted despite the Babylonian influences on the document and its apparent dependence on a Hebrew *Vorlage*. For Dalman, the language of *Targum Onqelos* was the same dialect

¹The obvious exception to this trend is manifest in the works of those who follow Díez Macho's dating of Targum Neophyti. See §2.2.3.

as that of the Jerusalem Christians, the conveyors of the words of Jesus.²

Attempting to discern which Targum deserved priority, scholars of the Kahle school turned to the Hebrew Bible as an early witness of tradition, assumably prior to the common era, and to the Mishnaic interpretive tradition as a later witness, occurring after the revolts of the first and second centuries of the common era. A principle of dissonance was then applied to the texts: tradition that was contrary to the standard must have preceded the standard. Two variations of this overriding principle were repeatedly used to determine which Targum was earlier and/or more closely related to the Aramaic of first-century Judaea. Where the Targums disagreed with the Mishnaic interpretation, they were seen to be earlier than 200 CE. Where they disagreed with the Masoretic text, they were dated even earlier.³

A second principle was then applied: early hermeneutical positions necessitated early language forms. That is, if one were to ascertain what may be an early or earlier interpretive line of thought, one may posit that the relevant phrases contain early language forms. To do this, one would need to establish dissent, reasoning that antithetical perspectives would need to be marginalized, at the very least, in order to allow for the stabilization of the textual tradition. Hence, any contrary views that were found were of necessity earlier in date and, therefore, closer to the targeted time frame. Once contrary opinions were determined about

²Cf. Gustaf Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1905), v.

³The understanding that dissonance does not necessitate an early dating has since been discussed. Cf. P. Wernberg-Müller, "An Inquiry into the Validity of the Text-Critical Argument for an Early Dating of the Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum" *VT* 12 (1962), 312–330.

Greenfield has also taken this view to task. Cf. Jonas C. Greenfield, "Review of M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*" *JNES* 31 (1972), 59–60. His review poignantly demonstrates the invalidity of the Targumic approach typified by Dalman, Kahle, and those who adhere to their views. Greenfield writes lest "the student of the New Testament who is not *au courant* of Aramaic studies might take Black's view of things seriously" (60).

a narrative or an interpretation, the language of those pericopae were held to retain the patterns of earlier Aramaic dialects, possibly the Aramaic of first-century Judaea. This process of hypothetical reconstructionism prevailed until the years following the discovery of the Qumran scrolls.

2.1 Schools of Thought

2.1.1 Gustaf Dalman and *Targum Onqelos*

At the end of the nineteenth century, Gustaf Dalman wrote *Die Worte Jesu*, an effort to begin to ascertain how the Jewish people of first-century Judaea heard the message of Jesus.⁴ This was the first work specifically dedicated to the task of uncovering the Aramaic behind the sayings of Jesus using a relatively critical methodology.⁵ In his introductory material, Dalman notes the scarcity of precursors to his work: “Es ist zu beklagen, dass so wenig Vorarbeiten vorhanden sind, welchen unmittelbar nützlich Material für unsere Arbeit entnommen werden könnte.”⁶

In reconstructing the dialect of first-century Judaea, Dalman openly voices

⁴Gustaf Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* 1st ed. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1898), 57.

⁵While Meyer offers reconstructions as early as 1896, his work uncritically draws from sources that are either too late in date to be considered credible for the task or that are otherwise outside the pale of what might have been available to the Galilean Rabbi. Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache* (Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1896). For a critique of Meyer’s work a century after its publication, see Maurice Casey, *Aramaic sources of Mark’s Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), SNTSMS 102, 1–16.

While Fitzmyer views Black’s work as the first major work on the problem, it should be noted that Dalman does offer some attempt at a critical approach. Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Grand Rapids, MI/Livonia, MI: Eerdmans/Dove, 1997), 4. See also page 36 n. 8 of the present work.

⁶Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 60. Dalman follows this statement with a brief discussion of the principal works of his day which pertained to Jewish theology (60), rabbinic literature (61) – particularly rabbinic parallels to the New Testament (61–62). He curiously seems unaware of Meyer’s work.

awareness and regret that the only corpora large enough and early enough for the endeavor are the Targums.⁷ With that constraint, Dalman outlines his reasoning for giving priority to *Targum Onqelos*. He takes issue with the allegation that *Onqelos* was disfigured during its usage in the East.⁸ For Dalman, there is only one point at which the Babylonian dialect may be seen to affect the language of *Onqelos*.⁹

Contrary to the nineteenth century *Zeitgeist*,¹⁰ Dalman sets the “*Jerusalem Targums*” aside, stating that the early aspects of their grammar are derived from *Onqelos*.¹¹ He also sets aside the Christian Palestinian lectionaries of the Gospels, documents that appear to be translated from Greek originals or otherwise influenced by Syriac. Ultimately, Dalman finds value for the task in only two corpora: *Targum Onqelos* and the Palestinian rabbinic literature. Pride of place, however,

For a summary of studies prior to 1896, see Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 7–35. Also, see Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel*, 1–16.

⁷Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 66.

⁸Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 67. For the argument that the Palestinian Aramaic of *Onqelos* was corrupted by Babylonian Aramaic, the analysis to which Dalman responds, see Theodore Nöldeke, *Die semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1887), 32.

⁹Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 67. Dalman writes: Für die von Nöldeke angenommene Entstellung des Onkelos-Targums durch den babylonischen Dialekt vermag ich immer noch kein anderes beispiel zu nennen als die gelegentlich angewandten Infinitivbildungen auf *o-e*.

¹⁰For a discussion of the use of the Targumim with regard to the New Testament in the nineteenth century, see Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*.

¹¹Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 68–70.

is clearly given to the former.¹²

2.1.2 The Kahle School and the Palestinian Targums

In 1941, Paul Kahle presented the British Academy Schweich Lectures on the texts from the Cairo Geniza.¹³ Discussing the relationship of *Targum Onqelos* to Biblical Aramaic, Kahle takes issue with Dalman's view that "we may take it to be in the main an exact rendering in the language spoken at that time in Judaea."¹⁴ Kahle argued that *Onqelos*, while originating in the area of Palestine, was not favored by the rabbis. On the contrary, he argues, it was disparaged.¹⁵

Kahle asserts that *Targum Onqelos* matured among Babylonian Jews and came

¹²In order to use *Targum Onqelos* to reconstruct a dialect of first-century Judaea, Dalman had to clarify what should not be seen as representative of that dialect. To this end he lists eight "Hebraisms" which are common in *Onqelos*:

1. The use of the construct state without a construct complement.
2. The use of **ית** for the Hebrew **את**. Dalman states that Aramaic does not use this form.
3. The use of **ארי**. Dalman sees this as stemming from the Mishanic use of **הרי**.
4. The use of an infinitive to emphasize the main verb.
5. The use of Aramaic **והוה**, which is foreign to Aramaic, according to Dalman.
6. The use of **מלל** for **דבר** and **למימר** for **לאמר** in the Targumic translation technique.
7. The use of the perfect for a historic narrative tense. Dalman says that Aramaic would normally use a participle.
8. The use of infinitive complements.

(Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 66–67). These are stylistic devices used in the Targum that do not commonly appear in Dalman's understanding of Aramaic, an understanding which he does not delineate.

The limitations of Dalman's retroversion have recently been intimated by Philip Alexander, "Jesus and the Golden Rule" in *Hillel and Jesus: Comparisons of Two Major Religious Leaders* ed. James H. Charlesworth and L. L. Johns (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 370 n.5.

¹³These were published in 1947 as the first edition of *The Cairo Geniza*. The second edition, which we use in our discussion, was published in 1959. Cf. Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford, 1959).

¹⁴Kahle, *Geniza*, 192. Cf. also Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 3, 6.

¹⁵Cf. Kahle, *Geniza*, 194, esp. note 1. See also note 8 on page 36 of the present work.

back to Palestine later, along with the Babylonian Talmud and the yearly Parasha divisions of the Torah. However, until that time, Palestinian Judaism used the Palestinian Talmud and the Palestinian Targum, the latter of which Kahle argued is earlier than *Targum Onqelos*.¹⁶

In support of this argument, he offers the Targumic paraphrase of Exodus 22:4–5. Kahle suggests that whereas *Baba Qamma* 6:4 presupposes that the four types of damage discussed will come from either a man or a fire, the Targum does not. Kahle's conclusion is as follows: "Since in the second century B.C. an addition to the Targum was made which cannot have been made later than the second century B.C., the Targum must have existed at that time."¹⁷ From this conclusion, Kahle suggests that, due to its inconsistency against the Mishnah and the Masoretic Torah, the Palestinian Targum from the Cairo Geniza "can be regarded as being nearly in the same form as when it was in circulation at the time of the beginning of Christianity."¹⁸

2.2 Major Adherents

As indicated above, the Dalman and Kahle schools dominated study on the New Testament Aramaic substratum for the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁹ Al-

¹⁶Cf. Kahle, *Geniza*, 194-195. For Kahle's full discussion see pp.191-208.

¹⁷Kahle, *Geniza*, 207.

¹⁸Kahle, *Geniza*, 207. Interestingly, Kahle does not clarify precisely whether he intends the language of Jesus or the earliest Christians. For problems in Dalman's linguistic approach, see n. 14, above.

¹⁹Mention should be made of Paul Joüon's *L'Évangile de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* in which he considered the New Testament Aramaic problem. Unfortunately, having been written prior to the discoveries at Qumran, this work suffers from similar problems to those of Dalman and Kahle. As it did not receive a particularly significant following, we do not consider it further here. See Paul Joüon, *L'Évangile de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1930), *Verbum Salutis* 5.

though many were persuaded by their views,²⁰ a notable few published seminal works on the subject to present a more nuanced perspective. While those who subscribed to Kahle's view were sufficiently significant in number to be called the "Kahle school,"²¹ these adherents nuance Kahle's perspective and are notably influenced — to a lesser extent — by Dalman's work, as well.²²

2.2.1 Matthew Black

Matthew Black's *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* is held by many as the quintessential, twentieth-century exemplar of the Targumic approach and as contributing to a renewed interest in the New Testament Aramaic problem among English-speaking scholars.²³ Black was not as adamantly critical of Dalman's use of *Targum Onqelos* as Kahle, but he continued to maintain that the Palestinian Targums were to be preferred.²⁴ He agreed with Kahle that the Palestinian Targums

²⁰Two scholars are particularly noteworthy in this respect. Bruce Chilton uses the Targums in traditio-historical criticism. He does not attempt reverse translation or otherwise to attain the precise words of Jesus but seeks, rather, to clarify *what* Jesus said with little concern for *how* he said it. For the role of the Targums in New Testament Studies see especially Bruce D. Chilton, *Targumic Approaches to the Gospels* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1986), Studies in Judaism, and Bruce D. Chilton, "Four Types of Comparison between the Targumim and the New Testament" *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 2 (December 2000).

Craig Evans has also used the Targumic traditions effectively to study the religious mindset in first-century Judaea. See especially Craig A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

²¹Cf. Loren Stuckenbruck, "An Approach to the New Testament Through Aramaic Sources; the Recent Methodological Debate" *JSP* 8 (1991), 13, esp. n. 56.

²²Cf., Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 42.

²³Originally published in 1946, prior to the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, the work saw a second edition in 1954 and a third in 1967 (Oxford: Oxford University Press). A German translation appeared in 1982 (Günther Schwarz, transl.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer).

In the introduction to *Targumic Approaches to the Gospels*, Chilton acknowledges his indebtedness to Black's work and credits him with the revitalization of the field (p. 1). Evans calls Black's *Approach* "the highwater mark in the older dictional and philological analysis and comparison of Aramaic sources with the New Testament Gospels and Acts" [Craig A. Evans, "Introduction" in *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), v].

²⁴Black concludes:

from the Cairo Geniza dated to pre-Mishnaic times.

Black saw QA as complementing the extant BA and OfA corpora, precursors to the Aramaic of the early Christians.²⁵ However, the Palestinian Targums he held to preserve Aramaic from the first century, *Targum Onqelos* coming later and being polluted by Babylonian forms.²⁶

With this linguistic perspective,²⁷ Black details his textual approach: the exclusive use of Codex Bezae (D) for the New Testament text. Citing Wilcox, Black sees Codex Bezae as resembling the “Aramaic background of the Gospel tradition” as found in Luke with greater fidelity than the non-Western manuscripts.²⁸

“We need not . . . be so sceptical about the value of Dalman’s *Aramaic Grammar* as Kahle was: at the same time, it must be admitted with Kahle that the more idiomatic and freer Aramaic of the pre-Onkelos Palestinian Targum tradition, uninfluenced by the Babylonian dialect or the need to translate the Hebrew word by word, is a much better source of knowledge for the Aramaic of the New Testament period” (Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 42).

Unlike Kahle, Black used his reconstructed dialect to offer reverse translation for parts of the New Testament into Aramaic. This is, however, a trait of Dalman and, later, of Casey. The last reconstructs perhaps more than the earlier two added together. Cf. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 75–77; Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 165; Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel*, 138.

²⁵At the time of the first two editions, first-century Aramaic was not seen as a transitional stage unto itself but largely as a period of transition between OfA and LA. This understanding was not invalidated until Kutscher’s description of the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon* as “a language in transition” from OfA to the contemporary conception of Middle Aramaic (Aramaic after 200 BCE). Cf. Eduard Y. Kutscher, “The Language of the ‘Genesis Apocryphon’: A Preliminary Study” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958), *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4, 6; Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 60–63.

²⁶To be sure, Black recognized that the Qumran corpus was not to be neglected. However, at the time of his writing, relatively few texts had come to light (Black mentions only *1 Enoch*, the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*). QA was not considered a dialectal denomination but was seen by Black as merely an extension of Official Aramaic:

“There are the new Qumrân Aramaic texts to study, for the most part exhibiting a language closer to the old *Reichsaramäisch*, but also in their literary form and character, no less than in language, exhibiting a literature which serves as a much closer prototype of the Aramaic portions and especially the original Aramaic poetry of the Gospels” (Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 42).

These texts were naturally seen as secondary to *Targum Neofiti* among the “New Discoveries” (Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 35).

²⁷Cf. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 15–28.

²⁸Cf. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 31. It is noteworthy that here, again, earlier theological narra-

Hence, he steers the quest away from the language of Jesus, per Dalman, to the substrata of the New Testament texts and, thereby, the language of the early church. Black views the alleged Syrian influence on D as potential Aramaisms, derived from the sources for the Gospels — an argument from silence.²⁹

2.2.2 Martin McNamara

In his 1972 work *Targum and Testament*, Martin McNamara presents a detailed study on the value of the Targums for New Testament study.³⁰ While this work is now dated, it was a trend-setting study of similar scope to Black's *Aramaic Approach* and Dalman's *Die Worte Jesu*.

In discussing Aramaic as the language of Jesus, he takes account of Qumran Aramaic and its value against the Palestinian Targum. McNamara discounts the former as a literary dialect which is less likely to preserve spoken language patterns.³¹ This perspective foreshadows the rest of McNamara's work in which he champions the role of the Palestinian Targums for New Testament study.³² As

tive is seen to equate to earlier language forms.

²⁹Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 33. As the alleged sources for these Aramaisms are as yet not found nor discerned reliably from the known Gospel traditions, Black's argument is not as strong as it first appears.

³⁰This work is anticipated by McNamara's doctoral thesis on the New Testament and the Palestinian Targum. Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), *Analecta Biblica* 27, 256.

³¹Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972), 59: "[W]e must observe that the Aramaic of Qumrân is a *literary* form of the language. Of itself it fails to let us know what the *spoken* form of Aramaic was. It by no means rules out the possibility that the spoken language in Palestine, or in part of it, was the Aramaic found in the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, i.e., Palestinian Aramaic. The Aramaic of Qumrân is itself a more developed form of Aramaic than that found in the Bible." McNamara is here responding to the idea of reconstructing an *oral Vorlage*, something which we argue is not attainable from Aramaic and Christian Greek literary texts.

³²Cf. McNamara, *Targum and Testament*, 54-89. McNamara subsequently employs the Targums in his study of early Christian theology. McNamara, *Targum and Testament*, 91-169.

with others who adopted the Targumic approach, McNamara does not attend to a linguistic approach involving a comparison between the grammars of TgA and an alleged Aramaic ancestry to parts of the New Testament, but uses the Targums for a traditio-historical criticism of early Christian theology and practice.³³

2.2.3 Alejandro Díez Macho

In a 1959 work, Alejandro Díez Macho disclosed to the scholarly world that he had “discovered” a new Targum named Neofiti I, a Targum of the Pentateuch.³⁴ He has since argued that Neofiti portrays a pre-Christian form of Aramaic, despite the manuscript’s sixteenth century dating. As no other copy of the text is known to exist, all of Díez Macho’s assertions are text-critically based on a single copy of Neofiti I and rely heavily upon comparison to cognate literature such as Philo, the Mishnah, and the Talmud, as well as the languages of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Table 2.1 “A Summary of Díez Macho’s Reasons for an Early Dating of Targum Neofiti” below presents a summary of Díez Macho’s ten points in favor of an early dating of Targum Neofiti.³⁵

³³Examples of this approach may be seen in the work of Chilton and Evans (see page 39 *n.20.*) and Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* 2nd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1972). The later rabbinic sources are used in a similar fashion in *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969). Sanders criticizes this approach as not effectively bridging the gap between correlation and causation. Cf. Edward P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1977), 25–26.

³⁴Alejandro Díez Macho, “The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: its Antiquity and Relationship with the Other Targums” in *Congress Volume Oxford 1959*, 222–245.

³⁵Page numbers which follow each item in Table 2.1 refer to the page on which the item is discussed in Díez Macho’s general introduction to the first volume of the *editio princeps*. See Alejandro Díez Macho, *Neophyti I, Targum Palestinense ms. de la Biblioteca Vaticana*. Vol. 1, (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968). They were first published in Díez Macho, “Recently Discovered”, 222–245.

2.2.3.1 Criticisms of Díez Macho's Position

While the discovery of the text was met with understandable excitement by many scholars, Díez Macho's assertion of an early dating came under scrutiny. Of particular note is the 1962 work by P. Wernberg-Müller. In "An Inquiry into the Validity of the Text-Critical Argument for an Early Dating of the Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum", he undermines the text-critical basis of Díez Macho's argument severely by a thirty-seven point, line-by-line analysis of the same.³⁶ In general, Wernberg-Müller finds Díez Macho's evidence inconclusive; demonstrating diachrony from a single manuscript is seen to be virtually impossible. His conclusion: "the text-critical material presented by Macho is incapable of proving a pre-Massoretic, pre-Christian date of the Palestinian Targum."³⁷

Wernberg-Müller's conclusion was reiterated and expanded by Anthony York in 1974.³⁸ York debunked Díez Macho's 1959 criteria point-by-point as being largely superficial.³⁹

³⁶Wernberg-Müller, "Inquiry", 312-330.

³⁷Wernberg-Müller, "Inquiry", 330.

³⁸Anthony D. York, "The Dating of Targumic Literature" *JJS* (1974), 49-62.

³⁹A précis of York's summary of Díez Macho is contained below.

1. Tradition that differs with the Mishnah predates the Mishnah
2. The lack of a reference to Johanan in Deuteronomy 33:11
3. The messianic interpretation of Numbers 24:17
4. Tradition that is in common with the New Testament (i.e., correlation necessitates causation)
5. Geographic names in Neofiti suggest a pre-Mishnaic date
6. Neofiti does not parallel Targum pseudo-Jonathan in several ways
7. Greek and Latin vocabulary
8. Relationship to New Testament, building on the third and fourth elements mentioned above
9. Reconstruction of a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Using his own summary, York notes that Díez Macho's second criterion – the absence of Johanan in Deuteronomy 33:11 – is merely a textual variant and does not necessitate an earlier dating. It should be noted that this is true for any correlation with the Hebrew against other forms of the Aramaic traditions.

Any relationship between the tradition of Neofiti and the early Christian traditions is tenuous and difficult to trace. Alleged “early” geographical names are invalid as one cannot rule out their use by later writers.⁴⁰ York notes that the lack of parallels to pseudo-Jonathan, the sixth criterion, is an argument from silence. With regard to the Greek and Latin words found in Neofiti and used by Díez Macho to argue for an early dating, York notes that the Talmud, Midrash, and later Targumim also exhibit Greek and Latin words. Finally, with reference to Díez Macho's text-critical method and his reconstruction of an alleged Hebrew *Vorlage*, York defaults to the thirty-seven problems demonstrated by Wernberg-Müller in 1962.

Díez Macho's first criterion – tradition contrary to the Mishnah must predate the Mishnah – largely echoes Kahle's work on the Palestinian Targum. The problems inherent in this perspective is discussed in Section §2.3, “Problems in the Targumic Approach”.

2.2.3.2 Targum Neofiti and Qumran Aramaic

Díez Macho's sixth criterion, a reference to Qumran Aramaic, is problematic in that the similarity is largely based on anomalous data and does not represent the QA corpus as a whole. While several allusions are made to similarities between

⁴⁰York notes that A. Berliner used a similar criterion to prove the antiquity of *Onqelos*. York, “Dating”, 56.

the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the Bar Kochba letters, and Targum Neofiti, the more substantial evidence consists of four items: the use of דִּי as a complement of the construct relationship, the use of ית and -ל to mark direct objects, the form לַאבְנֵי הָרִג, and quiescent *aleph*. From this evidence, he concludes that Neofiti is of the same evolutionary line as the *Targum Onqelos*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the other documents from Qumran.⁴¹

This evidence falters on several counts. As discussed in Section 9.1.2.2 “The Construct Phrase” (page 199), the use of the relative particle as a construct complement is exceptionally rare in QA and may not be seen as a defining characteristic of the corpus. The direct object markers cited by Díez Macho are common to more than one form of Aramaic from the fifth century BCE.⁴² Hence, the use of such a criterion in dating is questionable. The form הָרִג לַאבְנֵי to which Díez Macho refers is not attested in our corpus. Finally, quiescent *aleph* is not a defining characteristic of the QA idiom and should be seen more as circumstantial evidence needing correlation.⁴³

⁴¹Díez Macho’s original treatment reads [Díez Macho, Neophyti 1, Targum Palestinense ms. de la Biblioteca Vaticana., 77.]:

Unicamente después de caracterizar con seguridad el arameo de Onqelos y el del *Apócrifo del Génesis* y el del resto de los documentos aramaicos de Qumrán, y sólo después de haber fijado la mutua relación de estas diversas clases de arameo, se podrá pasar a compararlo con el arameo de Neofiti 1 para ver si es un arameo posterior dentro de la misma línea evolutiva, o si son tipos distintos de arameo: arameo literario uno, arameo hablado otro, o arameo hablado en el sur de Palestina uno, arameo galilaico otro.

⁴²Cf. §9.1.8.1 (page 218) and Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar Of Egyptian Aramaic* 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 32, §76*d*. Note, however, that the occurrence of ית in OfA is questionable. See Muraoka and Porten, *GEA*, 2nd rev. ed., 76*d* n.1050.

⁴³For more on quiescent *aleph* in QA, see §7.1.1 “Aleph” on page 108.

2.2.4 Geza Vermes

In a 1982 essay entitled “Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis”, Geza Vermes reflected on the interrelationship between the study of the New Testament and Jewish literature from the Second Temple Period to the Talmudim.⁴⁴ In laying out the question he considers, Vermes describes the landscape as follows:

To start with, two commonplaces have to be taken into account. Firstly, it is accepted that the New Testament is in some way connected, not only with the Hebrew Scriptures (which it often cites), but also with post-biblical Judaism. It is consequently assumed that the literary relics of ancient Israel may from the viewpoint of language and content prove useful to New Testament exegesis. Secondly, the earliest surviving form of the New Testament is Greek. Yet although a good deal of it was actually composed in that language, neither Jesus himself nor his original milieu belonged in any real sense (*pace* Hengel) to Hellenistic Judaism, so any valid approximation of his genuine message must entail a linguistic and religious-cultural “re-translation” from the Greek into Aramaic/Hebrew concepts and thought-forms.

Is such a reconversion possible, and if so by what means?⁴⁵

To this end, he takes issue with Fitzmyer’s linguistic approach.⁴⁶ While he agrees that Fitzmyer’s assertion of the primacy and exclusivity of the first-century Judaeian documents is legitimate on methodological grounds, he also considers

⁴⁴Geza Vermes, “Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections on Methodology” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33/1–2 (1982), 361–376.

⁴⁵Vermes, “Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis”, 361.

⁴⁶See §3.1 on page 57 for a summary of Fitzmyer’s approach.

it impracticable in terms of conclusivity.⁴⁷ This is largely due to a lack of comparative Aramaic evidence as highlighted by Fitzmyer and Harrington's *Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*.⁴⁸ With this reasoning in mind, Vermes effectively gives up on the linguistic question as unresolvable at the present time.⁴⁹

He then devotes the balance of his essay to the "religious-cultural" question. Easily making the case for the early Christian writings to have developed within a Jewish milieu and with a significant amount of Jewish tradition as their basis, Vermes sets the study of the New Testament within the larger framework of Jewish studies from the post-biblical period to the Talmudic period of the sixth Christian century. His point is not that the New Testament is dependant on rabbinic tradition or vice versa. Rather, he stresses that both are dependant upon "Jewish traditional

⁴⁷Vermes, "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis", 364–366.

⁴⁸Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1994).

⁴⁹The religious-cultural and linguistic questions are naturally complementary. However, while we would concede that the linguistic question is unresolvable without considerably more work being done in the field, we would highlight the more systematic method needed for the linguistic question in contrast to the religio-cultural approach espoused by Vermes. If Vermes would neglect the former for the latter, we would argue the need for a significantly more stringent account of method than has heretofore been seen in print.

teaching”.⁵⁰

Vermes’ conclusion, therefore, is that both fields would benefit from a comprehensive and unifying study of Jewish religious ideas “from Apocrypha to Talmud”.⁵¹ Such a work would serve as a guide for the religious and cultural reconstruction of the earliest Christian times.

2.3 Problems in the Targumic Approach

Early attempts at the Targumic Approach were necessarily naïve in comparison with later works. We, therefore, do not judge them by the same standard as we do later works. Rather, we endeavor to critique them based on the awareness they show about the problem.⁵² The early Targumic studies of Dalman and Kahle had three fundamental flaws that are either ignored by their later adherents or are not

⁵⁰Vermes, “Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis”, 373–374. Vermes observes the common separation of the two disciplines as artificial and largely developed from sectarian Christian and Jewish roots but then concludes as follows:

Divested, however, of its denominational garb, the matter takes on another colour. The New Testament then ceases to be insignificant for Jews or autonomous and in every sense primary for Christians. Jesus and the movement that arose in his wake are recognized as belonging to first century Jewish history. Furthermore, a good deal of the New Testament appears as reflecting a brief moment in the age-long religious development of Israel that starts with the Bible and continues via the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Philo, the New Testament, Josephus, Pseudo-Philo, the Mishnah, Tosefta, Targum, Midrash, Talmud – and so on and so forth. For Jews, the study of rabbinic literature benefits greatly inasmuch as the New Testament is able to fulfil the exceedingly important function of providing a chronologically well-defined segment of tradition applicable as a yardstick in dealing with undated material. [374]

⁵¹Vermes, “Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis”, 375.

⁵²In our judgment, to judge these earlier works by the same rule as Fitzmyer, Wilcox, et al. is inequitable. The earlier works necessarily paved the way for later studies. While the information against which we compare the findings of these earlier scholars is necessarily more current than theirs, we shall endeavor to keep this fact in mind in our discussion. Simple examples of the value QA holds for a critique of Dalman’s paradigm may be had by comparing the eight “Hebraisms” of *Onqelos* (see note 12 on page 37) to their respective sections in Part II.

addressed adequately. A certain, benign ignorance allowed:⁵³

- the overlooking of the various fates that could befall a text,
- linguistic ambivalence about how the various languages were employed in first-century Judaea and in later works,
- the overlooking of the genre of the texts used and the genre of the target (New Testament) texts, and
- the assertion that one tradition that is contrary to another must predate it.

2.3.1 The Fates of a Text

Regardless of the intent of the author, the fate of a work was seldom in a controlled environment after the author had released it. Michael Wise has detailed three ways that texts were disseminated in antiquity. First, an author could deposit his writing in the temple at Jerusalem, allowing for public reading and discussion of it.⁵⁴ Second, he could deposit a copy with a group or influential friend. Third and finally, he could provide the work to a bookseller for copying and selling.⁵⁵

From the time that the work left the hands of the author, it was released, literally given over, to the public. Any member of the public could copy it and amend

⁵³We do not consider the lateness of the dating of the Targums to be a flaw in the Targumic approach as it was initially developed by Dalman and Kahle. As these scholars worked prior to the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, they could not do more than work with the texts at hand. Cf. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 66, and Stephen A. Kaufman, "Aramaic" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

⁵⁴Examples of this from the Hebrew Bible may be found in Exod 25:16, 40:21, Deut 10:1-5, 31:24-26, Josh 24:26, 1 Sam 10:25, and 2 Kings 22:8. Cf. Michael O. Wise, "Accidents and accident: A scribal view of linguistic dating of the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran" in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1992), *Abr-Nahrain Supplement* 3, 156 n.111.

⁵⁵Wise, "Accidents and accident", 155-156.

or otherwise “improve” upon it.⁵⁶ Wise characterizes the consequent situation as follows:⁵⁷

[O]nce a work was published, the author had no control over its circulation. Common trade copies were notoriously prone to error and distortion, a fact which led to the prestige of so-called ‘autograph copies’... An author’s work might appear in truncated or extended form, combined with extracts from other authors, while ironically no one read his original book.

After being released to the public, the work was then copied privately. In this process, either the scribe would copy it by himself alone or, with dictation, in a group.⁵⁸

With this paradigm in mind, one can see that the Targums were not likely to be immune to these fates, even though they were produced within a religious atmosphere. Indeed, Nöldeke recognized and Dalman disputed a level of linguistic corruption in *Targum Onqelos*.⁵⁹ However, neither Dalman nor Kahle nor their adherents have taken account of the corruption incorporated into the text over the centuries from its source(s) to the making of the copies extant today. But, to rely on the Targums as if they preserved the first-century verbage is to ignore the many

⁵⁶Cf. Wise, “Accidents and accident”, 156.

⁵⁷Wise, “Accidents and accident”, 156–157.

⁵⁸Wise, “Accidents and accident”, 157. Wise further observes that the booksellers typically employed copyists. While these were usually Greco-Roman slaves, the Jerusalem temple employed lower-class freemen for the task. Cf. Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Grand Rapids, MI/Livonia, MI: Eerdmans/Dove, 2001), The Biblical Resource Series, 266–268.

Of greater significance for our purposes is Wise’s observation that “there is no convincing evidence that *scriptoria* as such existed prior to the Middle Ages” (Wise, “Accidents and accident”, 157). On the lack of evidence for institutional memorization, see Jacob Neusner, *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994), 8.

⁵⁹See §2.1.1 (page 35).

fates that could befall a first-century text.⁶⁰

2.3.2 The Use of the Languages

The Targumic approach does not represent a clearly developed conception of first-century, Judaeian language dynamics. Unsurprisingly, the use of Greek has never been in dispute; however, the perceived role of Greek was significantly greater than the aforementioned textual data allow. This is reflected in how Black summarizes the use of the languages in first-century Judaea:

Greek was the speech of the educated ‘hellenized’ classes and the medium of cultural and commercial intercourse between Jew and foreigner; Latin was the language of the army of occupation and, to judge from Latin borrowings in Aramaic, appears also to some extent to have served the purposes of commerce, as it no doubt also did of Roman law; Hebrew, the sacred tongue of the Jewish Scriptures, continued to provide the lettered Jew with an important means of literary expression and was cultivated as a spoken tongue in the learned coteries of the Rabbis; Aramaic was the language of the people of the land. . .⁶¹

⁶⁰For an example of how a single convention changed over two centuries, consider the use of אָשׁר in Classical Hebrew, post-Classical Hebrew, and Qumran Hebrew. The last of these is decidedly in favor of אָשׁר over -אָשׁ. However, by the time the Mishnah was compiled, -אָשׁ had almost completely displaced the other form. Cf. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986), §400.16.

While Kutscher suggests several similarities between the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Targum Onqelos*, this does not legitimize the use of *Onqelos* for the resolution of our question, as if *Onqelos* reflected a natural extension of QA. Rather, in our judgment, it highlights the import of the Qumran corpus. Kutscher, “Language of Gen. Ap.”, 1–35.

⁶¹Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 15.

Hence, from Dalman to Black, a quasi-diglossic relationship was thought to exist between Aramaic and Hebrew.⁶²

Diglossia may be defined as a situation in which “two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout [a] community, with each having a definite role to play”.⁶³ The quasi-diglossic relationship mentioned here describes Aramaic as the “low” language and Hebrew as the “high” language. Hebrew was thought to be the language of the academic élite. Aramaic was the language of the *hoi polloi*.⁶⁴

As we discussed in Section 1.2, Hebrew was still in use in first-century Judaea and not merely among academics. Greek was used by more than just the intelligentsia.⁶⁵ Further, other languages were employed for trade and commerce. Finally, the pre-1948 perspective did not account for the pre-Arabic speech communities characterized by the use of Nabatean.⁶⁶

2.3.3 The Overlooking of Genre

By relying on rabbinic paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible and their accompanying hermeneutical notes, the Targumic approach does not give sufficient attention to

⁶²Cf. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 48–49: “[T]here is . . . a case, certainly for a wider *literary* use of Hebrew in New Testament times. This much is certain from the Qumrân discoveries. It is also possible, however . . . that Hebrew did continue as a spoken tongue: it seems unlikely, however, that this was outside the circles of the learned or the educated, i.e., in learned Pharisaic, priestly, or Essene circles. We must nevertheless allow possibly for more than has been done before for the use of Hebrew in addition to (or instead of) Aramaic by Jesus Himself, especially on solemn festive occasions; there is a high degree of probability that Jesus began his career as a Galilaean rabbi who would be well versed in the Scriptures, and able to compose (or converse) as freely in Hebrew as in Aramaic.” See also Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 16.

⁶³Ferguson, “Diglossia” *Word* 15/2 (1959), 325.

⁶⁴As Black noted, this view did have its dissenters. However, Black insisted that: “This extreme position has found little if any support among competent authorities . . .” (Black, *Aramaic Approach*, 47–48.)

⁶⁵Cf. note 23 on page 8 of the present volume.

⁶⁶Cf. David F. Graf, “Nabateans” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

the problem of genre. Elements of syntax and style are employed differently in literary narrative than in poetry, records of commerce, and epistolary literature. One would then expect the syntax and style of an hermeneutical text to vary considerably from that of a catechetical biography, especially when the two texts are separated by more than 200 years!⁶⁷ This consideration is missing from the Targumic approaches established by Dalman and Kahle but, as discussed above, is touched upon by those who adhered to their views.⁶⁸

2.3.4 Contrary is not Early

Critical to the perspectives of both Kahle and Díez Macho is the understanding that traditions which contradict the Mishnah must predate the Mishnah. This suggests an alignment between posture and chronology that does not follow naturally. At its root, it is an argument from silence on two accounts and, on a third account, requires two unsupported assumptions.

It first assumes a ubiquitous influence on the part of the Mishnah virtually from the time of its compilation in the late second to early third centuries. This is an assertion for which the extant texts offer no evidence. Second, it assumes exceptional stability on the part of the Hebrew text, stability against which textual variants among the Qumran biblical texts and Targumic variants would argue.

Further, it assumes uniformity on the part of the traditions which occurred after the Mishnah and comprehensiveness on the part of the Mishnah itself. While

⁶⁷The Gospel of Mark, widely held to be the earliest of the canonical Gospels, is commonly thought to have been written in the late sixties or early seventies of the common era. However, the western Targums are generally dated to after 250 CE. For a summary of the dating of Mark according to church tradition and according to modern scholarship, see R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK/Carlisle: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company/The Paternoster Press, 2002), NIGTC, 38–41. For the dating of TgA, cf. Kaufman, “Aramaic”.

⁶⁸See McNamara, *Targum and Testament*, 59.

the majority of any group forms the rule, this criterion of Kahle and Díez Macho interprets the group preserved in the texts as the whole of the society to which they attest. Neither approach convincingly discounts the role of the minority and why the texts, of medieval dating or later in both instances, can not represent a dissenting view of a later period.⁶⁹

Contrary traditions are not necessarily earlier traditions. Rather, dissenting views may be contemporary or later than those previously thought to be the absolute majority.

⁶⁹Inherent in this discussion is the assumption that the texts – whether Mishnaic or Targumic – which survived were those of the majority. They are obviously sectarian in that, generally, they do not entertain alternative perspectives outside of their own camp. Further, while they clearly held considerable influence, they were not necessarily the only or even the majority perspective at the time of their composition/compilation.

Table 2.1: A Summary of Díez Macho's Reasons for an Early Dating of Targum Neofiti

- Anti-Mishnaic tradition predates the Mishnah [57]
- Neofiti firstly observes the rubrics of the Mishnah, which follows the Hebrew and seems not to know the Aramaic or Targumic traditions, and secondly follows some post-Mishnaic norms (i.e., practices known from the Talmudic era) [60]
- The absence in Neofiti of later additions which are later accentuated in Pseudo-Jonathan [70]
- Historical and geographical allusions in Neofiti suggest a pre-Mishnaic date [71]
- Large number of Greek and Latin loanwords in Neofiti [73]
- Neofiti and Qumran Aramaic are similar [75]
- Neofiti is similar to the Peshitta and may therefore be a Palestinian Targum [78]
- The Hebrew text behind Neofiti suggests an early dating [82]
- Comparisons between Neofiti and documents from early Christianity or Second Temple Judaism suggest resonance and a similar dating [88]
- Comparison of Neofiti with writings of hellenistic Jewish authors (esp. Philo, 1 Enoch, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs from Qumran) suggests an early dating [93]

Chapter 3

Fitzmyer, Maloney and Their Use of Qumran Aramaic

In light of the discovery of the Qumran scrolls in 1947,¹ three major approaches have been advanced for the resolution of the Aramaic problem. These approaches include the works of (1) Fitzmyer and Maloney, (2) Max Wilcox, and (3) Maurice Casey. The first, discussed in this chapter, argues that the Aramaic from Qumran should be the latest Aramaic corpus consulted to address the New Testament Aramaic question.² This suggests that the surviving manuscripts of the rabbinic material are too far removed from first-century Judaea to contribute substantially to our understanding of first-century Judaeic language dynamics.

The latter two approaches are considered in Chapter 4, “Hybrid Approaches.”

¹For a contemporary summary of the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, see James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994), 3–8.

²As will be seen below, however, Fitzmyer breaks with this same principle by referring to the Bar Kokhba materials in his restoration of the *kyrios* hymn.

As we have alluded previously, modern textual method does not allow one to comment on the issue of oral tradition with confidence. Therefore, our address of the problem and the method of its resolution pivot on the question of a *written* source.

Max Wilcox argues for the use of both QA and TgA to address the problem. Maurice Casey seeks to extend the corpus to “any Aramaic dialect.”³

3.1 Joseph Fitzmyer

Perhaps no one has advocated the priority of Qumran Aramaic for the study of the New Testament Aramaic problem more than Joseph Fitzmyer.⁴ While Fitzmyer has published widely in the field of New Testament Aramaic studies, his approach is summarized best in a lecture delivered at the 1973 *Journées bibliques* held in Louvain.⁵

Introducing his method, Fitzmyer first dismisses the studies prior to Dalman as having been done in a piece-meal fashion.⁶ He points out the need to account for the diversity of material within the New Testament corpus. Each book has problems of its own which must be considered whenever evaluating a possible Aramaic substratum behind it. In this regard Fitzmyer follows the nuancing of Black as he moves away from the language of Jesus to the language of the early

³Maurice Casey, *Aramaic sources of Mark's Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), SNTSMS 102, 92–93.

⁴For examples, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Grand Rapids, MI/Livonia, MI: Eerdmans/Dove, 1997), Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI/Livonia, MI: Eerdmans/Dove, 1997), and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000). On the last, see also our review in *Review of Biblical Literature* online at <http://www.bookreviews.org> (published February 27, 2002).

⁵This work was revised and published first as “Methodology in the Study of the Aramaic Substratum of Jesus’ Sayings in the New Testament” and was later re-published as “The Study of the Aramaic Background of the New Testament” in *A Wandering Aramean* (Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 1-27). While this work may appear dated, having been published originally thirty years before the present work, its recent re-publication suggests that Fitzmyer feels no need to clarify his approach further. We here use the most recently published version for our review.

⁶“This is not meant as a criticism of the scholars who wrestled with one or other aspect of the problem. . . Their piece-meal work was determined by what little was known about Aramaic and its various phases at that time” (Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 3).

Christian communities.

Second, Fitzmyer observes that one of the critical problems for any such study is that of provenance. If, for example, a work such as Philippians is written from a city in Asia Minor (he suggests Ephesus) to Christians of a city in Asia Minor (Philippi), an alleged Aramaic substratum is difficult to justify. Such an ancestor behind part of the text must be established against the linguistic milieu of the larger document.⁷

With this understanding, New Testament Aramaic scholarship has contented itself largely to work on the Gospels and Acts.⁸ Given that two of the Gospels have been described as having been written near Eretz Israel and that one of these is Mark,⁹ a Judaeian provenance for the earliest Gospel traditions seems highly probable.¹⁰ Such rationale is lacking for most of the epistolary writings of the New Testament. Without establishing the provenance of Aramaic writing as having included the alleged locale of composition, postulation about an Aramaic textual

⁷Fitzmyer has posited an Aramaic reverse translation for part of this same epistle. Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Background of Philippians 2:6-11" *CBQ* 50 (1988), 470–483. See our discussion of this effort in §3.3.3, "Some Things Are Lost in Translation" (page 65).

⁸The most notable exception to this trend is the work of R.A. Martin on the Catholic Epistles. Cf. Raymond A. Martin, *Syntax Criticism of Johannine Literature, the Catholic Epistles, and the Gospel Passion* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1989). However, even this work was preceded by his work on the Synoptic Gospels, itself being based on his study on the syntax of translated documents. See Raymond A. Martin, *Syntax Criticism of the Synoptic Gospels* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1987), and Raymond A. Martin, *Syntactical Evidence of Semitic sources in Greek Documents* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1974).

However, while Martin's work is innovative and important, it is as cracks in the soil of the largely forsaken field of New Testament Greek grammarology. Much of his evidence is circumstantial. His conclusions about which texts are likely to have been translated from an earlier (Semitic) source require integration with the conclusions of other disciplines.

⁹Matthew is thought to have been written near to or in Syria. Cf. Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13* Vol. 33a, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word, 1993), lxxv. Joel Marcus has asserted a similar conclusion for the provenance of Mark. Cf. Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), ABC 29, 33-39. However, this latter view is not without its dissenters; see R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK/Carlisle: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company/The Paternoster Press, 2002), NIGTC, 38.

¹⁰Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 4–5.

ancestor falters.

Third, Fitzmyer objects to the loose labeling of any spurious Greek construction as a “Semitism.” Something that is merely “Semitic” in tone is not a Semitism. Rather, Fitzmyer argues that the use of the term should be supported by the Aramaic and Hebrew corpora that are contemporary with the text under consideration. For the study of the New Testament, this logic inevitably points to the Qumran writings.

Fitzmyer divides the Aramaic problem into eight elements. We have listed these in Table 3.1 (“Eight Aspects of the Aramaic Problem According to Fitzmyer” on page 60) with brief summaries of each. Fitzmyer’s view of the early Christian linguistic environment is very close to our own,¹¹ the most significant difference being his exclusion of the pre-Arabic dialects.¹² In his perspective, as in our own, Greek and Aramaic were widely used; Hebrew also was spoken, but not as widely.¹³

The modern understanding of the NT Aramaic problem has been advanced significantly through Fitzmyer’s work. Of particular import are the refinement of the problem to the language of the early church and the consideration he gives to method. Unfortunately, many of the aspects he delineates have not been developed further by other scholars. However, a significant exception to this trend is an early work by Elliott Maloney.

¹¹See §1.2 (page 4).

¹²Cf. Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 6-10, and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.” in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI/Livonia, MI: Eerdmans/Dove, 1997), 29–56.

¹³Cf. Fitzmyer, “Languages of Palestine”, 46.

Table 3.1: Eight Aspects of the Aramaic Problem According to Fitzmyer

1. Aramaic as a Language of Jesus
Aramaic was one of three languages spoken in first-century Judaea, along with Greek and Hebrew.
2. Aramaic Names, Words, and Phrases Preserved in the New Testament
Words which are obviously transliterated from another language may be attributed to that language, but vocabulary common to Hebrew and Aramaic (e.g., ממון) must be recognized as indeterminable.
3. Aramaisms in New Testament Greek
To determine where constructions in New Testament Greek reflect first-century Aramaic, one must compare it with genuine, first-century Aramaic texts.
4. Mistranslations
Allegations that myriad pericopae are simply mistranslations of Aramaic originals must be tempered by comparison to contemporary evidence.
5. Aramaic Literary Forms in Prose and Poetry
The characteristics of Aramaic (vs. Hebrew) poetry need to be defined. Not all poetry in Aramaic is Aramaic poetry.
6. Aramaic and Variant Readings in the New Testament Text-Tradition
Because Codex Bezae may preserve an early or even original Aramaism does not necessarily denote an early date for the document as a whole. Further, independence of later (Syriac) corruption needs to be established.
7. Jewish Literary Traditions Found in the New Testament and in Known Aramaic Literature
Correspondence does not necessitate dependence. Simply because a similar textual tradition occurs in the New Testament as is found in the non-Qumran Targums does not mean that the author used that Targum as a source.
8. Aramaic Epistolography
Our current understanding of Aramaic epistolography is too incomplete to offer any sound conclusions. While such study is unlikely to have a direct bearing on the New Testament epistles, it is a desideratum for purposes of comparison.

3.2 Elliott Maloney

Elliott Maloney wrote *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* as his doctoral dissertation under Joseph Fitzmyer. In this work, Maloney restricted himself to the third of Fitzmyer's elements, multi-lingual interference.¹⁴ Whereas Black used Codex Bezae, Maloney relies upon the text-critical conclusions of the Nestle-Aland committee as "the" Greek text of Mark.¹⁵

Within the realm of multi-lingual interference, Maloney purposely does not assert Semitic interference which he discovered. Rather, he discusses the validity of the syntactic elements asserted by others.¹⁶ He compares the alleged Semitisms against the non-Atticist, Hellenistic *littérateurs* and the Greek of the Egyptian, non-literary papyri.¹⁷ Then, Maloney's method is to compare the syntagme to its equivalent in the following dialects of Hebrew: classical, late-biblical, Qumran

¹⁴Elliott Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1981), SBLDS 51, 45.

¹⁵Maloney relies on the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*, revised twenty-sixth edition (Maloney, *Semitic Interference*, 35). In doing so, however, he notes the work of Kilpatrick who suggested that the more Semitic New Testament texts may be more original. Cf. George D. Kilpatrick, "Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament" in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze* ed. J. Blinzler et al. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1963), 126–127. Maloney underscores three possible ways Christian scribes of the second century may have sought to "cleanse" the New Testament texts after the "parting of the ways" in the late first century:

1. Elimination of Semitisms
2. Revising non-literary Koine to a more sophisticated, literary style
3. Atticizing the mottled style of first-century Judaeian Greek

The evidence for these, however, is rather slight when one considers the number of Semitisms that allegedly "survived" and the relatively rough syntax of many New Testament authors.

¹⁶Maloney relies especially on Howard's "Semitisms of the New Testament," a part of Howard's 1929 volume *Accidence and Word-Formation*, the second volume in J.H. Moulton's *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Maloney, *Semitic Interference*, 45 and 268). While such a work was certainly desirable, his review serves only to clarify what is still valid without substantially adding to the number of Semitisms known to us.

¹⁷One should note that Maloney does not explicitly clarify the contents of these corpora anywhere save the volume index.

(QH), and “proto-Mishnaic Hebrew materials.”¹⁸ Third, the syntagmeme is held against the contemporaneous Aramaic evidence from Qumran and the earlier, biblical writings in Daniel and Ezra. Finally, the Old Greek version of the Hebrew Bible is used for comparison.

While Maloney’s approach is, by far, the most rigorous approach seen yet for a single volume on the Aramaic problem,¹⁹ it has several innate problems. These are addressed in Section 3.3.2, “On Bilingual Interference” (page 63).

3.3 Problems in These Approaches

With the discovery of a significant number of Aramaic texts at Qumran, New Testament Aramaic scholarship finally had a dialect of Aramaic that was of the same general time frame and location as that of the early church. Further, with the discovery of the Qumran scrolls and the Bar Kokhba letters, modern scholarship has a more informed view of the relevant linguistic milieu, as detailed in Section 1.2 (page 4). As Fitzmyer observed about the works written on the New Testament Aramaic problem prior to the discovery and assessment of Qumran Aramaic:

The recovery of earlier Aramaic from extrabiblical sources has been largely an achievement of this century; and when it comes to Palestinian Aramaic of the first century it is almost a matter of discoveries of the last two decades (i.e., since 1959/1960). As a result, the older material that has been written on the problem of Aramaic and the NT

¹⁸Maloney, *Semitic Interference*, 40.

¹⁹Fitzmyer has written a myriad of articles on the subject but has not yet presented a comprehensive treatment.

can only be used today *with great caution*.²⁰

While the adherents of the Targumic approach observed many difficult areas, their conclusions must be re-evaluated against a more relevant, first-century, literary Judaeen dialect: Qumran Aramaic.

3.3.1 Some Corrective Qualities

As detailed in Table 3.1 (page 60), Fitzmyer has identified eight aspects of the NT Aramaic problem.²¹ In those aspects, Fitzmyer has rightly addressed, albeit in principle alone, many of the problems of language dynamics and literary genre which eluded those who advanced the Targumic approach. However, just as Dalman and Kahle were the first to address the New Testament Aramaic problem critically and were not able to consider the issues modern scholarship takes for granted, Fitzmyer and Maloney have advanced the quest significantly in some areas but have not developed the inquiry beyond a preliminary level in others.²² This is due in large part to the non-systematic fashion with which the problem has been addressed.

3.3.2 On Bilingual Interference

While Maloney's study on Semitic interference in the text of Mark is invaluable for the New Testament Aramaic problem, it covers only half the ground necessary

²⁰Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 3. Material in parentheses inserted by the present author.

²¹Cf. Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 2.

²²One example of this is in the determination of whether constructions in New Testament Greek reflect first-century Aramaic. While Fitzmyer is right to point to first-century Aramaic texts as the Aramaic corpus of choice, he does not develop the necessary controls of the Greek and Hebrew corpora. This, however, was developed in part by Maloney, presumably with Fitzmyer's counsel. Cf. Maloney, *Semitic Interference*, 35–45. Our observations on the value of Maloney's study may be found in §3.3.2.

to address the problem in a critical manner.²³ Chapter III of his study presents a detailed analysis of several Semitisms that had been alleged in Marcan syntax. In that the method is to consider the evidence for these Semitisms in the extant literature, Maloney's study provides a great service to the scholarly community. However, as a comprehensive treatment of Semitic interference in the second Gospel, the method falters on two accounts.

First, it does not stem from a systematic knowledge of the three relevant languages. Rather, the databank of Semitisms whence Maloney draws is the various Semitisms previously alleged by Howard and others.²⁴ Consequently, Maloney's work is more a critical review of alleged Semitisms than an advancement of new ones.

Second, the work does not offer conclusive criteria for discerning between Hebrew and Aramaic but, because of the constraints of Maloney's method, is restricted to commenting on Semitic and non-Semitic interference — and that without the comprehensiveness that comes from a systematic approach.

As a result of these two shortcomings, the value of Maloney's work is in laying some of the groundwork for future studies. However, as noted here, a more comprehensive study is needed and will require a systematic knowledge of the three relevant languages as used in first-century Judaea.

²³Maloney, *Semitic Interference*. For a summary of Maloney's method see §3.2.

²⁴Maloney, *Semitic Interference*, 45.

3.3.3 Some Things Are Lost in Translation

Outside of Black's *Approach* and various attempts born of pre-Qumran Targumic studies,²⁵ little was offered in the way of retroversion after the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls. Fitzmyer, Maloney, and those who agreed with the former's approach to the question simply did not take up the issue. However, in a 1988 article, Fitzmyer endeavored to reverse translate Philippians 2:6-11 into an alleged Aramaic *Vorlage*. This is a milestone in that it illustrates succinctly some of what Qumran Aramaic can contribute to New Testament Aramaic studies. However, as demonstrated in our extensive critique below, it also highlights problems which any attempt at reverse translation needs to address. Fitzmyer's translation is shown against the Nestle-Aland Greek text in Table 3.2.²⁶

3.3.3.1 The Need to Assume an Aramaic Original

Fitzmyer begins with the assumption that the passage had a textual ancestor in Aramaic.²⁷ While this assumption is in-line with the tradition of Lohmeyer,²⁸

²⁵Black's *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* was first published in 1947 and was published in revised form in 1954 and 1967. Greenfield notably disparaged the 1967 edition as being grossly out of date, even by the state of Aramaic studies in 1947. See Jonas C. Greenfield, "Review of M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*" *JNES* 31 (1972), 58–61.

²⁶The translation is taken from Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Background of Philippians", 482; verse numbers were added from Fitzmyer's transliteration. Also, the original translation contained typographical errors (e.g., ܢܘܪ in v.6) and has been corrected here according to Fitzmyer's transliteration. Verse 3d (θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ) is placed in brackets as it is widely considered to be a Pauline addition. Cf. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Background of Philippians", 473.

The Greek text is that of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th ed).

²⁷Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Background of Philippians", 470–483.

²⁸Ernst Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964), *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament* 9, 90–99.

Table 3.2: The Greek text of Philippians 2:6-11 and Fitzmyer's translation
The Nestle-Aland text:

⁶ ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων
 οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο
 τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῶ,
⁷ ἀλλά ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν
 μορφὴν δούλου λαβών,
 ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος·
 καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθείς ὡς ἄνθρωπος·
⁸ ἑταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν
 γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου,
 [θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ]
⁹ διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν
 καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ
 τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα,
¹⁰ ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ
 πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ
 ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων
¹¹ καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσῃται ὅτι
 κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς
 εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς.

Fitzmyer's translation:

⁶ הוא בצלם אלהא איתוהי
 ולא חשב שלל
 למהוא שוי לאלהא
⁷ ברם אשד נפשה
 וצלם עבד נסב
 ובדמות אנש הוא
 ובחזו משתכח כבר-אנש
⁸ השפל נפשה
 ושמוע הוא עד מותא
⁹ לכן אף שגיי הרימה אלהא
 ויהב לה לשמא
 די עלא מן כל שם
¹⁰ על-דברת די בשם ישוע
 כל ברך תכרע
 די בשמיא ובארעא ולתחות-ארעא
¹¹ וכל לשן יתודי
 די מרא ישוע משיחא
 ליקר אלהא אבא

Levertoff,²⁹ and Grelot,³⁰ the question must still be answered as to why the text is not likely to have been in Greek or Hebrew originally. Obviously, the fact that one can render a text into a particular language does not necessitate its existence in that language in antiquity.

The only apparent way of discerning an Aramaic original from a Greek text is through negative proofs developed from the grammar of the Greek and Hebrew corpora most relevant to the earliest Christian textual traditions. Only after a text has been demonstrated not to reflect the known grammar of the other two main languages used in first-century Judaea can one justifiably address its possible Aramaic origins. Save for certain obvious morphemic or phonemic echoes in Greek transliteration of an Aramaic word or phrase (e.g., *ταλιθα κουμ*), modern scholarship cannot readily establish Aramaic phrasing from Hebrew or Greek as echoed in a Greek text.

The consequent requirement to assume an Aramaic original highlights the need for complementary grammars of the Hebrew and Greek of first-century Judaea.³¹ Among English language resources, the grammatical standard reference work for Greek among New Testament scholars, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*,³² is over forty years out of date, being translated from the ninth-tenth edition of the original. There are two major problems with using this work to approach the problem of Aramaic sources behind the NT. First, it is focused almost exclusively on the Greek of the NT, not having been developed from the

²⁹As cited and discussed in William K. L. Clarke, *New Testament Problems: Essays – Reviews – Interpretations* (London: SPCK, 1929), 141–150, esp. p. 148.

³⁰Pierre Grelot, “Deux notes critiques sur Philippiens 2,6-11” *Bib* 54 (1973), 169–186.

³¹On the need for the grammatical study of first-century QH texts, see our discussion below.

³²F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* trans. by R.W. Funk (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1961). The original, German title is *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*.

larger Hellenistic corpus.³³ Second, while the original work has been updated to an eighteenth edition,³⁴ the English-speaking world does not include this in its standard repertory. Instead, continued use is made of the 1961 translation by Robert Funk.³⁵ Another standard work, the four-part grammar by Moulton, Howard, and Turner, was completed over seventy years (1906–1976) and, again, treats the Greek of the New Testament as a dialect unto itself and with secondary consideration being given to its linguistic and literary environment.³⁶

In terms of Hebrew, no grammar of exclusively first-century Hebrew exists. The only English-language grammar of Qumran Hebrew is that of Qimron.³⁷ Obviously, this slender volume is not as comprehensive as would be necessary for determining the standard characteristics of QH.³⁸ Qimron's corpus is relatively small and excludes texts from the common era.³⁹ However, while the corpus predates the common era, it is still relevant for New Testament studies as it illustrates the tendencies leading up to the first century CE and may be used as a control

³³The model of Blass and Debrunner follows the traditional view of separating the Greek of the New Testament from the rest of Koine Greek. This division is artificial and should be discarded. Rather, the Greek of the New Testament must be considered against other documents from the time. The only grammar of Koine texts known to address the phonology and morphology of the Greek papyri is Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1976), Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 55.

³⁴The most recent publication is in 2001, but this is merely a reprint of the 1976 edition, revised by Friedrich Rehkopf. Cf. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Cited 2 July 2003. Online: <http://newfirstsearch.uk.oclc.org>.

³⁵Blass, DeBrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar of the NT*.

³⁶Cf. James H. Moulton, W.F. Howard and N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* Vol. 1–4, (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1906, 1920, 1963, 1976).

³⁷Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986). This is an abridged, English translation of Qimron's Hebrew grammar of the same corpus. Unfortunately, while we have been told of this earlier Hebrew work, we have not been able to find bibliographic information for it.

³⁸If one omits §§500 and 600 and the indices of Qimron's grammar, one is left with a seventy-two page treatise (pp. 14–86).

³⁹Cf. Qimron, *Hebrew of the DSS*, §0.12.

for general stylistic tendencies of the time. Naturally, a grammar based on first-century QH texts is to be desired. Until such time as either Qimron's fuller work is rendered in a more commonly understood language or a more comprehensive work becomes available in English (or another modern language), the field of New Testament Aramaic study will proceed awkwardly, where it can, and without a necessary control mechanism. This lack consequently necessitates, but does not justify, the common assumption of an Aramaic original on the part of Fitzmyer and others who work this field.

3.3.3.2 A Problem of Aramaic Grammar

Further compounding the problem of an assumed Aramaic source, Fitzmyer justifies his vocabulary and morphological choices based largely on QA. However, as demonstrated in Part II of the present work, QA is not completely standardized in its morphology.⁴⁰ Hence, any translation should be accompanied by an apology for the forms chosen.

With respect to Fitzmyer's justification of his translation, the issue of syntax is virtually omitted. This problem is compounded by the fact that there is so little Aramaic poetry available for comparison and study. Because of this scarcity, the unfortunate state of affairs is that one cannot be sure what makes Aramaic poetry different from Hebrew poetry. Indeed, we cannot be sure if there even are any significant differences.⁴¹

⁴⁰See Chapter 8, "Morphology".

⁴¹The fact that Philippians 2:5–11 is commonly held to be a "hymn of Christ" and to be poetry, therefore, suggests the need for the syntax of Aramaic poetry to be brought as a comparison.

Elsewhere, Fitzmyer counts seven sources for Aramaic poetry (Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 16–17):

1. the Carpentras stele (c. 4th c. BCE). Obviously, the relevance of this text is compromised

As a consequence of these limitations,⁴² Fitzmyer must build on the earlier works of Levertoff,⁴³ who used the later Galilean Aramaic, and Grelot,⁴⁴ who used an amalgam of the Palestinian Targums and a selection of QA texts as representative of first-century Judaeen Aramaic.⁴⁵ The result is a translation that may be correct in that the forms included are attested in QA or BA. The syntax of the poetry is questionable, however, being determined by word-for-word rendering from the Greek text.⁴⁶

An example of this problem is with regard to the use of *למהרה* for *εἶναι* in his translation of verse 6 (*τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῶ*). While this is literally accurate, the use of *למהרה* as an expegetical infinitive is not found in the Aramaic from Qumran,

_____ somewhat by its early dating.

2. passages in the book of Daniel (2:20–23; 3:31–33; 4:7–13, 31–32; 6:26–28; 7:9–10, 13–14, 23–27).
3. Tobit 8:5–6, 15–17; 13:1–8. Of these, only three verses are extant in Aramaic (13:6–8 in 4QpapTob^a 17 ii.1–6).
4. 11QTgJob. However, as Fitzmyer asks, while this is poetry in Aramaic, is it necessarily Aramaic poetry?
5. some of the proverbs of *Ahikar*.
6. possibly the description of Sarai's beauty in 1QapGen xx.2–7, if one accepts Black's view of the passage [Cf. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 41].
7. a rhythmic meter in the paratactic clauses of 4QApocalypse (i.e., 4Q246).

Cf. also Fitzmyer, *Wandering Aramean*, 17.

⁴²Fitzmyer's study on the *Kyrios*-hymn is exploratory and conjectural, to be sure. Lest we be accused of being as the fox and the grapes, our criticism here is intended to take inventory of what steps would be needed to validate Fitzmyer's work.

⁴³As cited and discussed in Clarke, *New Testament Problems*, 141–150, esp. p. 148.

⁴⁴Grelot, "Deux notes", 169–186.

⁴⁵As Fitzmyer notes, the classifying of the Palestinian Targums as being of the same era as Qumran Aramaic is questionable and, in our judgment, wrong. Cf. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Background of Philippians", 474.

⁴⁶Fitzmyer does vary slightly for reasons of syntax. However, this is the exception and not the rule. The reasons for variation are deduced from his own experience with the texts and are not systematically developed anywhere. See the justification for *ולא חשב* in Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Background of Philippians", 477.

despite Fitzmyer's attempt at justification. The form in question occurs twice in QA: 11QTgJob xv.5 and 4QLevi^b 1 i.18. The first reflects an objective infinitive. The second is an infinitive of purpose.⁴⁷

Similar issues might be raised about other parts of the translation, as well. The use of -ל as an object complement in verse 9 requires clarification. While not without precedent at Qumran, it is not necessary for the meaning of the sentence. Fitzmyer does not state why he chooses to use it.

Also in verse 9, the use of דִּי עֲלָא מִן for "that is above" is disputable. עֲלָא מִן occurs once in 1QapGen xx.7; however, there it requires the complement of a -ל. The only place where עֲלָא occurs in conjunction with מִן but without the -ל in our period is in non-literary Aramaic from Murabba'at and Naḥal Še'elim.⁴⁸ And there the phrase is עֲלָא מִן not מִן עֲלָא.

Another problem may be seen in the use of לְתַחַת in verse 10. As Qumran Aramaic leaves off the prefixed -ל in 4Q213a 1 ii.17 and 11QTgJob xx.1, one is left to wonder why the -ל is included here.

Simply because a form occurs in a dialect within close proximity to the early Christian writings either geographically or chronologically does not mean one

⁴⁷The first of these infinitives occurs in conjunction with מִן for a partitive effect. The second may be considered to express result. The context of the two lines are as follows:

11QTgJob xv.5: אֲבִהוֹתָהוֹן מִלְמָהוּא עִם כְּלָבֵי עֹנִין... [their [father]s from being the dogs of [my] sheep.

4QLevi^b 1 i.18: ...עֲזְלִי מִי וְקִרְבֵּנִי לְמָהוּא לְכָה... [up]on me, Lord, and draw me near to be for you...

For commentary on the infinitive of 11QTgJob xv.5, see Michael Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan/Jerusalem, Israel: Bar-Ilan University at Ahva Press, 1974), 124. On the ellipses after לְכָה in 4QLevi^b 1 i.18, see Michael Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document" in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* ed. James C. VanderKam et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), DJD 22, 29.

⁴⁸Sokoloff notes Murabba'at 26 and Naḥal Še'elim 50:12 and 23. See Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Bar-Ilan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2003), 70b.

may use it as a one-to-one correspondence to the Greek text. The syntax of the forms must be considered in a more systematic fashion than they have been in this rendering of Philippians 2.

3.3.3.3 On Literal Translation Technique

Given our lack of grammatic knowledge and the want of further translation studies related to ancient Greek texts, scholarship currently endures an inability to distinguish clearly between Aramaic and Hebrew sources behind Greek documents. Consequently, Fitzmyer must assume that any Greek translation that occurred was a literal rendering of the alleged Aramaic source of the hymn. This overlooks a few problems which must be addressed. Although we here critique Fitzmyer's translation, the critique is equally applicable to any work of reverse translation.

While literal translation technique is known in the ancient world, it does not seem to have been employed as much among first-century texts as in earlier documents. The premier example of literal translation in antiquity is the LXX Pentateuch. Concerning the use of literal translation techniques, Olofsson has noted:

The main factor behind the adoption of a literal translation technique in the LXX Pentateuch was presumably the convenience of this approach since the translators had no instruments that could facilitate the, in many respects, more complicated free translation process; no grammars, lexica, concordances or commentaries, and probably not even any earlier translation that they could use as their model. At the most they or at least the later translators may have employed some sort of a primitive glossary that would make the consistent rendering

of words, which is one of the most prominent aspects of the literal approach, easier. But there are no concrete evidences that the translators used either dictionaries or word lists. They did not employ any system with notes on alternative translations or interpretations. All these circumstances paved the way for their choice of translation technique, because with a literal approach they could preserve some of the (sometimes alleged) ambiguity of the original.⁴⁹

While the majority of the LXX exhibits literal translation technique,⁵⁰ this is not due to an ignorance on the part of the translators but is due to their respect for the

⁴⁹Staffan Olofsson, *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992), Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series 30, 7.

⁵⁰Throughout the present work, we use the term LXX to mean the standard Greek translations of the contents of the Hebrew Bible. We refer to works not included in the Hebrew Bible but that were later translated into Greek as part of the Apocrypha (a.k.a., the Deuterocanonical works), Pseudepigrapha (e.g., 1 Enoch), or otherwise non-biblical, historical works (e.g., the works of Josephus), as relevant. Further, any additions to the works represented in the Hebrew Bible are recognized as additions and the Hebrew Bible material is assumed to be reflective of the original form and length of the work in question. For more on the various meanings of the term “LXX” see Melvin K.H. Peters, “Septuagint” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

Any description of Septuagintal translation technique is by necessity general in its scope. Translation technique varies widely throughout the Septuagint. The Pentateuch tends to exhibit a very literal style of translation. As one proceeds from the Pentateuch to the Prophets, however, the style tends to become progressively more liberal. The Writings tend to reflect even freer techniques of translation. Olofsson goes on to state (Olofsson, *The LXX Version*, 33-34):

The Septuagint displays a great variety in the style of the language and in the translation technique adopted. It is actually a collection of translations together with original Greek compositions that belong to different periods of times and are translated according to different principles. This must be kept in mind when the more general characteristics of Septuagint Greek are discussed. By the designation “Septuagint Greek” I refer to the typical traits of the overwhelming majority of books that are translations, leaving out of account the original Greek works. I especially have those books in mind which are translated in a literal way. There are also great differences in the translation technique in general as well as in the choice of equivalents between different books of the LXX. . . Every translation unit has to be dealt with separately.

object of translation.⁵¹ Conversely, when one surveys the non-canonical Jewish works that were translated into Greek, one finds more fluid translation techniques used consistently.⁵²

The use of less-literal translation techniques in non-canonical literature calls into question the uncritical use of literal translation techniques in retroverting any

⁵¹Olofsson, *The LXX Version*, 7-8.

⁵²On Ben Sira, cf. Benjamin G. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), *Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 26; Yigael Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada: With Introduction, Emendations, and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 1965), 5-11; Benjamin G. Wright, "Ben Sira, Book of" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 91a-93a.

On Tobit, consider the various differences between the Aramaic (4QpapTobit^a, 4QTobit^b, 4QTobit^c, 4QTobit^d), Hebrew (4QTobit^e), Greek, and Latin versions as noted in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Tobit" in *Qumran Cave 4: XIV. Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* ed. Magen Broshi et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), *DJD* 19, 1-76 and its republication in Fitzmyer, *Christian Origins*, 159-235.

On 1 Enoch, see Erik W. Larson, *The Translation of Enoch: From Aramaic into Greek* Ph.D thesis, (New York University, 1995), and Loren Stuckenbruck, "Revision of Aramaic-Greek and Greek-Aramaic Glossaries in *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân cave 4* by J.T. Milik" *JJS* 41 (1990).

On Josephus' use of Aramaic in *Bellum Judaicum*, see Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

Some studies have discounted an Aramaic *Vorlage* to *B.J.* citing as evidence:

- the verb μεταβάλλω which Josephus uses in *B.J.* I.3 properly means *to recast* and not *to translate*.
- Josephus never again mentions an Aramaic original or his translation of it.
- the Atticized Greek prevalent in *B.J.* is not likely to have been derived from an Aramaic original.

This summary is derived from e-mail communication with Steve Mason of York University on 4 July 2003. For a more complete discussion, see Gohei Hata, "Is the Greek Version of Josephus' Jewish War a Translation or a Rewriting of the First Version?" *JQR* 66 (1975), 89-108, and Tessa Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society* (London/Minneapolis: Duckworth Press/Fortress Press, 1983), 46-64, 86, and esp. 174-184.

In response to these criticisms, Nodet has suggested that Josephus drafted the first, Greek translation of his work himself, without assistants. This version would have many of the Semitisms which Nodet finds in Slavonic Josephus. However, Josephus' Greek-speaking assistants cleansed this version when they rendered the later Greek version. Cf. Étienne Nodet, "Jewish Features in the 'Slavonic' War of Josephus" Cited 8 July 2003. Online: <http://www.josephus.yorku.ca/pdf/nodet2000.pdf> (presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Nashville, Tenn., 21 November 2000), 26.

New Testament pericope.⁵³ Hence, it is incumbent on anyone who asserts a reverse translation to justify the technique they employ.

3.3.3.4 Misappropriation of Sources

A final concern must be voiced about Fitzmyer's sources. While Fitzmyer is not as boundless as Casey,⁵⁴ his unquantified references to the LXX and the Bar Kokhba literature are questionable. The LXX was by no means favored throughout the Empire but seems to have been discounted, though not wholly disparaged,⁵⁵ in first-century Judaea.⁵⁶ The Bar Kokhba letters and related texts, by contrast, are comparatively less important than QA because of their genre and dating. While they may give marginal support for the probability of a morpheme having existed

⁵³In order to assert that an ancient translator would have used a literal translation technique, presumably from a perspective of respect (per Olofsson, *The LXX Version*, 7-8), one must demonstrate a similar status of authority within the community or communities involved.

An illustration of less-literal translation of the Decalogue may be found in James 2:11. See §3.3.3.4, n.56.

⁵⁴See §4.3.2.

⁵⁵For a list of the Greek manuscripts from Qumran, see Emanuel Tov, "Lists of Specific Groups of Texts from the Judaean Desert" in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert* ed. Emanuel Tov, DJD 39, 215-216. It is worth noting that these thirty-seven texts comprise a very small fraction of the Qumran corpus. Further, their role for the community of the Qumran scrolls is not clear.

⁵⁶This may be reflected in the clear use of LXX only once by the author of James, the only NT manuscript to claim Judaeian origin. The other six quotations from the Hebrew Bible are either overtly translated from the Hebrew (e.g., James 2:11) or are of an unclear origin.

We here follow Judaeian authorship of James for reasons outlined in a paper we presented to the SBL Pacific Region meeting held March 17, 1998, entitled "On the Nature of ὁ νόμος τέλειος τὸν τῆς ἐλευθερίας in James 1.25." The summary of these reasons are as follows: there is no mention of Paul or the Gentile question, Jewish tradition is not argued but assumed, the unfriendly diaspora to which James is directed thus becomes persecuted Jews, and the amalgamation of the various known Jesus traditions in the one letter argues for either very early or very late dating. Given the (contested) references to Jesus, these may be Christian Jews. As Hengel and Sevenster have shown, superior Greek is not an obstacle to the possibility of Judaeian authorship. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974); Jan N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* Vol. 19, (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 3-21. For a more recent treatment of the Judaeian hypothesis, see Todd C. Penner, *The Epistle of James and Eschatology* (Sheffield: SAP, 1996), JSOT Supplement 121, 37.

in first-century Judaea, they should be used in a qualified manner simply because they postdate the text in question.⁵⁷

3.3.4 Conclusion: The Need for Comprehensive Grammars

Therefore, while Fitzmyer has touched upon many of the salient issues for the New Testament Aramaic problem, we must conclude that these issues will only be resolved in the light of a grammar of Qumran Aramaic. The closest Fitzmyer comes to addressing the characteristics of this dialect is in his “Sketch of Qumran Aramaic.”⁵⁸ Unfortunately, this treatment was restricted to the grammar of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. While this text is certainly among the most relevant for New Testament Aramaic studies, the rest of the QA corpus should also be processed in order to give the fullest field of view.

Furthermore, for reverse translation studies to be more scientific and less conjectural, up-to-date grammatical touchstones are needed for Hellenistic Greek and Late Second Temple Hebrew. The present grammars are simply insufficient for the task, having been written for different purposes. Put simply, we cannot currently distinguish with confidence and regularity the differences (1) between “good” Greek used by a native Greek speaker and “good” Greek used by a non-native Greek speaker and (2) between “bad” Greek used by a native speaker and “bad”

⁵⁷Cf. Fitzmyer, “Aramaic Background of Philipians”, 477. While legal texts may be argued to preserve earlier forms, the matter of how conservative any given legal text is in its preservation of forms is debatable. No evidence for an institutional or otherwise systematic adjustment of the legal idiom of antiquity exists. therefore, we suggest that changes in legal idiom occurred with relative randomness. The amount of conservation in the texts would be uneven, therefore. This unevenness renders their value for our purposes to be questionable.

⁵⁸Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1972), 193–227. It should be noted that QA is a sub-dialect of Standard Literary Aramaic. Cf. Stephen A. Kaufman, “Aramaic” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

Greek used by a non-native speaker. Consequently, the consideration of a pericope as having a non-Greek or even an Aramaic substratum because of its grammar is not tenable given the present state of academic inquiry.

Where we are able to speak with any degree of confidence about a Semitic ancestor of a Greek text, we are not able to discern readily and regularly whether a Hebrew or an Aramaic source is involved.⁵⁹ As described in Section 1.2, Hebrew and Aramaic were used side-by-side, with the latter seeming to have been used more often. Hence, in order to justify the assertion of an Aramaic textual ancestor adequately, one must first rule out the possibility of either a Greek or a Hebrew source. At present, modern scholarship cannot do this with confidence.⁶⁰

These significant breaks in our understanding will only be resolved with a greater awareness of the intralinguistic differences and the interlinguistic relationships present in first-century Judaea. The only apparent way of attaining these is through a more developed knowledge of the grammar and styles employed by writers of each of the three major languages used at this time and place. Finally, as much as grammars of the relevant Greek and Hebrew are desiderata, the aforementioned problems illustrate that any inquiry into the New Testament Aramaic problem has the obvious and critical need for a grammar of Qumran Aramaic, the literary dialect closest to the literary works of the earliest Christians.

⁵⁹For this reason, Maloney's treatise on Mark is restricted to Semitic interference. Cf. Maloney, *Semitic Interference*.

⁶⁰Cf. §4.1, especially page 84.

Chapter 4

Hybrid Approaches

Before entering into a discussion of the grammar of QA, it is desirable to review the works of two other scholars. The approaches of Wilcox and Casey endeavor to blend the use of QA with other dialects of Aramaic. Such arguments for a *via media* seek to forge an Aramaic approach which combines the aural aspect of the Targums and/or other dialects of Aramaic with the early dating of the Qumran literary texts. Wilcox grants a significant degree of continued relevance to the Targumic literature. Casey uses an amalgam of corpora to retrovert the Greek to an Aramaic *Vorlage* which he then proceeds to exegete.

4.1 The Approach of Max Wilcox

Wilcox, a student of Matthew Black, not surprisingly favors the Targumic approach in the published version of his doctoral thesis, *The Semitisms of Acts*.¹

¹Max Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 21–30. A revised and expanded version of his doctoral thesis, this work was originally drafted for a Ph.D. in 1955, eight years after the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. The value of the scrolls for Wilcox's study are naturally underestimated because all of the Aramaic scrolls had not yet been discovered, never-

While he makes use of some of the Dead Sea Scrolls,² this is largely peripheral to the core of his evidence, drawn from the Targums and the Septuagint. However, in later essays — “Semitisms in the New Testament,”³ “The Aramaic Background of the New Testament,”⁴ and “Semiticisms in the NT”⁵ — Wilcox nuances his approach to include more of the Qumran scrolls. For the purpose of this review, we shall constrain our study to these later treatments.

Among the commendations for addressing this later perspective instead of the earlier one is the increased number of Qumran scrolls which have been released. Wilcox’s approach naturally has become more nuanced and more comprehensive, considering the larger QA corpus as well as the whole of the New Testament instead of a single book.

In “Semitisms in the New Testament,” Wilcox presents a comprehensive approach to the problem, a treatment on par with Fitzmyer.⁶ The latter two works (“The Aramaic Background of the New Testament” and “The Semiticisms of the New Testament”) are not as extensive and will, therefore, be used here to augment the first.

It should be noted that, as with all of the scholarly approaches reviewed in mind released (Cave 11 was not discovered until 1956). Later works show Wilcox’s view refined to include the Qumran texts.

²The Damascus Document (CD), the Community Rule, the Hodayot, 4QFlorilegium, 4QTestimonia, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* are referenced by Wilcox. He also uses Murabba’at 42 for confirmation of conclusions taken from other works. Wilcox, *Semitisms of Acts*, 91.

³Max Wilcox, “Semitisms in the New Testament” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* ed. W. Haase. Vol. II.25.2 (New York/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 978–1029.

⁴Max Wilcox, “The Aramaic Background of the New Testament” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), JSOTSup 166, 362–378.

⁵Max Wilcox, “The Semiticisms of the New Testament” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

⁶Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Methodology in the Study of the Aramaic Substratum of Jesus’ Sayings in the New Testament” in *Jésus aux origines de la christologie* ed. J. Dupont (Leuven/Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1975), *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* 40.

the present work, this first section (§4.1) offers an uncritical summary which is followed by a critique of Wilcox's approach (§4.2).

Wilcox delineates three stages of the problem: interpreting the textual evidence from the period in question, determining which dialects of Hebrew and Aramaic are appropriate for comparison, and distinguishing Aramaic from Hebrew.⁷ Interpreting the textual evidence, Wilcox's overriding question is "How does one distinguish a Semitism from other grammatical phenomena?" To this end, he highlights a series of textual elements which are likely to occur in the New Testament and allied literature but which are not properly Semitisms.⁸ These are detailed in Table 4.1, "Textual Elements not to be Considered as Semitisms, per Wilcox".⁹

After determining that a linguistic construction is (1) not likely to have been commonly used among native Greek speakers and (2) unlikely to have come from

⁷Wilcox, "Semitisms in NT", 986–992.

⁸These elements have been addressed singularly by a myriad of scholars. Wilcox, however, pulls the threads of discussion together to illustrate the greater tapestry.

⁹As Wilcox notes, the first item in this table was originally put forth in James H. Moulton, *Prolegomena* Vol. 1, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1908), 981.

With regard to the term 'Septuagintalism,' Wilcox sees the view that Semitisms in the Gospels and Acts are merely echoes from the Septuagint as a cop-out and arguments for the same as mere distractions from qualitative work. Cf. Wilcox, "The Aramaic Background of the New Testament", 365–371, 377.

Wilcox also provides a summary of his view, but he skips some issues which are particularly relevant for our discussion. The four points he highlights are as follows:

1. Possible septuagintalisms should be excluded from consideration in the first instance; they may need to be reviewed later, in the light of other data.
2. We need to determine dialect(s) of Aramaic, Hebrew and even Syriac which may be used as proper models for assessing NT Semitisms.
3. The several Semitic languages must be kept distinct.
4. We should see how far such Semitisms may point to written or oral sources, or bilingualism, and what light they may throw on inter-Synoptic deviations.

[Each item is taken verbatim from Wilcox, "Semitisms in NT", 986].

Table 4.1: Textual Elements not to be Considered as Semitisms, per Wilcox

1. Locutions which were rare in ancient Greek but which came into prominence among Semites due to their Semitic parallel.
2. Semitisms may exist in the “touch-stone” documents, thus corrupting the standard. (981)
3. Given the Hebrew and Aramaic *Vorlagen* to the Septuagint, Semitisms are of little surprise despite it having been translated in a predominantly Greek-speaking atmosphere. In the compositional environment of the early Christian traditions, Greek competed with Aramaic and Hebrew. The possibility of New Testament Semitisms is even greater, and such evidence should be considered in its complete context where it is found. (981)
4. Given the multi-lingual environment of first-century Judaea, one must not discount the possibility that, in addition to Aramaic, Jesus spoke Greek also. (981)
5. Greek and Aramaic interpenetrated each other’s vocabulary. (981-982)
6. The sources whence the Gospel narratives were drawn are not necessarily singular documents as popular, source-critical theories would suppose. There may, in fact, be “isolated units of primitive tradition.” Also, these units may not have been received in the same language. (983)
7. “Septuagintalism” is too broad a term. Users of this term should clarify which of three meanings are intended: (1) those constructions used widely in LXX, (2) constructions occurring in both LXX and NT but rarely in the former, and (3) constructions which appear to be formed after the pattern of LXX. Only the first of these should be considered a ‘true’ Septuagintalism for purposes of New Testament study. (984-985)

Septuagintal influence, Wilcox states that one must determine whether the construction is of Semitic origin. Wilcox maintains five criteria for the Aramaic and Hebrew corpora most desirable for such a study (see Table 4.2, “Wilcox’s Characteristics of Desirable Corpora”).¹⁰

Table 4.2: Wilcox’s Characteristics of Desirable Corpora

1. Close in date and geographical distribution to the persons and events mentioned in the NT,
2. Akin to the spoken forms of the languages in idiom, grammar, syntax and literary form,
3. Not itself under suspicion of being a translation, but as far as possible a free composition,
4. Preserved in texts containing at least some of the teaching-forms represented in the Jesus-material (e.g., sayings, parables, ‘cases’, and debates),
5. Available in samples large enough to permit the drawing of reasonably credible conclusions about its proper grammar, syntax and idiom.

Surveying the Qumran scrolls and the Bar Kokhba correspondence, Wilcox affirms Segal’s earlier assertion that Hebrew was a living language in first-century Judaea.¹¹ It was not, as was maintained prior to the Qumran discoveries, an artificial language of the élite.¹² He argues that, since pre-Mishnaic Hebrew is closer to first-century Aramaic than is (post-)classical Hebrew, the Tannaitic literature should be given greater value in assessing the language spoken in the first-

¹⁰Wilcox, “Semitisms in NT”, 986.

¹¹M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 16–17. This view has been vindicated fully by Rendsburg. Cf. Gary Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1990).

¹²Cf. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 47–49.

century.¹³

Next, with regard to Aramaic, Wilcox weighs the value of both Qumran Aramaic and Targumic Aramaic against the aforementioned criteria. He argues that, while Qumran Aramaic has a claim to greater contemporaneity, Targumic Aramaic has at least equal claim in every other criterion. “[I]f the texts from Qumran meet the criteria for date, independent composition and sample-size, the Rabbinical material fits all criteria except that of date.”¹⁴

However, Wilcox is quick to point out that similarities between the transliteration of רמוני (ραββουσι) in the New Testament¹⁵ and the vocalization of the Palestinian Targumic tradition¹⁶ do not argue for the first-century dating of the Targum. Rather, such similarities merely suggest the Palestinian Targum tradition is closer to the first-century Judaeen traditions than is *Targum Onqelos*.¹⁷

Wilcox duly gives Qumran Aramaic pride of place for the study of the New Testament Aramaic problem. However, he would complement the data offered by QA with the Aramaic from the Bar Kokhba letters and the Palestinian Targums.¹⁸

While an exact dating of the Palestinian Targumic tradition is out of the reach of

¹³It should be noted that Wilcox’s nomenclature (1984: Mishnaic Hebrew; 1994: Proto-Mishnaic Hebrew) is rooted in a time when the chronological status of Qumran Hebrew was questioned. Current scholarship recognizes Qumran Hebrew as representing a medial period between Late Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew. It has some features that are distinct from the first and others that are independent of the second. Cf. Takamitsu Muraoka, “Hebrew” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 344; Wilcox, “Semitisms in NT”, 987; and Wilcox, “The Aramaic Background of the New Testament”, 377.

¹⁴Wilcox, “Semitisms in NT”, 989.

¹⁵Mk 10:51 and Jn 20:16.

¹⁶Gen. 44:18.

¹⁷Wilcox, “Semitisms in NT”, 989–990.

¹⁸In a 1984 essay, Wilcox also cites as witnesses Samaritan Aramaic and the Christian Palestinian Aramaic texts. However, he backs away from this assertion in his Anchor Bible Dictionary article on Semitisms and his 1994 essay on Aramaisms in the New Testament. See Wilcox, “Semiticisms” and Wilcox, “The Aramaic Background of the New Testament”, 377.

present scholarship, Wilcox, with the Kahle school,¹⁹ maintains that it should play a critical role in discerning the dialectal characteristics of first-century Judaeian Aramaic.²⁰

Finally, Wilcox offers several criteria for distinguishing Aramaic from Hebrew.²¹ In addition to seven elements of syntax distilled from the works of other scholars,²² he offers three additional criteria. These are shown in Table 4.3.

Further, with respect to the words of Jesus in particular, Wilcox sets forth three important parameters in which any critical approach to the New Testament problem should work:²³

¹⁹Cf. Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford, 1959).

²⁰Wilcox, "Semitisms in NT", 992. This point is developed further in "Aramaic Background" (Wilcox, "The Aramaic Background of the New Testament", 377).

²¹It is worth noting that Wilcox considers there to have been two different types of Hebrew in use during the first century: Mishnaic Hebrew and classical Hebrew (Wilcox, "Semitisms in NT", 993). As noted above, this paradigm has significant flaws which have been demonstrated to be untenable. Cf. Muraoka, "Hebrew".

²²The seven elements which distinguish Aramaic from Hebrew are as follows (The text of this note is drawn verbatim from Wilcox's essay [993]. Some minor parts have been omitted for the sake of space.):

1. The absence of the Perfect and Imperfect Consecutive forms and their replacement by Imperfect and Perfect respectively.
2. The use of the Participle as a Present, found in Biblical Hebrew, but very common in Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic.
3. The Periphrastic tenses: the use of the Participle with the Perfect or Imperfect of the verb 'to be' to form frequentative and iterative meanings; a similar use with the Imperative and the Infinitive of the verb 'to be'.
4. The use of the 3rd. pers. plural of a finite verb, or the plural of a participle, to indicate an indefinite subject.
5. The use of the relative particle to introduce circumstantial and causal clauses, and with conjunctions or prepositions, to introduce temporal clauses also.
6. The Ethic Dative with -ל.
7. The 'proleptic pronoun': the use of a personal pronoun either in the nominative or in the oblique cases to anticipate a following noun.

These elements are still maintained by Wilcox for discerning Aramaic from Hebrew influences on Greek texts. Cf. Wilcox, "Semiticisms".

²³Wilcox, "The Aramaic Background of the New Testament", 378.

1. The fact that a saying attributed to Jesus is not in Aramaic or traceable to Aramaic does not render it inauthentic. Jesus may have spoken Hebrew and/or Greek in addition to his home-language of Aramaic.
2. Jesus should be seen as part of his society and not innately at odds with it. Hence, where a Jesus-saying fits into first-century Jewish culture, it is more likely to be genuine.
3. Understanding Jesus and his followers as having lived and moved within first-century Jewish culture in Judaea, one must respect the complexity of that culture and the implications of that complexity for studying the New Testament Aramaic problem.

4.2 Problems in Wilcox's Approach

Among the more modern studies, perhaps no one has thought through the deeper problems of method better than Max Wilcox. For example, none of the other approaches we have surveyed have considered the problems in labeling Septuagint-like words as "Septuagintalisms," the deeper intricacies of discerning Hebrew

Table 4.3: Wilcox's Criteria for Distinguishing Between Hebrew and Aramaic

1. Aramaic or Hebrew words that were transliterated into Greek.
2. Elements of vocabulary, idiom, or syntax which suggest Aramaic or Hebrew influence or that are capable of being interpreted in more than one way.
3. Evidence of a knowledge of Jewish tradition such as is preserved in the Targums and the texts from Qumran.

from Aramaic, and the possible polyglot nature of both the writers/redactors of source documents and the source documents themselves. There are, however, several issues that are not addressed by his paradigm.

Unlike Fitzmyer and Casey, Wilcox does not offer a reverse translation from Greek into Aramaic. However, although he thereby avoids the issue of translation technique, he overlooks the issue of literary genre and style. Further, while he touches upon the problem of bilingual interference, he apparently overlooks our present need for grammars of first-century Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic.²⁴

In addition, although the critical points Wilcox makes are legitimate, we find his use of the later Targums to be problematic.²⁵ As Wilcox does not specify the circumstances under which one should turn to the Targums, we assume that he would use the Targums with the QA corpus as a single corpus of comparison. If this is the case, we find this part of his approach to be significantly flawed. For the same reasons that one must treat circumspectly the conclusions of the Targumic approach, one must also cautiously use Targumic grammar and vocabulary when considering the language of first-century Judaea.²⁶

Languages do not develop in straight lines but are organic and, in many instances, can appear random in their development. It is, therefore, questionable to comment on the language of a given time by using a corpus from centuries later. For example, to use a third-century text alone to comment on the grammar of a

²⁴See §3.3.4 “The Need for Comprehensive Grammars.”

²⁵Our review of Wilcox’s characteristics to be desired in the corpora of comparison may be found in Section 4.1 (page 78). Particular attention should be given to Table 4.2, “Wilcox’s Characteristics of Desirable Corpora.”

²⁶For a discussion of the appropriate usage of TgA in relation to the New Testament Aramaic problem, see Loren Stuckenbruck, “An Approach to the New Testament Through Aramaic Sources; the Recent Methodological Debate” *JSP* 8 (1991), 3–29.

language from 200 or more years earlier is dangerous.²⁷ The route which requires the least amount of conjecture excludes the Targumic grammar except to comment on areas not readily found in Qumran Aramaic. As Stuckenbruck has reasoned:

When a word, form, or phrase *fails* to appear in Middle Aramaic of Palestine, but is found in Official *and* in a western dialect of Late Aramaic (e.g. Christian Palestinian, Samaritan, Galilean), it is not rash to suppose that it belonged to the language of Jesus and the earliest Christian communities in Palestine.²⁸

The criterion of contemporaneity thus requires one to start with Qumran Aramaic as the foundation of one's understanding of first-century Judaeae literary Aramaic. One may justifiably branch out from there to the Bar Kokhba letters and then to the various corpora both later and earlier by centuries. But one must always give account of the differences in genre, purpose, and circumstances of composition between the corpora.

²⁷We here set aside the problem of whether and to what degree the Targums reflect the religious practice and views of first-century Judaea. This is an issue beyond the scope of the present work.

²⁸Stuckenbruck, "Approach", 28–29. Italics for "fails" added. Casey may be seen to use a similar argument with respect to the vocabulary used in first-century Judaea. However, such an argument is still flawed in that Casey employs not the Targums but the later Talmuds. The relevance of this dialect for the linguistic study of the New Testament Aramaic problem is questionable for the reasons we have stated in §1.2.5.

4.3 Maurice Casey

4.3.1 His Approach

In 1998, Maurice Casey set forth to reconstruct and exegete the Aramaic sources behind the Gospel of Mark.²⁹ The year 2002 saw him apply this same methodology to the hypothetical source Q.³⁰ In both instances, Casey argues that such a reconstructed Aramaic source would be as close to the original as we can come and that scholarship can reconstruct it now because sufficient vocabulary exists among the textual evidence. As will become obvious, Casey's perspective differs substantially from our own; our critique of his position appears below in Section 4.3.2 "Problems in Casey's Approach."

With regard to the linguistic milieu in which Jesus lived, Casey maintains that there were four languages in first-century Eretz Israel: Aramaic, Latin, Hebrew, and Greek.³¹ Jesus spoke Aramaic almost exclusively.³² He did not know Latin except for "the occasional Latin loanword."³³ Hebrew was a literary language and therefore not spoken by Jesus.³⁴ However, he might have known some Greek.³⁵ Consequently, Casey concludes: "It follows. . . that Jesus spoke Aramaic,

²⁹Maurice Casey, *Aramaic sources of Mark's Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), SNTSMS 102, 73.

³⁰Maurice Casey, *An Aramaic Approach to Q* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), SNTSMS 122, 51. Because Casey uses the same methodology in the second volume as the first, much of our discussion will be drawn from this earlier work.

³¹For Casey's later (2002) perspective on language dynamics, see Casey, *Aramaic Approach to Q*, 51–60. Casey's approach has not changed apparently since his 1998 volume.

³²Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 79.

³³Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 83.

³⁴Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 79. On this aspect of Casey's argument, see also Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 55–58.

³⁵"We must conclude that Jesus probably knew more than one word of Greek. He did not, however, generally teach in Greek, so to understand his words we shall need to reconstruct them in their original Aramaic" (Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 83).

that he taught in Aramaic, that accounts of his life and teaching were transmitted in Aramaic, and that Mark's Gospel contains some literal translation of Aramaic source material."³⁶

Given this extraordinary linguistic environment, Casey clarifies his corpora for comparison in order of priority: the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls,³⁷ the Palestinian Talmud,³⁸ Christian Palestinian Aramaic,³⁹ and "Aramaic of any period and dialect."⁴⁰ The last corpus he includes for finding Aramaic equivalents of rare words.

Having delineated his texts for comparison, Casey discusses the matter of translation technique and the effects of bilingual interference on the New Testament text.⁴¹ To this end, he calls upon works in modern Translation Studies and concludes that translators suffer from higher levels of interference than non-translators. The reason for this is that the texts they translate reinforce the in-

³⁶Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 86. While Casey's conclusion reflected here is, in our judgment, a *non sequitur*, we present it here with neither justification nor overt criticism but in order to illustrate the logic of Casey's argumentation.

³⁷Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 91. Casey strangely does not clarify whether he intends the Aramaic from the Qumran scrolls or the later Bar Kokhba correspondence.

³⁸Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 91–92.

³⁹Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 92. Casey uses the designation "Palestinian Syriac lectionaries" for this Late Aramaic corpus. This name is a misnomer and should be discarded. It confuses a later dialect from Palestine with a later, eastern dialect. The term "Christian Palestinian Aramaic" has supplanted it. Cf. the four-volume series "A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic" published by STYX: Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert, Eulogios, the Stone-Cutter, and Anastasia* (Groningen: STYX, 1996), A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic, III, Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic Old Testament and Apocrypha Version from the Early Period* (Groningen: STYX, 1997), A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic, I, Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament Version from the Early Period: The Gospels* (Groningen: STYX, 1998), A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic, IIA, Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament Version from the Early Period: The Epistles* (Groningen: STYX, 1998), A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic, IIB, and Christa Müller-Kessler and Michael Sokoloff, *The Catechisms of Cyril of Jerusalem* (Groningen: STYX, 1999), A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic, IV.

⁴⁰Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 92–93.

⁴¹Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 93.

terference.⁴² Consequently, Casey argues, the translators of the New Testament suffered from slavish literalism and occasionally altered the texts according to their cultural biases.⁴³

Finally, Casey combines these conceptions of Judaeon language dynamics and translation technique into a seven-step “standard procedure for reconstructing Aramaic sources from the witness of our Greek Gospels.” This is summarized in Table 4.4.⁴⁴

Table 4.4: Casey’s Procedure for Reverse Translation of the Greek Gospels

1. Select passages which show some signs of having been translated literally.
2. Draft a possible Aramaic substratum using the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Where words are not found, the lexica of the aforementioned corpora should be consulted.
3. Verify that the draft reconstruction is appropriately idiomatic.
4. Interpret the resulting reconstruction from a first-century Jewish perspective.
5. Endeavor to read the reconstruction through the eyes of a first-century translator.
6. Infer any deliberate editing by the Gospel writers themselves.
7. Assess the probability of the suggested reconstruction.

⁴²Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel*, 95.

⁴³Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel*, 93–107.

⁴⁴Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel*, 107–110 || Casey, *Aramaic Approach to Q*, 60–63. In the latter volume, Casey adds one more step: the results should be written in a reader-friendly manner (63).

4.3.2 Problems in Casey's Approach

Among the approaches discussed in this and the previous chapters, the approach of Maurice Casey is perhaps the most aggressive and the least tenable. In the methodology detailed above,⁴⁵ Casey proceeds along several lines which, while relevant to the New Testament Aramaic problem, are either not able to be supported by the present state of research or are simply not justified by himself.

4.3.2.1 Step One: Natural Selection?

In Section 3.3.3.1, "The Need to Assume an Aramaic Original" (page 65), we noted the need for comprehensive grammars of Hellenistic Greek and Qumran Hebrew to clarify (1) which passages in Greek may not have originally been cast in Greek and (2) which of those might have been in Aramaic and which in Hebrew. This discussion also applies to Casey's first step: selecting passages which might have been translated from non-Greek sources. Casey states that the passages he chose have been noted by others as possibly having an Aramaic source that was "somewhat misread and misunderstood."⁴⁶ This criterion follows a similar vein to that of Maloney's attempt to ascertain Semitic interference in Mark.⁴⁷

Without a complementary knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic to better clarify the nature of the text, the process of selection is left to a semi-educated kind of intuition. With this comes the inability to judge whether an anomaly in one language that happens to be common in another is the result of a source in

⁴⁵For a discussion of Casey's approach see §4.3 on page 88. A summary of his eight-part process follows is contained here for ease of reference. All items are quoted verbatim from Casey, *Aramaic Approach to Q*, 60–63. Items in brackets are inserted for readability or clarity.

⁴⁶Casey, *Aramaic Approach to Q*, 60.

⁴⁷Elliott Maloney, *Semitic Interference in Marcan Syntax* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1981), SBLDS 51, 7–245.

the second language or a native speaker of the first using his mother tongue in an irregular way.⁴⁸

4.3.2.2 Step Two: A Problem of Dialectal Sources

In developing a proposed Aramaic substratum, Casey's process relies on a data-bank of Aramaic phonemes, morphemes, and syntagmemes which either are yet to be documented in a systematic fashion or are virtually irrelevant to the question.

As discussed in Section 1.2, "Language Usage and Attestation" (page 4), the Aramaic of the Qumran scrolls is the most relevant Aramaic dialect for resolving the New Testament Aramaic problem.⁴⁹ Casey, however, does not distinguish between Qumran Aramaic and the Aramaic of the Bar Kokhba letters. Instead, among his sparse references to QA texts, he indiscriminately refers to a letter from Naḥal Ḥever.⁵⁰ This is an artificial amalgamation of a literary dialect and an epistolary dialect from different times, before versus after the First Jewish Revolt.

⁴⁸See "bad" Greek versus "good" Greek in §3.3.4.

⁴⁹While ossuaries and other sundry inscriptions exist from Eretz Israel in the period from 200 BCE to 200 CE, one is hard-pressed to consider these as representative of their own dialect. The value of the Qumran scrolls is that, while many (if not all) of the Aramaic scrolls were originally drafted elsewhere, one may proceed with confidence that a single, sizable linguistic community was able to read these texts.

Use of the inscriptions of the other Middle Aramaic dialects is problematic in that one cannot address their correlation to QA without caveats concerning the disparity between the two in terms of genre, geography, or chronology. Further, even if some members of the Qumran community had been familiar with the other corpora, the degree to which this impacted the texts of the community as a whole is doubtful.

⁵⁰Casey makes reference to 5/6ḤevA nab I.10 (Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 211). He dates this to the first century CE. While some of the texts may be dated to 95 CE, it is preferable to refer to the texts from the Babatha archive as from the second century CE. For the date of XḤev/Se 7-50, see Hannah Cotton, "Ḥever, Naḥal: Written Material" in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 360, and Hannah M. Cotton and Ada Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), DJD 27, 10-11.

This is the only reference to the Bar Kokhba material we have found in Casey's two volumes. Curiously, Casey's index omits this reference.

Next, Casey inexplicably skips the Targums and instead draws from the Palestinian Talmud. This may be due to the aforementioned corruption of *Onqelos* and *Jonathan*. It may be that, in a self-appointed effort to find the words Jesus said, Casey decided to omit the later Targums for an unstated reason. We speculate here because Casey offers no justification for his omission of these two major texts. Since Jesus was a first-century Galilean, the better method would be a negative one, first establishing what influence Judaeen language patterns may have had on the tradition. What is left could then be compared against what can be known about the later Aramaic of Galilee.⁵¹

However, the time-frame of the Talmud Yerushalmi is problematic for Casey's goal as it represents Aramaic from the beginning of the fifth century and he does not allow for dialectal changes in the preceding 370 years.⁵² Some of the dialectal changes between Middle Aramaic and Late Aramaic have been summarized by Kaufman as follows:

⁵¹This is not to say that one can rule out those parts of the tradition that echo Judaeen Aramaic, keep the part that echoes the later Galilean Aramaic, and declare the result the words of Jesus. As no writing of Jesus of Nazareth is extant, one's working hypothesis must be that his words are primarily preserved through the textual tradition of the early church. Given that one must work from a later textual tradition to uncover an earlier one, and then never have the hope of knowingly and reliably touching upon an element of oral tradition, any connection between the textual tradition and an alleged oral one is tenuous at best.

⁵²It should be noted that the distinction between literary and oral forms is here moot because both corpora are literary in their extant form. While Yerushalmi, like the New Testament, clearly preserves some oral tradition, the extent to which the extant material reflects modifications of the original is a matter of ongoing study.

As an illustration of changes in orthography alone, compare מרא as a construct/suffixed form in Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Bar-Ilan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2003), 64a, to מרי and related forms in Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* 2nd ed. (Bar-Ilan, Israel/Baltimore, Maryland: Bar-Ilan University Press/The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 329b–331a. This difference is also seen in QA. Cf. מרא as the emphatic in 4QEn^b iii.14 and 4QWords of Michael lines 6, 7, 11, and 12. The form מרה occurs in QA (1QapGen xx.13 and 15) as the absolute form. While the form מרי does occur in QA, it consistently serves as the construct form: 1QapGen xxi.2, xxii.16, and 21. This is the same force as מרא just mentioned in Judaeen Aramaic.

Short vowels in unstressed syllables are reduced and, in some cases, totally elided. The vocalization traditions indicate that in the period after the loss of final case vowels, stress was generally on the final syllable of the word, although the modern dialects (and some reading traditions) show a strong tendency toward penultimate stress (the phonological situation that had obtained prior to the loss of those vowels). Weakening of the laryngeal/pharyngeal consonants is characteristic both of Palestinian dialects (Samaritan and some Galilean) and of Babylonian. In Syriac and Babylonian, final unstressed long vowels are elided, as are final liquids, nasals, and interdentals in Babylonian.⁵³

Thus, at the very least, any application of JPA grammatical or lexical data to our problem must account for inevitable changes in accent, morphology, and syntax; differences in style should also be addressed where possible.

In order to proceed along these lines, drawing from significantly later Aramaic corpora, Casey must insist that Aramaic is a stable, standardized language in the Middle period. Unfortunately for his approach, however, it was *not* a standardized language, “as the Dead Sea Scrolls have helped us to understand.”⁵⁴ Characteristic of Middle Aramaic is the breakdown of the standardization prevalent in OfA.⁵⁵ “Here one notes . . . the emergence of ‘real local dialects.’”⁵⁶ For Aramaic to be stable and standardized at this time would mean that the significant differences

⁵³Stephen A. Kaufman, “Aramaic” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary on CD-ROM* (Logos Library System Version 2.0c, 1995, 1996).

⁵⁴Maurice Casey, “Aramaic Idiom and the Son of Man Problem: A Response to Owen and Shepherd” *JSNT* 25.1 (2002), 12.

⁵⁵See §1.2.5.

⁵⁶Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Grand Rapids, MI/Livonia, MI: Eerdmans/Dove, 1997), 61.

between Judaeen Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Hatran, and Edessene did not exist whereas the various corpora demonstrate otherwise.⁵⁷ Further, as is demonstrated in Part II, QA is characterized by diversity in its orthography, morphology, and syntax. Hence, a wealth of textual data and study weighs against Casey's allegation of stability in the Aramaic of the first-century.

Casey's third resource is Christian Palestinian Aramaic.⁵⁸ These texts reflect a dialect, as Casey states, "in the right place, of a slightly different culture, and somewhat later date."⁵⁹ However, he does not give sufficient weight to the fact that these texts are from at least the sixth century CE and, thus, date to over 400 years later than the latest dating for the writing of Mark. Consequently, the inclusion of this corpora is erroneous in not taking account of the variations in language and culture that arose from the First Jewish Revolt (c. 66-70 CE), the expulsion of Christians from the synagogues (a.k.a., the "parting of the ways"), the Second Jewish Revolt (c. 132-135 CE), and the rise of Christianity as a cultural force in what was then named "Palestine."

Finally, Casey's eclectic use of any Aramaic dialect from any period and location is simply untenable. Hurvitz has noted:

"[F]rom a linguistic point of view there is no such thing as 'Aramaic'
of which one can speak generally and without further specification.

⁵⁷Cook has observed several significant differences between these dialects. While we disagree with Cook on his proposed dialect continuum, the differences he notes are nonetheless significant. Cf. Edward M. Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology" in *Abr Nahrain Suppl.* ed. T. Muraoka. Vol. 3 (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1992), 8.

Fitzmyer has preferred the term "Old Syriac" for the languages of Edessa, Serrin, Dura, and other Syrian towns. For the sake of clarity, to avoid confusion with Casey's references to Syriac, we here use the traditional Edessene. Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic" in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 49b.

⁵⁸On "Palestinian Syriac" as a misnomer, see note 39 on page 89.

⁵⁹Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 92.

There are various Aramaic dialects, differing from one another both in time and place.”⁶⁰

Endeavoring to work from later sources in order to reconstruct a text is tenuous at best. In Casey’s studies, where his allusions to the rabbinic literature account for approximately half of the allusions to his literary databank. It is highly circumspect to draw from such corpora without addressing the chronological and geographical differences between the two. Casey’s use of the rabbinic literature calls into question how much more he has offered than Black.⁶¹

⁶⁰Avi Hurvitz, “The Chronological Significance of ‘Aramaisms’ in Biblical Hebrew” *IEJ* 18 (1968), 235.

⁶¹Even a cursory survey of Casey’s *An Aramaic Approach to Q* and *Aramaic sources of Mark’s Gospel* will show that the representation of the Qumran material is decidedly in the minority, being surpassed significantly by his use of the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds. In the indices of passages discussed for both volumes, Casey’s functional corpus of Qumran Aramaic is comprised of 1QapGen xxi.13, 4QTgLev. and 11QTgJob in *Aramaic Sources of Mark’s Gospel* and 1QapGen xxi.13 and 4QapocrDan in *An Aramaic Approach to Q*.

A similar problem is to be found with Schwarz’s 1985 work, “*Und Jesu sprach*”, in which he considers the form of the Aramaic substratum to the words of Jesus. Schwarz gives greater weight to the rabbinic and Targumic material than to the Qumran Aramaic texts, but he does not explain why. In this preference, he follows the lead of several nineteenth-century scholars (Meyer, Nestle, Wellhausen, Dalman) and some twentieth-century academics (Burney, Joüon, Torrey, Black, and Jeremias) who either did not know of the Qumran material or discounted its importance. He further refers to Beyer’s *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament*, a treatment which amalgamates the various Semitic languages from Old Babylonian to (Babylonian) Talmudic Aramaic to North and South Arabic. While Schwarz gives some credit to Fitzmyer’s work, he does not exhibit allegiance to Fitzmyer’s methods. Cf. Günther Schwarz, “*Und Jesu sprach*”: *Untersuchungen zur aramäischen Urgestalt der Worte Jesu* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1985), BWANT 118, 1–3, 334–337, 352–362, and Klaus Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 19–27. Cf. also Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache* (Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1896); Gustaf Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* 1st ed. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1898); C.F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1922); Paul Joüon, *L’Évangile de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1930), *Verbum Salutis* 5; C.C. Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels: Some of the Evidence* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1937); Black, *Aramaic Approach*; and Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* 2nd ed. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1972).

4.3.2.3 Step Three: A Matter of Idiom

Casey's third step is to ensure that a proposed draft reconstruction is idiomatically consonant with the Aramaic of first-century Judaea. As we have just noted, Casey's proposal of which dialects should be used to estimate first-century Judaeian Aramaic is severely flawed. Further complicating this matter, Casey does not offer any basis for his understanding of what first-century Judaeian idiom was. If his understanding is from his own study, he does not offer any explanation of it. Currently, no standard work exists for the study of first-century Judaeian Aramaic idiom — either literary or colloquial. Without this work or a line-by-line justification similar to Fitzmyer's study on Philippians,⁶² one finds it difficult to accept without strong reservations the idiom of Casey's reverse translations.

4.3.2.4 Step Five: Translation Technique

In the fifth step of his method, Casey does not give due attention to the other translation techniques employed in antiquity. While he discusses modern translation techniques at length in *Aramaic sources of Mark's Gospel* and, presumably, relies on the same in his volume on Q, he does not justify his own use of literal translation technique. Critical to this step in reverse translation is the study of Koine Greek translations of known Semitic documents.⁶³ To apply the conclusions developed from the study of modern translations is anachronistic and otherwise too

⁶²Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Background of Philippians 2:6-11" *CBQ* 50 (1988), 470–483.

⁶³Examples of these may be found in Benjamin G. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), Septuagint and Cognate Studies 26, Erik W. Larson, *The Translation of Enoch: From Aramaic into Greek* Ph.D thesis, (New York University, 1995), and, to a lesser degree, Vincent T.M. Skemp, *The Vulgate of Tobit Compared with Other Ancient Witnesses* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2000), SBLDS.

far removed from the historic setting of the ancient texts. For more on the need to justify one's choice of translation technique, see Section 3.3.3.3 "On Literal Translation Technique."

4.3.2.5 Step Six: Which Level of Redaction?

Casey's sixth step is to "isolate as far as possible deliberate editing by the Gospel writers themselves."⁶⁴ In support of this, he notes that several passages betray some form of editing.⁶⁵ However, Casey does not delineate the characteristics of the Gospel writers' editing and how it is distinct from that of other redactors. The results of this omission in method is that all redaction is implied to have happened at a single stage of the written tradition, the first stage. This is simply not supported by the known tradition history of any pericope.⁶⁶ Given that the known tradition history shows marked diversity by several hands at the earliest recoverable stages, it is likely that the earlier stages of the tradition were similarly fraught with emendations by various sources. For more on the precarious life of a first-century text, see Section 2.3.1, "The Fates of a Text."

4.3.3 Concluding Comments on Casey's Approach

In light of the foregoing analysis of Casey's resources and method, much of his reconstructions simply fails to persuade. Casey's method highlights some of the

⁶⁴Casey, *Aramaic Approach to Q*, 62.

⁶⁵With respect to Mark, Casey asserts editing in Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34. With respect to Q as represented in the canonical Matthew and Luke, he finds editing in Matt 23:23–36 || Lk 11:39–51 and Matt 12:23 || Luke 7:20–21. See Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel*, 110, and *Aramaic Approach to Q*, 62.

⁶⁶In this regard, one may take the critical apparatus of any critical edition as reflective of the known, albeit later, textual history of a passage. For an example, see the critical apparatus of Eberhard Nestle et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece* 27th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1995).

key processes required for a reverse translation. Unfortunately, however, due to the lack of the necessary studies in several areas, his effort does not yield substantial results. Rather, his reverse translations and the conclusions he draws from them are not supported by relevant data and are therefore largely conjectural. This is due in part to our general lack of knowledge and in part to a seeming misappropriation of the extant resources. In the best of cases, the data has not yet been distilled from the various corpora or, in the worst, the conclusions are simply not justified adequately by the author.

Chapter 5

Summary of Part I

The time since Meyer's *Jesu Muttersprache* has seen several significant studies devoted to the New Testament Aramaic problem. Aside from the study of the New Testament writings, corollary fields of study in the Targums, the Qumran scrolls, the Semitic languages, ancient translation technique, and Hellenistic Greek grammarology might be included in a comprehensive review of the problem. To include such a comprehensive work here is precluded by the exigencies of space.¹ In this part we have restricted the scope of our survey to those works which substantially shaped the agenda of New Testament Aramaic studies by addressing the issue of method.²

Prior to the beginning of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Novem-

¹For the Gospels alone, such a work would approach the density of Evans' bibliography of Historical Jesus studies. Cf. Craig A. Evans, *Life of Jesus Research: An Annotated Bibliography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), New Testament Tools and Studies 24.

²In 1962, Beyer published his *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament* which, while being very comprehensive in its inclusion of studies on the diverse Semitic and Greek languages, omits the Qumran literature and thereby is forced into a reconstructive approach similar to the approaches of Dalman and Black. Further, Beyer's work does not endeavor to discern between Hebrew and Aramaic. Cf. Klaus Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 19–28.

ber 1947, any approach to the New Testament Aramaic problem was severely restricted to using TgA and the later rabbinic literature in conjunction with BA and OfA.³ Any argument about Aramaic in first-century Judaea was necessarily speculative and reliant upon texts separated by several hundred years. The discussion of this period was dominated by Dalman, Kahle, and, to a lesser extent, Black. As seen in Chapter 2, any efforts to reverse translate the Greek of the New Testament were severely hampered by technical difficulties.

Further, due to the narrow scope through which scholars could peer into the language dynamics of first-century Judaea, the influence of Hebrew was severely underplayed. The appearance of Latin was skewed, and the existence of the pre-Arabic dialects did not even enter into the discussion of scholars at this time.

The uncovering of the Qumran texts in 1948 began a paradigmatic earthquake that permanently changed the landscape of New Testament studies. Scholarship could not base arguments on preconceptions such as an alleged diglossic tension between Aramaic and Hebrew.⁴ The language dynamics of first-century Judaea came to rest upon the use of Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic. The place of Latin was significantly undermined, and the pre-Arabic dialects came to have a more pronounced place on the horizon.

In light of these changes, scholars began to espouse the use of QA in the reconstruction of Aramaic *Vorlagen*. Notably, Fitzmyer has advocated the use of Qumran Aramaic as the most relevant Aramaic corpus for the study of the problem. Our review of the linguistic landscape of first-century Judaea and of the dialect and stages of Aramaic (see Chapter 1) vindicates this perspective.

³The use of BA also conflated the issues as Daniel is widely seen as having been written in the second-century BCE but in a style reminiscent or imitative of the sixth-century BCE.

⁴See *n.* 63 on page 52.

However, as noted in Chapter 3, there are several issues which neither Fitzmyer nor Maloney take into account. These issues are nuanced further in the first of the hybrid approaches we consider. Wilcox's view lays out several issues which must be addressed before one can adequately study the question of an Aramaic source behind Greek texts. Our discussion of the problems in Wilcox's approach (see §4.2) illustrates our resonance with several aspects of his work.

Finally, Maurice Casey used an unusual amalgam of dialects to reconstruct the Aramaic *Vorlage* to the Greek of Mark and Q. He then proceeded to exegete those texts as well. Unfortunately, Casey appears to do this without the necessary textual support; as a result, his work retains several major problems of method.

In our discussion of the major figures who addressed the problem in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, it becomes evident that their studies have met with only partial success due in part to the inadequacy of the datasets they used. While an Aramaic form or phrase was employed as justification by each scholar who offered a reconstruction or commented on an explicit passage of Greek, such application is unsystematic and borders on proof-texting as it does not appeal to the tri-lingual corpora in comprehensive, systematic terms.

The elevated status of Hebrew in the first-century Judaeian linguistic landscape now requires the use of negative proofs to justify an alleged Aramaism, as Wilcox stated. If one seeks to argue for an Aramaic background, one must first delineate why the background could not be irregular Greek usage or Hebrew in origin. Such negative proofs require systematic, complementary grammars of the three major languages used in first-century Judaea. Toward this end, we undertake in Part II to offer a grammar of the literary Aramaic dialect most pertinent to the aforementioned New Testament problem, Qumran Aramaic.

Part II

A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic

Chapter 6

The Limitations of This Grammar

The following discussion of Qumran Aramaic grammar does not seek to probe every linguistic development but seeks to describe the state of Aramaic as it is reflected in the texts themselves.¹ Where a grammatical convention common among other Aramaic dialects which precede or follow QA is not found in our corpus, we do not discuss it. Some illustrative reference will naturally be made to texts from other sites and corpora. As will be demonstrated, however, the Aramaic of this period and region demonstrates a significant number of grammatical elements which are peculiar to the QA corpus.

The quantity of reconstructed material has been minimized,² Due to the number of homographs and the variety of ways different forms are employed, the corpus typically excludes those fragments which do not exhibit sufficient syntax to judge clearly the nature of the form.³

¹Those texts from Cave 4 which are numbered above 550 have not been verified since the author did not receive permission to study the actual text, pending publication of the *editio princeps*.

²Reconstructed material is indicated in the text by square brackets (e.g., [מלכנא]). Further symbols are noted in Table , “Table of Symbols and Abbreviations”.

³For example, see 𐤛 in 4QEnGiants^c 35. One cannot determine whether it functions here as a preposition or as a subordinate conjunction.

In the interest of academic integrity, we have restricted our analysis to those texts for which photos have been published or for which copyright permission has been granted to reproduce them in this volume.⁴ In several places, the traditional line numbering is based on the combining of two fragments. While this numbering is occasionally followed here, the numbering used in the grammar is largely that of the fragments themselves with minimal reconstruction.

As certain sources became available to us later in the research process than others, the corpus used for the statistics cited in this grammar and the corpus of texts cited differ. Not all texts cited are included in the statistical analysis. Those texts excluded are the medial columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon* and those texts numbered 4Q529-549. Where these texts have been cited, the readings have been verified against the common or standard readings published on each text.

The photographs of the *Genesis Apocryphon* included in Appendix B were taken in 1994 by Gregory Bearman (Jet Propulsion Laboratory and the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center) and Bruce and Ken Zuckerman (West Semitic Research) and formed the basis of the work by Matthew Morgenstern, Elisha Qimron, and Daniel Sivan “The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon” (*Abr-Nahrain* 33, 30-54). As the authors of that article stressed, theirs was a preliminary edition which did not include photographs. Since high resolution or computerized photographs of the other texts are available, these images are included to offer the reader the ability to verify the readings cited.⁵

With regard to those texts numbered 4Q529–549, we have noted elsewhere that most of the photographs which accompany them in DJD31 are simply too

⁴Hence the exclusion of those Cave 4 texts numbered 550 and higher.

⁵The reproduction of these photographs as part of this work was made possible through the gracious permission of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

small to allow for proper validation of the *editio princeps*.⁶ We have been restricted to correcting only what can be clearly seen from the plates. Hence, we have removed most of Puech's reconstructions, leaving those we judged most probable.

Finally, not all cited words will be translated in this work. We have used our discretion and translated those words and phrases which may be misunderstood for homographic or context-based reasons or which are sufficiently rare as to not readily come to mind.

⁶Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4: XXII. Textes Araméens, Première Partie* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), DJD 31. See our pending review in *Review of Biblical Literature* (<http://www.bookreviews.org>). While this work is copyright 2001, we did not receive a copy of the work until shortly before we validated some questionable readings in a research trip to Jerusalem in the summer of 2002.

Chapter 7

Accidence

7.1 Orthography: Vowel Indicators

The reading of an unpointed text is inevitably determined by one's interpretation of the scribe's orthographic conventions and the representation of his phonology. The writers of QA texts utilized *matres lectionis* abundantly.¹ As in BA, the *m. lectionis* denote quality and not quantity.²

As J. Fitzmyer has noted in particular with regard to \aleph and η in QA, it is

¹The following discussion addresses the orthographic uses of the *matres lectionis*. As the phonological quality of each letter may be considered to be approximately the same as its counterpart in BA, we do not endeavour to illustrate the pronunciation of each letter here. For a discussion of the letters and their qualities, see Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 11, Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar Of Egyptian Aramaic* 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 32, §2, Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 409–422, and Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 277–281.

It is to be noted that in each of Beyer's volumes, his understanding of the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls includes texts which date as early as the fifth century BCE (e.g., the Hermopolis Letter) and which reflect the Aramaic of their time in a questionable, possibly stylistic manner (e.g., Daniel). Examples of this unjustified combining of corpora may be found on page 411 of the former volume or page 280 of the latter. Consequently, Beyer's treatments must be used with caution.

²Cf. Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §9.

sometimes difficult to tell whether one should regard these as consonants or *matres lectionis*.³ In the orthographic analysis below we endeavor to clarify this issue to some extent; however, cases not covered in the examples should be judged separately.

There is no reason to assume that short vowels in pretonic syllables have not been reduced in QA. Kaufman has argued for the beginning of the reduction process in the Achaemenid period.⁴ This reduction is evident in both pretonic (מדינתן) *their province* 1QapGen xxii.4)⁵ and pro-pretonic syllables (במפלטה) *in his downfall* 11QTgJob v.1).⁶ Shortening of the first *a* is evident in both LBH and BA.⁷ analysis proceeds under this assumption accordingly.

7.1.1 Aleph

As a vowel letter, *aleph* occurs in both medial and final positions. Final *aleph* typically designates *a* or *e*; in this capacity it indicates original vowels which occurred in both morpho-syntactical changes and regularly occurring forms (long *a*: נפשא 1QapGen xxii.19, עלמא 11QTgJob iii.5, long *e*: ענא 11QTgJob xiv.6, שרא

³Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1972), 195.

⁴Stephen A. Kaufman, “The History of Aramaic Vowel Reduction” in *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* ed. Michael Sokoloff (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983), 47–55. Kaufman suggests: “. . . *i* possibly preceding that of *a*. Of the new ultra-short vocalic allophones, *ū* was tenacious, *ī* easily moved to *shewa*, and *ā* could shift towards *ū* . . . by assimilation” (Kaufman, “Aramaic Vowel Reduction”, 55). This agrees with Beyer’s assertion of vowel reduction beginning in the fifth century BCE. Beyer, *ATTM*, 107–120.

⁵Not all cited words will be translated in this work. We have used our discretion and translated those words and phrases which may be misunderstood for homographic or context-based reasons or which are sufficiently rare as to not readily come to mind.

⁶Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 195.

⁷Cf. מדינה in BH (Ezra ii.1; Nehemiah vii.6.) and BA (Dan iii.2, 3). Cf. also Francis Brown et al., *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1996), 193b.

1QapGen xxii.13).⁸ While this is common among the other phases of Aramaic,⁹ in QA א also tends to replace ה and is the primary indicator of both the determined state and of feminine singular absolute forms.¹⁰ It is used in the infinitive of the derived stems (אשתעיא *to relate, tell a story* 1QapGen xix.18, ארתעצבא *to be grieved* 1QapGen xx.12, טמא *to defile, make unclean* 1QapGen xx.15, אחרבא *to destroy, lay waste* 4QpsDan^b 12 3).¹¹ The final *aleph* is also used for certain suffixes and adverbs which will be discussed below.

Medial *aleph* often follows ו and י and represents \bar{a} (משריאתי 1QapGen xxi.1). In this use א probably represents a long vowel.¹² As E. Cook has noted, the use of א for \bar{a} generally serves to distinguish between homographs.¹³

א is also evident in בתרא (1QapGen xxi.5, xxii.27; 11QTgJob xxxii.7; with -ל in 1QapGen xix.23). Also, גא in 4QpsDan^a 12 2 may demonstrate a quiescent א when compared to בג in 14 3 or גא- may be seen to represent *o*.¹⁴

⁸On the passive rendering of אשרא, see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 73. Given the lack of vowel pointing, one could also read this form as a Pe'al perfect form, *š'ērā*.

While QA vowel indicators do not signify length, the use of a vowel letter for the final syllable of a word necessitates a long vowel. The only exception to this pattern is the representation of diphthongs. Cf. §7.1.4 (page 112).

⁹Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 196.

¹⁰In accordance with this former usage, one finds that א"ל and ל"י verbs tend to retain their final *aleph* (e.g., בכא, אשרא, etc.). Cf. Table 8.4 (page 131). Cf. also Harold H. Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon" in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver* ed. David W. Thomas and William D. McHardy (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 119.

¹¹The use of אורעא in 1QapGen xxi.31 and xxii.13 has seemingly lost its infinitival ending due to the force of the pronominal suffixes involved (הון- and ה-, respectively).

¹²D.N. Freedman and A. Rittersprach noted this with particular regard to the Genesis Apocryphon (David Noel Freedman and A. Rittersprach, "The Use of Aleph as a Vowel Letter in the Genesis Apocryphon" *RQ* 6 (1967), 299–300. Some of the quiescence cited is dubious, however, particularly with reference to the א sufformative to indicate the emphatic state.

¹³Edward M. Cook, "The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* ed. P. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 362.

¹⁴For בתרא cf. באתר. The latter, however, may be shortened due to a possible construct relationship with אוממא.

A similar quiescence is demonstrated in אבוא (1QapGen xxii.10, 12). For a defense of the proposal that אבוא is a mistaken metathesis for אבוא *they took captive* in 1QapGen xxii.12, see

7.1.2 He

ה occurs in final position serving one of two functions:

1. to designate the final, original long *a*: אנתה 1QapGen xx.27, 34, להודיה *to acknowledge* 4QpapTob^a 18 15, להנחתה *to cause precipitation* 11QTgJob xxxi.3, לשניה *to be changed* 4QpsDan^a 8 3, מנחה *offering* 1QapGen xxi.2, עבדתה *you have done* 1QapGen xx.26, xxii.28, שביקה *the abandoned [vine]* 11QTgJob xxxi.4.¹⁵
2. to represent long *e*: (מרה 1QapGen ii.4, xx.13, למפנה *to go before* 1QapGen xix.22, משתה *drink* 1QapGen xxii.15, תכסה *you will hide* 11QTgJob xxxiv.9, תשוה *did you set...?* 11QTgJob xxx.7).

Occasionally, ה is used instead of א to indicate the emphatic form of masculine nouns. Singular: אנשה *man* 4QEn^a iii.18, שלמה 4QLevi^a 1 1.18, חסיה *purity, holiness* 4QLevi^a 3 6. Plural: חזיה *visions* 4QEn^c 1 vi.8, 13, חרתיה *parts* 4QEnastr^b 7 iii.2.

7.1.3 Waw

ו is used in final position to represent both original long *u* or long *o*. Examples of ו as indicative of *û* are found largely in verbal forms:¹⁶ אתחברו [*who*]

Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 197.

Kutscher has demonstrated a tendency among the Qumran scribes to “Hebraize” the orthography of the dominant Aramaic. This is found, among other places, in the use of ו- for ו. Hence the use of ו- in שבווא may be to suggest or stress the pronunciation of שבו as ending in *o*. Cf. Eduard Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Isa^a)* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 6, 20-21, esp. references to לו and לווא.

¹⁵Cf. Michael Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan/Jerusalem, Israel: Bar-Ilan University at Ahva Press, 1974), 150.

¹⁶Beyer finds ו several times in his assembled corpus of Dead Sea Scrolls Aramaic. See Beyer, *ATTM*, 415, and Beyer, *Ergänzungsband*, 415. Of the forms he cites, only one is attested in our

partnered [with] 4QEn^b iv.9,¹⁷ הרחקו *they went away* 11QTgJob ii.3),¹⁸ אכרו *they ate* 1QapGen xxi.21, xxii.23, 7 נגדו *they took* 1QapGen xxii.4, ערקו *they fled* 4QpapTob^a ii.4, תקוצו *may you cut down* 1QapGen xix.16,

Examples of ם indicating *ō* are the following: או 11QTgJob xxvi.2, פרעו *Pharaoh* 1QapGen xix.22, xx.14.¹⁹

It also represents medial long and short *u*: אכול *I will eat* 4QTob^d 1 1, רוח 1QapGen ii.13, 17, 11QTgJob ii.6, xiii.6, etc., טור 1QapGen xix.8, xxi.7, 16, 4QTob^b 4 ii.4, and medial long and short *o*: אנוש 1QapGen xix.15, xx.32, xxi.13, 4QEn^c 4 10, חנוך *Enoch* 4QEnGiants^a 8 4, נהורה *its light* 4QEnastr^b 6 6, קודם *before* 4QWords of Michael i.10, תוקף *strength* 1QapGen xx.14.

The **aw* diphthong is represented by ם.²⁰ It is evident in both medial and final positions: הוסיף *he continued* 4QTob^c 1 1, גרמוהי *his bones* 11QTgJob v.5, חתפוהי *his raiders* 11QTgJob ii.2, יום *day* 1QapGen xxii.21, 4QpapTob^a 2 3, 4QEn^c 5 ii.17, 25, 4QpsDan^a 24.5, 4QEnGiants^b 3 2,²¹ 11QTgJob xv.5, ם *within* 1QapGen ii.10, 4QTob^b 4 i.15, 4QpsDan^a 14 3.²²

corpus: הווא (1QapGen v.5, xiii.9, xix.24, xxi.26, xxi.28, xxii.8, xxii.9, 4QEn^b ii.2, ii.21, and 4QEn^c 4 1). The other eight are either derived from the Palestinian Targumim or not attested (e.g., כויה which Beyer finds in 4QEnoch^c).

Other examples of -ו- may be found in הו (4QTob^b 4 ii.8 and 4QEn^a iii.17), להוון (4QTob^b 4 ii.18), and תהוון (4QEn^c 5 i.22 and 4QLevi^a iv.8).

¹⁷Jacob Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-west Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), Handbuch der Orientalistik 21, 2 vols., 345-346.

¹⁸Cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 108.

¹⁹Fitzmyer here includes a reconstructed form אלו from 1QapGen xx.26 (Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 64). The photographic evidence does not make this peculiar form certain enough to be included in our analysis. Further, 11QTgJob ii.3 may include the form וכבנשו and *they have pressed him* (?), but the final letters of the morpheme are too corrupt to warrant this reading as significant for our purposes.

²⁰A statement concerning the contraction of the **aw* diphthong cannot be made with confidence due to the non-vocalized nature of the texts.

²¹Puech numbers this occurrence of ימיא 4QEnGiants^b 2 i + 3 5. Obviously, this is based on a proposed reconstruction of the text. Our numbering is derived from the fragment alone.

²²There may be some doubt about whether ם here is representative of the **aw* diphthong. Cf. גוא in 4QpsDan^a 12 2. We include it here for the sake of completeness.

7.1.4 Yod

י is found in QA both in final and medial positions. In final position, י is used in the following ways:²³

1. the long vowel *-î*: אבוי *his father* 1QapGen ii.20, 22, 24, אמי *my mother* 4QTob^b 4 ii.10, די 1QapGen ii.1, 12, etc., 11QTgJob ii.8, iii.5, vii.1, etc., התיבני [*Then*] *give me [an answer]!* 11QTgJob xxx.1, חברוי *his friends* 1QapGen xx.8, חתפוי *his raiders* 11QTgJob ii.2, מעבדי [*in*] *my making [of the earth]* 11QTgJob xxx.2, משפחתי *my family* 4QpapTob^a 2 9, נפתלי *Naphtali* 4QTob^b 4 iii.6, שגי 1QapGen ii.11, xix.27, xx8, 31, xxi.6, xxii.32, תניאני *a second time, again* 1QapGen xxi.1.²⁴
2. the diphthong *-ay*:²⁵

The diphthong *-ay* is found: איתי 1QapGen xxii.19, 22, 29, 11QTgJob vi.4, xxi.3, xxxiv.5, אנפי 1QapGen ii.12, 4QpapTob^a 6 8, 4QEnGiants^a i.3, חי 1QapGen xx.29, 4QpapTob^a 18 14, 11QTgJob x.8, עלי 1QapGen ii.2, 11, 12, xix.20, xx.21, 28, xxi.7, 4QLevi^a 4 4, and ערטלי *naked* 1QapGen xxii.33.

In medial position, י represents:

1. long *-ê*: אנפיהא 1QapGen xx.2, 4.²⁶

²³Beyer finds יי in his composite of Aramaic Levi and in several texts outside of the Qumran scrolls. See Beyer, *ATM*, 417 and 188–209. In our corpus, however, we do not find Beyer's reading of טברייה; rather, we find יי attested in the following places and forms: 1Q20 1 i.1 (ותתקיים), 4QpapTob^a 2 13 (ואתהייתה), 6 5 (בחי), 27 1 (מייא), 4QTob^c 1 6 (יתאיתנא), 4QEn^c 1 i.26 (כוייה), 4QEn^f 4 (כוכבלין), 11QTgJob xxxiv.10 (איתני).

²⁴Fitzmyer notes this as the nisbe ending, denoting an adjectival suffix which indicates membership in a class. See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 200, Muraoka and Porten, *GEA*, 2nd rev. ed., 378.

²⁵The degree to which diphthongs demonstrated by final י in QA have contracted is not clear.

²⁶Consequently, אנפהא 1QapGen xx.3 is defectively written. Fitzmyer notes *-ê* is also written defectively in ירושלם 1QapGen xxii.13 (Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 202). This is not nec-

2. long \hat{i} : עיריא *the Watchers* 4QEn^b iv.6, עירץ 1QapGen ii.1, 16, judgment, justice 1QapGen xx.13, 14, איתי 1QapGen xxii.19, 22, 29, 11QTgJob vi.4, xxi.3, xxxiv.5.

7.2 Phonology

7.2.1 Interdentals

The phonology of the Aramaic consonants of this period is, by all indications, equivalent to that of BA.²⁷ The relationship between interdentals in Qumran Aramaic (QA) and Proto-Semitic (PS) is illustrated by Table 7.1.²⁸

Table 7.1: Consonantal correspondence to Proto-Semitic

PS	QA
d, ḏ	ד
t, ṭ	ת
ṭ, ṭ̣ (ḏ, ḏ̣)	ט
ḡ, ḡ̣, ḡ̣̣	ק, ע

7.2.2 Assimilation

The most common form of assimilation in QA is that of \daleth to a following consonant. However, פיל"ו verbs are also present and exhibit the assimilation of \daleth to the

essarily the case. ירושלם is a common spelling for this word in the MT, the common difference being a frequent, combined pathah-hireq in the final syllable. While BH does attest to a seghol in the final syllable at times, there is no compelling reason to accept Fitzmyer's postulation in this instance. Further, ענפהא (1QapGen xx.3) may be merely a scribal error, as this form occurs only in 1QapGen xx.3. But אנפי- is attested in 1QapGen ii.17 (אנפיך) and in 1QapGen xx.2 and 4 (אנפיהא).

²⁷Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 202–203, for a fuller treatment of interdentals in QA. Cf. also Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §17. Even earlier, H.H. Rowley observed that the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon is very similar to that of Biblical Aramaic (Rowley, "Notes", 117).

²⁸The information presented here is derived from Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §17.

following consonant, like נ.²⁹

← תתן 1QapGen xxii.4, ← מדינתהון ← מדינתון 1QapGen xxii.22, ← אסב ← אסב נ
11QTgJob xvi.2. *תנתן

← ילדן ← ילדן *11QTgJob xxxii.2.³¹ ← יכולון ← יכולון *1QapGen xx.19,³⁰ verbs פ יו

7.2.3 Dissimilation

Where one would expect to find doubling in QA, one frequently finds a resolution of the doubled consonant by means of a liquid consonant:³²

נ 4 ii.5, להנפקה 4QTob^b יתננה 11QTgJob xxxiii.3, ינפק 11QTgJob xi.4, ינסון 11QTgJob
11QTgJob xxxi.5.³³ In forms of קדע, dissimilation occurs frequently, result-
ing in a נ closing the first syllable (אנדע 1QapGen xix.18, 11QTgJob viia.3,
מנדע 4QTob^b 4 iii.2, 5; 4QEn^c 1 vi.12, 4QLevi^a 1 i.14, מנדעי 11QTgJob
iv.2, ובמנדעה 11QTgJob x.3; 1QapGen ii.20, 22, xx.15, xix.18).

²⁹See also Beyer, *ATTM*, 89-95. Beyer's conclusions about assimilation in the Aramaic from Qumran is similar to ours. It is to be noted that he draws on evidence from other corpora for comparison but does not always detail where one may find his evidence. See, for example, his reference to the Aramaic of Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt [Beyer, *ATTM*, 94]. Further, his use of dated material (e.g., the works of Cowley and Dalman) renders his references suspect for modern work.

For a discussion of assimilation in OfA, see Muraoka and Porten, *GEA*, 2nd rev. ed., §3a.

³⁰While this phenomenon may be attested in 1QapGen xx.22 (יכול), the context of the line does not clearly delimit whether the verb is present- or future-oriented.

The disappearance of the second י may be due to the simplification of a diphthong. However, the use of *matres lectionis* in QA to represent diphthongs argues against this (Cf. §7.1.4). Assimilation in פ"י verbs is evident already in BA. Cf. Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §128.

³¹While both יכל and ילד originally were י"פ, the initial י has given way to an initial נ. This is a natural continuation of BA (Cf. Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §127). The representation of initial yod is here for illustrative purposes and is not meant to suggest an historic form of the verb.

Fitzmyer also finds assimilation in פ"י verbs in QA (Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 203).

³²See also note 29 on page 114.

³³Cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 17. While Sokoloff cites three forms in addition to these for 11QTgJob, we hold these instances in question due to the need to assume either a preformative (xxix.8), the resultant nun (xxviii.5), or the only occasional dissimilation of נ from ה (xxxi.3).

ר דרמשק 1QapGen xxii.5, 10.³⁴

7.2.4 Partial Dissimilation

A partial dissimilation is suggested by מכדש in 1QapGen xx.16.³⁵

7.2.5 Non-dissimilation of Two Laryngeals in the Same Root

In many later Aramaic dialects, when two laryngeals occur within the same root, one of them tends to be dissimilated (e.g., אע *wood*). However, with few exceptions,³⁶ QA does not exhibit this tendency.³⁷ Rather, neither laryngeal is dissimilated. For examples, see עע *wood* in 4QpapTob^a xviii.8, 4QLevi^db 2-3 2, 5-6 i.5,³⁸ חעך *to smile* in 4QVisions of Amram^a 5 5 and 4QVisions of Amram^b 1 14,³⁹ חעך *to embrace* in 1QapGen xvii.11, עבע *to hasten* in 1QapGen xx.9,

³⁴Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 3-4. Kutscher dates the form דרמשק to “the last centuries BCE” by comparing the occurrences of “Damascus” from the Tel el-Amarna tablets through Stephanus of Byzantium. He notes the parallel occurrences of דמשק in both OfA and BH. The occurrence here in 1QapGen points to similar parallelism between QH and QA.

As in OfA, the correlation of QA to Hebrew does not necessitate dependence on the sister language. This may be a Hebraism, but the relationship is far from certain.

³⁵מכדש ← כתש *to beg persistently*; here the Pa’el participle seems to suggest the meaning of the Pe’al stem *to crush*. Cf. Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* 2nd ed. (Bar-Ilan, Israel/Baltimore, Maryland: Bar-Ilan University Press/The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 273a-b; Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: The Judaica Press, 1996), 683a; also Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 131.

³⁶4QPrNab 1-3 8, 11QTgJob xv.1, xxxii.6, xxiii.3, and xxxv.7.

³⁷Sokoloff first observed this phenomenon in July, 1997. Cf. Michael Sokoloff, “Qumran Aramaic in Relation to the Aramaic Dialects” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, E. Tov and James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 748-750. Three years later, Puech reasoned what are essentially the same results from a smaller database, curiously ignoring the earlier, more comprehensive study (Émile Puech, “Sur la dissimilation de l’interdentale *ḏ* en araméen qumrânien. À propos d’un chaînon manquant” *RQ* 19 (2000), 607-616.

³⁸Puech also cites 4Q554 3 ii.15, but we have not been permitted to confirm this reading.

³⁹NB: The line numbering for 4QVisions of Amram^a is here different from that contained in the *editio princeps* (*DJD* 31) due to the latter’s reliance on a proposed reconstruction, combining fragments five through nine. Cf. Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4: XXII. Textes Araméens, Première*

4QVisions of Amram^c 1a ii.17, 11QTgJob iii.7, רחע *to wash*, and ערע *to meet* in 1QapGen xxii.13.

7.2.6 Metathesis

The metathesis of the sibilant ש and the stop ת is exhibited throughout QA: אשתני *changed* 1QapGen ii.11, 12, משתני *was changed* 1QapGen ii.2, אשתעי *tell me* 1QapGen xix.18, השתלמת *recompensed* 11QTgJob xxiii.6, and אשתדור *strive* 11QTgJob xxxiii.6.⁴⁰

Partie (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), DJD 31, 298

⁴⁰While it is a noun and is likely to be less subject to diachronic change, we here include אשתדור. It does demonstrate the continuance of a metathetical pattern in word formation and, consequently, underscores the continued metathesis of ש and ת.

It is worthy of noting that the metathesis evident here in אשתדור does *not* occur in Judaeen Aramaic. Cf. Hev 53:3 and Mur 49:3, as cited in Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* (Bar-Ilan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2003), 82a.

Chapter 8

Morphology

While the morphology of QA is very similar to that of BA, the following paradigms serve to illustrate those forms which do exist in the text and can be said thereby to have been known as part of this sub-dialect of Judaeen Literary Aramaic.

8.1 Verbs

8.1.1 Morphological Overview.

Table 8.1 illustrates the stems attested in QA.¹ Unsurprisingly, the verbal system is similar to earlier dialects of Aramaic, especially BA.

¹For the purpose of the following discussion, we use the term “regular verb” to refer to a verb that is not of the ʾ”ʾ conjugation. Given the constraints of this thesis, we have opted to omit discussion of the other weak verb forms; these are largely the same as BA. Hence, for the conjugation of these forms, we refer the reader to Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 51–54, and 56.

The Haphʾel form is seldom attested in QA. When it does occur, the form is similar to the Aphʾel, with the only exception being the obvious change from an initial *aleph* to *he*. Hence, only the predominant Aphʾel is represented here.

Table 8.1: An Overview of Verbal Morphology (by stem)

Name of Stem	Perfect Form	Imperfect Form	Participle	Infinitive
Pe'al	קטל	יקטל	קטל	מקטל
Pa'el	קטל	יקטל	מקטל	קטלא
Aph'el	אקטל	יקטל	מקטל	אקטלא
Ithpe'el	אתקטל	יתקטל	n/e	n/e
Ithpa'al	אתקטל	יתקטל	מתקטל	אתקטלא

8.1.2 Finite: the Perfect, Imperfect, Imperative, and Jussive

8.1.2.1 The Regular Verb

Table 8.2: The Affirmatives of the Finite Regular Verb

		Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.
Perfect	First	קטלת	n/e	קטלנא	n/e
	Second	קטלת-תה-/תה-תא	n/e	קטלתון	n/e
	Third	קטל	קטלת	קטלו-/וא	n/e
Imperfect	First	אקטל	אקטל	נקטל	נקטל
	Second	תקטל	תקטלין	תקטלון	n/e
	Third	יקטל	תקטל	יקטלון	יקטלן
Imperative	Second	קטל	n/e	קטלו	n/e
Jussive	Second	תקטל	תקטלי	תקטלו	n/e
	Third	יקטל	n/e	תקטלון	n/e

The extant verbal affirmatives are reflected in Table 8.2.²), and 4QLevi^b 17 (תשלט). While most of the forms are resonant of OfA and may be derived from forms in BA, the jussive tends to be marked by greater variety or deviation than the

²Beyer reads שלמא in 1QapGen xxii.28 as a third person feminine plural perfect form. However, we read the same form as a Pe'al participle with a feminine singular absolute sufformative. Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 470.

Beyer also projects the second feminine plural of the Hermopolis letter into Judaeen Literary Aramaic. However, this is not substantiated by our corpus. Beyer, *ATTM*, 471.

In his discussion on the imperative, Beyer also asserts a preformative י- for the feminine singular. This, however, is not substantiated by our reading. See Beyer, *ATTM*, 473–474.

In considering the jussive forms, Beyer overlooks the second masculine singular jussive in 1QapGen ii.25 (תרנז), xxii.30 (lxdt), 4QTob^b 4 ii.17 and 5 8 (lxdt)

other forms.³ Cook has stated that the jussive and the imperfect follow virtually the same pattern.⁴ This is not completely accurate. While the masculine singular forms are the same, the other extant forms are not.⁵

Beyer, however, finds a number of precative forms in the Qumran texts and in those texts he holds to be related to them.⁶ Unfortunately, the majority of these forms are cited from Official Aramaic texts, outside of the Qumran corpus: the

³Grelot observed תקוצו (<קצץ to cut) in 1QapGen xix.16 and יכולון (<יכל to be able) as imperfect forms in his review of Fitzmyer's *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*: "[L]es deux imparfaits tqwšw et ykwlwn ne sont pas davantage des formes étranges; la mater lectionis -w- montre simplement que l'accent n'était pas encore descendu sur la désinence -w(n), mais demurerait sur la voyelle précédente: tiqqúšû (de qšš) et yikkúlûn (de ykl). Il y a là un archaïsme que la vocalisation massorétique de *Daniel* n'a pas conservé" Cf. Pierre Grelot, "Review of J. A. Fitzmyer *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran I*" *RB* 74 (1967), 103. Cook arrives at the same conclusions about the forms, but does not seem to be aware of Grelot's review. Cf. Edward M. Cook, "The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* ed. P. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 371. The first of these readings, however, is dubious, breaking off in the middle of the word. The second deserves further study.

Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1972), 210. Fitzmyer finds the תקטלון form to be normative, referring to 1QapGen xi.17 (תאכלון). This is confirmed by other forms from 11QTgJob xxi.2 and 4. For photographic confirmation of Fitzmyer's readings, see Appendix B.

⁴"The paradigm [of the jussive in QA] is the same as the imperfect except that the jussive is indicated by final ך in the masculine plural forms...נאלו תקוצו, 1QapGen 19:16..."Cook, "Aramaic of DSS", 371.

⁵Cook overlooks two jussives:

- the second feminine singular jussive in 4QTob^b 4 i.3: אל תדחלי ואל תצפי לה אחתי Do not fear and do not worry about him, my sister.
- the third masculine plural in 11QTgJob xxix.2: והוא אמר ישמעון לה And he says: Let them listen to him!

In 4QTob^b, the second feminine has a ם suffixed to it. In 11QTgJob, the jussive clearly matches the form of the imperfect. On the former, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 200–203. On the latter, see Michael Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan/Jerusalem, Israel: Bar-Ilan University at Ahva Press, 1974), 84–85, 143, and Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11: II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), DJD 23, 147. In the present volume, see also "The Affirmatives of the Finite Verb" (Table 8.2) for the form of the jussive versus the imperfect and "Examples of the Jussive" (page 124) for in-context examples. For the jussive indicated by syntax and not by form alone, see §9.1.1.1 (page 190).

⁶Beyer, *ATIM*, 472–474.

letters of Elephantine, sources from Hermopolis, and Ahiqar. The relevance of these texts for synchronically detailing the grammatical forms of Jewish Literary Aramaic is questionable.

In comparing our findings to those of Beyer, we find that the forms which he includes and which we include is typically found outside the corpus of Qumran Aramaic texts. In the ensuing discussion, we have endeavored to denote those areas where we disagree substantially with Beyer. On several points, our assessment concurs with Beyer's; however, where the matter of disagreement concerns his versus our reading of the texts, we have erred on the side of omission.⁷

Examples of the Perfect

Singular

First Common (קטלת) ⁸

אתבהלת 1QapGen ii.3: באדן אנה למך אתבהלת ועלת על בתאנוש *Then I, Lamech, was afraid and went to Batenosh.*

דחלת 4QpapTob^a 2 2: ...דחלת וערקת... *...I was frightened and fled...*

Second Masculine (קטלת/תה-/תא)

⁷It should be noted that Beyer's first volume, and the volume most germane for the present work, was published in 1984 — several years prior to the release of all of the photographs of the Qumran scrolls. Consequently, Beyer had to work with substantially poorer material than is currently available. A comparison between palaeography of twenty years ago and the present day is not reasonable.

⁸While the first person feminine form of the verb is not extant for every stem in QA, we employ the traditional label of "first common" throughout the grammar based on analogy with other Aramaic dialects.

Beyer asserts an ending of ית- for the first common singular. However, the *yod* is a mater lectionis, not part of a suffix. Beyer, *ATM*, 469–470.

תבת 1QapGen xxii.29: הא עשר שנין שלמא...חדא מן די תבת מן מצרין *Lo, ten years have passed. . . one from when you returned from Egypt.*⁹

עבדתה 1QapGen xx.26: מא עבדתה לי בדיל ושרזי *What have you done to me on account of [Sar]ai?*

חזיתא 4QapocrDan ii.2: כזיקיא די חזיתא כן מלכותה תהוה *Like the sparks which you saw, thus will their kingdom be.*

Third Masculine (קטל)

רחם 1QapGen xi.13: ותבת וברוכת די רחם על ארעא... *And I turned and [again] blessed that he had mercy upon the earth. . .*

נפל 4QapocrDan i.1: נעלוהי שרת נפל קדם כרסיא... *...settled [up]on him and he fell before the throne.*

Third Feminine (קטלת)

מלת¹⁰ 1QapGen ii.8: אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ תקיף עמי מלת *Then Batenosh, my wife, spoke to me with force and strength.*

שאלת 4QTob^b 4 iii.5: ושאלת אנון עדנא ואמרת להון מנאן אנתון אחי *Then Edna inquired of them and said to them, "Whence have you come, my brothers?"*

Plural

First Common (קטלנא)

⁹Beyer's observation of a second feminine singular suffix -תי is not supported for the time of Qumran Aramaic. Beyer, *ATTM*, 469–470.

¹⁰In §8.1.2.3 (page 133) we discuss the use of מלי. Clearly, the roots מלל and מלי were used at different times and by different groups to mean exactly the same thing.

כען חלפנא ארענא ועלנא לארע בני חם לארע מצרין 1QapGen xix.13:¹¹ חלפנא
*Now, we passed through our land and entered the land of the sons of
 Ham, the land of Egypt.*

Second Masculine (קטלתון)

חבלתון 4QEnGiants^a 8 11: חבלא די חבלתון בה... ...*the corruption with
 which you have corrupted it.*

Third Masculine (קטלו-/וא)

ולא יכלו כול אסיא ואשפיא וכול חכימא למקם לאסיותה 1QapGen xx.20: יכלו
*And all of the healers and wizards and wisemen were not able to stand
 to heal him.*

ושאלו שלמה לקדמין 4QTob^b 4 iii.3: שאלו *And first they bid him peace.*

קמוא מן... 4QpsDan^b 10 1: קמוא מן... *They stand from...*

Examples of the Imperfect

Singular

First Common (אקטל)

ולזרעד אנתננה אחריד עד כול עלמא... 1QapGen xxi.14: אנתננה
*And to your
 offspring after you I will give it [the land] forever...*

ואנה כדי אמות ערטלי... 1QapGen xxii.33: אמות
*And likewise I will die
 naked...*

¹¹Note also the use of עלל in the same line.

Second Masculine (תקטל)

תקימנה 4QTob^b 4 ii.3: ...בליליא דן תְּקִימְנָה ותסבנה לך לאנְתֹנָה... *In this night you will engage her and take her to yourself for [a] wife.*

Second Feminine (תקטלין)

תמללך¹² 1QapGen ii.7: ...במלך כול עלמים עד בקושט עמי תמללך ולא בכדבין *...by the King of Eternity that you will speak with me in truth and not with lies.*

Third Masculine (יקטל)

ינדע 1QapGen ii.20: ...וכלא מנה ביצבא ינדע כדי הוא רחים... *And he will know all things with certainty because he is favored...*

Third Feminine (תקטל)

תעבר 4QLevi^a 2 15: ...תְּעַבֵּר מִנְּךָ עַד כָּל... *It will [not] pass from you unto every...*

תפלט 1QapGen xix.20: ואחי בטליכי ותפלט נפשי בדיליכי *And I will live by your protection, and my soul will be spared on account of you.*

*Plural***First Common (נקטל)**

נקימנה 4QTob^b 4 ii.6-7: וּכְעַן (נמלל) וּבְעֵלִימְתֹנָא דָא לִילִיא דָן וְנִקְיִמְנָה *And now, we will speak with that girl this night and we will present her.*

¹²See note 10 (page 121).

נתוב 4QEn^a iii.2: ... נתוב כלנה מן מלכה דון... *We will [not] turn back, any of us, from this affair.*

Second Masculine (תקטוין)

תשכחון 4QEn^a ii.8: ... תשכחון לא תשכחון... *And you will not be able to find [a way for wa]lking on the du[s]t [and on the stones]...*

תשבקון 4QLevi^a 4 5:13 ... תשבקון מכל שבילי... *You will forsake the [wa]ys of truth and all the paths of...*

Third Masculine (יקטלו/יקטלן)

ישכחון 4QLevi^a 1 ii.2: ... ישכחון למכבש שוריה... *... They will [not] be able to conquer its ramparts.*

יסגדון 4QapocrDan ii.7: ... יסגדון לה מדינתא... *... and all the provinces will pay him homage.*

Third Feminine (יקטלן)

ישפרן 1QapGen xx.6: ... ישפרן מנהא לא ישפרן לגנון די יעלן... *And all those who enter the bridal chamber are not more beautiful than she.*

ידבקון 11QTgJob xxxvi.2: ... ידבקון ורוח לנא יזעול בינהון... *They will cleave together and the wind [will] no[t] enter between them.*

Examples of the Jussive

¹³Note also the use of מחל in line 6 of this fragment.

*Singular***Second Masculine (תקטל)**

1QapGen ii.25: ... להכא אתית לו. תרגו ואמר לך דאל תרגו עלי די להכא אתית לו. *And [I] say to you: "Do not be angry with me because I came here to [you. . .]"*

4QLevi^b 1 17: נוזאל תשלט בי כל שטן *And may no adversary rule over [lit.: in] me. . .*

Second Feminine (תקטלי)

4QTob^b 4 i.3: אל תדחלי ואל תצפי לה אחתי *Do not fear and do not worry about him, my sister.*

Third Masculine (יקטל)

1QapGen xx.15: ואל ישלט בליליא דן לטמיא אנתתי מני *And may he not have power in this night to defile my wife from me.*

4QTob^b 4 i.1: אל דבק ובכסף ברי *May my son not cling to silver!*

*Plural***Second Masculine (תקטלו)**

4QLevi^a 1 i.13:¹⁴ אל תמחלו חכמתא למאלף... *May they not renounce wisdom for the teaching. . .*

Third Masculine (יקטלון)

¹⁴Cf. Michael Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document" in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* ed. James C. VanderKam et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), DJD 22, 8.

ישמעון 11QTgJob xxix.2: והוא אמר ישמעון לה *And he says: Let them listen to him!*¹⁵

Examples of the Imperative

Singular

Second Masculine (קטל)

אזל 1QapGen xx.23: וכען אזל אמר למלכא וישלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא *And now, go, speak to the king, and may he send his wife from himself to her husband.*

נתן 4QpapTob^a 16 1: ונתן לה אגרה *And give him his reward.*

ואמרות לטוביה ברי ברי אזל דבר לכל מן נדין 4QpapTob^a 2 12: דבר and אזל *And [I] said [to To]bit, my son, "My son, go; fetch all [whom] you find among [our] broth[ers]."*

Plural

Second Masculine (קטלו)

סימו 11QTgJob iv.4: ... סימו ידיכון על *Place your hands upon...*

8.1.2.2 The Perfect of the ל"י Verb

The Pe'al forms of ל"י verbs are illustrated in Table 8.3.¹⁶

¹⁵While this form may be an imperfect, indicative form functioning with preterite force, we prefer to render it more conservatively after its function in the sentence. Cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 85.

¹⁶The form נבנא (נמי <) in 4QEn^b ii.7 suggests a first common plural pattern נבנא; however, the breakage in the text does not allow for sufficient confidence to include it in this paradigm.

Table 8.3: The Affirmatives of the ל"י Verb in the Pe'al

		Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.
Perfect	First	בנת/בנית	n/e	בנינא	n/e
	Second	בניתא-/בנית	n/e	בניתון/-תן	n/e
	Third	בן/בני/בנא/בנה	בנת	בניו/בנו	בניה
Imperfect	First	אבנא/אבנא	אבנין	n/e	n/e
	Second	תבנית/תבנה	תבנין	תבנין	n/e
	Third	יבנה/יבני/יבנא	תבנא	יבנון/תבנון/תבנין	n/e
Imperative	Second	בנא/בני	n/e	בנוא/בנו	n/e
Jussive	Second	n/e	תבני	n/e	n/e

Examples of the Perfect

Singular

First Masculine (בנת/בנית)

אתית 1QapGen ii.25: ... להכא אתית עלי די תרגז דאל דאל ואמר לך דאל תרגז עלי די להכא אתית... *And [I] say to you, 'Do not be angry with me because I came here...*

חזית 4QEn^c 1 xii.26: ... חזית אילנין די נפֿק... *And also among them I saw trees that issued...*

Second Masculine (בנית-תא)

חזיתא 4QapocrDan ii.2: ... די חזיתא כן מלכותהן תהוה... *... that you saw thus will their kingdom be.*

Third Masculine (בני-ה)

דמה 4QTob^b 4 iii.5: ... דמה עלימא דן לטובי בר דדי... *How this young man is like Tobit, the son of my uncle.*¹⁷

¹⁷One may read a degree of ambiguity in the use of דמה here. It may be read as a participle or as a finite, perfect form. We prefer the latter.

בעא 4QLevi^a 1 ii.5: ... בעא חכמה... ... [he] sought wisdom...

Third Feminine (בנת)

חזת 1QapGen ii.12: ... וּכְדִי חִזַּת בַּת־אֲנוּשׁ אֲנַתִּי דִּי אֲשַׁתְּנִי אֲנַפִּי עָלַי... *And when Batenosh, my wife, saw that my face upon me was changed...*

שרת 4QapocrDan i.1: ... עָלוּהִי שֵׁרֶת נָפַל קִדְּם כְּרִסְיָא... ... rested [up]on him, he fell before the throne.

Plural

First Plural (בנינא)

דמינא 11QTgJob i.6: ... לְבֹעִירָא דְּמִינָא... ... c]attle we resembled...

Second Masculine (בניתן/בניתן)

אתיתון 4QTob^b 4 iii.4: ... לְשֵׁלֶם אֲתִיתוֹן וְעָלוּ בְּשֵׁלֶם אֲחֵי... *For peace you have come. Enter in peace, my brothers.*

Third Masculine (בנון/בנין/בנו)

בעון 1QapGen xix.15: ... וּבְנֵי אֲנוּשׁ אָתוּ וּבְעוֹן לְמַקְץ׃ וְלְמַעַקֵּר לְאַרְזָא... *And the so[ns] of man came and desired to cut down and uproot the cedar...*

הוּ 4QEn^a iii.17: ... הוּ מִתִּילְדִין עַל אַרְעָא... [They] were born upon the earth...

Examples of the Imperfect

*Singular***First Masculine** (אבנה/אבנא)

אהוא 1QEnGiants^a 29 1: ... אהוא *I will be...*

Second Masculine (תבני/תבנה)

תאתה 4QTob^b 5 10: ... ונתתה בית <גבנא> לה כתב... *[And] you will go to the house <of> Gaba[e]l and give him a document...*

תהוי 4QLevi^a 1 ii.17: ... תהוי *You will be[...]*

Third Masculine (יבני/יבנה/יבנא)

יכלא 4QEn^c 5 ii.28: ... וחמסא יכלא מן ארעא... *... and violence disappears from the earth...*

להוה 4QEn^d 1 i.2: להוה בריך דין קושטא... *Blessed be the true jud[gment.]*

ישרי 4QEn^d 1 i.4: ... ולא ישרי בדבורונה... *... and he will not depart from its flow...*

Third Feminine (תבנא)

תתא 4QLevi^a 4 7: ... די חושוכה תתא עליכֶן... *... that darkness will come upon you...*¹⁸

תעדא 11QTgJob iii.7: לעבע תעדא... *... it will quickly pass.*

¹⁸While the noun here is normally masculine, חשך, the morphology of the verb would appear to argue for a feminine gender in this instance.

*Plural***Second Masculine (תבנון)**

תהוון 4QEn^c 5 i.22: ...אנתוון תהוון... ...yo]u will be...

תהוון 4QLevi^a 4 8: ...כען זמנונין תהוון לשפלין... ...now [two] times will be
for the falling...

Third Masculine (תבנון)

יחזון 4QLevi^a 1 ii.3: ...יחזון שימרתה... they will [not] see the treasure...

יתון 4QpsDan^a 12 2: ...ויתון מן גוא... ...And they will depart from the
midst...

Examples of the Imperative*Singular***Second Masculine (בנא/בני)**

הוי 4QpapTob^a 10 1: ...זלדך ברי הוי ענבד... According to what is in] your
hand, my son, g[ive alms.¹⁹

חדי 4QpapTob^a 18 2: ...חדי ובעי בבוני... ...rejoice and exult among the
s[ons]...

*Plural***Second Masculine (בנא/בנו)**

¹⁹Cf. Fitzmyer, *Christian Origins*, 175.

חזוא 4QEn^c 1 i.20: חזוא לכוּן לוארעא ואתבוננא בערבדוהו: *Consider for your-
self the earth and understand [its] works.*

8.1.2.3 The Derived Stems of the ל"י Verb

		Masc. Sg.	Fem. Sg.	Masc. Pl.	Fem. Pl.
Perfect	First	חזית/חזיאת	n/e	n/e	n/e
	Second	n/e	n/e	n/e	n/e
	Third	חזי	n/e	n/e	n/e
Imperfect	First	אחזי	אחזי	n/e	n/e
	Second	n/e	תחזי	n/e	n/e
	Third	יחזא/יחזה	תחזא	תחזין	n/e
Jussive	Second	יחזי	n/e	n/e	n/e

Table 8.4: The Affirmatives of the ל"י Verb in the Derived Stems

The patterns of the derived stems are illustrated in Table 8.4. The patterns included do not represent the affixes of the derived stems (e.g., the prefixed -א of the Aph'el) but are meant to illustrate the conjugative changes undergone by the basic verb stem. Only attested forms are represented by the appropriate form of חזי.

Examples of the Perfect

Singular

First Common (חזית/חזיאת)

אחזיאת Aph. 4QEn^c 1 xii.30: טורנין אחזיאת מדנחונן כלצפון: *I was shown
mountains to the northeast of them.*

אחזית Aph. 4QLevi^b 1 ii.15: אדן חזין אחזית: *Then I saw visions.*²⁰

²⁰If one reads this verb as an Aph'al, the sentence should be rendered *I was shown visions*. However we prefer to read it as an Aph'el. So, also, García Martínez and Tigchelaar. Florentino García

Third Masculine (חזי)

אשתני *Ithpa*. 1QapGen ii.11: שגי לבי עלי אדן אשתני *Then my heart within me changed greatly.*

החוי *Aph*. 4QpapTob^a 2 1: ... אחד מן בניא נינוה והחוי למלכוא... *... one of the sons of Niniveh. And he told the kin[g]...*

שוי *Pa*. 4QPrNab 1-3 3: ... כתיש הויט שנין שבע ומן ודין שוי אולהא... *... I was banished seven years. And af[ter] G[od] made[...]*

Examples of the Imperfect*Singular***First Common (אחוי)**

אחוינך *Pa*. 1QapGen ii.10: ואנה בקושט כולא אחוינך *And I, in truth, will make known to you everything.*

Second Feminine (תחוי)

תחוינני *Pa*. 1QapGen ii.6: ... תחוינני ולא בכדבן הדך... *You will tell me – and not with lies – [whether] that...*

Third Masculine (יחזי)

יחזינך *Ithpe*. and יחזינך *Ithpe*. 4QapocrDan i.9: ורזבא יחזינך ורזבא יחזינך *[G]reat will he be called and by his name he will name him.*

Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* Vol. 1, (Leiden/Grand Rapids, MI: Brill/Eerdmans, 1997), 451.

Third Feminine (תחזא)

תתמלא²¹ *Ithpe.* 4QpsDan^a 25 3: ... ותתמלא אורעא... ... *and you will speak the l[and]...*

*Plural***Third Masculine (ל-י/חזון)**

להון *Pe.* 4QTob^b 4 ii.18: ... וולחזון... די להון לך... ... *that they will be to you... [and] they [w]ill be...*

יחזון *Pe.* 4QLevi^a 1 ii.3: יחזון שימתה *They will see his insignia.*

Third Feminine (תחזיק)

תתבנין *Ithpe.* 4QpapTob^a 18 7,8: ... וזֹסְפִיר תתבנין... [And the gates of Jerusalem?] will be built of [beryl and] sapphire...²²

Examples of the Jussive*Singular***Third Masculine (יחזי)**

יתחזי *Ithpe.* 4QLevi^d 2 4: ... ואל יתחזי נ... ...] *and may [it] not be visible[...]*

²¹Cf. note 10 on page 121.

²²We here follow the reconstruction of Fitzmyer with caution. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Christian Origins*, 189-191. It should be noted that the verb, to express concord with the masculine תרעי, would be expected to be יתחזין. However, PAM 43.179 leaves no room for this reading.

8.1.2.4 Thematic Vowels

The theme vowel that is most obvious is *u* in the active imperfect (ואסמוך 1QapGen xx.22, יכרלן 1QapGen xx.19).

8.1.3 Non-finite: Participles and Infinitives

All forms of the active participle and infinitive are attested in QA.²³ The paradigm for these forms is reflected in Table 8.5.²⁴

All forms listed below are distilled from active participles. The only passive participle attested in QA is of קרא in 4QpsDan^a 24 2 (קראינ). However, because the text breaks before the end of the word, one cannot be certain about the state of the participle. We, therefore, exclude this from our analysis below.

As with other Aramaic dialects, the sufformatives used for the participles follow the same paradigm as nouns. Similarly, the feminine adjective is formed like the feminine noun (e.g., suffixing of ה-). As Cook has pointed out, there is no

²³The Pe'îl participle may also be classified as the Pe'al passive. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 211. The participle functions both as a modifier and as a substantive and, as such, takes the appropriate suffixes for each.

We hold the reading of למשבוך (← שבק to leave behind) in 1QapGen xix.15 to be of doubt and, therefore, do not include it here. The reading is simply not supported by the photographic evidence. What Fitzmyer seems to read as ק is actually a medial צ rotated slightly counter-clockwise. Reconstruction from the photograph argues for a Hebraic form, possibly Aph'el, of יצא to leave (ולוצית). The expected Aramaic form would be ולועית (← יעא*). This root is unattested in Aramaic according to Jacob Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the Northwest Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 21, 2 vols., 465. Cf. also §7.1 (page 113). Jastrow finds a verbal form יעא in later Aramaic to mean to burst forth and a nominal form meaning scraper; Sokoloff only finds the latter meaning in JPA, and then in the form יעי. Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: The Judaica Press, 1996), 583b; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992), 243a.

The seeming usage of אסיותה (← אסי to heal) in 1QapGen xx.19 and xx.20 is, in our judgment, evidence of an infinitive with a suffixal pronoun.

²⁴See §§8.2 and 8.3.1 (pages 144 and 147, respectively)

evidence for the vocalization of the infinitive.²⁵ The preformatives, however, are shown below. The complement marker for the infinitive is typically -ל but -ב also occurs several times.

Table 8.5: Non-finite Verb Patterns in QA

	Participle	Infinitive
Pe'al	קטל	מקטל
Pa'el	מקטל	קטלא
Aph'el	מקטל	אקטלא
Ithpe'el	מתקטל	אתקטל
Ithpa'al	מתקטל	אתקטלא

8.1.3.1 The Participle of the Regular Verb

Paradigm of the Singular

Table 8.6: Participle Forms of the Regular Verb (singular, by stem)

Stem	Singular	Absolute	Emphatic
Pe'al	Masculine	קטל	קטלא
	Feminine	קטלה/קטלא	n/e
Pa'el	Masculine	מקטל	מקטלא
	Feminine	n/e	n/e
Aph'el	Masculine	מקטל	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e
Ithpe'el	Masculine	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e
Ithpa'al	Masculine	מתקטל	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e

Examples of the Singular

²⁵Cook, "Aramaic of DSS", 372.

PE'AL

Masculine Absolute (קטל)

ושבו לוט בר אחוי די אברם די הוא יתב בסודם 1QapGen xxi.34-xxii.1: יתב
 כחדא עמהון וכול נכסוהי *And they captured Lot, the son of Abraham's
 brother, who was living in Sodom together with them and all his flocks.*

ידע 4QEn^c 5 ii.26: ... ידע אנה ברזי נאלהא... *[For] I know the mysteries
 of [the Lord...]*

Feminine Absolute (קטלא)

והואת כתשא לה ולכול אנש ביתה 1QapGen xx.16-17: כתשא
*And it was
 crushing to him and to every member of his house.*

PA'EL

Masculine Absolute (מקטל)

ומחסר מן דבר שמשא... 4QEnastr^b 26 3: מחסר
*And it wants for the
 leading of the sun...*

Feminine Absolute (מקטלא)

בקושט ממללא עמד 1QapGen ii.18: ממללא
*... speaking with you truth-
 fully.*

APH'EL

Masculine Absolute (מקטל)

מרים 1QapGen xxii.20: ... אנה. Then I
Abram said to the King of Sodom, "I lift up..."²⁶

ITHPE'EL

Masculine Singular (מתקטל)

מתגר 1QapGen xx.9-10: דילהא. And Sarai said to the king, "He is my brother" so that I was profiting
on account of her.

Paradigm of the Plural Participle

Table 8.7: Participle Forms of the Regular Verb (plural, by stem)

Stem	Singular	Absolute	Construct	Emphatic
Pe'al	Masculine	קטלין	קטלי	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	קטלת	n/e
Pa'el	Masculine	מקטלין	n/e	מקטליא
	Feminine	n/e	מקטלת	n/e
Aph'el	Masculine	מקטלין	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Ithpe'el	Masculine	מתקטלין	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Ithpa'al	Masculine	מתקטלין	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e

²⁶Cf. Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* 2nd ed. (Bar-Ilan, Israel/Baltimore, Maryland: Bar-Ilan University Press/The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 519b.

Examples of the Plural

PE'AL

Masculine Absolute (קטלין)

יהבין 1QapGen xix.24-25: ... והווא יהבין עלי... *And they gave [to me...]*

אזלין 4QTob^b 4 i.11: אזלין תרליהונון נכחדא... קנרבו נלזחון למדי *The two of [th]em [to]gether went [until they drew] ne[ar] to Media.*

Masculine with Possessive Pronoun (קטלי)

חתפוהי 11QTgJob ii.2: ... יתזון חתפוהי וכבשו... *...his snatchers [have come and they have pressed...]*²⁷

APH'EL

Masculine Absolute (מקטלין)

מחתין 4QEnastr^d 1 i.2: ... ומטר מחתין נעל ארעא... *... and] rain caused to fall [up]on the earth...*

ITHPE'EL

Masculine Absolute (מתקטלין)

מתכנסין 4QEnastr^b 23 6: ... אבדי בה צפנין ומתכנסין וסחרין כל ערבי שמיא... *...] because in it all of the stars of the sky assemble and gather together and return...*

²⁷On this translation and the use of חתף in QA, QH and related dialects, see Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 31 and 108.

ITHPA‘AL

Masculine Absolute (מתקטילין)

חזו דכל איילניהו כלהו מיבשין 4QEn^a ii.4: ... מיבשין *See how all the trees*
 – all of them – are withering ...²⁸

8.1.3.2 The Participle of the ל"י Verb

Paradigm of the Singular

Table 8.8: Participle Forms of the ל"י Verb (singular, by stem)

Stem	Singular	Absolute	Construct	Emphatic
Pe‘al	Masculine	בנא/בני	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	באניא
Pa‘el	Masculine	מבנה/מבנא	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	באניא
Aph‘el	Masculine	n/e	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Ithpe‘el	Masculine	מתבני	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Ithpa‘al	Masculine	מתבני	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e

Examples of the Singular

²⁸This is the only place in QA where the root יבש occurs verbally as a participle. As a passive form of *wither* is required by context, one must assume either that the ת has assimilated or that there is lexical confusion on some level and that the participle is another form (e.g., Pa‘el). We side with the former here. Jastrow notes an alternative spelling of אתיבש in אייבש in the later Targumic literature. Sokoloff, however, does not find an Ithpa‘al form of this verb in JPA. See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 562b; Sokoloff, *Dict. of JPA*, 234b.

PE'AL

Masculine Absolute (בנא/בני)

ימא 4QEn^c 4 9: ... ולאעקה ימא עול... *... and to trouble whoever swore
concer[ning]...*

בעי 4QLevi^a 2 4: ... כל בעי... *... all who seek...*²⁹

Feminine Absolute (באניא)

יאמיא 1QapGen ii.14: ... שמוניא רבא במלך שמוניא *I swear to
you by the Great Holy One, by the King of Hea[v]en...*³⁰

PA'EL

Masculine Absolute (מבנא/מבנא)

מצלא 4QPriNab 1-3 7: שנין שבע מצלא הוינת קדם] אלהי כספא וזהבא *Seven
years [I] prayed [before] gods of silver and gold.*

משרה 4QEnastr^b 7 iii.2: ומשרה למתב למתה ולמפק בחרתיה... *... then it
begins to turn, to come and to arise through its parts.*

ITHPE'EL

Masculine Absolute (מתבנא)

מתחזא 4QEn^a ii.2: ... וכל מתחזא ולכן... *... and everything is appa[r]lent
[to you]...*

²⁹Cf. also Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document", 17.

³⁰We here read this form as a Pe'al feminine singular absolute; however, it could also be read as a Pa'al feminine singular emphatic.

ITHPA'AL

Masculine Absolute (מתבני)

משתני 1QapGen ii.2: ולבי עלי משתני על עולימא דנא *And my heart within me was changed about this boy.*

Paradigm of the Plural

Table 8.9: Participle Forms of the ל"י Verb (plural, by stem)

Stem	Plural	Absolute	Construct	Emphatic
Pe'al	Masculine	בנין	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Pa'el	Masculine	n/e	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Aph'el	Masculine	מבנין	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Ithpe'el	Masculine	n/e	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Ithpa'al	Masculine	n/e	n/e	n/e
	Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e

Examples of the Plural

PE'AL

Masculine Absolute (בנין)

בעין 4QEn^a ii.7: וראנתון וטלל ומסתרתון בעין מן קדמיה... *...And you desire [shade and relief] from it.*

צבין 4QLevi^a 1 i.17: ... ויהבין לה בה יקר בדי כלא צבין... *...gliving to him with it honor because everything [they] desire...*

APH'EL

Masculine Absolute (מבנין)

מחוי 1QapGen ii.21: ולה מחוי כולא *And to him [they] make known everything.*

8.1.3.3 The Infinitive

The forms of the infinitive are reflected in Table 8.10. As the infinitive forms of the ל"י verb do not differ substantially from the regular forms, the following table reflects both types.

Paradigm of the Infinitive

Table 8.10: Paradigm of the Infinitive (by stem)

Stem	Form
Pe'al	מקטל
Pa'el	קטלא-ה
Aph'el	ה-אקטלא-ה
Ithpe'el	ה-אתקטלא-?
Ithpa'al	ה-אתקטלא-ה

Examples**Pe'al** (מקטל)

מקרב 1QapGen xx.17: ולא יכל למקרב בהא *And he was able to approach her.*

מכליה 4QTob^b 4 ii.4 ... ידע אנה די לא יכול רעואל למכליה מנדך *And I know that Raguel will not be able to keep her from you. . .*

Pa‘el (קטלה-/תה)

קטלה 4QEn^a iii.19: ... זקשרין לקטלה לאנשא ות... *The giants] arranged to kill the man and[. . .*

רפיהא 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2: ... נפקן רוחיא דט להין לרפיהא ארעא ולאחיתה *winds depart which are] to them for the healing of the earth and for its revitalization.*

Aph‘el (אקטלא)

אחיתה 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2: ... נפקן רוחיא דט להין לרפיהא ארעא ולאחיתה *winds depart which are] to them for the healing of the earth and for its revitalization.*

Ithpe‘el (ה-/אתקטלא/ה-?)

השלמות 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.18:³¹ ... די מאנאין דרחין ירחין בהשתלמותהון ³² ... *because from there the moons rise in [their] compl[eting of their cycles. . .*

אתחזיא 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.18: ... ויזום לאתחזיא... *And the d]ay to appear. . .*

Ithpa‘al (אתקטלא)

אתעצבא 1QapGen xx.12: ... נחתן דמעיי נחתן *I prayed and asked and begged <God> and said in sorrow, even <as>*

³¹Note also the use of חזי in this line.

³²We here read the supralinear ה as an alternative reading. The *aleph* under it may be read in its stead. Milik understands the *he* as the intended reading. See Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 288.

my tears fell...

8.2 Nouns

Paradigm of Noun Forms

Table 8.11: Sufformatives of the Tripartite or Regular Noun

Singular	Absolute	Construct	Emphatic
Masculine	קטל	קטל	קטלא
Feminine	קטלה-/א	קטלת	קטלתא
Plural			
Masculine	קטלן	קטלי	קטליא
Feminine	n/e	קטלת	קטלתא-/אתא

Examples

Singular

Masculine Absolute (קטל)

חלם 1QapGen xix.14: וְחַלְמַת אֵנָה אַבְרָם חָלַם בַּלַּיְלָה מֵעֲלֵי לַאֲרֶע מִצְרַיִן *And I Abraham dreamed a dream in the night of <our> entering the land of Egypt.*

ספר 4QLevi^a 1 i.9: וְכַעַן סֵפֶר וּמוֹסֵר וְחִכְמָה *And now, reading and instruction and wisdom...*

כתב 4QTob^b ar 5 10: וְנָתַתָּה בִּי-תִּי גַבְוֹאֵל וְהִבּוּ וְלָהּ כְּתָב וְנֹסֵב... *[And] you will go to the house <of> Gaba[e]l and give him a document and [receive...]*

Feminine Absolute (קטלה-/א)

אנתה 1QapGen xx.34: ...ונסב לה אנתה מן בנות... *And [Lot] had taken for himself a wife from the daughters of...*

ברא 4QTob^b ar 4 i.17: ...ואיתי לה ברא שפירה... *... and he has a beautiful daughter...*

Masculine Construct (קטל)

שאר 4QEnastr^b ar 7 ii.5: ... וכסה שאר יממא דן... *And it is covered the rest of this day...*

מלך 4QapocrDan ar i.6: ... מלך אתור ונמצרץ... *... the king of Assyria and of Egypt...*

Feminine Construct (קטלת)

בקעת 1QapGen xxi.5-6: ... ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא וכול נכסוהי עמה... *And he went and dwelt in the Valley of the Jordan, and all his possessions were with him.*

אנתתי 4QpapTob^a ii.10: ... ואתבת לי חנה אנתתי... *... and Anna my wife had been returned to me.*

Masculine Emphatic (קטלא)

מלחא 1QapGen xxi.16: ... וסחרת מן לינדו ימא רבא דן די מלחא... *And I walked along the shore of the Great Salt Sea...*

עלמא 4QEn^b ar iii.14: ... מרנא רבא נהווא מרא עלמא... *... Our Great Lord is he, the Lord of the Ages...*

אנשא 11QTgJob xxxviii.2: ... וּכְזֹל אִנְשָׁא עֲלוּהִי חֲזִין *[And every]one was gazing upon it...*

Feminine Emphatic (קטלתא)

חכמתא 4QLevi^a 1 i.13: אל תמחלו חכמתא ... *do not renounce wisdom.*

Plural

Masculine Absolute (קטלן)

גברין 1QapGen xxii.6: ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא *And he chose from his servants three hundred choice men <ready> for war.*

עממין 4QapocrDan ar ii.8: עממין יתון בידה *He will give a nation into his hand.*

נכסין 11QTgJob iv.6: והסגיו נכסין *And have they increased <their> possessions?*

Masculine Construct (קטלי)

מלי 1QapGen xix.25: וקרית קודמיהון לוכתבן מלי חנוך *And I read before them the [writing] of the words of Enoch.*³³

טורי 4QpapTob^a ar ii.4: ואנון ערקו לטורי אררט *And they fled to the mountains of Ararat.*

³³Beyer reads אנון here instead of חנוך [Beyer, *ATTM*, 173]. Palaeographically, this is unlikely. While the word is broken horizontally by a tear, one can still read the word with some degree of confidence. The initial letter exhibits two vertical lines hanging from the ceiling of the line. This could be read as an *aleph* if the lines were further apart. As it is, they represent the two vertical strokes of a *het*. The final letter has a broader head than a final *num* and should thus be read as a final *kaph*.

Feminine Construct (קטלת)

אצבעת 1QapGen xx.5: וּמָא אַרִיכָן וְקִטִּינָן כּוֹל אַצְבַּעַת יִדְיָהָ *And how long
and thin are all the fingers of her hands!*

אַרְחַת 4QLevi^b 1 i.12: ...אַרְחַת קִשְׁט... *... the paths of truth...*

Masculine Emphatic (קטליא)

אַשְׁפִּיא 1QapGen xx.18-19: וְשִׁלַּח קִרָא לְכוֹל חֲכִימוֹיִן מִצְרַיִם וְלְכוֹל אַשְׁפִּיא *And
he sent calling all the wise men of Egypt and all the healers...*

דְרִיא 4QEn^b ar iii.15: ...כּוֹרְסִיָא יִקְרַךְ לְכוֹל דְרִיא דִּי מִן עֲלְמִנָא... *... the
throne of your glory to all generations which exist from eternity.*

Feminine Emphatic (קטלתא-/אתא)

טַבְתָּא 1QapGen xxi.3: ...וְאֹדִיתַת תַּמְן קוֹדֵם אֱלֹהָא עַל כּוֹל נַכְסִיא וְטַבְתָּא דִּי יֵהֵב לִי... *And I gave thanks there before God concerning all of the flocks and
the good things which we had given to me...*

מְדִינַתָּא 4QapocrDan i.5: ...וְנַחְשִׁירוֹן רַב בְּמְדִינַתָּא... *... and great slaughter
in the provinces...*

8.3 Modifiers

8.3.1 Adjectives

The formation of adjectives in QA, as in BA, is analagous to nouns in gender, number, and state. Similarly, they use the same sufformatives as nouns (See §8.2).

Table 8.12 reflects the basic forms of the adjective in QA.

Paradigm

Table 8.12: Sufformatives of the Adjective

Singular	Absolute	Construct	Emphatic
Masculine	קטל	קטל	קטלא
Feminine	קטלה-א	n/e	קטלתא
Plural			
Masculine	קטלן	n/e	n/e
Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e

Examples

Singular

Masculine Absolute (קטל)

רב 1QapGen xii.13: ונצבת כרם רב בלובר טורא *And I planted a great vineyard on Mount Lubar.*

רג 4Q242 i.2: ...אתה רג... ... *you are angry...*³⁴

Masculine Emphatic (קטלא)

קדישא 1QapGen xix.8: עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא קדישא *Up to this point I had not reached the holy mountain.*

Feminine Absolute (קטלה-א)

טבה 4Q196 2 11: ביום חג שבועיא... לני... אשר טבה *On the day of Shavuot [they made] for [me...] a good meal.*

³⁴While רג may be seen to be a participle here, we find an adjectival function to be simpler. Based on our research, QA does not elsewhere use a participle form without a main verb to express attribution. Therefore, a predicate adjectival form is to be preferred.

שפירה 4Q197 4 i.17: ... ואיתי לה ברא שפירה... *... and he has a beautiful daughter[...]*

שפִּירָא 4197 4 .1: ... ותקיפִּזא ושפִּירָא לחדא ואבוה רחס... *and noble and very beautiful and her father loves [...]*

Feminine Emphatic (קטלא)

ואתפלי מנה מכתשא ואתגערת נמה רוחא באשתא 1QapGen xx.29: *And the crushing was removed from him, and the evil [spirit] was rebuked [from him.]*

רבתא 1QapGen xxii.4: נגדו מלכיא ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון *The kings had set out by way of the Great Valley toward their province.*

Plural

Masculine Absolute (קטלין/קטלין)

שגיאן 1QapGen xx.33: ... ואזלת אנה אברם בנכסין שגיאן... *Then I Abram went with great flocks...*

שפירן 4Q202 ii.2: ...] pretty and[...]

8.3.2 Adverbials

8.3.2.1 Adverbials of time

באדן חשבת בלבי... *then* 1QapGen ii.1 *Then I thought in my heart...*,
1QapGen ii.8, xx.21, xxii.20, 4QLevi^a 1 ii.13, 4QLevi^b 2, 4QTJud 1 4,
4QapocrLevi^b? 9 i.4, 11QTgJob xx.6

עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא קדישא 1QapGen xix.8 *Until now I had not reached the holy mountain*, 4QLevi^a 1 i.9 וכען ספר ומוסר וחכמה *And now, reading and instruction and wisdom...*, 1QapGen xix.12, xx.13, 23, xxii.29, 4QEnGiants^a 8 14, 4QEnGiants^c 28 4, 4QEnGiants^d 2 13, 4QTQahat 1 i.4, 4QVisions of Amram^d 14 1, 11QTgJob xxiv.4, 6, xxxvii.7.

וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור 1QapGen xxi.10 *And the next day, I thus went up to Ramat-Hazor.*³⁵

8.3.2.2 Demonstrative adverbials

ואמר לך דאל תרגז עלי די להכא אתית לו... 1QapGen ii.25 *And [I] say to you, "Do not be angry with me because I came here to[...]"*.

תמה יעקון... 11QTgJob xxvi.7 *There they will shout...*, 4QWords of Michael 1 2, 4; ותמן אשכחה... 1QapGen ii.23 *And there he found him...*,³⁶ 1QapGen xix.7, xxi.1, 20, 4QpapTob^a 17 i.13, 4QEn^e 3 18.

³⁵This is the only occurrence of the word in QA. The morpheme is anomalous. The lexical form from later sources is *מחר*. Cf. Sokoloff, *Dict. of JPA*, 301a; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 764a.

Fitzmyer offers *למחרתיך* as a single, compound preposition meaning *on the morrow*. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 215. We, however, have judged the former adverb to suffice to express the temporal aspect of the verb. The latter we judge to express a modal sense, *thus*. Cf. Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §92.

³⁶Cf. Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* Vol. 2, (Leiden/Grand Rapids, MI: Brill/Eerdmans, 1998), 30. The reading of *לחונך* here is very uncertain. If *אשכחה* is read as a finite verb with a masculine singular suffix, a reading which matches the context better than an infinitive, then the next word is not likely to be a proper name with an object complement. Beyer reads *לואת*. Cf. Beyer, *ATM*, 169. This reading fits the context better, not requiring a direct connection with the preceding suffix, but the photographic evidence argues against it. Avigad and Yadin and Fitzmyer, as well, do not attempt reconstruction of this partially extant form. Cf. Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: Description and Contents of the Scroll, Facsimiles, Transcription and Translation of Columns II, XIX-XXII* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956), Plate for Column II; Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 52.

8.3.2.3 Modal adverbials

היך *how* 11QTgJob vii.6 ... לא היך *How [did?] not...*; 5Q537 11 2, 12 1; היכא
 where 11QTgJob xxxi.2 היכא יפק *And where will he make [the wind] go
 forth?*

כחדא *together* 1QapGen xxi.21 כול אלן אודמנו כחדא לקרב *All of these joined
 together for war*, 1QapGen xxi.25, 11QTgJob xxx.5.

ואמר לעדנא אנתתה כמה עלימא דן לטובי דן 4 iii.4 *And he said to Edna, his wife, "How much this young man is like Tobit!"*,
 11QTgJob xxi.6 וכמא לא יתיבנה... *And how he does not answer him...*,
 1QapGen xx.2-4; כמה 4QpapTob^a 14 ii.8, 4QPrNab 4 4; כמן 1QapGen xxi.14
 ... וחזי כמן ארכהא... *... and see how (great) is its (lit.: her) length...*, xxii.29,
 11QTgJob xxi.6.

כן, כן *thus, so* 1QapGen xxi.10 וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חזור *And so I went up to
 Ramat-Hazor the next day*, 11QTgJob xxxvii.8 ... על כן אתנסך *Therefore, I
 was poured out...*, 4QapocrDan ii.2, 4QVisions of Amram^a 4 1.

לחדא *much, exceedingly* 1QapGen xiii.15 והוית תמה על זיתא דן ועלוהי שגי לחדא *And
 I was marvelling at this olive tree and its leaves exceedingly much*, xx.33
 וזולת אנה אברם בנכסין שגיאן לחדא *Then I Abram departed with my ex-
 ceedingly great flocks*, xxii.32 עתרך ונכסיד ישגון לחדא *Your wealth and your
 flocks will increase much.*

למא *why* 1QapGen xxii.32-33 ולמא לי כול אלן *And why are all these things to
 me?*

מא *what, how* 1QapGen xx.3-5 ... וּמַא רַגַּג הוּא אִנְפָּהּ... *And how pleasing is her nose...*, 11QTgJob x.5 וּמַא עֵטֶר מְלֵא נְשׁוּמָא *And what small things do we he[ar]!*,³⁷ 1QapGen xx.26, 4QLevi^a 6 1, 4QVisions of Amram^b 2 13.³⁸

מִן *freely* 11QTgJob vi.5 מִן אֶחָדְךָ... ... *to] your [bro]thers freely*³⁹

מְלֵא *fully* 11QTgJob viia.7 מְלֵא עִמִּי מְלֵא... *Will he proceed against me fully?*

שָׂגִי *greatly* 1QapGen xiii.15 וְהוּיַת תְּמָה עַל זֵיתָא וְעַל עֵצֵי לַחְדָּא תִּמְהַת *And I wondered greatly about this olive tree and its leaves*, 1QapGen xx.8, 31, xxi.6; 4QEn^c 3 20.

8.3.2.4 Modal assertive adverbials

אֶף 4QEnastr^b 23 7 וְאֶף מִזְרַח בְּדִי מֵאֲנֹן זֶרְחִין... ... *and also the Levant because they rise from there*, 11QTgJob xxi.1 אֲנִי מִלִּי אֶף... ... *my words, even mine* 1QapGen xx.17, 32, 33, 34, xxi.6, 13, xxii.11, 4QpapTob^a xiii.1, 4QTob^b 4 iv.10, 4QLevi^ab 3, 4QBirth of Noah^c 2 i.10, 11QTgJob xxi.9, xxvii.2, xxix.1.

נֶא 11QTgJob xxxvii.6 ... שְׁמַע נָא וְאֲנִי אֲמַלֵּל... *Listen, and I will speak...*, 4QEn^c 5 ii.29; 11QTgJob xxx.1.

8.3.2.5 Expressions of Negation

For a discussion of the expressions of negation, see Section 9.5.1 on page 231.

³⁷ 11QTgJob x.5 may be translated in two ways: *What a wondrous matter we are hea[r]ing* and *How wondrous is the matter we are hea[r]ing*. In both instances, מֵא functions to modify the verb.

³⁸ מֵא is usually rendered *what* (cf. BH מַה). However, the context of 1QapGen xx compels the rendering *how*, which is not without precedent. Cf. מַה in Beyer, *ATTM*, 620–621; Sokoloff, *Dict. of JPA*, 293; Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 721a. Cf. also מַה in 4QTob^b 4 i.12.

³⁹ We here render מִן after the MT חִנָּם.

8.4 Pronouns

8.4.1 Personal

Table 8.13: Personal Pronouns

Singular	First	Second	Third
Masculine	אנה	אתה/אנתה	הוא
Feminine	אנה	n/e	היא
Plural	First	Second	Third
Masculine	אנחנא	אנתון	אנון/המון
Feminine	n/e	n/e	אנן

Examples

Singular

First Common (אנה)

1QapGen ii.3: ... באדן אנה למך אתבהלת ועלת על בתאנוש *Then I, Lamech, was frightened and entered upon Batenosh...*

11QTgJob xiv.6: ... נאזרו אנה שילבת לענא מן *[Be]hold, I saved a poor person from...*

Second Masculine (אתה/אנתה)

1QapGen xx.15-16: ... וינדעוך מרי די אנתה מרה לכול מלכי ארעא *And they will know you, my Lord, that you are the Lord to all the kings of the earth.*

4QapocrDan i.2: ... אתה רגז ושניך *You are angry and [...] have changed you.*

Third Masculine (הוא)

1QapGen xix.20: בכול אתר די...לי די אחי הוא *"In every place [we go, you are to say] about me, 'He is my brother.'"*

4QTob^b 4 iii.7: ואמרין לה די ידעין אַנְחֻנְנָא לה השלם הוא *And they said to her, "We know him." "Is he well?"*

Third Feminine (היא)

1QapGen xx.27: אחתי היא והיא הואת אנתוך ונסבתהא לי לאנתה... *"She is my sister,' and she is your wife! And I took her to myself for a wife!"*

4QTob^b 4 ii.17: וואל תדחל...ולן היא חליקא *And fear not... [for?] she has been set apart for you.*

Plural**First Common (אנחנא)**

1QapGen xix.12: אנחנא ... ארענא נוחלפת שבעת ראשי נהרא דן... *We... our land [and] I travel[rsed] the seven branches of this river...*

4QEn^c 4 2: לִּנְקֻבְלָא לְמִקְסָא אנחנא יכלון... *We are [not] able to stand before ...*

Second Masculine (אנתון)

4QTob^b 4 iii.5: ואמרת להון מנאן אנתון אחי *And she said to them, "Whence have you come, brothers?"*

4QEn^c 1 6.18: אנתון בעין ומתחנניק... *You are desiring and entreat[ing]...*

Third Masculine (אנון/המון)

11QTgJob xxv.2: וירמא המון באַתּוּרַן... *...and in the pla[ce of...] he will throw them.*⁴⁰

1QapGen xxii.24: אַנוֹן שליטין בחולקהון למנתון לך... *...they are rulers over their portion to give [it] to you.*

Third Feminine (אנין)

4QEn^a iii.15: ...ולאלפה אנין חרשה... *...and to teach sorcery (to) them...*

8.4.2 Pronominal Suffixes

8.4.2.1 Preceded By A Consonant

Table 8.14: Affixed to noun forms that end With a consonant

Singular	First	Second	Third
Masculine	י-	ך-	ה-
Feminine	י-	n/e	ה-/א-
Plural	First	Second	Third
Masculine	נא-	כן-/כין-	הון-/הין-
Feminine	נא-	n/e	n/e

Examples

Singular

First Common (י-)

⁴⁰Cf. MT: ספּקם *he strikes them*; cf. also Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 77. Sokoloff renders this passage: “he will throw them.” Obviously, the broken context of this passage does not allow for certainty about whether the objective pronoun was intended in Aramaic to perform a similar function as in Hebrew. Cf. also García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11: II*, 136.

בלבבי 4QLevi^c 3: ...אף בלבבי ולכל אנש לא... *... also in my heart, and [...] not to anyone.*

עבדי 11QTgJob ii.5: לעבדי קרית ולא עֹנָנָא *I called to my servant, but he did not an[swer.]*

Second Masculine (ך-)

חלמד 1QapGen xix.18: ואמרת לי אשתעי לי חלמד ואנדע *And she said to me, "Tell me your dream and I will know (it)."*

רבותכה 4QEnGiants^a 9 6:⁴¹ מלכות רבותכה לשוני... *... your great rule for the [everlasting] years...*

יקרך 4QEn^b iii.15: ...כורסא יקרך לכלא לדר דריא... *...the thron[e] of your glory for every generation of generations...*

Third Masculine (ה-)

ביתה 1QapGen xx.16: בליליא דן שלח לה אל עליון רוח מכדש למכתשה ולכול *In that night, God Most High sent a crushing spirit to him to crush him and all the members of his household...*

מלכותה 4QapocrDan ii.5: מלכותה מלכות עלם *His kingdom is an eternal kingdom.*

שמה 4QLevi^b 3-4 3: ותחלל שמה ושם אבוה *And you will profane his name and the name of his father.*

Third Feminine (ה-/הא-)

⁴¹It should be noted that all instances of the second masculine pronominal suffix, save for two, are to be found in 4QEnGiants^a (7 i.3, ix.4, ix 5, ix 6, and xiii 3.). The two exceptions are מנכה in 1QapGen xx.26 and לכה in 4QLevi^b 1 18.

ראישה 1QapGen xx.3: וכמא רקיק לה שער ראישה *And how smooth is the hair of her head!*

שפרהא 1QapGen xx.7: ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן: *And her beauty is above all of them.*

Plural

First Common (נא-)

רעותנא 1QapGen xxi.5: בתר יומא דן פרש לוט מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא *After this day, Lot parted from my camp because of the behavior of our shepherds.*⁴²

מרנא 4QEn^b iii.14: ...מרנא רבא וְהוּא מרא עלמא... *... our Lord, great is he, the Lord of Eternity...*

Second Masculine (כ-/-כין)

אבדנכ 4QEn^a ii.15: ...ושנאי אבדנכ יסגין... *And the yea]rs of your destruction will increase...*

אסורכין 4QEnGiants^a 8 14: ...וכען שרונא אסורכין מחנבל... *And now, unfasten your chains bin]ding...*

Third Masculine (ה-/-הון)

תרתני עשרה שנין הווא יהבין מדתהון למלך עילם 1QapGen xxi.26-27: ⁴³מדתהון *For twelve years they paid their tribute to the king of Elam.*

⁴²Note that לואתי may be read also as an object complement with a first person singular suffix. We here render the form as *my camp* from the לוח *to join* (by implication *to camp*).

⁴³Curiously, Beyer does not include the third person plural pronominal suffix in his paradigm of the object suffix. See Beyer, *ATM*, 474.

מלכותהן 4QapocrDan ii.2: ... ימלכוּן שנינון תהוה מלכותהן תהוה... ... *thus will their kingdom be. They will rule many year[s]...*

8.4.2.2 Preceded By A Vowel

Table 8.15: Affixed to nouns that end with a vowel

Singular	First	Second	Third
Masculine	י-	ך-	יהי-/ה-
Feminine	י-	כי-	ה-
Plural	First	Second	Third
Masculine	נא-	כּוּן-	הוּן-
Feminine	נא-	n/e	הוּן-(?)

Table 8.15 reflects the pronominal suffix as it is attached to a base form which ends in a vowel. One will note that where the ultimate consonant of the base form is the same as that of the prefix, a coalescence takes place (e.g., the first common singular).⁴⁴

Examples

Singular

First Common (י-)

⁴⁴Beyer finds the suffix יי in the Egyptian Papyri. However, due to the unusual way in which he refers to the text, we are unable to trace this form. Further, he does not clearly delineate why this Egyptian papyrus should be associated with the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 288.

Throughout his discussion of the pronominal suffixes in his 1994 volume, Beyer prepends the *yod* of the base form to the suffix. This is a curious departure from the manner in which he details them in his 1984 volume. This later presentation is also erroneous in that it confuses a part of noun morphology with the morphology of the pronoun. Beyer, *ATTM*, 424, and Beyer, *Ergänzungsband*, 287–288.

ושלחת קרית לממרה ולערנם ולאשכול ותלתת אחיא 1QapGen xxi.21: רחמי
 אמוראא רחמי *And I sent (and) I called to Mamre, Arnem, and Eshkol,*
the three Amorite brothers, my friends.

Second Masculine (ד-)

אנפך 1QapGen ii.17: ... אנפך כדנא עלך שנא... *... your face upon you is*
changed like this...

עיינך 1QapGen xxi.9: ... ושקול עיינך וחזי למדנחא ולמערבא... *And raise your*
eyes and look to the east and to the west...

Second Feminine (כי-)⁴⁵

בטליכי 1QapGen xix.20: ... אמרין עלי די אחי הוא ואחי בטליכי *“... say]*
about me, ‘He is my brother’, and I will live under your protection.”

Third Masculine (והי-)

חברוהי 1QapGen xxi.25-6: ותקף מלך עילם... למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי *And*
the king of Elam... proved stronger than the king of Sodom and all his
allies.

Third Feminine (הא-/ה-)

⁴⁵Steven Fassberg, “The Pronominal Suffix of the Second Feminine Singular in the Aramaic Texts from the Judaean Desert” *DSD* 3 (1996), 10-19. Fassberg discusses four different spellings of the second feminine singular in texts from the Judaean Desert: ככי-, כיכי-, יך-, and דך-. The first (ככי-) is used in QA in conjunction with the infinitive and with prepositions. In 1QapGen xix.21, one finds the infinitival form אעדיותכי מני ולמקטלני: [They will desire] to se[par]ate you from me and to kill me. The suffix adjoined to prepositions is discussed in §8.4.2.6; later dialects of Middle Aramaic demonstrate its usage with nouns, as well.

The latter two suffixial forms are attested in documents from Murabba‘at and Naḥal Ḥever, respectively, and thus fall outside the scope of this work.

אנפיהא 1QapGen xx.2: ... ושפיר לה צלם אנפיהא ... *... and beautiful is the image of her face.*

שוריה 4QLevi^a 1 ii.2: ... ישכחון למכבש שוריה... *They will not be able to conquer its walls...*

Plural

First Common (נא-)

אבונא 4QTob^b 4 i.17: ... וגוֹבְרָא מן בית אבונא הוא... *... and he is a [m]an from our father's house...*

Second Masculine (סין-)

ידיכון 11QTgJob iv.4: ... סימו ידיכון על... *... place your hands upon ...*

Third Masculine (הון-)

בניהון 4QEn^b iv.10: ... יבדון בניהון ויחוזון... *Their sons will be destroyed and they will s[ee]...*

Third Feminine (הן-?)⁴⁶

אבוהן 1QEnGiants^a 20 2: ... אבוהן באדין... *... their father. Then...*

8.4.2.3 Used With Perfect Verb Forms

Examples

⁴⁶The feminine character of the third person suffix in אבוהן is questionable. If it is read as masculine, then the suffix הן- should be read as an option for the third masculine suffix, obviously. We here read it as feminine and include it under that heading.

Table 8.16: Suffixes of Perfect Verb Forms

Singular	First	Second	Third
Masculine	ני-	ך-	ה-
Feminine	ני-	כי-	ה-/א-ה-
Plural	First	Second	Third
Masculine	נא-/ן-	n/e	n/e
Feminine	נא-/ן-	n/e	n/e

Singular

First Common (ני-)

ואודית תמן קודם אלהא על כול...די יהב לי...ודי אתיבני 1QapGen xxi.3: אתיבני
 לארעא דא בשלם *And I gave thanks there before God concerning all
 the things... which he had given to me... and because he had returned
 me to this land in peace.*

Second Masculine (ך-)

...די פקדך 4QTob^b 4 ii.12: פקדך... *... who commanded you?*

Third Masculine (ה-)

ואזל לארקבת לפרוי ותמן אשכחה לחנוך 1QapGen ii.23: אשכחה
And he went to the higher level, to Parvayim, and there he found him, Enoch.

דזברני קשיטא לבית רעואל אחונא ודברה ואזלנו... 4QTob^b 4 iii.2: ... *“T]ake
 me straight to the house of Raguel our brother.” And he took him and
 [they] went...*

Third Feminine (ה-/א-ה-)

נסבתהא 1QapGen xx.27: ונסבתהא לי לאנתה *And I took her to myself for a wife!*

רחמה 4QTob^b 4 iii.1:... שגיא רחמה ולבהּ בה... *He loved her [gr]eatly and his heart within him...*

Plural

First Common (נא-/ן-)

אשבען 4QLevi^b 3-4 2: אשבען... גבריא *He beswore us rest... men.*

עגננא 4QEnastr^b 7 i.7: עגננא ותקיף לנח: *He has imprisoned us and has captured you.*

8.4.2.4 Used With Imperfect Verb Forms

Table 8.17: Suffixes Used With Imperfect Verb Forms

	Singular	First	Second	Third
Masculine	ן-	ן-	ן-	ן-
Feminine	ן-	n/e	ן-/א-ה	ן-/א-ה
Plural	First	Second	Third	
Masculine	n/e	n/e	n/e	
Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e	

Table 8.17 reflects the object suffixes as they are affixed to the imperfect forms of Qumran Aramaic. It should be noted that the examples cited below occur with *paragogic nun*. Our research has not revealed an exception to this trend.⁴⁷

Examples

⁴⁷Cf. Beyer, *ATM*, 473–478.

Singular**First Common (י-)**

ירתני 1QapGen xxii.34: אליעזר בר דן... וְנָסַרְתָּנִי... *Eliezer, son of... [w]ill inherit me.*

תחוינני 1QapGen ii.6: ... תחוינני ולא בכדבין הדך... *You will make known to me – and not with lies – [whether] that...*

Second Masculine (ך-)

ירתנך 1QapGen xxii.34: ... ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן להך די יפוק... *And he said to him, “This one will not inherit you, but one will come forth...”*

Third Masculine (ה-)

יקדשנה 4QTgLev 2 3: ... וידזכנה ויקדשנה... *... and he will cl]eanse it and will sanctify it...*

ידעונה 4QLevi^a 4 4: ארו ידעונה *Lo, know it (?)*

Third Feminine (ה-)

אנתננה 1QapGen xxi.14: ... ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה... *Behold, to you and to your descendants I will give it...*

ינתננה 4QTob^b 4 ii.5: ... די הוא ידוע די חן ינתננה לגבר... *... because h|e kno[ws] that if he gives her to [another] man...*

תקימנה 4QTob^b 4 ii.3: ... תמלל בעלומתא דא בליליא דן תקימנה... *Tonight you will speak with this wo[m]an. You will engage her...*

Table 8.18: Suffixes Used With Infinitives

Singular	First	Second	Third
Masculine	י-	ך-	ה-
Feminine	י-	כי-	הא-
Plural	First	Second	Third
Masculine	n/e	n/e	n/e
Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e

8.4.2.5 Used With Infinitive Verb Forms

Examples

Singular

First Common (י-)

מקטלני 1QapGen xx.9: ... ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי... *And he wanted to kill me, but Sarai said...*

אפטרותני 4QpapTob^a vi.8: ... ואמר לאפטרותני מן נְעַל... *... and speak for my freeing from up[on]...*

Second Feminine (כי-)⁴⁸

אעדיותכי 1QapGen xix.21: ... לאעוד[יותכי מני ולמקטלני... *... they will try] to se[p]arate you from me and to kill me.*

Third Masculine (ה-)

ולא יכלו כול אסיא ואשפיא וכול חכימא למקם 1QapGen xx.20: אסיותה לאסיותה *But all the healers and the magicians and all the wisemen were not able to stand to heal him.*

⁴⁸Cf. note 45 (page 159).

Third Feminine (הא-)

דברהא 1QapGen xx.9: ...שגי רחמה ושלח לעובע דברהא... *...he desired her greatly and sent for her to be brought with haste.*⁴⁹

8.4.2.6 Used With Prepositions

Prepositions Functioning As Singular Nouns - Examples

Singular

First Common (י-)

⁴⁹In his commentary on the *Genesis Apocryphon*, Fitzmyer reads this as an asyndetic use of דבר. In support of this he cites the use of שלח in 1QapGen xx.18–19, xxi.21, the use of קום in xx.29, xxi.13, and the use of אזל in xx.23 and 24. See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 127. However, when one considers these forms, one realizes that the use of דבר in 1QapGen xx.9 is open to more than one interpretation. The lines in question are listed below in order of their citation here and by Fitzmyer.

קרא with שלח

1QapGen xx.18–19: ...ושלח קרא לכל חכימוני...

1QapGen xxi.21: ...ושלחת קרית לממרה...

Of these two instances, the latter is the only inflected form. Therefore, the use of קרא in xx.18–19 could be an epexegetical participle.

The use of קום

1QapGen xx.29: ...והי וקום ויהב...

1QapGen xxi.13: ...קום הלך ואזל...

Obviously, there is no asyndeton in the first use of קום listed here; this example should therefore be discarded for the present argument. With regard to the second instance, the quality of the parallel is significantly reduced by the use of imperatives in a series. Fitzmyer's argument, in our judgment, needs a negative proof as to why the first imperative could not be in a sentence of its own: *Stand up! Walk and go...*

The use of אזל

1QapGen xx.23: ...וכען אזל אמר למלכא...

1QapGen xx.24: ...וכדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט אזל אמר למלכא...

While both of these lines may exhibit an asyndetic use of אמר, neither manifests a suffixial pronoun nor an adverbial phrase, nevermind an adverbial phrase which begins with the infinitive complement. We submit that 1QapGen xx.9 may exhibit an infinitive that is anomalously separated by its complement by an adverb and that has a third feminine pronominal suffix. There is obvious ambiguity about how to understand the forms of the sentence. Therefore, we include the form דברהא here with due caution.

Table 8.19: Suffixes Applied to Prepositions

Prepositions functioning as singular nouns

Singular	First	Second	Third
Masculine	י-	ך-/כה-	ה-
Feminine	י-	כי-	ה-/הא-
Plural	First	Second	Third
Masculine	נא-	כן-/כון-	הון-
Feminine	נא-	n/e	הון/הין- ^[?]

Prepositions functioning as plural nouns

Singular	First	Second	Third
Masculine	n/e	יכי-/יכה-/יך	יה-/לי-יה
Feminine	n/e	n/e	יה-/הא-יה
Plural	First	Second	Third
Masculine	n/e	יכן-/יכון-	יהון-
Feminine	n/e	n/e	n/e

עמי 1QapGen xxii.23: ברא מן די אכלו כבר עולימי די עמי *Except for that which the young men who went with me ate...*

תחותי 4QLevi^b 2 17: ותחותי רם עד דבק לשמינא: *... and saw a mountain] underneath me, high unto the heave[ns.]*

Second Masculine (ך-/כה-)

דכרלך⁵⁰ 1QapGen ii.9: ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי דכרלך על עדינתי *And she said, "Lo, my brother, and lo, my lord, remember (to yourself) my pleasure!"*

לכה 4QLevi^b 1 18: וקרבני למהוא לכה... *... and bring me near to be with you...*

⁵⁰Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 86. דכרלך is a composite form of דכר- + ל- + ך- meaning, literally, "remember to yourself."

Second Feminine (כי-)⁵¹

לכי 1QapGen xix.19: *קבוק למשבק... that they desire to kill me and to leave you alone.*

לאענדזיותכי מני ומקטלני 1QapGen xix.21: *... to se[par]ate you from me and to kill me.*

Third Masculine (ה-)

בביתה 11QTgJob v.2: *... they [p]ray to God in his house...*

לה 4QWords of Michael i.12: *... למרא עלמא לה רחמין ולה... to the Eternal Lord, to him mercies, and to him...*

Third Feminine (ה-/הא-)

בהא and עמה 1QapGen xx.17: *And he was not able to approach her, let alone know her, even though he was with her.*

4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2: *vacat לארעא ולאחיתה... which are] for them, for its healing [(that is,) the earth] and for its revitalization.*

Plural**First Common (נא-)**

⁵¹Fassberg has stated that the second feminine singular suffix is found in 4QpapTob^a 3 9 (לכי) and 13 13 (בכי). However, neither one is extant according to our reading. Fassberg relies on Beyer's paleography. However, Beyer's readings do not always adequately account for the textual evidence. For more on Fassberg's study on the second feminine singular pronominal suffix, see note 45 in §8.4.2.2.

לנא

4QEnGiants^a 7 i.5-6: ... אדן עני ולוא לנא. *Then he tormented, but not us...*

11QTgJob vii.3: ... לנא אלהנא. *Go[d] to us...*

Second Masculine (-כ/כ-)

לכון 1QEnGiants^b 8 2: לא שלם לכון. *There will be no peace for you.*

לכן 4QEn^a ii.14: ... לבבון לה שלם לכן... *hard-hea]rted ones, there will not be any peace for you...*

Third Masculine (-הן)

בהון 4QEn^c 1 xii.26: ... וְאִףּ בְּהוֹן חִזִּית אִילָנִין דִּי נִפְקִין... *And also among them, I saw trees that issued[...]*

להון 11QTgJob xxxviii.3: ... וּשְׁבַקְתָּ לְהוֹן חַטֵּאֵיהוֹן בְּדִילָהּ... *... and he forgave them their sins because of him.*

Third Feminine (-הן/-הין)

לחן⁵² 1QapGen xx.3: כַּמָּא יֵאֵין לְחָן לְהָ עֵינֵיהָ. *How radiant are her eyes!*

⁵²With regard to the third feminine plural, Fitzmyer and Kutscher argue for לְחָן *to them* in 1QapGen xx.3 where Avigad and Yadin and García Martínez and Tigchelaar have read לְהוֹן. We find both readings to be doubtful. The graphemic identity between ך and ך in QA complicates the matter. While the form -הין is plausible by analogy with the masculine form and possibly with Aramaic outside of QA, we prefer the more conservative reading (-הן) because it is clearly attested in 1QapGen xx.6 and because the photographic evidence does not necessarily suggest a letter between the ך and the ה.

By way of illustration, עֵמָהִין *with them* is found in 4QEnGiants^c i.4 by E. Cook's reading. Milik's transcription reads עֵמָהִין. However, the photographic evidence vindicates neither reading, but the line should be read יֵד מָהִין. Cf. Cook, "Aramaic of DSS", 367; Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 307; Émile Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4: XXII. Textes Araméens, Première Partie* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), DJD 31, 52 and Plate III.

להין 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2: ארעא ולאחיתה... *... which are] for them, for its healing [(that is,) the earth) and for its revitalization.*

Prepositions Functioning As Plural Nouns - Examples

Singular

Second Masculine (-יכה/-יק)

ועליך 4QTob^b 4 ii.2: גזר למנסבה: ועליך דין קשטא גזר *And concerning yourself, a rightful judgment has decreed (for you) to ta[ke her.]*

קודמיכה 4QEnGiants^a 9 5: ... וכען vacat קודמיכה... *... before you [blank]*
And now...

Second Feminine (-יכי)

בטליכי 1QapGen xix.20: ואחי בטליכי... *... and I will live by your protection.*

דביכי 4QpapTob^a 18 11: זעלמיה דביכי יברכון שומה: *[Blessed be he unto the end of] everlasting, because in you they will bless his na[me.]*⁵³

Third Masculine (-יה/-והי)

עלוהי 1QapGen xx.18: עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא ועל כול אנש ביתה: *... the punishment and affliction grew stronger and more intense upon him and upon those of his house.*

⁵³Fitzmyer suggests that the form דביכי is a case of scribal metathesis. By his rendering, the form should read די בכי. While this certainly is possible, modern students of the text are left with little recourse but to assume that the form as we have it was intelligible to the early reader and, judging from context, contained a feminine suffix -יכי.

ואַנְתִּין נְטַל וּמִסְתַּרְזִין בְּעַץ מִן קַדְמִיָּה 4QEn^a ii.7: קַדְמִיָּה
*And you desire shade
 and relief from it.*

תְּשַׁבַּחַהּ... וְאֵת־בּוֹנֵי כָּל עֲבֹדֵיהָ וְאֵלּוֹן 4QEn^a ii.10: עֲבֹדֵיהָ
*Praise and con-
 sider all of these works.*

וְכָלֵהן יִרְמָה קַדְמוֹהִי 4QapocrDan ii.9: קַדְמוֹהִי
*And he will cast all of them
 before him.*

Third Feminine (-יהא/-יה)

... וּמִיתוּ כַּדִּי עֲלָאִין עֲלֵיהָ הוּוּ 4QTob^b 4 ii.8: עֲלֵיהָ
*... and they died ju]st as
 they were entering her.*

וַיְהִי לָהּ מֶלֶכָּה... וְנִדְהַבְּ שְׂגִיָּה... קִדְמִיָּהּ וְאִי לְהַגֵּר 1QapGen xx.32: קִדְמִיָּהּ
*And the king gave to her. . . [and g]old in abundance. . . before her and
 also Hagar.*

Plural

Second Masculine (-יכון/-יכין)

... עֲלֵיכֹן לְבַאִישׁ 4QEnGiants^a 8 14: עֲלֵיכֹן
... upon you for evil.

הֲלֹא עָלַי וְעַלְכֶם בְּנֵי 4QLevi^a 4 4: עֲלֵיכֶם
*Is it not upon me and upon you, my
 sons?*

Third Masculine (-יהון)

וְרָמָה עֲלֵיהֶן בְּלַיְלָהּ מִן אַרְבַּע רֹחֵיהֶן 1QapGen xxii.8: עֲלֵיהֶן
*And he came
 upon them in the night from their four sides.*

...ולמעדיהון לחדשיהון לדגליהון. 4QEnastr^b 28 1: ...
 ...for] their Zodiacal periods, for their new moons, for their signs.⁵⁴

8.4.3 Demonstrative

Table 8.20: Demonstrative Pronouns

	Near	Far
Masc Sing	דנא/ון	הדך
Fem Sing	דא	n/e
Common Plur	אלך/אלך	n/e

Table 8.20 highlights the demonstrative pronouns attested in QA. With reservation Fitzmyer suggests הו (1QapGen xx.9) as the masculine far demonstrative pronoun *that*.⁵⁵ However, he gives no reasoning for such an assertion. The graphemic identity shared by ה and ח and by ו and י in the scroll, combined with the obscure context, makes this reading dubious. For comparison, one should also

⁵⁴On the employment of “Zodiacal” in relation to מעדיהון, see Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 295. García Martínez and Tigchelaar render this word as “constellations” or, in DJD 26, “periods.” See García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/I*, 439 and Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “4QAstronomical Enoch^b ar” in *Qumran Cave 4: XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part I* ed. Stephen J. Pfann et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), DJD 36, 166.

⁵⁵Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 205.

Beyer includes several forms of the demonstrative pronoun which are not included in Table 8.20. Our research has uncovered none of these, however. Cf. Beyer, *ATM*, 425, and Beyer, *Ergänzungsband*, 281–282.

The term “remote demonstrative pronoun” has been suggested for use here. However, we find this term somewhat cumbersome and cryptic. To be sure, there is no standardized way to refer to this grammatical element. Rosenthal simply refers to the demonstrative pronoun without reference to the relative location of its antecedent. Muraoka and Porten use “Far Deixis.” Nöldeke refers to “what is more distant.” Müller-Kessler discusses demonstrative pronouns “[z]ur Bezeichnung des fernen Objekts.” Schulthess, like Rosenthal, does not use a quantifier at all beyond “Demonstrativpronomen.” See Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §32–34, Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar Of Egyptian Aramaic* 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 32, §14, Theodore Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* trans. by James A. Crichton 2nd ed. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), §67, Christa Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991), §4.1.3, and Friedrich Schulthess, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), §62.

consider the end of the same line, which Fitzmyer renders as וחי.⁵⁶

The difficulty in discerning how to read these two letters is further compounded by the fact that this may be a *hapax legomenon* for QA. It occurs in non-biblical QA again only in 1QNJ? 13, where it seems to begin a word and does not stand independently.

Examples

Near Masculine Singular (דנא/דן)

1QapGen ii.2: ולבי עלי משתני על עולימא דנא *And my heart within me was changed concerning this boy.*

4QTob^b 4 ii.3: בליליא דן תקימנה ותסבנה לך לאנתוה: *“In this night, you will engage her and take her to yourself for a wife[fe].”*⁵⁷

Near Feminine Singular (דא)

4QTob^b 4 ii.3: ...תמלל בְּעִלְמוֹתָא דא... *[My brother,] you will speak with this wo[m]an...*

Near Common Plural (אלקי/אלן)

1QapGen xxi.25: כול אלן אזמנו כחדא לקרב לעמקא די סדיא *All of these had made an alliance together to make war in the Valley of Siddim.*

4QEnGiants^b 3 2:⁵⁸ ... יומיא אלן במטרהוון... *... these days in the[ir] rain...*

⁵⁶Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 66.

⁵⁷We here render תקים, the Aph‘el of קום, as “engage.” The use of it here is idiomatic, being derived from the Aph‘el to appoint. Cf. Sokoloff, *Dict. of JPA*, 481, קום, Af., 4.

⁵⁸Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XII:Part 1*, 25. This reading is slightly different from Puech’s and does not follow his line numbering. Puech combines this fragment with fragment 2 column i, thus rendering this line 2i+3 5.

4QEn^a ii.11: הוּא לועלם...זְכַלְ עֲבֹדֵיהּ אַלְקִי *He is for[ever... he has made] all of these works.*

Far Masculine Singular (הַדָּךְ)

1QapGen ii.6: ... תַּחֲוִינִי וְלֹא בַכְּדָבָךְ הַדָּךְ *You will tell me, and not with lies, [whether] that...*⁵⁹

8.4.4 Interrogative

מַה *what* 1QapGen xx.26 וְשָׂרַי וְשָׂרַי לִי בְדִיל וְשָׂרַי לִי מַה עֲבַדְתָּה לִי בְדִיל וְשָׂרַי לִי *And he said to me, “What have you done to me because of [Sar]ai?”*; 11QTgJob x.5 מַה עֵטָר מִלֵּא *מה עטר מלא* “*And what small things do we he[ar]!*”; 4QLevi^a 6 1, 4QVisions of Amram^b 2 13.

מִן *who, whom* 4QLevi^a 4 3 וְעַל מִן תִּהְיֶה חֻרְבָּתָא *And upon whom will the blame fall?*

For other interrogatives see §8.3.2.

8.4.5 The Forms of כּוֹל

Table 8.21 illustrates the conjugation of כּוֹל in QA. While we use the spelling כּוֹל for illustrative purposes, the spelling כָּל is equally common.

Functioning as a substantive,⁶⁰ כּוֹל is conjugated as a masculine singular noun.

⁵⁹A paleographic note is due with regard to the second column of the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Until recently, all transcriptions have read הַדָּא *this* in 1QapGen ii.6, following Avigad and Yadin. However, evidence for this reading is not found in the photographs published in 1956. The correct reading of 1QapGen ii.6 is הַדָּךְ *that*; Cf. Albert L. Lukaszewski, “‘This’ or ‘That’: The Far Demonstrative Pronoun in 1QapGen II, 6” *RQ* 20 (2002), 589–592. This form is extant in both OA and JPA; therefore, it may be expected to appear in QA. Cf. Hofstijzer and Jongeling, *Dictionary of NWSI*, 319–320, הַדָּךְ. Cf. also Sokoloff, *Dict. of JPA*, 159b, הַדָּךְ.

⁶⁰Cf. §9.1.3.5.

It occurs in all three states. While it is pronominal in that it takes the place of other nouns, כּוֹל also functions as a true substantive, able to receive a pronominal suffix itself.

Table 8.21: Forms of כּוֹל

Singular	Absolute	Construct	Emphatic
Masculine	כוֹל	כוֹל	כוֹלָא

Absolute

1QapGen xxii.29: וּמְנֵי כּוֹל דִּי אִיתֵי לֶךְ *Now count up everything which is yours.*

4QEn^a iii.14: נִשְׂוּן מִן כּוֹל דִּי בַחֲרוּ... *... women from all whom they chose.*

Construct

1QapGen ii.7: בְּמֶלֶךְ כּוֹל עֲלָמִים עַד בְּקוֹשֵׁט עִמִּי תִמְלֹלִין וְלֹא בְכַדְבִּין... *... by the king of all eternity that you are speaking to me truthfully and not with lies.*

4QEn^a iii.18: לְמַל כּוֹל בְּנֵי אָנָשׁ... *... the labor of all of the sons of humankind.*

Emphatic

4QTob^c 1 5: כּוֹלָא יִתְעַבַּד לְזִמְנוּהִיט *Everything will happen in its time.*

4QapocrDan ii.6: וְכּוֹלָא יַעֲבֹד שְׁלָם *And all will work peace.*

With a Pronominal Suffix

4QEn^a iii.1: וְאִמְרוּ לֵהּ כּוֹלָא... *And all of them said to him...*

4QEnastr^b 23 5: מאין ערבין ומאין עללן וכלהון כוכבין... . . . whence they (the stars of heaven) set and whence they rise, all of the stars.⁶¹

8.5 Prepositions

The prepositions of QA function similarly to those in BA and are placed after the verb. As in BA, prepositions can be combined with nominal forms to create a unified idea. By way of example, ליד *to* in 1QapGen xxi.15 and other places unites the preposition -ל *to, for* with the common noun יד *hand* in order to express, in this context, movement toward the edge of the water, or the shoreline.⁶² The various prepositions employed in QA are detailed below.

-אחרי *after* 1QapGen xxi.14 ... ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה אחריך... Behold, to you and to your offspring after you I will give... , 4QEnGiants^c 2 7.

-ב 1QapGen ii.1-2 ... הא באדין חשבת בלבי... Lo, then I thought in my heart... , xix.10-11, 1QEnGiants^a 21 2, 4QTgJob ii.3-4, 4QpapTob^a 2 1, 4QEn^a ii.9,⁶³ 4QEnGiants^a 8 11, 4QEnastr^d 1 ii.5-6, 4QPrNab 1 2, 4QpsDan^c 2 3, 4QapocrDan ii.5, 6, 7, 8, 4QEnGiants^b 7 ii.3, 4, 11 3,⁶⁴ 11QTgJob v.1-

⁶¹Curiously, this instance of כול demonstrates the use of the proleptic suffix *without* the use of יד as a construct complement.

⁶²Cf. Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §84. Rosenthal here renders יד *hand* as a preposition, after its syntactical function. However, morphologically it remains a noun which takes on prepositional force only when a preposition is affixed to it.

For -ל and יד as separate words combined for effect, consider Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 233a, *yd*, and 234a-234b, *l-*.

⁶³Cf. George E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 150. Presumably to follow English idiom, Nickelsburg renders this use of -ב with “on” and not “in.” This does not match the consistent locative sense one finds in the other uses of -ב.

⁶⁴Note that this line number differs from the numbering given in the *editio princeps*, DJD 31, because the latter relies on a reconstruction. The numbering given here is that of the fragment.

2, viii.4, 8, x.3, etc.

ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא ולא קטילת 1QapGen xx.10 *on account of, because of* *I, Abram, was spared on account of her, and I was not killed*, 11QTgJob xxxviii.3
 ושׁבֵקָ לַהוֹן חַטְאִיהוֹן בְּדִלְהָ *And he forgave them their sins because of him*,
 1QapGen xi.14, xix.20, xx.10, 25, 26, 4QEnastr^b xxiii.3, 4QEnastr^b 23 3,
 11QTgJob xxxviii.3.

ואחי 1QapGen xix.20 *in, with the protection of, with the covering of*
 בטליכי *And I will live with your protection.*

ושם פלג חזקה בין בְּנֵוְהִי... 1QapGen xvii.7 *And Shem divided] his*
 עטישתה תדלק נורא בין עינוהי 11QTgJob xxxvi.3-4 *[po]rtion between his sons. . . ,*
 כממח פרא *His sneezing kindles the fire between his eyes like the glow of*
the dawn, 1QapGen xxi.24, 1QEnGiants^a 27 3.

בחר 1QapGen xxi.5 *After that day, Lot departed. . . ,*
 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.9 *... נוזרתה נפק רחא [And] after it, a wind departs. . . ,* 1QapGen
 xxii.27, 4QpapTob^a vi.1, 4QpsDan^a 14 1, 4QpsDan^b 8 2, 4QVisions of
 Amram^e 9 7; with -ל: 1QapGen xix.23.

כז *Like the sparks*
which you saw, thus his kingdom will be, 1QapGen ii.21, xxi.13, etc., xx.1,
 23, 4QEn^e 3 17, 11QTgJob v.6, ix.1.

ואמרת לשרי אנתתי... 1QapGen xix.17-18 *And I said to Sarai, my wife. . . ,*
 1QapGen ii.1, xix.21-22, xx.6-7, 10, 1QEnGiants^b vi.1, 4QpapTob^a 17 ii.2,

3, 14, 4QEn^a iii.6-12, 19,⁶⁵ 4QWords of Michael i.4, 5, 7, 4QEnGiants^b 7 ii.6, 11QTgJob i.5, ii.5, x.9, etc.

ותן לות איוב כל רחמוי וכל אחוהי... *And then came to Job all of his friends and all of his brothers...*,⁶⁶ 4QEn^e 5 ii.17.

ודתרה ליון כול נאותא דיליד לוד... *...and after him, to Javan, all the islands toward Lydia.*

ובחזיון עמי מלל ולקובלי קום... *And he spoke to me in visions and he stood before me...*, xxi.32, 4QEn^a iii.20 כל קובל...
...כנף... *...before each wing...*, 4QTJacob? 9 2.⁶⁷

ולא מן כול זר ולא מן כול עירין... *...and not from any foreigner and not from any of the Watchers...*, 4QVisions of Amram^e 9 8 עיני 9 8
ואנה אתעירת מן שנת *And I was roused from the sleep of my eyes*, 1QapGen xix.16-17, 24, xx.7, 19, 27, xxi.5, etc., 1QEnGiants^a 22 2, 4QpapTob^a 6 8, 4QEn^a ii.8, iv.5, 4QapocrDan ii.6, 4QWords of Michael i.8, 4QTJacob? 12 2, 3, 11QTgJob i.8, iii.5(2x), viia.2, xiv.6, xxiii.1, 2, xxiv.1, 4, xxvi.3, etc.; 1QapGen xxii.23, 31, 1QEnGiants^a 1 3;⁶⁸ 4QLevi^a 2 15 ... כל

⁶⁵As is typical of Nickelsburg's translation of 1Enoch, the text is rendered after English idiom. While a good translation, in our opinion, this does not convey the aspect of the Semitic prepositions very well. As Nickelsburg points out, it is not wholly intended to do so. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 3.

⁶⁶This is an anomalous occurrence of לות as an independent preposition. For a comprehensive discussion of this occurrence, cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 169.

⁶⁷On 1QapGen xxi.32, cf. BH: לפני.

On 4QEn^a iii.20, cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 403. Also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 182. The use of ל- with פני to denote a contrary relationship is unusual among the Semitic languages. See Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 938-940; Hoftijzer and Jongeling, *Dictionary of NWSI*, 919-920; Jessie P. Smith, ed., *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith, D.D.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 450.

⁶⁸Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 62. García Martínez *et al.* posit a line before the first line extant on the fragment. Consequently, this reference is found in line 4 of *The Dead*

מה תתן לה או מה מִיָּדְךָ יִקְבֹּל... 11QTgJob xxvi.1-2 *What will you give to him or what will he receive from your hand?*, 11QTgJob xx.3, xxxvi.6.

עד *until, unto* 1QapGen xxi.6 והוא רעה נכסוהי ודבק עד סודם *And he was shepherding his flocks, then he reached Sodom*, 4QapocrDan i.3 עד וכלא אתה... *...and everything (that is) coming unto eternity*, 1QapGen ii.5, xxii.21, 1QEnGiants^a 27 4, 4QEn^a v.4,⁶⁹ 4QEnastr^c 1 iii.4, 4QapocrDan ii.4, 11QTgJob xxviii.4, xxi.2, xxx.8.

על *over, upon, concerning, to* 1QapGen ii.2 ולבי עלי משתני על עלימא דנא *And my heart upon me was changed concerning this child*, 4QLevi^a 4 3 ועל מן תהוא 4 3 *And upon whom will the blame be?*, 1QapGen ii.9, 11, xix.20, 24, xx.6, 9, 13-14, xxi.2-3, 6-8, xxii.2, 5, 8, 4QTgLev 2 6, 4QEn^a iii.17,⁷⁰ 4QapocrDan i.4, 4QEnGiants^b 1 i.4, 4QEnGiants^c 5 4, 14 2, 4QBirth of Noah^a 1 i.3, 9, 4QTJacob? 14 2, 4QapocrLevi^a? 1 1, 4QapocrLevi^b? 2 i.7, 9 i.2, 11QTgJob ii.1, v.6, ix.6, xv.4, etc; לעל 1QapGen ii.26,⁷¹ 4QapocrLevi^b? 3 4.⁷² *to* 1QapGen ii.3, 19.⁷³

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⁶⁹While the reading of עד here is not in question, this prepositional phrase has been rendered both as “for[ever]” and “for all the generations of eternity.” For the former, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 403. For the latter, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 215.

⁷⁰Nickelsburg curiously does not render this prepositional phrase. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 182.

⁷¹While לעל may be read as an infinitive construct with a second person plural suffix, we here follow the judgment of García Martínez-Tigchelaar in evaluating it as a preposition with a suffix. Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 30–31.

⁷²For a discussion of this compound preposition in 4QapocrLevi^b?, see Steven Fassberg, “The Compound Preposition in Qumran Aramaic” *RQ* 16 (1995). É. Puech has also read a compound preposition לעל in 4QapocrLevi^b? 2 i.8. However, the text is significantly damaged and the reading of some doubt. We therefore do not include it here. See Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XII:Part I*, 231–233.

⁷³García Martínez and Tigchelaar find על to mean *to* in 4QEnGiants^b ii.5,21, but we have not found this text in PAM 43.568. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/2*, 1062–1063.

עם *with* 1QapGen xx.7 ודלידיהא עמהא ודלדיהא *And with all this beauty, great wisdom is with her and the work of her hands*, 4QTQahat 1 ii.13 באתהילכותהון עמכון... *... in their being carried with you*, 1QapGen xxi.3, etc., xxii.1, etc., 4QEnastr^b 6 6, 4QLevi^a 5 i.2, 4QEnGiants^c 22 4, 11QTgJob ix.4, xv.5, xxvii.2.

קדם *before* 4QTgLev 1 6 על כְּסִיא וְקֹדֶם כְּסִיא לְמִדְנַחָא *... ov]er the throne and before the throne to the East*, 4QpapTob^a 2 8, 4QapocrDan i.1, 4QBirth of Noah^b 3 4, 5, 4QBirth of Noah^c 1 1, 4QVisions of Amram^b 2 6, 11QTgJob xxvii.3; וְאוֹדִית תִּמְן קוֹדֶם אֱלֹהִים *And I gave thanks there before God...*, 4QEnGiants^a 9 2, 4QpsDan^b 4 1, 4QapocrDan i.1, ii.9.

לקודם *before* 4QpapTob^a 2 11 וְאִקְרְבוּ פְּתוּרָא לְקוֹדְמִי... *And they brought the table near, in front of me...*, 4QEnastr^c 2 7, 11QTgJob viia.9.

מן קדם *before* 4QEn^a ii.7... וְאַנְתּוֹן וְטַלְלָא נּוּמְסַתְרִין בְּעֵץ מִן קִדְמִיהָ... *... and you look for shade and a hiding place from before it.*,⁷⁴ 4QEn^a 9 2, 4QTJacob? 2 3,⁷⁵ 11QTgJob xxvi.4.

קדמת *before* 1QapGen xxi.23 כְּדַרְלְעוּמַר מֶלֶךְ עֵלִים אֲמַרְפֶּל מֶלֶךְ בַּבֶּל *And before those days came Chedarlaomer, king of Elam, Amraphel, king of Babylonia, Arioch, king of Cappodocia, Tidal, king of Goim, which is Mesopotamia...*⁷⁶

⁷⁴Nickelsburg renders “from before it” as “from its presence”. For the limitations of Nickelsburg’s translation, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 3.

⁷⁵Puech’s line numbering relies on his postulation that fragments one, two, and three are to be read together. Hence, his line numbering for this form is 4QTJacob? 1+2+3 6. Cf. Puech, *Qumran Cave 4.XII: Part 1*, 175. The line numbering given here is based on fragment 2 alone.

⁷⁶See also §8.5 (page 179).

תחת *under, below* 4QLevi^b 2 17 תחתִי רם עד דבק לשמינא... *below me, high until it reached to the heaven[s]*, 4QEn^d 1 ii.3, 4QVisions of Amram^e 12 3, 11QTgJob xx.1.

8.6 Direct Object Marker

The object marker, by definition, is non-translatable.

-ל 4QTob^b frg.4 iii.6 ידעון אנתון לטובי אחונא... “*Do you know Tobit, [ou]r brother?*”, 4QpapTob^a 14 i.5,⁷⁷ 4QEn^a iii.19 קשרין לקטלה לאנשא... *... they] arranged to kill the man*, 4QEn^a ii.1, 2, 4QEn^b iv.9, 4QEnGiants^a 7 i.5, 6, 7, 4QLevi^d 5-6 i.2, 4QpsDan^a 13 2, 1QEnGiants^b 8 2, 4QBirth of Noah^c 2 ii.9, 4QVisions of Amram^b 1a i.8, 11QTgJob iv.5, xiii.6, xiv.6-7, xxii.4, etc.

-ית 11QTgJob xxxv.9... ויפלגון יתה בארעו... *... and they will divide it in the land of...*⁷⁸

⁷⁷We here follow Fitzmyer's numbering of this column (Fitzmyer, *Christian Origins*, 178). Due to the loss of at least two lines, it is not certain whether this column originally had thirteen or sixteen lines.

⁷⁸Cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 163. Cook cites 5QNJ 1 i.17 as evidence of another occurrence, but this is not supported by the photographic evidence. Cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1994), 56; Edward M. Cook, “Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology” in *Abr Nahrain Suppl.* ed. T. Muraoka. Vol. 3 (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1992), 11. See García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/2*, 1198. Cf. also García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11: II*, 165.

8.7 Numerals

8.7.1 Cardinal

חד *one* 1QapGen xix.14-15 ותמרא חדא וחרזית בחלמי נוהזא ארזי חד *And in my dream I saw, lo, a cedar and a palm tree*, 4QEn^e 5 i.13-14 ועבד לה ערב חדה *And he made a boat for himself*, 1QapGen xix.11, xx.8, 4QEn^e 1 vi.1, 4QEn^e 5 iii.19, 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.8, 10-11, 13, 4QEnastr^d ii.3-6, 4QLevi^a 1 ii.18.⁷⁹

תרין *two* 11QTgJob xxiii.8 ... זמן תרין תלתה לו... *... a time, two (times), three (times)...*,⁸⁰ תרתין *two* 11QTgJob xxxvii.5-6 ותרתיך ולא אתיב ותרתיך *One things I have spoken and I will not change, even two things, and to them I will not add...*, 4QBirth of Noah^a 1 i.1; תרתי- (construct form with a suffix) 4QVisions of Amram^e 3 3.

תלתה *three* m. 4QVisions of Amram^b 3 2 ... וענה ואמר לי תלתה שמהון... *... and he replied and said to me, "Three of the[ir] names..."*; תלתת/תלת *f.*⁸¹ 4QEn^c i.25 עד דתרתיך ותלת שניך *... unto the third or the second year*,⁸² 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.1 ותלתת די בתריהון על שמאל *... and the three who were after them, to the North*, iii.7; תלתת-, תלת- cs. 1QapGen xix.24

⁷⁹This occurrence is included because of the high probability that the word in question is a form of חד. However, it should be noted that the text breaks: ...חדנ.

⁸⁰This latter rendering is based on a possible reading of זמן in 11QTgJob xxiii.8 as *one time*. Cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 133.

⁸¹The reason for the double entry of the feminine form is evident in the examples cited here. At first glance, the use of תלתת might appear as being in construct, with the construct complement following. However, we submit that the די in 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.1 is the conjunction of a subordinate clause which modifies תלתת.

⁸²Milik reads 4QEn^a ii.6 similarly as עד דתרתיך ותלת שניך. See Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 146. We read the line as ועד דתרתיך ותלת שניך. It must be said, however, that this passage from 4QEn^c i.25 offers some credence to Milik's reading. The photograph offers no justification of it, however, and our own study of the fragment in the Summer of 2002 did not offer any reason to change our reading of the text.

...גברין מן רברבי מצרין... *...three of the men among the princes of Egypt [came], 1QapGen xx.8 ...that the three of them spoke (with) one mouth...*, 1QapGen xxi.21, xxii.23, 4QBirth of Noah^a 1 i.5

ורמה עלי הן בליליא מן ארבע רוחיהון *And he fell upon them at night from four of their sides, 4QEnastr^b 1 4 וקוזי ביממא דן 7*
 ובעין ארבעה *And it wax[es] in this day four sevenths, 4QEnastr^b 1 6, 7 ii.3, iii.5, 4QEnastr^c ii.14*

וארפכשד לוד וארם ובן נקבן חמש... *... Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram, and five daughters, 23; 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.6, 7, 9, iii.6, 7, 8.*

ואניר בליליא] תמניה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין שתה ופלג 4 *And it shines in night] twenty-eight; it is covered six and a half sevenths.*

... ופוט וכנען ובן וז'קבן שבע 11-12 *... and Put and Canaan, seven sons and daughters, 1QapGen xxii.28, 4QEnastr^b 3 2-4, 6 1-5, 7 ii.2-13, 4QPrNab 1-3 3.*

ואניר בליליא תמניה בה שבעין 5 *And it shines in night eight [four?] sevenths, 6 4.*

... ואניר בליליא תשעה 7 *And it shines in night nine...*⁸³

ואמר לה הא עשר שנין שלמא... *And he said to him, "Lo, ten years have passed..."; 4QVisions of Amram^g 2 8; עשרה 1QapGen vi.10 ... ובלק עשרה באדין... *... ten jubilees, then...*, xxi.26, 27.*

⁸³Beyer notes this as an ordinal, rather than a cardinal, form: "nach בליליא constr. „in der neunten Nacht“...". Cf. Beyer, *ATM*, 728.

עשר חד *eleven* 4QEnastr^b 1 12 ... וואניר בליליאן חד עשר... [And it shines in night] *eleven...*

עשר תרי *twelve* 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.14 ושלמו תרי עשר תרעי ארבע רוחי שמויאן [The twelve gates of the four winds of hea[ven] are completed.]

עשר תלתת *thirteen* 1QapGen xxi.27 ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה [And in the thirteenth year, they revolted against him, 4QEn^a iii.10, 4QEn^c 1 ii.27.]

עשר חמשת *fifteen* 4QEnastr^c 1 iii.5 כל נהורה בה ומשלמין בה... [And in it all of its light is completed, 4QEnastr^d 1 ii.5.]

עשר ומן עבדוהי גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאה [And he chose from his servants men ready for war, three hundred and eighteen (men).] *eighteen* 1QapGen xxii.6 ותמניאת עשר

עשר תשעת *nineteen* 4QEn^a iii.12 ... טוריאל... לה ימיואל תשעת <עשר>... [Toriel... to him. Yomiell nineteen...]

עשרין *twenty* 4QpsDan^a 20 2 ... שנוזן עשרין... [... twenty [year]s...]

עשרין חמשה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה *twenty-five* 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.6 ובלילא חמשה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה [And in night fifteen, it is covered five sevenths.]

עשרין ששה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה *twenty-six* 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.9 ובלילא ששה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה [And in night twenty-six, it is covered five and a half sevenths...]

עשרין תמניה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין *twenty-eight* 4QEnastr^b 6 4 וואניר בליליאן תמניה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין [And it shines in night twenty-eight; it is covered six and a half sevenths.]

ותלתין ושת היא שנתא די (מותה) 1 3 *thirty-six* 4QVisions of Amram^a 1 3
 ... and thirty-six, the year of [his death.]

ובחר מן עבדוהי (*three hundred* תלת מאא) 1QapGen xxii.6 [one] hundred
 ... And he chose from his servants
 men ready for war, three hundred eighteen (men)...; du. מאתין *two hundred*
 1QEnGiants^a 1 2, 3.

8.7.2 Ordinal

אשלומת] שמשא למהך כל חרתיה די בתרעא קדמיה 7 iii.2 *first* 4QEnastr^b 7 iii.2
The sun fini[shes] going through all its sections which are in the first gate, 4QEnastr^c
 1 ii.4, 15, 4QEnastr^d 1 ii.5.

ואשלטה אסרחדון תנן לה 2 8 *second* 4QpapTob^a 2 8
And Esarhaddon appointed him to rule second to himself, 4QEn^a iii.6; 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.8
 ובאדן ערב 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.8 תנינא 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.8
 ... לתרעא תנינא. *And then it sets [and] enters the second gate, 4QEnastr^c 1*
 iii.7.

... לתליתי לה כוכבאל רביעי לה 1 ii.25 *third* 4QEn^c 1 ii.25
 ...] *third to him;*
Kokab'el, fourth to him.

... לתליתי לה כוכבאל רביעי לה 1 ii.25 *fourth* 4QEn^c 1 ii.25
 ...] *third to him;*
Kokab'el, fourth to him..

וואניר] בלילאן שזבעה בה שביעין תלתה ופלג 1 3 *sevenths* 4QEnastr^b 1 3
 ... And it
 shines in night seven three sevenths and a half, 4QEnastr^b 6 2 and 4; שבעין

4QEnastr^b 6 3.⁸⁴

תשיע ninth 4QEnastr^d 1 ii.3 ... מעשר תשיע חוד *A tenth of on[e] ninth...*; תשעא

4QEnastr^d 1 ii.3, 4.⁸⁵

8.8 Interjections

Because Aramaic interjections are onomatopoeic and more suggestive of emotion than reason, the translations offered here are for illustrative purposes only.

ארו *behold!* 4QLevi^a 4 4-5 ... ידעונה נאזרחת קשטא *Behold, we know the right way...*, 11QTgJob iii.6 ... ארו מבע רשיעון *Behold, the rejoicing of the wicked...*, 4QLevi^d 3 1, 4QEnGiants^c 22 10, 4QapocrLevi^{b?} 3 5, 4QVisions of Amram^f 2 15, viia.8, xviii.7, xxi.1, xxii.6-7, xxviii.1, 8; ארי 1QEnGiants^a 7 1.

הא *lo!* 1QapGen ii.1 ... מן עירן די *Lo, then I thought in my heart that from the Watchers...*, 4QWords of Michael 1 7 מהא רבי מרא *And, lo, the Great Ones of the Eternal Lord...*, xx.27, xxii.27, 4QpapTob^a 17 i.3, 4QEn^f 2 and 4, 4QWords of Michael 1 9, 14, 11QTgJob xxiii.7, xxxiv.5.

⁸⁴In comparison with other dialects of Aramaic, שביע should be classified as a cardinal number. However, due to its ordinal force in the context of these verses, we include it here. Cf. also Beyer, *ATM*, 701. For morphological confusion between cardinals and ordinals in JPA, see Sokoloff, *Dict. of JPA*, 583, תלת and תלת#2. In JPA, an ordinal שביע would appear as שביעי. Cf. Sokoloff, *Dict. of JPA*, 535.

⁸⁵See note 84. An ordinal force is the only sense that logically fits the syntax of these lines. As observed in note 83, Beyer would also include תשע as an ordinal. Cf. Beyer, *ATM*, 728. In JPA, תשיע appear as the ordinal תשיעי. Cf. Sokoloff, *Dict. of JPA*, 593.

האח *aha!* 11QTgJob xxxiii.5 ולקל קרנא יאמר האח *And to the sound of the trumpet he would say, "Aha!"*

יא *oh!* 1QapGen ii.9 ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי *And she said, "Oh, my brother, and oh, my lord!"*, 1QapGen ii.13, 24.

8.9 Conjunctions

8.9.1 Coordinate

ו- *and, then* 1QapGen ii.9-10 ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי *And she said, "Oh, my brother, and, oh, my lord!"*, 4QpapTob^a ii.10... ואתבת לי חנה אנתתי... *... and Anna, my wife, had been returned to me...*, 1QapGen xi.11, xx.4-5, 4QTgJob ii.3, 4QpapTob^a 2 1, 2, 3, 4, 4QTob^b 4 i.1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 4QEn^a i.6, ii.2, 4QEnGiants^a 8 14, 4QpsDan^a 12 1, 2, 4, 4QapocrDan i.2, 3, 5, 8, 9, ii.1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11QTgJob i.1, ii.1-2, iv.5-6, etc.

או *or* 4QTob^b 4 i.13 ... ותואתנה קדם גבר או אנתא נגיעי שד או רוח... *[You] smoke it before a man or a woman who is afflicted with a demon or a spirit...*, 11QTgJob xxvi.2, xxx.3-4, xxxi.5, xxxiii.8, xxxiv.4-5, xxxv.4, 6.

8.9.2 Correlative

די *that, who, which* 1QapGen xx.31 ויהב לה מלכא... ונדזהב שגיא ולבוש שגי די בוצ *And the king gave to her... [and] great (amounts of) gold and great (amounts of) fine linen which were purple*, 4QPrNab 1 1 מלי צולותא די צלי נבני מלך *The words of prayer which Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, prayed,* [בבול]

1QapGen xxii.14, 4QEn^a iii.14,⁸⁶ 4QLevi^a 1 i.15, 4QWords of Michael 1 1.

8.9.3 Disjunctive

להן *but, therefore* 1QapGen xxii.34 ... להן די יפוק. *And he said to him, "This one will not inherit you, but one will come forth..."*,
 11QTgJob xxi.5 ... להן אלהא חיבנא ולא. *Therefore, it is God whom we blamed and not....*

לכן *therefore* 11QTgJob iii.3 ... לבבי. *... therefore, my heart....*

8.9.4 Subordinate

אן *if* (see also הן) 1QapGen xxii.21 ... אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך. *I raise my hand this day... if I should take anything that belongs to you....*,
 1QapGen xxii.22.

בדי *because, on account of* 4QEnastr^b 23 4 תמן בדי מערבא רוח רבא ורוחא רבא *And the great wind [they call] the wind of the west because there[...]*, 6-7, 4QLevi^a 2 i.17; 4QLevi^a 1 i.17, 4QpsDan^a 1 1,⁸⁷ 11QTgJob xxix.7.⁸⁸ בדי די *because* 4QTob^b 4 ii.4 ... ידע הוּא ידע ... *Raguel will not be able to withhold her from you because he knows [...]*

⁸⁶Nickelsburg renders this use of די (combined with כל) as "such as." See Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 182. We prefer a more literal rendering of מן כל די בחרו: "from all whom they chose."

⁸⁷Note that the form is partly restored in context.

⁸⁸This reading is particularly tentative as the -ב is reconstructed on a fragment which is hypothesized to have been part of 11QTgJob xxix. We include it here as a separate morpheme based on the evidence of Sokoloff. See Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 145. Others reconstruct the same morpheme as Sokoloff but offer no justification for it. See García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/2*, 146-148.

די *that, who, which* 4QLevi^a 1 i.14 ... נכזאל גבר די אלף חכמה. *Ev]ery man who teaches wisdom. . .*, 4QTob^c 1 6, 4QPrNab 1 8.

מ'אסב מן כול די איתי לך דלמא תהוא אמר... *I turn away from anything that is yours lest you should say. . .*, די למה *perhaps, lest* 11QTgJob xxi.4 ... די למה תאמרונן... *... lest you s[ay]. . .*

הן *if, whether* (see also אן) 1QapGen ii.5 ... מ'ועד בעליא... עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני הן *[I] adjure [you by the Most High. . .] that you will make known to me everything truthfully whether. . .*, 4QTob^b 4 ii.5 והוא ידע די הן יתננה לגבר *... h]e know[s] that if he gives her to [another] man*, 1QapGen xx.19, 4QTob^b 5 11, 4QEnGiants^b 7 ii.1, 11QTgJob viia.9, x.9, xi.4, xviii.5, 8, etc.

כדי *when, as* 1QapGen ii.21 ... וכדי שמע מתושלנה לחנוך אבוהי *And when Methuselah heard Enoch his father. . .*, 1QapGen vi.9, xx.8, 24, xxii.33, 4QpapTob^a 2 1, 4QEnGiants^a 1 1, 4QEnastr^b 26 4, 4QWords of Michael 1 8, 11QTgJob xviii.7.

עד *until* 1QapGen xxi.29 ... ומחו... ולחוריא די בטורי גבל עד דבקן *And they routed. . . the Horites of the mountains of Gebal until they came. . .*, 11QTgJob xxi.2 ... תסיפון עד תחקרון סוף. *... you finished, until you searched the end of. . .*, 1QapGen xxii.7, 9, 4QEn^e 5 ii.1, 3, 21, 4QLevi^a 1 ii.15, 4QpsDan^a 25 2. והיית אזל לדרומא עד די דבקת לחברון *And I went south until I reached Hebron*, 1QapGen xix.26, xxi.1, 15, 17, 18.

ותחיבנני על דברת די תזכא... *And declare me guilty so that you might be innocent?* (OfA) 11QTgJob xxxiv.4 ... על דברת די

Chapter 9

Syntax

Syntax is a categorical means of expressing how the words of a sentence relate to one another to express meaning. No discussion of syntax is exhaustive;¹ therefore, we focus our discussion on the more important elements of Qumran Aramaic syntax, trying again to cover the breadth while also commenting on some of the finer points.

¹Cf. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986), 16. No reasonable study can hope to have the last word on a language's syntax. Rather, it is hoped that this work may set forth enough material in a sufficiently definitive manner that others will not feel the need to cover the same ground again for some time to come.

9.1 Separate Parts of Speech

9.1.1 Verbs

9.1.1.1 Finite Verbs

As indicated in the discussion on verbal morphology,² the syntax of the verb closely follows BA and TA.³

9.1.1.1.1 Indicative Forms For indicative force, the perfect and imperfect forms are used. They tend to exhibit past- and future-orientation, respectively.

Examples of the Perfect

1QapGen xx.20: ולא יכלו סרל אסיא ואשפניא וכרל חכימיא למקם לאסיונתה *And all of the healers and wizards and wisemen were not able to stand to heal him.*

4QpapTob^a 2 2: ...דחלת וערקת... *...I was frightened and fled...*

Examples of the Imperfect

1QapGen xix.20: ואחי בטליכי ותפלט נפשי בדיליכי *And I will live by your protection, and my soul will be spared on account of you.*

4QEn^a ii.8: ...ולמזדרך על עִפְנֹרָה וועל כפיהו לא תשכחון... *And you will not find [a way for wa]lking on the du[s]t [and on the stones...*

²See §8.1.

³The subsequent discussion details the use of the various verbal forms in 1QapGen but does not, due to space constraints, address verbal rection. Such a database treatment has been offered by T. Muraoka in two places, both with regard to the Genesis Apocryphon. Cf. Takamitsu Muraoka, "Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon" *RQ* 8 (1972), §18, and, more recently, Takamitsu Muraoka, "Further Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon" *RQ* 16 (1993-1995), 99-118.

9.1.1.1.2 Precative Forms

The Imperative The imperative in QA is, unsurprisingly, one of command.

As an order, examples of the imperative include:

1QapGen xx.23: וכען אזל אמר למלכא וישלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא *And now, go, speak to the king, and may he send his wife from himself to her husband.*

4QpapTob^a 2 12: ואמרנותו נלטוביה ברי ברי אזל דבר לכל מן נדי תהשכח באחוניא *And [I] said [to To]bit, my son, “My son, go; fetch all [whom] you find among [our] broth[ers].”*

11QTgJob iv.4: ...סימו ידיכון על... *Place your hands upon...*

However, when used in conjunction with נא, the imperative is seen to take on an exhortative force.⁴

4QEn^c 5 ii.29: ...וכען אזל נא ענדו למן נברין... *And now, go t[o] Lamech your [son]...*

11QTgJob xxxiv.3: ...אסר נא כגבר חלציד *Gird up your loins like a man...*

11QTgJob xxxvii.6: שמע נא ואנה אמלל *Listen and I will speak.*

The Jussive The use of the jussive is strongly suggested by the use of אל. Muraoka has argued for other occurrences in 1QapGen ii.5 (תחויני) and xix.18 (אנדע).⁵ Further, 1QapGen xx.15 shows an imperfect form with a contextually-denoted jussive force: ואל ישלט בליליא דן לטמא *And may he not have power tonight*

⁴Given the imperatival context of the following examples, translation of נא as *please* would make for an awkward rendering, in our judgment. This is particularly true for the commands of God in 11QTgJob.

⁵These lines read as follows:

to *defile*. Hence, the jussive form does not appear always to be morphologically distinct from the imperfect, *contra* E. Cook.⁶ Rather, at times, the jussive and the imperfect are differentiated by context alone.⁷

9.1.1.2 Non-Finite Verbs

9.1.1.2.1 The Participle

The participle is employed in four ways in QA:

1. as the main verb of the sentence (i.e., in sentences without an explicit finite verb) As in BA, when the participle functions as the main verb of a clause,

1QapGen ii.5: ... בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִם עַד כּוֹלָא בְּקוּשְׁטָא תְּחִינְנִי הֵן... ...by the |sons of heaven that you will tell me everything truthfully whether... .

1QapGen xix.18: וְאִמְרַת לִי אֲשֶׁתַּעֲי לִי חֲלֹמְךָ וְאִנְדַּע And she said to me, “Tell me your dream that I may know [it].”

The former example is, in our judgment, questionable. תְּחִינְנִי may be read as a future-oriented indicative, “You will tell me...”, or as a jussive, “You should tell me...” While a precative force is certainly present, such a force does not necessitate a precative form in this instance. Further, given the context of this passage as the midst of an oath whose subject is not preserved in the text, we cannot be certain of the force of this verb. In the latter example, an indicative force is unlikely. Such a force would be tautological and very awkward in the context of 1QapGen xix.18.

⁶See note 5 (page 119) and Edward M. Cook, “The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* ed. P. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 371. Cook’s citation of 1QapGen is problematic given the textual evidence. While Segert records a similar distinction in OfA the textual condition of 1QapGen prohibits confidence in the reading of xix.16. Cf. Stanislav Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1975), 266

⁷One example of this is the aforementioned use of אִנְדַּע in 1QapGen xix.18. On this, see also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1972), 60. Fitzmyer labels this form as “a volitive use of the impf. [imperfect]” but does not offer supportive argumentation. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 113.

Another example is in 11QTgJob xxix.2 (יִשְׁמְעוּן). The attribution of an indicative sense to this verb (i.e., *They will hear [it]*) does not seem to synchronize well with the historic present sense of the next verb (יִפְקְדוּן). A precative sense seems to lay the premise for the subsequent appointment (i.e., *Let them hear it...and he appoints them...*). Cf. Michael Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan/Jerusalem, Israel: Bar-Ilan University at Ahva Press, 1974), 84–85. This reading is affirmed by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* Vol. 2, (Leiden/Grand Rapids, MI: Brill/Eerdmans, 1998), 147. However, contrary to their translation, אֲזַלְךָ is a participle functioning epexegetically to the pronoun suffixed to the subsequent finite verb (← פִּקְדוּ to appoint). Therefore, a better rendering of the phrase may be: *and those who go to their work over all which he created he appoints over the surface of the earth.*”

[You will bring in a bles]sed [harvest] because the one who sows goodness harvests goodness.

Muraoka has rightly challenged Fitzmyer's suggestion that a complementary participle is suggested in 1QapGen xx.20;¹² rather, the הוא may indeed be the masculine pronoun.¹³ We submit that 1QapGen xxii.7 may be viewed similarly.¹⁴

9.1.1.2.2 The Infinitive The infinitive in QA plays five roles: nominal, complementary, purposive, resultative, and objective.¹⁵

Gerundive: In nominal usage, the infinitive is introduced by -ב.¹⁶

1QapGen xx.12 ... בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא *In that night I prayed and I sought and I entreated and I spoke with distress...*¹⁷

11QTgJob xiii.6-7 ... במעבדה לזוחא ... *... in [his] making the wind...*

In 1QapGen xix.14 and xxii.30, the infinitive is not introduced by a preposition but functions as the *n. rectum* of a construct phrase.¹⁸

scribe). The third letter of the word may be seen to have a hooked head (evident from the part of the letter on the left side of the tear) similar to the י in יאא וכדי in line 8. This, however, is difficult to establish with any amount of confidence as the tear runs through the letter.

¹²1QapGen xx.20: הוא רוחא כתש *the spirit afflicted [all of them]* (Fitzmyer's translation). Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 65.

¹³Cf. Muraoka, "Notes", §§2.7, 20.1, and especially 5.3.1 with reference to the ambiguity of the cause. Muraoka also discusses the consequent problem of translating this phrase. Scribal error here cannot be ruled out, however, and the matter remains unresolved.

¹⁴We find that Fitzmyer includes several other forms as participles which may be finite in form (1972, 223-224): שחת *to be mutilated* (1QapGen ii.17), פליג *to be divided* (1QapGen ii.21), שביק *to be let go* (1QapGen xix.16), רעה *to shepherd* (1QapGen xxi.6), and קטיל *to be killed* (1QapGen xxii.3). The homographic relationship between the perfect and the participle in the Pe'al and the Pe'il and the ambiguity in the respective contexts prohibit a conclusive reading of these morphemes.

¹⁵Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 224. Fitzmyer observes only three roles in the *Genesis Apocryphon*: nominal, complementary, and final (or purposive).

¹⁶Other examples may be found in 11QTgJob xxx.2, 4, 6, 7, xxxv.3, 6.

¹⁷The near demonstrative pronoun דן is here rendered as *that* for idiomatic reasons.

¹⁸בלילה מעלי *in the night of my entering*, and xxii.30 reads ביום מפקך *in the day of your*

1QapGen xix.14: וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה מעלי לארע מצרין *And I Abram dreamed a dream in the night of my entering the land of Egypt.*

1QapGen xxii.30: וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו מן כול די נפקו עמד ביום מפקד מן חרן *And behold how, (by) doubling, they have increased from all that went out with you in the day of your departing from Haran.*

In both of these latter instances, however, the infinitive is also in construct to a pronominal suffix which indicates its subject.¹⁹

Verbal Complement: As a complement to the main verb and in showing purpose, the infinitive is marked by -ל.²⁰

1QapGen xxi.15: ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר ולמחזה ארעא *And I Abram went to traverse and to see the land.*

4QEn^a iii.15: ולא לפה אנין חרשה *And to teach them sorcery.*

Purpose: In expressing purpose, the following lines contain exemplary infinitives:²¹

leaving.

¹⁹Cf. Muraoka, "Notes", §19.

²⁰For other exemplary infinitives see the infinitive forms of the following verbs in the given lines: אמר in 4QpsDan^a 1 1, בעי *to plan* in 1QapGen xix.15, xix.19, xx.9, יכל *to be able* in 1QapGen xx.17, xix.19, 20, 22, and 11QTgJob xxxvii.4, יסף *to continue* in 4QTob^c 1 1, כתב *to write* in 4QPrNab 1 5, כלי *to restrain* in 4QTob^b 4 ii.4, להץ *to press* in 4QEn^e 5 ii.18, נסב *to take* in 4QTob^b 4 ii.5, סלק *to rise* in 1QapGen xxii.13, 4QpapTob^a 17 i.4, קרב *to bring near* in 4QLevi^b 1 i.18, שכח *to be able* in 1QapGen xxi.13, שלט *to rule* in 1QapGen xx.13, and שרי *to begin* in 1QapGen xix.18.

On אשכח in 1QapGen xxi.13, see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 150. While the tripartite root is clearly ש.כ.ח. Fitzmyer includes the Aph'el preformative. However, because other forms of this verb do not evidence a quadri-partite root, we refrain from following suit. Other occurrences of the same root are found in 1QapGen ii.23, xxi.19, and xxii.7. In each of these instances, however, the verb denotes the traditional meaning *to find*. Cf. also Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992), 549b, and Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: The Judaica Press, 1996), 1572b

²¹For other examples see the following: בקר *to examine* 4QpsDan^a 10 3, דרך *to walk* 4QEn^a

1QapGen xx.20: ולא יכלו כול אסיה ואשפיה וכול חכימיה למקם לאסיותה *And none of the healers, magicians, and wise men were able to stand to heal him.*

4QEn^a iii.21: ... והזנניא נימהאז ולמכל בשוהן... *...and] the fish of [the sea] and to consume [their] flesh[...]*

4QLevi^a 1 i.13: ... אל תמחלו חכמתא למאליף... *...may you not let go of wisdom to teach...*

Result: In the following examples, the infinitive is used to indicate the result of the main verb.

4QpapTob^a 6 8: ... ועינינו נזטלת ואמר לאפטרותני... *...and I lift my eyes and speak for my liberation...*

4QEn^a iii.19: ... קשרין לקטלה לאנשא ת... *...plotting to kill the man and[...]*

ii.8, 4QEn^c 1 i.27, הוי *to be* 4QLevi^a 1 i.18, חרב *to destroy* 4QpsDan^b 12 3, חזי *to see* 1QapGen xxi.15, 4QEnGiants^c 22 10, חיי *to revitalize* 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2, טמא *to make unclean* 1QapGen xx.15, ידי *to acknowledge* 4QTob^c 1 1, יסר *to instruct* 11QTgJob xxvii.4, כתש *to afflict* 1QapGen xx.16, 11QTgJob xix.3, נצב *for [our] planting* 11QTgJob xxvi.5, נצל *to save* 4QEn^a v.3, נפק *to go out* 11QTgJob xxx.7, xxxi.5, נתן *to give* 1QapGen xxii.24, 4QpsDan^a 13 3, רהט *to run* 1QapGen ii.22, סבע *to satisfy* 11QTgJob xxxi.4, סחר *to go around* 1QapGen xxi.15, עבד *to work* 4QEn^b ii.27, 4QPrNab 1 5 פני *to turn, direct* 1QapGen xix.22, קום *to stand up* 1QapGen xix.26, קטל *to kill* 1QapGen xix.21, 4QEnGiants^a 3 4, רפי *to heal* 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2, שכח *to find* 4QLevi^a 1 i.15, שמע *to hearken* 4QLevi^a 1 i.19, שני *to change* 4QEn^a ii.2, 4QpsDan^a 8 3, שרי *to untie* 4QEn^b iii.2, and תוב *to turn* 4QEn^c iv.6.

In 4QEnGiants^c 22 10 the verb חזי has an implication of *considering or meditating upon something*.

In 11QTgJob xxxi.4, the context suggests purposive force, but the complementary role cannot be ruled out.

In 1QapGen xix.21, the context suggests a complementary force for the infinitive and, possibly, the main verb בעי *to ask or desire*. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 224, and Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* Vol. 1, (Leiden/Grand Rapids, MI: Brill/Eerdmans, 1997), 40–41, who suggest יבעון...] *contra* Avigad and Yadin (1956), who offer no reconstruction. Qimron, unfortunately, does not comment on this problem in his “New Edition.” Cf. Elisha Qimron, “Toward a New Edition of 1QGenesis Apocryphon” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* ed. D. Parry and E. Ulrich (Leiden: Brill, 1999), STDJ 30, 106–109.

4QEnastr^c 1 ii.18: ... לאתחזיא... ויום... בהאדתלומותהון ירחין דרחין מאנאין דרחין ירחין...
Whence the moons rise in [their] ful[ness day by d]ay to appear. . .

Whence the moons rise in [their] ful[ness day by d]ay to appear. . .

Objective: The objective infinitive is manifest in the following parts of QA:²²

4QLevi^a 1 ii.6: ... מטמרה מנה... ... *hiding itself from it. . .*

4QLevi^a 1 ii.2: ... ישכחון למכבש שוריה... ... *they will be able to conquer its walls. . .*

9.1.2 Nouns and Related Modifiers

9.1.2.1 The States of the Noun and the Adjective

As with other dialects of Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic nouns appear in one of three states: absolute, construct, and emphatic.²³

9.1.2.1.1 The Absolute As with BA, the absolute state is used for unbound constructions (nominative and objective) as well as for the *n. rectum* of the construct phrase. Some examples of the absolute state are:

ואניר בלילא תמניה בה שבעין 4QEnastr^b 1+2 5: ...
*And it shines in the eighth night one seventh. . .*²⁴

*And it shines in the eighth night one seventh. . .*²⁴

מוסז' חכמה ליקר ולרבו ולמלכין 4QLevi^a 1 i.12: ... *instruction of wisdom for honor and for greatness, and for kings.*

²²For other examples, see חרש *to practice witchcraft*, כשף *to practice sorcery* in 4QEn^b ii.19, and עבד *to do/work with* in 4QEn^b ii.26. Some of these unfortunately require partial reconstruction.

²³For more examples of each state see §§8.2, 8.3.1, and 8.4.3 (pages 144, 147, and 171, respectively).

²⁴On תמניה as a cardinal instead of an ordinal number, see the use of תמניא in Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 725, תמנה.

9.1.2.1.2 The Emphatic Similarly, the emphatic state is also used for unbound constructions (nominative and objective) and for the *n. rectum* of the construct phrase. In addition, the emphatic state is regularly used for the vocative.²⁵

The emphatic state is exemplified as follows:

מִנְךָ זֵרַעא דָן וּמִנְךָ הָרִינָא דָן וּמִנְךָ נִצְבֵת פְּרִיא...
...from you is this seed, and from you is this pregnancy, and from you is the planting of [this] fruit.

רַבָּא מְרַנָּא רַבָּא נְהוּמָא מְרָא...
...עלמא Our great Lord [i]s the Lord of Eternity.

מִלְכָּא...
*...מְלֹכָא יִתְרַמָּה... ..., o king, he will cast himself...*²⁶

9.1.2.1.3 The Construct The construct case is used as the *n. regens* before a dependent noun and in conjunction with possessive suffixes. While the emphatic may suggest a level of determination by its form, the construct receives its determination by its relation to the word that follows (hence, *n. regens*). Where construct phrases occur in series, the construct state functions as the *n. rectum* of the preceding phrase and the *n. regens* of the following one.²⁷

²⁵We here omit 4QEn^a ii.14 (ולבבן) as requiring too much reconstruction to be dependable.

²⁶On מִלְכָּא as a vocative here, see John Collins and Peter Flint, “Pseudo-Daniel” in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* ed. James C. VanderKam et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), DJD 22, 100. For more on the syntax of the vocative, see §9.1.9.

We consider it unfortunate to have to cite a word that is so dependant on restoration as an example here. However, other examples of the emphatic being used as a vocative are either preserved as poorly as this example or have insufficient syntax to render the vocative sense of no doubt. See, for example, מִלְכָּא in 4QpsDan^a 4 1, 4QpsDan^b 1-3 4, and 4Q246 i.2; also, consider אֱלֹהָא in 11QTgJob viii.2.

²⁷A fuller discussion of the construct phrase is contained in Section 9.1.2.2.

טורי as a *n. regens* in 4QpapTob^a 2 4: ואנון ערקו לטורי אררט *And they fled to the mountains of Ararat.*

רוחי as *n. regens* in 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.14: ...שמוניא... *And the twelve gates of the four corners of heaven are completed.*²⁸

גרמי as a prepositional object with pronominal suffix in 4QpapTob^a 6 9: אנה בגרמי *... I am clean in my bones from any forbidden thing.*

9.1.2.2 The Construct Phrase

The construct phrase is very much in use in QA. The most common, almost exclusive, means of indicating the bound relationship is by a noun in the construct state followed by one in the emphatic. Curiously, the relative particle די is typically not used.²⁹ די acts as a construct complement in a total of ten places in the corpus: 1QapGen xxi.16, xxii.21, 33, xxii.22-23, 4QpapTob^a 1 1, 17 ii.15, 4QTob^b 4 iii.11, 4QLevi^a 2 7, 4QpsDan^a 35 2, 4QpsDan^b 1-3 1, 11QTgJob xxii.9, xxxv.10, and xxxviii.2.³⁰ Some examples of two emphatic nouns mediated by די are:

1QapGen xxi.16: ימא רבא דן די מלחא *this Great Sea of Salt*

²⁸It is worth noting here that the construct phrase in QA may be interrupted for modifiers such as numerals.

²⁹Kaddari has posited: “Chronologically, the later the document, the greater are the number of *zī* (*dī*)-phrases in it. . .” [M.Z. Kaddari, “Construct State and *dī*-Phrases in Imperial Aramaic” in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1969), 103]. However, we fail to find the twelve instances which Kaddari takes as data for his ratio between the construct state and *dī*-phrases in the Genesis Apocryphon. Hence, without the specific examples being listed, we must respectfully disagree with his assessment of the Aramaic attested in that text.

³⁰Sokoloff has also noted 11QTgJob xxvii.9, but this is problematic due to the preceding break in the text and the subsequent loss of the *n. regens*. Cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 189.

1QapGen xxii.21: ערקא דמסאן *the strap of a sandal*

1QapGen xxii.22-23: כול עתרה די אברם *all the riches of Abram*

4QEn^d 2 iii.29: לדכרא די עננא *to/at this ram of the floc[k]*

The *n. regens* with a proleptic suffix occurs in 1QapGen xxi.34-xxii.1: אחוי די אברם *the brother of Abram*.³¹

There appears to be some variation in the ways the construct phrase is formed in QA. In particular, 1QapGen xxii.21 and 11QTgJob xxxviii.8 reflect unusual ways of expressing the bound relationship.

In 1QapGen xxii.21, Abram is refusing any claim to the wealth of the King of Sodom when he says: מרים אנה ידי עומא דן לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן *I raise my hand this day to God Most High, Lord of Heaven and Earth, and I will not accept from a thread to the strap of a sandal...* In the construction ערקא

ערקא דמסאן one finds a *n. regens* in the absolute case; this is relatively rare in QA.³² Also, as discussed in Section 9.1.2.1, the absolute state may be used in QA as a *n. rectum*.³³ Hence, QA exhibits unique rules about the expression of the bound relationship in that it allows a *n. regens* which is in the absolute state to be bound by -ד to a noun in the absolute. While this may be analogously rooted in other forms of the construct phrase,³⁴ the absolute *n. rectum* runs contrary to the lin-

³¹In our judgment, T. Muraoka here wrongly finds the construct structure in xx.31 and xxi.11-12. Cf. Muraoka, “Notes”, 15. Both cases exhibit the relative particle introducing a subordinate clause.

³²Only 3.5% of the *n. regens* in our corpus are in the absolute state. Nearly 96% (95.8%) are in the construct.

³³The use of an absolute *n. rectum* followed by -ד is also attested in 11QTgJob xxxviii.8.

³⁴Cf. Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), §48. Rosenthal observes construct phrases in BA wherein both the *n. regens* and the *n. rectum* are in the emphatic state.

guistic trend reflected in BA.³⁵

Another infrequent means of forming the construct phrase is the use of a relative clause as the *n. rectum*. In this capacity, the relative particle or construct complement typically takes on an adverbial force:

1QapGen xxi.9 ביתאל אתר די אנתה יתב *Bethel, the place where you camped*

1QapGen xxii.28 מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן... *...from the day when you went out from Haran.*

With reference to the former occurrence, Fitzmyer has argued that this should be read as an absolute in apposition with a proper name.³⁶ However, we find persuasive the argument of E.Y. Kutscher who demonstrated that similar constructions exist in various stages of Aramaic.³⁷

9.1.2.3 The Placement of the Adjective

As already noted, the morphology of the adjective and similarly formed pronouns (e.g., כל or דן) follows the same pattern as that of nouns. Similarly, the usage of each is analagous to the usage of nouns. As in BA, the adjective and the aforementioned pronouns follow their antecedent as closely as possible.³⁸ Some examples

³⁵Given the use of the absolute as the *n. rectum* in BH and the elevated place of Hebrew in the linguistic environment of Qumran, a Hebraic influence cannot be ruled out. However, such a relationship is tenuous and hypothetical, at best.

³⁶Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 220.

³⁷Eduard Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Isa^a)* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 6, 182. Muraoka also holds this view, relying on a comparison to Syriac. Cf. Muraoka, "Notes", §4.9.3. Some other examples of this construction date to the times before and after QA: Ezra vi.3 (MT): אתר די דבחין *the place of offering...*; Sefire I B 31: ביום זי אלהן *in the day when the gods...*; and Sefire I C 20: מן יום קם זי יעבנדן *in the day when he will do...* Further Nöldeke cites Matthew ii.9 (Peshitta) in this regard. Cf. Theodore Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* trans. by James A. Crichton 2nd ed. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1904), §359.

³⁸Cf. Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §41.

follow below.

קדישא 1QapGen xix.8: עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא קדישא *Up to this point I had not reached the holy mountain.*

רבתא 1QapGen xxii.4: נגדו מלכיא ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון *The kings had set out by way of the Great Valley toward their province.*

שפירה 4QTob^b 4 i.17: ...ואיתי לה ברא שפירה... *...and he has a beautiful daughter[...]*

9.1.2.4 Numerals

As in BA, the numerals in QA occur both before and after the noun being modified.³⁹ The object being counted occurs in the plural, naturally, when the count is greater than one.

Muraoka has stated with respect to the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon: “The numerals from ‘three’ and upwards always precede the noun.”⁴⁰ However, at least two instances in that text bear evidence to the contrary.

1QapGen xii.11 מש חמש וכן נקבן חמש... *...Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram, and five sons and daughters.*

1QapGen xii.11-12 שבע וזנקבן שבע... *...and Put and Canaan, and seven sons and daughters.*

This trend is also seen in 4QEnastr^b 1 4: וקוּזי ביממא דן שביעין ארבעה *And it wax]es in this day four sevenths.*

³⁹Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §67.

⁴⁰Muraoka, “Notes”, §10.3.

The numbers three to nine occur in the opposite gender to the noun being counted. That is, masculine nouns receive feminine numeral forms and vice versa.

1QapGen vi.10 ... יובלן עשרה באדן... ... *ten jubilees, then...*

1QapGen xix.24 נתנו תלתת גברין מן רברבי מצרין... ... *three men from the princes of Egypt [t came].*

4QEnastr^b 1 4 ונקחי ביממא דן שביעין ארבעה 4 *And it wax[es] in this day four sevenths.*

4QEnastr^b 7 ii.6 ובלילא חמשה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה 7 *And in night fifteen, in it, it is covered five sevenths.*

9.1.3 The Pronoun

9.1.3.1 Possessive Pronouns

Possession in QA is indicated by the use of pronominal suffixes. While a suffix appended to a noun in the construct state regularly indicates possession, a more nuanced form of possession exists in the use of איתי followed by -ל and the relevant suffix. Below are some examples of each.⁴¹

Pronominal Suffix Appended to a Noun

1QapGen ii.19: באדן אנה למך רטת על מתושלה אבי *Then I Lamech ran to Methuselah, my father.*

⁴¹Examples of nouns with pronominal suffixes may also be found in 1QapGen ii.22, xxi.6, 4QEn^b iii.15, 4Q213b 3, 4QLevi^d 2 10, 4QapocrDan ii.5, 11QTgJob iii.3.

Further examples of איתי + -ל may be found in 1QapGen xxii.22, 29, 4QTob^b 4 i.18, 4QEnGiants^a 13 3, 4QEn^d 1 i.5, 11QTgJob xxxi.5, and xxxiv.5.

11QTgJob ii.1: ונתקף עלי רגזה *And] his anger [swelled] against me.*

Possession Expressed with איתי ל-

1QapGen xxii.19: ... מרי אברם הב לי נפשא די איתי לי... *My Lord Abram, give me the men that are mine...*

4QTob^b 4 i.17: ... ואיתי לה ברא שפירה... *...and he has a beautiful daughter.*

9.1.3.2 Personal Pronouns

As in other dialects of Aramaic, the personal pronouns occur independently, not being affixed to any word, and manifest consonance with their antecedent and the active verb of the clause. Independent third person plural pronouns may occur as either subject or object. However, dependent pronouns occur consistently as objects of either a verb (indirect or direct) or a preposition. A few examples are found in 4Q197 4 iii.5, 4QEn^a 3.15, and 11QTgJob xxv.2. 4QTob^b 4 iii.5: אחי ואתון *And she said to them, "Whence have you come, brothers?"*, 4QEn^a 3.15: ... ולאלפָה אנן חרשה... *...and to teach sorcery (to) them...*, and 11QTgJob xxv.2: ... וירמא המון באַתְנורָ... *...and in the place of...] he will throw (to) them.*⁴²

9.1.3.3 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur regularly as adjectives in QA. As such, they follow the noun being modified.⁴³ One apparent exception to this may be הַדָּךְ in 1QapGen ii.6, where the context breaks before the antecedent of *that* would have

⁴²See note 40 (page 155).

⁴³Muraoka, "Notes", §3.1.

been revealed: ... תחוינני ולא בכדבך הדך *You will tell me, and not with lies, [whether] that...*⁴⁴ Some examples of the aforementioned norm are found in 4QTob^b 4 ii.3: בליליא דן וְתִקְיַמְנָה וְתִסְבְּנָה לְךָ לְאַנְתָּוְהוּ *“In this night, you will engage her and take her to yourself for [a] wife.”*⁴⁵ and 4QEn^a ii.11: הוּא לועלם...כֹּל עֲבֹדֶיהָ אֵלֶּךְ *He is for[ever... he has made] all of these works.*⁴⁶

9.1.3.4 Relative Pronouns

For the use of *די* as a relative pronoun, see Section 9.4.1, “The Use of the Relative Particle” (page 225).

9.1.3.5 The Use of כול

כול, or *כל*, functions as a masculine singular substantive and is meant to suggest meanings of universality — *all*, *every*, or *each*. It typically precedes the noun from which it takes its semantic identity. As such, it occurs frequently in the construct,⁴⁷ and it may occur with a pronominal suffix.

Occurring in the absolute and emphatic states, *כול* functions as an independent pronoun. It is not restricted in its antecedents to either humans, animals, or objects but may refer to any of them. Examples of *כול* follow below.

1QapGen xxii.29: וּמְנִי כֹל דִּי אֵתִי לְךָ *Now count up everything which is yours.*

4QEn^a iii.18: עֲמַל כָּל בְּנֵי אָנוֹשׁ... *... the labor of all of the sons of humankind.*

⁴⁴See note 59 (page 173).

⁴⁵See note 57 (page 172).

⁴⁶As Muraoka has noted, the head of the demonstrative pronoun can be a construct phrase, as in 1QapGen xvii.10. Muraoka, “Notes”, §3.2.

⁴⁷For forms of *כול* in context, see §8.4.5.

4QEnastr^b 23 5: מאין ערבין ומאין עללין וכלהון כוכבין... . . . *whence they (the stars of heaven) set and whence they rise, all of the stars.*

4QapocrDan ii.6: וכלא יעבד שלם *And all will work peace.*

9.1.4 Adverbial Expressions

Unlike the later Syriac, a noun of place like (בית) alone does not serve for an adverb of place.⁴⁸ Rather, it requires a prepositional complement and is thus the object of that preposition.⁴⁹

1QapGen xxi.19: ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם *Then I returned and came to my house in peace.*

4QEnastr^b 2 ii.1: והא אלן אנון פחתיא לבית עגנון *Lo, these are the pits (which serve) as a prison for them.*

11QTgJob v.2: צוֹבו לאלהא בביתה... . . . *de/sire for God in his house.*⁵⁰

The numeral חדא *one* is also joined with the prepositions כ- and ל- to render a collective and a comparative adverbial expression, respectively. For more examples of adverbial expressions, see Section 8.3.2.3. The following are examples of חדא as it occurs in adverbial phrases in QA.

11QTgJob xxx.5: ... במזחר כחדא כוכבי צפר... . . . *with the morning stars shining together...*

1QapGen xxii.32: עתרך ונכסיך ישגון לחדא *Your wealth and your flocks will increase much.*

⁴⁸Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, §243.

⁴⁹On the syntactical force of the prepositional phrases in QA, see §9.1.7.

⁵⁰On this passage, see Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 112.

9.1.5 Objects

9.1.5.1 Direct Objects

The direct object appears in QA in any of the three aforementioned states. With regard to word order, it generally follows the verb of a sentence:⁵¹

4QTob^b 4 iii.4: ואעל אנן לביתה *And he made them enter his house.*

4QEn^a ii.12: ... ואנזנן שניתן עבדכן. *But you have changed your behavior...*

An exception to this pattern is found in 4QEn^a ii.14: ... אדן ימיכן תלוטנון. *Then you will curse your days!*⁵²

When the object is pronominal in form, it often appears as a suffix on the main, transitive verb: 4QTgLev 2 3 ויקדשנה *and he will make it holy*, 4QTob^b 4 iii.8 נשקה [Raguel] *kissed him*, and 4QEn^c 1 i.29 תשבחה *You should praise him*.

9.1.5.2 Indirect Objects

The indirect object in QA appears before and after the verb. Generally, the indirect object in QA occurs with a prepositional complement, -ל.

1QapGen ii.13: ועמי תמלל ולי תאמר יא מרי ויא אחי *And with me she spoke and to me she said, "Oh, my lord, and, oh, my brother!"*

4QLevi^a 1 i.17: וטהבין לה בה יקר... *... will give him glory in it...*

4QapocrDan ii.7: וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון *And all of the provinces will pay homage to him.*

⁵¹Muraoka observed that the pronominal object in the Genesis Apocryphon is suffixed to the verb. Cf. Muraoka, "Notes", 31.

⁵²We here follow the reconstruction of García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/2*, 400.

9.1.5.3 Objects of Prepositional Phrases

The prepositional phrase may appear either before or after the main verb, and the object may appear in any of the aforementioned states. The object is obviously the recipient of the governing preposition's syntactical force, for which see Section 9.1.7. More examples than those listed immediately below may be found in that section.

4QpapTob^a 2 4: ...ואנון ערקו לטורי אררט... *And they fled to the mountains of Ararat...*

4QTob^b 4 ii.2: ...ועליך דין קשטא גזר למסבה... *And as for you, a true judgment is decided for [marrying her].*

4QEn^c 5 ii.28: ...וחמסא יכלא מן ארעא... *...and violence will pass away from the earth*

9.1.5.4 Infinitival Objects

With regard to the syntax of the infinitive, Carmignac once posited that the Genesis Apocryphon was unique in demonstrating infinitives with complements.⁵³ Since Carmignac stated this, other QA texts have been published, and infinitives with complements may be found in 11QTgJob as well other texts.⁵⁴

The object of the infinitive may occur before or after the relevant infinitive or, if a pronoun, may be suffixed to it. However, preference is given to placing it as

⁵³As J. Carmignac has noted: "Le seul ouvrage araméen de Qumrân où l'on rencontre des infinitifs pourvus d'un complément d'objet est l'*Apocryphe de la Genèse*." Cf. Jean Carmignac, "Un aramaisme biblique et qumrânien: l'infinitif placé après son complément d'objet" *RQ* 5 (1966), 510.

⁵⁴Carmignac reckons seven occurrences of an infinitive before its complement, including two cases in 1QapGen xix.15. However, we do not judge the reading of these infinitives to be certain enough to include here.

a separate form after the infinitive.⁵⁵ As with the object of the preposition, the syntactical role of the infinitival object is governed primarily by the infinitive and secondarily by the main verb of the sentence. Examples of complements occurring *before* the infinitive:

1QapGen xix.19: די יבעון למקטלני ולכי למשבק... *... who will seek to kill me and to spare you.*

11QTgJob xxxvii.3-4:⁵⁶ ידעת די כלא תכול למעבד *I knew that you are capable of doing everything.*

Examples of complements occurring *after* the infinitive:

1QapGen ii.22: לחנוך אבוהי למנדע מנה כלא בקושטא... *... to Enoch, his father, to know from him everything truthfully.*

4QTob^c 1 1: ... והוסף למדחל לאלהא... *And he continued to fear God...*

11QTgJob xix.7: ... חכי למשנאל ... אונש... *... my palate to as[k... a m]an ...*

⁵⁵Of the thirty-two infinitive objects we have identified, four occur before, sixteen occur after, and twelve are suffixed to the relevant infinitive.

Those occurring before their governing infinitive: 1QapGen xix.19, 4QEn^c 1 vi.8, 4QLevi^a 1 i.13, and 11QTgJob xxxvii.3-4.

The infinitive objects occurring after their governing infinitive are found in the following lines: 1QapGen ii.22, xix.18, xx.13, 15, xxi.15, 4QpapTob^a 18 15, 4QTob^b 4 ii.5, 4QTob^c 1 1, 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2, 4QLevi^a 1 ii.2, 4QLevi^b 1 i.15, 4QPrNab 1-3 5, 4QpsDan^a 12 3, 4QpsDan^b 12 3, 4QpsDan^c 22, and 11QTgJob xix.7.

The object is suffixed to the infinitive in 1QapGen xix.19, 21, xx.9, 16, 19, 20, xxi.13, xxii.28, 4QTob^b 4 ii.4, 4QEn^c 1 vi.15, and 4QLevi^a 1 ii.6.

To Carmignac's credit, it is noteworthy that more infinitival objects occur in the Genesis Apocryphon than in any other Qumran Aramaic text. It should further be noted that our count of infinitival objects does not allow for wholly restored forms.

⁵⁶Cf. Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar and Adam S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11: II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), DJD 23, 169

9.1.6 Other Predicate Forms

9.1.6.1 Predicate Nominatives

The predicate nominative routinely occurs after the subject in QA. It does not always demonstrate concord of state with the subject and is not required to do so for the meaning of the sentence to be clear.

1QapGen ii.20: ... כּדי הוּא רחִים ורעי... ... *because he is beloved and a friend...*

4QEn^b iii.14: ... הוּא מְרַנָּא רבָּא נְהוּזָא מְרָא עֵלְמָא... *He is] our great Lord; [he] is the Eternal Lord.*

4QapocrDan ii.9: ... שְׁלִטְנָה שְׁלִטְן עֵלַם... *His rule is an eternal rule.*

As demonstrated above, the predicate nominative regularly follows the subject of the sentence. One exception to this pattern is found in 4QPrNab i 1: נְהִיִּיתַ [I was think]ing that t[hey] are gods. However, attribution of this anomalous word order to the influence of the subordinated conditions under which it occurs cannot be ruled out.

9.1.6.2 Predicate Adjectives

The word order employed when a predicate adjective is used is also a significant issue of style. In 1QapGen, 4QpapTob^a and 4QTobit^b, the word order tends to be predicate adjective-subject.

1QapGen xx.2: ... וּשְׁפִיר לָהּ צֶלֶם אֲנִפִּיָּהּ... *And beautiful is the image of her face.*

1QapGen xxii.16: ... בְּרִק אֲבְרָם לֹאֵל עֲלִיּוֹן מְרָה שְׁמִיא... *Blessed by Abram to God Most High, Lord of the Heavens.*

However, in 4QTobit^c, 4QEnGiants^a, 4QEn^d, 4QLevi^a, and 11QTgJob, the word order tends to be reversed, the subject being given priority.

4QTob^c 1 8: נִשְׂרָאֵל צָיָה *Israel is withered.*

4QLevi^a 1 i.18: וְשֹׂאֵי שְׁלֵמָה רַב־בְּנֵי *And those who bid him well are numerous.*

Feminine adjective forms are employed in two places.⁵⁷

4QpapTob^a 6 9: וְכֹל טְמֵאָתַי מִן־יָדַי וְכֹל טְמֵאָתַי מִן־יָדַי... *...I am clean in my bones from any forbidden thing.*

4QTob^b 4 ii.1: וְהִיא... וְהִיא... וְהִיא... *She is... and noble and very beautiful.*⁵⁸

The only example of an explicit verb, subject and predicate adjective is in 4QEn^d 1 i.2, where an order of verb-predicate adjective-subject is manifest: לְחַוָּה בְּרִיךְ דִּין קוֹשֵׁטָא *Blessed be the judgment of truth.*⁵⁹

9.1.7 Prepositions

The syntactical force of prepositions varies widely in QA. The following list details several of these:

⁵⁷We here do not include places where concord of masculine gender is manifest as the masculine emphatic adjective form appears to be the default for the predicate adjective in QA. Hence, in order to demonstrate discord with a masculine noun, the author/redactor would need to write contrary to the literary convention of using masculine forms by default.

⁵⁸This line is also the only place in 4QTob^b where an overt word order is manifest. שְׁלֵם is used as a predicate adjective in two sentences in 4QTob^b 4 iii.7. In the first instance, the subject is masculine singular; the use of הוּא is therefore ambiguous. In the other, a reconstructed form [שְׁלֵם], both subject and verb are understood.

⁵⁹We here follow García Martínez *et alia* in the reconstruction of an emphatic form. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/2*, 422.

1. Accompaniment:

עם *with* 4QTob^b 4 i.5: ... נומלאזכא עמה. [And the ang]el went with him... ,
 4QLevi^d 2 7: נובתר ירכתא רגלן רחזען עם קרביא [And after the thighs,
 the hind-legs are to be wash]ed with the entrails,⁶⁰ 4QpapTob^a 17 i.1,
 4QTob^b 5 6, 9, 4Q213a 5 i.2.⁶¹

2. Advantage:

על *for* 4QTob^b 4 ii.2: ועליך דין קשטא גזר למוסבהו. *And as for you, a true
 judgment is decided for [your] marrying her.* This is also represented
 in less certain contexts in 4QTgLev 2 4 and 7.⁶²

3. Comparison:

כ- *according to, like* 4QLevi^b 2 16: כחזית חזיא... ... *according to the ap-
 pearance of the vision,*⁶³ 4QTob^c 1 10: ... הלא בקדום... ... *and]not like
 the firs[t time. . . ,* 4QEnastr^b 26 4 and 5, 4QapocrDan ii.1

מ (greater/less) *than* 4QEn^d 1 ii.5: ... מנה וביניהון חלה... ... *greater/less]
 than it and among them <I saw> a cavern. . . ,* 4QLevi^a 5 3, 4QLevi^d

3 3

⁶⁰For this reconstruction, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 452.

⁶¹Cf. Michael Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document" in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* ed. James C. VanderKam et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), DJD 22, 35.

⁶²For examples of this usage in BH, see Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline* 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), §295.

⁶³Stone and Greenfield note with respect to this line that עד is equivalent to די עד. Cf. 1QapGen ii.5; cf. also Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document", 30.

Contrary to the *editio princeps*, we here render the first word of 4QLevi^b 2 16 as כחזית and not בחזית. This is in accordance with PAM 43.242, wherein the *bet* consistently has a tittle where the horizontal stroke meets the baseline (Consider שכבת in l.14, אבל in l.13, and אבי in l.12). The first letter here has no such tittle but has a smooth stroke.

בין *between* 1QEnGiants^a 27 3: ... ובין... ... *and between* ..., 1QEnGiants^a
30 2: ... בין... ... *between*...

4. Exclusion:

מן *from* 4QEn^a ii.8, 4QEn^c 5 ii.28: ... וחמסא יכלא מן ארעא... ... *and*
violence will pass away from the earth, 4QEn^c vi.19, 4QEn^a ii.7: נומסתרתין;
בְּעַץ מִן קַדְמִיָּה [And you] seek [a hiding pl]ace from it.

מִן בְּרֵא *except for* 4QEn204 1 i.24: ... עליהון בְּרֵא מִן ארבעת... ... *upon them*
except for four...

לְבַר *apart from* 4QPrNab 4 1: לְבַר הַמּוֹן... ... *apart from them*

בלחוד *alone, only* 4QLevi^b 1 11: ידע... אַאֲנַתְהָ בַלְחוּדִיק יַדַע... ... *y]ou alone know*

5. Inclusive:

ב- *among* 4QEn^c 5 i.21: בְּבָנֵי אֶרְעֵנָא... ... *among the sons of the ear[th]*

6. Interest:

ל- *for* 4QpapTob^a 6 12: נֹפֵשִׁי לְבַר דְּנִי אַחֲזָה לָהּ אֲנִתָּה... ... *my [sou]l for a*
son to whom I will be a wife, 4QTob^b 4 i.19: לָךְ לֹאֲנַתָּא... *Take her]*
to yourself for a [wife], 4QpapTob^a 17 ii.10, 4QTob^b 3 1

7. Locative:

ב- *in* 1QEnGiants^a 17 2: ... בִּידוּהוֹן... ... *in their hands*..., 4QEnGiants^a
8 13: וְדִי בַמְדְּבָרִיָּא וְנֹדִי בַיָּמִיָּא... ... *and which are in the deserts and*
[which] are in the seas,⁶⁴ 1QEnGiants^a 21 2, 4QpapTob^a 17 ii.14,

⁶⁴We here follow García Martínez and Tigchelaar in our use of “which,” but the relative particles may also be rendered as “who.” Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 410–411.

4QEn^c iv.2, 4, v.8, vi.10, 4QEnastr^b 23 6 and 8, 4QEnastr^b 26 2 and 4, 4QLevi^a 1 i.16 and 17, 4QLevi^c 3.

-ל to 4QpapTob^a 2 4: ... ואנן ערקו לטורי אררט... *And they fled to the mountains of Ararat...*, 4QLevi^b 1 8: ...אטלת לשמיה... *I lifted [my eyes and my face] to heaven*,⁶⁵ 4QTob^b 4 iii.4, 4QEn^c iv.3, 4QEn^e 3 21, 4QEnastr^b 23 9

מן from 4QpapTob^a 6 8: ואמר לאפטרותני מן עול ארעא: *And <I> speak for my liberation from up[on the earth]*, 4Q201 i.5: ...ינפק קדישנה רזבה מן... *The [G]reat Holy O[ne] will go out from [...]*, 4QEn^a iv.5, 4QEnGiants^a 13 1, 4QEn^e 2 ii.3, iii.20-21, 5 iii.20, 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.10, iii.8, 23 7 and 8, 4QpsDan^b 8 3.

קדם before 4QpapTob^a 2 8: וזשיפן קדם אסרחריב מלך אתור: *Ahikar was... and] the administrator before Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria*,⁶⁶ 4QapocrDan i.1: ...הפל קדם כרסיה... *... he fell before the throne*, 4QTob^b 4 i.13, iii.3, 4QLevi^b 1 15 and 16, 4QapocrDan ii.9

קודם before 4QpapTob^a 2 11: וזאקרבו פתוורא לקודמי... *... and they brought the table before me*

לותר unto 4QEn^e 5 ii.17: לותר דביא... *... unto the wolves*

על upon 4QpapTob^a 17 ii.1: ...אדין יתפנה עליכון... *... then h]e will turn toward (lit. upon) you*, 4QLevi^a 4 4: הלא עלי ועליך בני? *Is it not upon me and upon you, my sons?*, 4QpapTob^a 2 12, 4QTob^b 4 ii.8, 4QEn^a iii.17, 4QEnGiants^a 4 4, 4QEn^c iv.5, 4QEnastr^c 1 i.1, 4QLevi^b 2 12,

⁶⁵On the posited reconstruction see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/I*, 448–449. 4QpapTob^a 6 8 also has a very similar wording: ...עליך אנפי ועיני נטלת...

⁶⁶Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/I*, 384–385.

4QapocrDan i.4, ii.2.

8. Modal:

-ב in 4QEn^a ii.1: חֲנוּחַ לָאֵרֶעָה וְאוֹתְבוּחֲנֹנֹּ בַעֲבֹדָהּ *Consider the earth and meditate in her works*, 4QpapTob^a 17 i.16, ii.2, 18 9, 12, and 14, 4QTob^b 4 i.2, 3, and 18, iii.4, 4QTob^c 1 11, 4QEn^a i.6, 4QEn^a ii.10, and 15, 4QEnastr^c iii.6, 4QLevi^d 2 10, 4QPrNab 1 iii.2 and 6 and 6.

על over 4QapocrDan ii.2: ... שְׁנֵינָן יִמְלֹכוּן עַל... *He will reign for years over...*

9. Partitive:

מִן from, among 4QTob^b 4 iii.6: ... וְאָמְרוּ לָהּ מִן בְּנֵי נַפְתָּלִי... *And they said to her, "From the sons of Naphtali..."*, 4QLevi^c 5: ... וְלִי מִן בְּנוֹהֵי יִהֲב... *...and to me, among his sons, he gave...*,⁶⁷ 4QpsDan^a 27 1, 4QpsDan^b 10 1

-ב among 4QpapTob^a 2 12: בְּרִי אֵזֶל דְּבַר לְכָל מִן וְדִי תִזְהַשְׁכַּח בְּאַחֲוֵינָאן *My son, go and fetch all of those whom you find among our brethren*,⁶⁸ 4QpapTob^a 18 11, 4QEnastr^d 1 iii.4.

10. Possession:

-ל to 4QpapTob^a 2 2: ... כֹּל מִנְדֻעָם. {פ} וְלֹא שְׁבִיק לִי *And nothing was left to me...*,⁶⁹ 1QEnGiants^b 1 4, 3 2, 5 3, 4QpapTob^a 2 10, 4QpapTob^a 6 11, 4QTob^b 4 i.17 and 18, 4QTob^b 4 ii.3, 4QEn^c 1 v.5, 4QEn^e 5 i.14, 4QEnastr^b 23 8, 4QapocrDan ii.7.

⁶⁷Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/I*, 452–453.

⁶⁸While **די** is not attested in the photograph, the size of the lacuna in PAM 43.175 requires a reconstruction of more than the prefix to **תהשכח**. The space appears to be sufficient only for one additional word of two-letters; thus, the reconstruction seems very likely.

⁶⁹On this reconstruction of **מנדעם** we follow Fitzmyer. The **פ** after **לי** is disregarded in the reading. For the reasoning behind this, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 165.

11. Purpose:

-ל for 4QEnastr^b 23 9: למדברין ולשונבע... ...for the deserts and for the seven...⁷⁰ 4QTob^b 5 1, 4QTob^c 1 1, 4QEn^a iii.21, 4QEn^b ii.27, 4QEnGiants^a 8 14, 4QEn^c i.27, 4QEn^c 1 vi.11, 12, and 29, 4QEn^c 1 xiii.26, 4QEn^e 2 ii.1, 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2 (2x), 4QLevi^a 1 i.10, 12, 13, 19,⁷¹ 4QLevi^b 1 18, 4QLevi^d 1 6,⁷² 4QPrNab 1 5, 4QpsDan^a 8 3, 13 3, 4QpsDan^b 12 3

12. Relation:

-ל 4QTob^b 4 i.18: לא איתי לה להון שרה... ...] he does [not] have [anyone] except Sarah, 4QEnastr^b 28 2: ...וכשזלטנהון לכל מסרתהון... ...and according to] their [au]thority in relation to each of their stations... , 4QLevi^a 1 i.12, 4QLevi^a 1 i.16, 4QLevi^b 1 18, 4QLevi^d 3 2.

מן 4QEnastr^b 6 6: ונפק גגלה ריקן מן כל נהור... And its wheel comes out, empty of all light...⁷³ 4QpapTob^a 7 ii.6, 26 3.

על 4QEnGiants^a 8 10: ורקבלה עליכון ועל עובד בניכון... ...and he lodges a complaint against yo[u] and against the work of y[our] sons, 4Q244 12 2: ורגו עליהון אלוהין And God became angry against them, 1QEnGiants^a 1 4, 4QEn^c 1 i.16, 4QVisions of Amram^b 2 16.

⁷⁰For the purposive understanding of -ל here, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/I*, 437.

⁷¹While the use of -ל here is as an infinitive complement, the infinitive itself is one of purpose. Thus, we also categorize the preposition as one of purpose.

⁷²Cf. Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document", 45. Curiously, Stone and Greenfield offer different readings in their transcription and their discussion on translation for this passage.

⁷³García Martínez and Tigchelaar render גלגל as *disc*. Beyer, however, renders it *Rad* or *wheel*. Sokoloff also interprets גלגל in JPA as *wheel*. Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/I*, 434–435; Beyer, *ATTM*, 543; Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* 2nd ed. (Bar-Ilan, Israel/Baltimore, Maryland: Bar-Ilan University Press/The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 129a.

13. Separative:

מן 4QpapTob^a 6 12: כבר אֲבוֹדוֹ מִנִּי שִׁבְעוֹת גְּבוּרִין *Already seve[n men] ha[ve] perished from me, 4QTob^b 5 9: עֲזַרְיָה אַחֵי דְבַר עֵמֶךָ מִן תְּנָא*
 ... אֲרֻנְבַעַת *Azarias, my brother, take with you from here fo[ur]...*, 4QpapTob^a
 17 ii.2, 18 6, 4QpsDan^a 12 2: וִיתוּן מִן גּוּא *And they will depart from inside...*

14. Source:

מן 4QEnastr^d 1 ii.2: ... מִן מִשְׁחַתָּה... *...this one from its measure...*,
 1QEnGiants^a 22 2, 26 1, 4Q196 2 9, 4QTob^b 1 2, 4 i.6 and 17, 4QEn^a iii.14,
 4QEn^b iii.15, 4Q211 1 ii.5, iii.5, 4QLevi^b 1 ii.10 and 13, 4QLevi^d 3 1,
 4QpsDan^a 24 3, 4QEnGiants^c 19 4.

15. Specification:

על 4QpapTob^a 2 5: אֲשַׁלַּט לְאַחִיקָר בֶּר עֲנָאֵל אַחֵי עַל כָּל שְׁוֹמְפִנוֹת *... he appointed Ahikar, the son of Anael, my brother, over all of the a[ccount]s,* 4QpapTob^a
 13 3
 ל- 4QpapTob^a 2 8: וְאֲשַׁלַּטָּה אֶסְרַחְדּוֹן תִּנֵּן לָהּ *And Esarhaddon appointed him to rule second to himself,* 4QEnGiants^b 1 i.4

16. Temporal:

ב- 4QpapTob^a 2 9: וּבַיּוֹמֵי אֶסְרַחְדּוֹן [מְלוֹכָא כְּדִי תִבֵּת]... *And in the days of Esarhaddon the [ki]ng, when I returned...*, 4Q201 iii.4: ... בַּיּוֹמֵי יָרֵד עָלַי...
And in the days of Jared upon..., 4Q196 2 10, 6 5, 4QEn^c 5 ii.17,

4QEnastr^b 3 4 and 6, 6 5, 4QEnastr^b 7 ii.6, 7, 9, 12, 13, iii.1, 3, 4, 5, 7,
4QEnastr^c 1 iii.7, 4QEnastr^d 1 ii.5

בתר 4QpsDan^b 8 2: ... מן בתר מבולא... ... *after the flood...*

עד 4QEn^e 2 ii.2: ... לכן עבנודו עד יום די... *They are made like this until the day of...*, 1QEnGiants^a 27 4, 4QEn^a v.4, 4QEn^c 1 vi.15, 4QEnastr^c 1 iii.4, 4QpsDan^a 24 5, 4QapocrDan i.3, ii.4.

17. Terminative:

-ל 4QpapTob^a 17 ii.2: נהודו לה בכל פמכון *[And give thanks] to him with your whole mouth*, 4QVisions of Amram^b 2 12: ואמר לי הדן מנתקרא *And he said to me, "What is this c[alled?"]*, 4QpapTob^a 14 i.9, 16 1, 17 14, 20 2, 4QTob^b 4 i.5, 11, 16, ii.3, 10, 17, 18, iii.1, iii.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 5 6 and 10, 4QTob^c 1 11, 4Q213a 2 10, 18, 4QLevi^c 3 and 5, 4QpsDan^a 13 2, 4Q529 1 4

עד 4QVisions of Amram^b 2 16: מן מוצליא עד ארעיא... ... *from p[rayers] to earthly things*

9.1.8 Complements

9.1.8.1 The Object Complement

In the predicative use of nouns, -ל is often the object marker in QA. As Rosenthal has stated concerning BA, -ל is used to indicate both the direct and indirect objects, as well as the objects of infinitives.⁷⁴ As in BA, the Aramaic from Qumran also

⁷⁴Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §182.

manifests the object complement *ית*. See the section “Direct Object Marker” in the chapter on morphology (§8.6 on page 180).

9.1.8.2 The Infinitive Complement

The infinitive complements attested in QA are *-ל* and *-ב*. The syntactical force of either of these is always within the pale of their prepositional usage. Examples of the former are *למקץ* *to cut* in 1QapGen xix.15 and both *לרפיהא* *for its healing* and *לאחיתה* *for its revitalization* in 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.2. Two examples of *-ב* as a complement are *באשלמותהון* *in their completing* in 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.18 and *באתעצבא* *while being sad* in 1QapGen xx.12.

9.1.9 The Vocative

The vocative in QA, naturally an element of speech and not of narrative, always refers to the subject of the sentence. It is found in both initial and medial positions. It is used sometimes to suggest either entreaty (1QapGen xxii.18: *מרי אברם* *my lord Abram*, 4QpapTob^a 14 i.9: *אחי* *my brother*, 4QLevi^a 1 i.11, 4QLevi^b 1 i.18)⁷⁵ or exclamation (1QapGen ii.9: *אחי* *my brother* and *מרי* *my lord*). But simple address is most common (4QpapTob^a 2 12-13: *ברי* *my son*, 4QTob^b 4 i.12, 16, ii.7, iii.4, 5, 5 9).

⁷⁵In three other instances, the vocative may express entreaty, but the context renders a simple form of address also possible: 4QTob^b 4 i.3, 5 8, and 4QLevi^b 1 i.10.

9.2 The Simple Sentence

The simple sentence is by far the most frequent construction in QA.⁷⁶ In the following discussion we comment upon the more noteworthy syntactical elements of this construction.

9.2.1 The Simple Sentence in General

9.2.1.1 The Subject

As with other Semitic languages, QA demonstrates concord between the noun and its modifier(s) in gender, number, state, and the pronoun of which it is the antecedent (where applicable). Concord is also evident between the subject and the sentential verb(s) and predicate adjective(s) and nominative(s).

The scribes who wrote our texts frequently used simple subjects. Compound subjects are evident, however, and are always joined by a coordinating conjunction.⁷⁷ In cases of compound elements, the elements are rendered phrase-by-phrase (e.g., compound subject: 1QapGen xxii.6: *וערנם ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה*)

⁷⁶In the subsequent discussion, a *simple* sentence contains one subject unit and one predicate unit; however, each unit may be compounded by the use of a conjunction. A *compound* sentence consists of two independent clauses joined by a conjunction. A *complex* sentence contains a main clause, an independent clause, and at least one subordinate clause. These definitions (i.e., simple, compound, and complex sentences) are derived from Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 1984), 255. Nöldeke uses similar distinctions to these, categorizing his discussion into “The Simple Sentence” and “Combination of Several Sentences or Clauses.” Cf. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, pages 245 and 268, respectively.

⁷⁷Some examples of this may be found in 1QapGen xix.14: *ארז חד ותמרא חדא*... [And I]o, a cedar and a palm...; 4QEn^c 5 ii.28: *ובאישתה ורשעה יסוף* *Then wickedness and corruption will cease*, 1QapGen xx.3-4, etc., xxi.25-26, 31, xxii.6-7, 31-32, 11QTgJob ix.4, xvi.4, xxxiii.5, xxxvii.4, xxxviii.5, and 7.

In 11QTgJob xxxiii.5, the compounding occurs in the apposition to the subject. 11QTgJob xxxviii.8 interestingly compounds both the subjects and the objects with a single coordinating conjunction (גבר in i.8). Further, the operative verb for each phrase (ויהבו) and the indirect object (לה) are placed at the beginning of the sentence.

and Arnem and Eshkol and Mamre drew together with him; compound object:
 1QapGen xx.17: והואת כתשא לה ולכול אנש ביתה And [the spirit] was crushing to
 him and to all the men of his palace).

9.2.1.2 The Use of the Copula

The copula appears in our QA corpus twelve times.⁷⁸ As Nöldeke notes with regard to Syriac, the copula הוא always expresses tense and is, therefore, not a true copula.⁷⁹ Unlike verbs, the copula does not always exhibit concord with the subject of the sentence:

1QapGen xix.7: אתנה הוא לני אזלו עולמא You are to [me the G]od of [E]ter[nity].⁸⁰

11QTgJob xxviii.3: ... הוא רב הוא Lo, God is great...

9.2.1.3 The Verbless Clause

As in other dialects of Aramaic, the verbless or nominal clause is attested throughout the QA corpus. The word order of these clauses is variable.

4QTob^b 4 i.12: עזריה אחי מה סם בלבב ננא Azarias, my brother, what medicine is
 in the heart of the fish?

4QapocrDan ii.5: מלכותה מלכות עלם וכל ארחתה בקשוט His kingdom is an ever-
 lasting kingdom, and all his ways are in truth.⁸¹

⁷⁸The vast majority are found in the Genesis Apocryphon.

⁷⁹Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, §313. A true copula is simply an indicator of the predicate and does not show tense.

⁸⁰The latter half of this reading is substantially reconstructed. However, the three lamedhs can be clearly made out on the scroll. We therefore include them here. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 58.

⁸¹For a discussion of the Danielic parallel to this line (3:33), cf. Émile Puech, "Apocryphe de Daniel" in *Qumran Cave 4: XVII. Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* ed. James C. VanderKam et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), DJD 22, 175.

4QEn^d 1 ii.5: ... עמיקה חלה וביניהן And between them was a d[EEP] ravine.⁸²

9.2.1.4 Word Order

In general, word order in Aramaic has been shown to be VSO (Verb-Subject-Object).⁸³ As shown below, the word order in QA is very flexible but still demonstrates stylistic tendencies.⁸⁴ Examples of each pattern are given after Table 9.1.⁸⁵

Table 9.1: A Summary Count of Word Order in QA

Word Order	Total
SV	32
SVO	60
SCV	20
VSO	59
VS	19
VCS	29
VO	204
OVS	21
OV	54
OSV	11

Examples

⁸²For the reconstruction of עמיקה, we have been impressed by the reading contained in García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 422.

⁸³Note that word order in BA is different from other “Semitic” types. Cf. Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 33. On functional grammar and Aramaic word order, cf. Randall Buth, *Word Order in Aramaic From the Perspectives of Functional Grammar and Discourse Analysis* Ph.D thesis, (UCLA, 1987), xxiv.

⁸⁴J. Cantineau’s statement concerning Palmyrene word order also applies to a more modest extent in QA: “Il n’est pas rare de voir des compléments placés en tête de phrase, avant le verbe, pour les mettre en relief.” Jean Cantineau, *Grammaire du Palmyrénien Épigraphique* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1935), 147.

⁸⁵It must be stressed that the data of Table 9.1 reflect only fully extant sentences; reconstructions of a single letter have been allowed where the context is paralleled in other texts. The texts used in the collation of the data are: 1QapGen, 1QEnGiants^a, 1QEnGiants^b, 4QTgLev, 4QTgJob, 4QpapTob^a, 4QTob^b, 4QTob^c, 4QTob^d, 4QEn^a, 4QEn^b, 4QEnGiants^a, 4QEn^c, 4QEn^d, 4QEn^e, 4QEn^f, 4QEnastr^b, 4QEnastr^c, 4QEnastr^d, 4QLevi^a, 4QLevi^aa, 4QLevi^ab, 4QLevi^d, 4QLevi^da, 4QLevi^db, 4QPrNab, 4QpsDan^a, 4QpsDan^b, 4QpsDan^c, 4QapocrDan, and 11QTgJob. The predicate objects counted include not only direct objects but also indirect objects and the objects of prepositional phrases.

Subject-Verb

4QEn^e 5 i.19: ותוריא שקען וטבען *The bulls were submerging and drowning.*⁸⁶

4QapocrDan ii.2: כן מלכותה תהיה... *... thus will their kingdom be.*

Subject-Verb-Object

4QEn^a ii.12: ואנִּוֶן שניתן עבדִּוֶן *And you changed your work.*

4QLevi^a 1 i.10: די אלף חכמה יקר *Whoever learns wisdom he will honor.*⁸⁷

Subject-Complement-Verb

4QapocrDan ii.6: חרב מן ארעא יסף *The sword will cease from the earth.*

Verb-Subject-Object

4QTob^b 4 i.9: ... נדוֹחֵל אנה נמוֹן שדא... *I am [af]raid [o]f the demon...*

4QTob^b 4 iii.7: ידעין אננוֹמֵא לה *We do know him.*

Verb-Subject

4QTob^b 4 i.6: ונחת עלימֵא *And the youth went down.*

4QEn^b iv.10: יבדון בניהון *Their sons will be destroyed.*

Verb-Complement-Subject

4QpapTob^a ii.10: ואתבת לי חנה אנתתי *And Anna my wife was restored to me.*

⁸⁶While others add a reconstructed context following *drowning* (e.g., *and perishing by that water*), we see little need for this context. Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 427.

⁸⁷While the word order of the main clause is object-verb, we include this example based on the word order exhibited in the subordinate clause.

4QpsDan^b 12 2: ורגו עליהון אלוהין *And God grew angry with them.*

Verb-Object

4QTob^b 4 ii.3: תמלל בעלומזתא דא בליליא דן *You will speak with this woman in this night.*

Object-Verb-Subject

4QEnastr^b 23 7: בדי מן תמן דנחין מאני שמיא ... *because from there the bodies of the heavens shine.*

4QEnastr^c 1 ii.4: בתרעא קדמיא נפקא רוח קדים די... *Through the east gate proceeds the east wind which...*

Object-Verb

4QapocrDan ii.8: עממין יתון בידה *He will place nations into his hand.*

Object-Subject-Verb

4QTob^b 4 ii.17: די לזן היא חליקא ... *because] she has been set apart [for] you.*⁸⁸

9.3 The Compound Sentence

The compound sentences in QA exhibit both asyndeton and parataxis. The following are two examples of asyndeton in QA:

1QapGen xx.8-9: ושלה לעובע דברהא *Then he sent for her to be fetched with haste.*

⁸⁸Given that the earlier part of the line included וואל תדחל, a causative clause is likely. Further, the attributive, almost possessive, force of the ל- is very likely given the sentence which begins at the end of this line: ... ולך.

1QapGen xxi.21: ... ושלחת קרית לממרה ולערנם ולאשכול *And I sent (and) I called to Mamre and to Arnem and to Eshkol...*

Instances of parataxis, on the other hand, are more abundant. In addition to the following two illustrations, examples of parataxis may be found in 1QapGen xxii.5, 4QEn^a ii.1, 2, 3, 6-8, 4QLevi^a 2 5, 4QPrNab 1 4, 11QTgJob ii.2, 3, 5, and viia.3:

1QapGen xxi.2-3: וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיה והללת לשם אלהא וברכת אלהא ואודית *And there I called on the name of the Lord of Eternity, and I praised the name of God, and I blessed God, and I gave thanks there before God concerning all of the flocks and good things which he gave me and because he worked good toward me...*⁸⁹

4QpapTob^a 2 1: ... נחד מן בניא נינוה והחוי למלכנא. *[One o]f the Ninevites [went] and told [the] king...*⁹⁰

9.4 The Complex Sentence

9.4.1 The Use of the Relative Particle

Both Rosenthal and Dalman categorize די (and its compounds) as both a relative pronoun and as a subordinating conjunction, not considering its role in the

⁸⁹We follow Fitzmyer's idiomatic rendering of the prepositions. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 67.

⁹⁰Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 383. Fitzmyer renders this line: “[one o]f the Ninevites, and he made known to [the] king...” (Fitzmyer, *Christian Origins*, 166). The reconstruction and translation of the former, echoed in our own work, is preferable as the Greek translation reads in Tobit 1:19 (S): καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἷς τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς Νινευῆ καὶ ὑπέδειξεν τῷ βασιλεῖ...

construct phrase.⁹¹ In the former two functions, it typically introduces a relative clause.⁹² It thus serves to introduce a relative clause and, as such, may be appended to any substantival part of the sentence. Consider:

4QLevi^a 1 i.14 ... נכזאל גִּבֹּר די אלף חכמה. . . *Ev]ery man who learns wisdom. . .*

4QPrNab 1 8 מלי צולותא די עלי נְבִי מלך [נבזל מלכוא] *The words of prayer which Nabonidus, the king of [Baby]lon, prayed.*

The relative pronoun is also used to introduce the object of the sentence and to introduce direct speech. This former use is, however, less common. The latter use is addressed in Section 9.5.5 (page 236).

4QTob^b 4 ii.4 ... וידע אנה די לא יכול רעואל. . . *And I know that Raguel will not be able to. . .*

As mentioned under the construct phrase,⁹³ די is sometimes used to mediate between the *n. regens* and the *n. rectum*. However, the use of the relative particle most frequently attested in QA is that of introducing subordinate clauses. In this role, it is the most common expression, but not the only means employed by the scribes. The force of the relative particle used in this way is categorized in the following section on the subordinate clause in QA.

9.4.2 Types of Subordinate Clauses

The list below details the various types of subordinate clauses found in QA followed by a description of the type of clause, the subordinate conjunctions em-

⁹¹Cf. Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §§35-37, and Gustaf Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1905), §§18,48-54.

⁹²Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 218.

⁹³Cf. §9.1.2.2.

ployed to indicate the respective subordinate force, and a list of each occurrence by function.

1. Asseverative: These clauses are imprecative by nature and demonstrate either the being by which the oath is validated or the object of the oath.

די *that* 1QapGen xx.30: ... וימא לי מלכא במומה די לנא... *And the king swore an oath to me that (he had) no[t]...*

עד *that* 1QapGen ii.5: ... בְּנֵי שָׁמַיִן עַד כּוֹלָא בְּקוּשְׁטָא תְּחוּיַנְנִי הוּן... *... sons of heaven that you will tell me everything truthfully, whether...*, 1QapGen ii.7

אן *if... not* 1QapGen xxii.22: ... דלמא תהוה אמר... *... that I will not take from anything that is yours lest you should say...*

2. Causative: As the name implies, such clauses indicate the cause or reason behind the action of the main verb.

בדי *because* 4QEnastr^b 23 4: ... ולרוחא רבא רוח מאמערבא בדי תנן... *And the great quarter [they call] the West quarter because there...*,⁹⁴ 4QEnastr^b 23 6 and 7

די *because, for* 4QEn^a iii.5: ... די ימו ואחרנומו... *... because they swore and declar[ed]...*, 1QapGen ii.24, 25, xx.13, 14, 4QLevi^d 3 2, 11QTgJob xxiv.5⁹⁵

די *from the time that* 4QPrNab 1 8: די נהוית סבזר די... *אעא אבנא חספא מן די נהוית סבזר די... אלהין הנומון... of wood, of stone, of clay, from the time that I th[ought] that t[hey] were gods...*, 4QpsDan^b 12 3: ... ולאחרבא ארעהאון מנהון מן די... *... and to lay waste their land from them from the time that...*

⁹⁴On the copyist's original intention to write מערבא for מארבא, see Jozef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 289.

⁹⁵Note: The use of ן in 1QapGen xx.23 is ambiguous and may be read as either causal or temporal. Further, with regards to a restored כּי in 11QTgJob xxiv.5, cf. Job xxxiv.11 (MT).

3. Circumstantial: These indicate the conditions under which the action of the main clause occurs.

די *which* 1QapGen xix.20: בכל אתר די...עלי די אחי הוא *In every place where [we go you are to say] about me, "He is my brother.",*
 11QTgJob xxxi.4: ...להנחתה על ארע מדבר די לא אנש בה... *... to bring them down onto a deserted land in which there is no one...*

4. Conditional: The occurrences of this type of clause express the potential circumstance under which something might occur.

ן *if* 1QapGen xx.19: ...קרא לכל חכימני מצרין...הן יכולון לאסיותה... *He called to all the wise me[n of] Egypt... (to see) whether they were able to heal him...*, 4QTob^b 4 ii.5: ...הוא ידוע די הן יתננה לגבר... *... h[er] know[s] that if he gives her to [another] man...*, 1QapGen ii.5, 4QTob^b 5 11, 11QTgJob viia.9, x.9, xi.4, xviii.5, 8, xxii.1, 4, xxvi.9, xxvii.4, 5, xxviii.3, 4, xxx.2, 3, xxxv.2.

5. Desiderative: As the name suggests, this type expresses desire or volition.

די *that* 11QTgJob xxxv.2:⁹⁶...יתרחץ די יקבלנה... *... he is confident that [...]*
*will receive him, 11Q10 xxv.6: ...אנש רשיעיא התקלו... *... that] they should ensnare the evil person...*⁹⁷*

6. Epexegetical: These clauses function appositionally.

⁹⁶This verse does not occur in the Masoretic Text. Cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11: II*, 164.

⁹⁷The use of די in 11QTgJob xxv.6 is restored. We include it here tentatively in light of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, Job xxxiv.30 (MT).

וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש ומלי תרין חברוהי די פס חד *that* 1QapGen xx.8: ...
 תלתהון ממללן... *And as the king heard the word of Hirqanos and the
 words of his three friends, that the three of them were speaking with
 one mouth...*, 1QapGen xxii.19: די שביא עמד די די איתי לי די שביא עמד די די
 אצלתה מן מלך עילם ... *give me the men that are mine and whom you
 rescued from the king of Elam.*, 4QEnastr^c 1 ii.3: די רבן וכל מה די בהן ...
 די רבן וצמחין ורחשוןין ... *and the waters and every thing that is in them,
 that grows and sprouts and crawls...*, 11QTgJob xv.8, xxv.1, xxvi.5
 (2x), xxvi.6, xxviii.4, xxix.3.⁹⁸ xxxviii.4, 6.

7. Objective: This type of clause functions as the object of verbs which deal with direct and indirect discourse.

וכדי חזת בתאנוש אנתתי די אשתני אנפי עלי... *that* 1QapGen ii.12: ...
Batenosh my wife saw that my face changed upon me..., 1QapGen ii.25,
 xix.20, xx.10, 15, 21, 27, xxii.3 (2x), 12, 22, 11QTgJob xxxvii.3

8. Purposive/Result: These clauses show the result of the main clause, as the name implies.

אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך דלמא תהוה אמר... *lest* 1QapGenxxii.22: ...
 ...*that I will not take from anything that is yours lest you should
 say...*⁹⁹

⁹⁸The use of די in 11QTgJob xxxii.5 is possibly exegetical; however, it may be the pronominal subject of the main clause.

⁹⁹Contrary to Fitzmyer, we here include דלמא *lest* (*Genesis Apocryphon*, 179 and 226) as introducing a non-restrictive, result clause which, in the context of 1QapGen xxii.22, expresses an outcome that Abram does not desire.

די למה תאמרון... *lest* 11QTgJob xxi.4: ... די למה תאמרון...¹⁰⁰

ו- *so that* 1QapGen xix.18: ואמרת לי אשתעי לי חלמך ואנדע *And she said to me, "Tell me your dream so that I may know (it)."*¹⁰¹

ותחיבנני על דברת די תזכא *And would you find me guilty so that you might be innocent?*¹⁰²

9. Relative: This type of clause serves either to explain an antecedent or to otherwise modify a non-verbal part of the sentence.

די *who, that* 1QapGen xx.6: וכל בתולך וכלאן די יעלך לגנון לא ישפרך מנהא *And none of the virgins who enter the bridal chamber are more beautiful than she*, 4QEn^a iii.14: נשין מן כל די בחרו... *... women from all whom they chose*, 1QapGen xx.25, 32; xxi.1, 3 (3x), 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23 (4x), 26, 28, 29 (2x), 30, 32; xxii.1, 2 (2x), 3(2x), 10, 11, 15, 17, 25, 4QTob^c 1 3, 4QEnGiants^a 8 11, 4QLevi^a 1 i.13 and 14, 4QpsDan^a 20 3, 4QapocrDan ii.2

10. Restrictive/Exclusive: This type of clause serves to narrow the understanding of a previously mentioned element.

ברא מן די אכלו כבר עולימי די עמי וברא: *except* 1QapGen xxii.23 (2x): ברא מן די אכלו כבר עולימי די עמי וברא... *... except for that which my young men who are with me have eaten and except for the portion of the three men...*

¹⁰⁰Cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 69, and García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11: II*, 128.

¹⁰¹For the subjunctive force of אנדע and the consequent subordinate conjunctive force of ו- here, cf. note 5 on page 192. This is, admittedly, an anomalous use of ו-, but the context offers no room to read it otherwise.

¹⁰²The construction על דברת די occurs with regularity in OfA but not in the Middle Aramaic dialects. Cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11: II*, 161–162.

11. Temporal: These clauses express a time-based condition of the main verb.

כדי *when, just as* 1QapGen xx.11: אַנָּה וְלוֹט בָּר אַחֵי עִמִּי בְלֵילִיא כְּדֵי דְבִירַת ...

מְנֵי שָׂרַי ... *I and Lot with me in the night when Sarai was taken from*

me, 11QTgJob xviii.7: ... כְּדֵי יִקְוֹם... ...just as [God] will ar[ise]...

4QVisions of Amram^e 1a i.7

עד *until* 4QEn^e 5 i.18: וְזֹאנָה הוּיַת חֲזָה עַד אַרְעָא חֲפִית מִן *And I was watching*

until water covered the earth, 4QEn^e ii.1, 3, 21, 5 ii.21, 4QLevi^a 2

15: ... תֵּעָבֵר מִנֶּכּ עַד כָּל... ... *will [not] pass from you until all...*¹⁰³

11QTgJob xxi.2

די *the time when [God] will* 4QTob^e 1 9: עֲדָנָא דִּי יִתִּיב בְּנֹרְחַמִּין... ... *bring them back with [mercies], 4Q206 2 ii.2: די יוֹם עַד יוֹם*

לכֹּזֵן עֲבֹנִידוֹ עַד יוֹם די

יִתְנַדְּיָן... ... *like this they are made until the day when they are judged.*

עד *until* 1QapGen xix.9: וְהוּיַת אַזְל לְדְרוֹמָא עַד דִּי דְבַקַּת לְחִבְרוֹן *And I went*

south until I came to Hebron, 1QapGen xix.26, xx.8, xxi.1, 15, 17

(2x), 18 (2x), xxii.7, 10

9.5 Special Kinds of Sentences

9.5.1 Negative Sentences

In every context that is clear, the negations, both לא and אל, are placed immediately before the clause which they modify.

אל *not* This negation is used before precative and imperative forms. Context suggests that יִשְׁלַט *may he rule*, תִּדְחַל *you should fear*, תִּצְפִּי *you should worry*,

¹⁰³For the insertion of *not*, cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE/1*, 449.

and יתחזי *may it be seen* are jussive in force.¹⁰⁴ Hence, by this precedent, Cook's understanding of the precative force behind תקוצו *may you cut* in 1QapGen xix.16 is correct, even though the precise reading is debatable.¹⁰⁵ 1QapGen xx.15 ...ואל ישלט...לטמא *And may not rule... to defile...*, 4QTob^b 4 i.3 אל תדחלי ואל תצפי *Do not fear and do not worry...*, 1QapGen xxii.30, 4QLevi^d 2 4.¹⁰⁶

לא *not* This is the typical means of negation throughout QA. Unlike אל, it is used to negate statements, not precative expressions. 4QTgJob ii.6 ולא... בנחכזמנה... *...and not with wisdom...*, 4QpapTob^a ii.2 ולא שביק *And none of my possessions were left to me.*, 11QTgJob iv.3 ארו אפו לא תו... *Behold, therefore, you do not...*, 1QapGen xix.7, 4QTgJob ii.7, 4QpapTob^a ii.3, 4QEnastr^d i.5.

In 4QpapTob^a 6 1, there is an instance in which the negation לא is used to suggest volition: וְלֹא נִחְזִי לְכִי בְרַ נְאוּ בְרַה לְכָל עֵלְמִין *And may we not see a son [or daughter] of yours [for ever...]*¹⁰⁷ A similar instance of לא + the imperfect is found in Ezra 4:21: קִרְיַתָּא דְךָ לֹא תִבְנָא *let that city not be rebuilt.*¹⁰⁸ Rosenthal describes this phenomenon as a “possible but doubtful example” of the process by which אל fell into disuse in later Aramaic and was replaced by לא.¹⁰⁹

While Rosenthal's conclusion is possible, we do not count it likely because

¹⁰⁴Cf. Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §87

¹⁰⁵Cook, “Aramaic of DSS”, 371–373. See note 6 on page 192.

¹⁰⁶Cf. Stone and Greenfield, “Aramaic Levi Document”, 47.

¹⁰⁷For the reconstruction here, see Fitzmyer, *Christian Origins*, 171–172. We refrain from the use of “never” here because the Septuagint has refrained from the use of μήποτε. However, this sense is obviously implied.

¹⁰⁸Translation from Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §87.

¹⁰⁹Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §87.

of the several places where **אל** is used to negate precative forms (see **אל**, above). This anomalous construction echoes an emphatic Hebrew construction.¹¹⁰ Given the proximity in which QA and QH were used in first-century Judaea, it is not wholly impossible that QH has influenced QA in this way. Examples of this phenomenon in QH include:¹¹¹

1QS v.5: אשר לוא ילך איש בשרירות לבו *No one may go in the stubbornness of his heart.*”

1QS viii.25: ... אשר לוא ישפוט איש ולוא ישאל... *He may neither judge anyone nor be asked...*

9.5.2 Sentences of Entreaty

In Qumran Aramaic, the particle of entreaty (**נא** or **נה**) is used infrequently and is essentially untranslatable. While it usually occurs to soften the force of an imperative, it is understandably used with a jussive in 1QapGen xx.25, when Hirqanos speaks to the king of Egypt (see the first example below). In total, the particle of entreaty occurs only seven times in our corpus:

1QapGen xx.25: ... יתיבו נה לשרי לאברם בעלה... *May they return Sarai to Abram, her husband...*

¹¹⁰Cf. A. E. Cowley; E. Kautzsch, ed., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), §107o.

¹¹¹While these readings and translations are our own, they were decidedly influenced by Qimron, *Hebrew of the DSS*, §400.11. Each line was checked against John Trever, *Three Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Pesher to Habakkuk* (Jerusalem: The Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and The Shrine of the Book, 1972), pages 134–135 and 140–141, respectively.

4QEn^c 5 ii.29: ... וכען אזל נא ענדז למך נברזך *And now, please, go t[o] Lamech your [son...]*

11QTgJob xxx.1 and xxxiv.3:¹¹² ... אסר נא כגאבר חלציק *Gird up your loins like a man...*

11QTgJob xxxiv.6: ... העדי נא גוה ורם רוח *Remove the proud and the proud of spirit...*

11QTgJob xxxiv.7: ... העדי נא חמת רגוז *Remove the burning of your anger...*

11QTgJob xxxvii.6: שמע נא ואנה אמלל *Listen and I will speak.*

9.5.3 Interrogative Sentences

9.5.3.1 Introduced by an Interrogative Pronoun

With an Interrogative Pronoun Alone As might be expected, the interrogative sentence is consistently introduced by an interrogative pronoun.

1QapGen xxii.32: מרי אלהא שגי לי עתר ונכסין ולמא לי כל אלן *My Lord God, my riches and flocks are great, but what is that to me?*

4QTob^b 4 iii.5: מנאן אנתון אחי *Whence are you <come>, my brothers?*

With the Vocative While the interrogatives are restricted to places of dialogue, one does not find an interrogative used with a vocative form often. In fact, only two occurrences may be found of this construction:

¹¹²This quote is from 11QTgJob xxxiv.2-3, the better preserved of the two examples.

4QTob^b 4 i.12 וְאָמַר לֵה עֲזָרִיָּה אַחֵי מַה סֵּם בְּלִבְבּוֹ נֹנָא *And he said to him, "Azaria, my brother, what medicine is in the heart of the fish?" and*

4QLevi^a 4 3-4 וְעַל מִן תְּהוּא חֻרְבְּתָא הֲלֵא עָלֵי וְעָלֵיכֶן בְּנֵי בְּנֵי *And upon whom will the blame be? Is it not upon me and upon you, my sons?*

9.5.3.2 Introduced by *He* Interrogative

QA also forms interrogative clauses by means of the *he* interrogative. In these cases, the *he* interrogative always heads the sentence.¹¹³

4QTob^b 4 iii.7: הַשְּׁלֵם הוּא *Is he well?*

4QLevi^a 4 4:¹¹⁴ הֲלֵא עָלֵי וְעָלֵיכֶן בְּנֵי בְּנֵי *Is it not upon me and upon you, my sons?*

11QTgJob i.2: הֲעֵמִי לְשֹׂאֵל תֵּן... *Will [you...] with me to Sheol?*¹¹⁵

9.5.4 Exclamatory Sentences

9.5.4.1 Introduced by an Interrogative Pronoun

The exclamatory sentence is often introduced by an interrogative pronoun.

1QapGen xx.3: וְכַמָּה רַקִּיק לֵה שַׁעַר רֵאִישָׁהּ *And how soft is the hair of her head.*¹¹⁶

4QTob^b 4 iii.4-5: כַּמָּה דַּמָּה עֲלִימָא דִן לְטוֹבֵי בְּרֵי דְדִי *How much this young man is like Tobit, my nephew!*

¹¹³As this phenomenon does not occur in the later texts from Qumran (e.g., Genesis Apocryphon), a chronological element may exist in its attestation.

¹¹⁴The traditional reference for this line is 4QLevi^a 3+4 8.

¹¹⁵Cf. Sokoloff, *Targum to Job*, 28-29, 203.

¹¹⁶On the reading of רַקִּיק *soft* instead of דַּקִּיק *tender* see Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 31, and Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 121. While Kutscher reads רַקִּיק, we see no reason for a restored *resh* when the beginning of the head and the full vertical tail is manifest in the text under computerized magnification. Fitzmyer does not offer confidence marks in his transcription.

9.5.4.2 Determined by Context

Context-determined exclamation is also attested, typically with the use of an imperative. However, our study of the corpus has found this in the Genesis Apocryphon exclusively.¹¹⁷

1QapGen ii.9: יא אחי ויא מרי דכרך על עדינתי *Oh, my brother, and, oh, my lord, remember my pleasure!*

1QapGen xx.27: הא אנתתך דברה אזל *Lo, here is your wife! Take her! Go away!*

9.5.5 Sentences with Direct Speech

Direct speech in QA is usually implied by the context of the sentence. In these instances, the direct quotative frame consistently precedes the speech event.¹¹⁸ In places where speech is not contextually determined, it is indicated by either the infinitival form לממר or by the use of the relative particle די.

9.5.5.1 Indicated by Context

By far, the regular way of presenting direct speech in QA is simply an appropriate verb followed by the speech event.

1QapGen ii.13: ... ולי תאמר יא מרי ויא אחי... *And she said to me, "Oh, my lord, and, oh, my brother..."*

¹¹⁷While imperatives are found in a myriad of texts, we do not find a place where one can say definitively that the imperative indicates the exclamation.

An example of an imperative in a non-exclamatory sentence is 4QpapTob^a 2 13: ברי אזל דבר ואתה ייתה *My son, go (and) fetch, and may he be brought.*

¹¹⁸These terms are adopted from Cynthia Miller's excellent analysis of speech as presented in the Hebrew Bible. Cf. Cynthia L. Miller, *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996), Harvard Semitic Monographs 55, 52.

4QTob^b 4 i.2: ... וְאָמַר לֵהּ אַל תִּדְחַלִּי. [And] he said to her, “Do not fear...”

4QLevi^b 1 i.10: ... אָמַרְתָּ מִרֵּי אַתְּהוּ. [I said, “My lord, you[... ”

9.5.5.2 Indicated with an Infinitive

Only once in our corpus, however, do we find the use of an infinitive form *ממר* (← *אמר*) with a clitic *-ל*. 4QpsDan^a 1 1 reads: ... שְׂאִיל דְּנִיָּאל לְמַמֵּר בְּדוּנִיָּל. *He asked Daniel, saying, “Because of [...”* It is unclear whether this may result from an Hebraic influence.¹¹⁹

9.5.5.3 Indicated by the Relative Particle

The relative particle is used to indicate direct speech several times in our corpus. As such it follows the main part of the frame and effectively complements the speech event.

4QTob^b 4 iii.7: ... וְאָמְרִין לֵהּ דִּי יָדְעִין אֲנַחְנוּנָא לֵהּ. *And they said to her, “We know him.”*

4QTob^b 4 iii.8: ... וְאָמַרְתָּ נְטוּבִיָּהּ דִּי אָבִי הוּא. [And To]bias [said, “He is my father.”

4QLevi^d 3 2: ... דִּי תִמְרוּן לִי אֲדִילְנָא. *because you said to me, [“...”*

9.5.6 Performative Utterances

Performative utterances are defined as those parts of a text which are intended to be performed, rather than read, by the reader/oral performer.¹²⁰ In Official

¹¹⁹On the use of *לֵאמַר* in Egyptian Aramaic, see Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar Of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 32, 328. On its use to introduce speech events in BH, see Miller, *Representation of Speech*, §4.3.

¹²⁰M. Jaffee, in commenting on the reciprocal relationship between aural composition and oral recitation, suggests: “Precisely because texts were composed under the assumption that they would

Aramaic, these phrases typically use the perfect form of the verb. However, in later, Classical Syriac, one finds the participle to be used for this purpose. In QA, both are attested, but the participle is favored.¹²¹

Several instances of performative utterances are found in QA. While the semantics of many of these phrases are debatable due to necessary reconstructions, the force of each phrase appears clear from the extant text. Examples of these are:¹²²

1QapGen ii.14

יאמיא אנה לך בקדיש רבא במלך שמוינא

I swear to you by the Great Holy One, by the King of Hea[ven]

1QapGen xx.13-14

וכען קבלתך מרי על פרעו צען מלך מצרין די...

And now I cry out to you, my Lord, concerning Pharaoh Zoan, the king of Egypt, who ...

1QapGen xxii.20-21

מרים אנה ידי יומא דן לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא אן חוט...

I lift my hand this day to the Most High God, the Lord of heaven and earth, that not (even) a strap ...

be read in the setting of oral performance, their compositional styles drew deeply upon habits of speech and rhetorical traditions that had their living matrix in oral communication." Cf. Martin Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism, 200 BCE - 400 CE* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18.

¹²¹M. Rogland, "Performative Utterances in Qumran Aramaic" *RQ* 74 (1999), 278.

¹²²This is a corrected list adapted from that of M. Rogland. Cf. Rogland, "Performative Utterances", 279. Several examples which Rogland lists are not included here because the readings were either paleographically unsupportable or did not allow sufficient confidence to follow one reading over others.

4QEn^g v.24

וכען לכון אנה אמר בְּנֵי נ...

And now I say to you, "My sons, [...]"

4QTQahat ii.9-10

...וכען לכה עמרם ברי אנה מפקוד... ולבנזיכה ולבניהון אנה מפקד ...

And now to you Amram, my son, I entrust... and to] your [childr]en

and to their children I entrust ...

Appendices

Appendix A

Chrestomathy

A few words of description are in order as to how this chrestomathy was formed and on what basis the readings were done. The present chrestomathy was compiled from the author's grammatical database by a computer program written in Perl. Where possible, the base transcription was that contained in either García Martínez and Tigchelaar's *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* or the relevant *DJD* volume as reflected in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* Vol. 2, (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

The transcriptions were processed into a database format via a computer program written in Python and were then handchecked by the present author. The only exceptions to this process were those not included on the CD-ROM of the *Electronic Reference Library* (4Q490 and above). These were hand-entered and then handchecked.

The verification and emmendment of the readings were done against the photographs contained as part of the aforementioned compact disc and against the photographs contained in the *DJD* volumes. The photographs of the first five columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon* which were used were those published originally in Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: Description and Contents of the Scroll, Facsimiles, Transcription and Translation of Columns II, XIX-XXII* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1956). Verification, emendation, and reconstruction was done using the GNU Image Manipulation Program (GIMP), version 1.2. Where significant doubt existed about the reading of a text, this was verified against the relevant scroll in a research trip taken by the author during the summer of 2002.

There were, unfortunately, certain exceptions to this process of verification. In the case of the medial columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, we have relied on the

works of Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, and Sivan. Where their readings were used in the grammar, they were verified against the high resolution photographs contained in Appendix B. Due to the text's advanced state of corruption, questionable readings were *not* verified personally. Also, 4QEn^a was not verified directly due to the costs involved.

Further, as mentioned earlier, the *editio princeps* of 4Q529–549 came too late to be verified in the research trip. As the photographs in the volume are generally too small for a thorough palaeographic analysis, the texts represented are largely echoes of Puech's readings that are corrected where we found the plates (1) clearly did not record the text in question and (2) represented the abundant reconstructions which characterize Puech's readings.

In our readings we often err on the side of caution. Throughout the chrestomathy, we have oft omitted lines which preserved less than a single, whole word. Further, we have endeavored to minimize the amount of reconstruction included in our work. We have, however, followed the reconstructions of others where they appeared probable.

While these readings are, in our judgment, to be preferred to the standard readings, this chrestomathy should not be seen as more than the documented readings on which this grammar was produced. In this regard, several parts of the texts that are not wholly represented do not appear in this chrestomathy, though the critical editions may present part of the word. A detailed portrayal of each text is not the intent of this appendix. It is not a substitute for the *editio princeps* of any of these texts, where such a volume exists. Rather, it is intended to show the paleographic understanding and relevant context of the readings reflected in the preceding Qumran Aramaic grammar. For a listing of the critical editions used in

studying these texts, please see “Qumran Texts Used in The Preparation of This Document” (page xxv).¹

A.1 Cave One Texts

1QGenesis Apocryphon (1QapGen and 1QapGen)

1Q20, Fragment 1, Column 1

1 ... רגזך תתסך ותתקיים ומן הוא

2 ... חמת רגזך *vacat*

3 ... ותניא וכביא ושפליא דאלן ...

4 ... זוכען הא אניתי אסירן

5 ...

6 *vacat*

7 ... קזדישא רבא

8 ... ודיא כול

9-10 ...

1Q20, Fragment 1, Column 2

1-2 ...

3 יסנ ...

4 כול ...

¹A word about the formatting of the present work is in order. Given the unorthodox nature of this document and despite our best efforts, we have been unable to avoid various formatting pitfalls which a professional typesetter might have means of correcting. These include widows and orphans of both normal text and section headers.

... 5

6 ארעא ... 5

7 עובדא די ... 5

8 ובישתא למק ... 5

9-10 ...

1Q20, Fragment 2

... 1

2 ... ומתמחין מין אחרהון ...

3 *vacat* ...

4 ... זין מת תנין ... 1

5 ... קודם מרה עלמא *vacat*

6 ...

1QapGen, Column 1

1 ... ועם נצבתא

2 ... אף רז רשעא די

3 ... ורזא די

4 ... לא תדעון

5-9 ...

10 ... זמן קצת

11-24 ...

25 ... ולקלל לכול בשרא

26 ... זרה ובמשלהן לכוין שלה הוא

27 ... זלארעא ולמחת להא ...

28 ... לא ידועין מא למעבד אנשא לארעא

29 ...להון עבד ואף לכול בשרא

1QapGen, Column 2

- 1 הא באדין חשבת בלבי די מן עירין הריאתא ומן קדישון הריא ולנפילוקין
- 2 ולבי עלי משתני על עולימא דנא
- 3 באדין אנה למך אתבהלת ועלת על בתאנוש נ...
- 4 מועד בעליא במרה רבותא במלך כול נ...
- 5 בנז שמין עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני הן נ...
- 6 תחוינני ולא בכדבין הדך נ...
- 7 במלך כול עלמים עד בקושט עמי תמללין ולא בכדבין נ...
- 8 אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת נ...
- 9 ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי דכרלך על עדינתי נ...
- 10 בחום ענתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא ואנה בקושט כולנא אחוינד...
- 11 זשגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני...
- 12 וכדי חזת בתאנוש אנתתי די אשתני אנפי עלינ...
- 13 באדין אנסת רוחהא ועמי תמלל ולי תאמר יא מרי ויא נאחי...
- 14 עדינתי יאמיא אנה לך בקדישא רבא במלך שמויזא...
- 15 די מנד זרעא דן ומנד הריונא דן ומנד נצבת פריא נ...
- 16 ולא מן כול זר ולא מן כול עירין ולא מן כול בני שמוין...
- 17 אנפיך כדנא עליך שנא ושחת ורוחך כדן עליבא נ...
- 18 בקושט ממללא עמד
- 19 באדין אנה למך רטת על מתושלח אבי וכולא לה חונית...
- 20 אבוהי וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדא כדי הוא רחים ורעי נ...
- 21 עדבה פליג ולה מחוין כולא וכדי שמע מתושלנה...

- 19 ... יאלישו גאט ...
- 18 ... דאס דאס וואס זאגט אונדז און וואס אונדז און וואס אונדז
- 17 ... דאס דאס אונדז
- 16 ... וואס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 15 ... 14-15
- 13 ... דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 12 ... וואס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 11 ... דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 10 ... דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 9 ... וואס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 8 ... דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 7 ... דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 6 ...
- 5 אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 4 דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 3 דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 2 אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 1 ... דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז

IQagen, Column 5

- 26 דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 25 ... דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 24 דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 23 דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז
- 22 ... דאס אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז אונדז

- 13 ... עלי בעירא רבא עלי בציר ובמשלחת קדישא ...]
- 14 ... ובחזיון עמי מלל ולקובלי קם ...]
- 15 ... מזשלחת קדישא רבא לי קל אשמע לך אמרין יא נוח
- 16 ... וחשבת בי כול לכת בני ארעא ידעת וחויית כול
- 17 ... קל יצלחון ...]
- 18 ... שבועין תרין ובאדין מסתם ...]
- 19 ... דמא די אשדו נפיליא שפית וקוית עד די ק
- 20 ... קדישין די עם בנת אנושא ...]
- 21-22 ...
- 23 ... ואשזכחת אנה נוח חן ...]
- 24-25 ...
- 26 ... לאנשא ולבעירא ולחיותא לעופא ו
- 27 ...

1QapGen, Column 7

- 1 ... עליהון ארעא וכול די עליהא בימיה ובטוריא
- 2 ... דא כול מזלת שמיא שמשא שהרא וכוכביא ועיריא
- 3-4 ...
- 5 ... אנה משלם לך
- 6 ... *vacat* ...]
- 7 ... קדישא רבא וחדית למלי מרה שמיא ואציחת
- 8-23 ...

1QapGen, Column 10

- 1 רבא *vacat* באדין ...] כולא די בני מן ...]

... 18-24

1QapGen, Column 12

1 ... והואת לי לאת בעננה ולמ...

2 ... אַרעא

3 ... אתחזיאת לי

4-5 ...

6 ... *vacat*

7 ...

8 ... בטורי הוררט ומן בתר כן נחתת לשפולי טורא דן אנה ובני ובני בני

9 ... ארו צדיתא הואת שגיא בארעא וילידו זלו... בזן מן בתר מבולא

10 לשם ברי זרבא יליד לה בר לקדמין ארפכשד תרתין שנין בתר מבולא נוהווא

11 עילם ואשזור ארפכשד לוד וארם ובנן נקבן חמש *vacat* ונבני חם כוש ומצריין12 נקבן שבע *vacat* ובננין יפת גומר ומגוג ומדי ויואן ותובל ומשוך ותירס

13 וזשרית אנה ובני כולהון למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב בלובר טורא ולשנין

14 ... כול ... *vacat* ... וכדי ... רגלא קדמיא ביום חד לרגלא קדמיא די בחודשא

15 ... די כרמיא כומרא דן פתחת ושרית למשתיה ביום חד לשתא חמישיתא

16 ... ביומא דן קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי כולנא ולבנתהון

17 ... א והוית מברך למרה שמיא לאל עליון לקדישא רבא די פלטנא מן אבדנא

... 18-35

1QapGen, Column 13

... 1-7

8 ... וחיות ברא ... ורחש יבישתא ...

9 ... אבניא וחספיא הוא קצין ונסבין להון מנה חזה הוית לדהביא ולכסנפיא

... 4-8

... 18-34

17 ... 17
 16 ... vacat
 15 ...
 14 ...
 13 ...
 12 ...
 11 ...
 10 ...
 9 ...
 8-1 ...

... 18-34

17 ...
 16 ...
 15 ...
 14 ...
 13 ...
 12 ... vacat
 11 ...
 10 ...

- ... 1-5
- vacat* ... 6
- 7 וזשם פולוג נחולקה בין בנוהי ונפל לקדמין לועילוסם בצפונא ליד מי
- 8 שנמוקא לראישה די בצפונא וסחר למערבא לאשור עד דבק לחדקל נ... ובתרה
- 9 לארס ארעא די בין תרין נהריא עד די דבק לראיש נ...
- 10 נפל טור תורא דן ועבר חולקא ואזל מערבה עד דבק למגוג נ... מדנחא
- 11 בצפונא די מחען לשנא דן דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא ליד ימא דן לארפכשד נ...
- 12 ... די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא די משקה פורת וכול נ...
- 13 ... כול בקעאתא ומישריא די ביניהון ואיא די בגו לשנא נ...
- 14 ... ואמנא נ...
- 15 ... חולקא די פלג לה ויהב לה נוח אבוהי *vacat*
- 16 וזיפת פלג בין בנוהי לגמר יהב לקדמין בצפונא עד די דבק לטינה נהרא
- 17 למדי ובתרה ליואן כול נגאותא דיליד לוד ובין לשנא נ...
- 18 ... ולמשך נ...
- 19 ... בני חם נ... *vacat*

1QapGen, Column 19

- 7 ... תמן (בנשם) אלנהא ואמרת אנתה הוא
- 8 ... אל עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא קדישא ונגדת
- 9 ... והוית אזל לדרומא עד די דבקת לתברון... תברון ויתבת
- 10 ... והוא כפנא בארעא דא כולא ושמעתי ענבוזרא במצרין ונגדת
- 11 ... לנמעל לארע מצרין... לכרמונא נהרא חד מן
- 12 ... ראשי נהרא... אנחנא... ארענא נחולפת שבעת ראשי נהרא דן די
- 13 ... כען חלפנא ארענא ועלנא לארע בני חם לארע מצרין
- 14 וחלמת אנה אברס חלם בלילה מעלי לארע מצרין וחזית בחלמי נוהא ארז חד ותמרא

אחריהם יאמרו כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

והוא

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

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אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר יבא ביום ההוא ויאמר אל כל האנשים אשר לא ידעו את היום הזה...

אשר

- 25 אלן די מתכתש ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי אנתת אברס יתיבו נה לשרי לאברס בעלה
- 26 ויתוך מנכה מכתשא דן ורוח שחלניא וקרא [מלנכוא] לי ואמר לי מא עבדתה לי בדיל ושרי
ותאמר
- 27 לי די אחתי היא והיא הואת אנתתך ונסבתהא לי לאנתה הא אנתתך דברה אזל ועדי לך מן
- 28 כול מדינת מצרין וכען צלי עלי נועל ביתי ותתגער מננה רוחא דא באינשזתא וצליז
על ודי יתורפא
- 29 הו וסמכת ידי על נראיזשה ואתפלי מנה מכתשא ואתגערת [מנה רוחא] באישתא וחי וקם
ויהב
- 30 לי מלכא...וימא לי מלכא במומה די לנא
- 31 לשרי ויהב לה מלכא...וודהב שגינא ולבוש שגל די בוץ וארגוואן נ...
- 32 קודמיהא ואף להגר ואנשזלמה-] לי ומני עמי אנוש די ינפֿקֿונני ול-] מן מצרין...
- 33 ...ואזלת אנה אברם בנכסין שגינאין לחדא ואף בכסף ודהב וסלקת מן נ...]
- 34 בֿ אחי עמי ואף לוט קנה לה נכוסין שגינאין ונסב לה אנתה מן בֿנת...והוית שורא

1QapGen, Column 21

- 1 כל אתר משריאתי עד די דבקת לבית אל לאתרא די בנית תמן בה מדבחא ובניתה תניאני
- 2 לאקרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחה לאל עליון וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיה והללת לשם אלהא
וברכת
- 3 אלהא ואודית תמן קודם אלהא על כול נכסיה וטבתא די יהב לי ודי עבד עמי טב ודי אתיבני
- 4 לארעא דא בשלם
- 5 בתר יומא דן פרש לוט מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא וכול נכסוהי
- 6 עמה ואף אנה אוספת לה אל דילה שגי והוא רעה נכסוהי ודבק עד סודם וזבן לה בסודם ביות
- 7 ויתב בה ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל ובאש עלי די פרש לוט בר אחי מן לואתי
- 8 ...ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא ואמר לי סלק לך לרמת חצור די על שמאל
- 9 ביתאל אתר די אנתה יתב ושקול עיניך וחזי למדנתא ולמערבא ולדרומא ולצפונא וחזי כול

- 10 ארעא דא די אנה יהב לך ולזרעך לכול עלמים וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור וחזית
ארעא מן
- 11 רמתא דא מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן וכול ארע גבל עד
קדש וכול מדברא
- 12 רבא די מדנח חורן ושניר עד פורת ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן כול ארעא דא וירתונה לכול עלמים
- 13 ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא די לא ישכח כול בר אנוש לממניה ואף זרעך לא יתמנה קום הלך
ואזל
- 14 וחזי כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיהא ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה אחרך עד כול עלמאי
- 15 ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר ולמחזה ארעא ושרית למסחר מן גיחון נהרא ואתית ליד ימא
עד די
- 16 דבקת לטור תורא וסחרת מן לינדז ימא רבא דן די מלחא ואזלת ליד טור תורא למדנחא
לפתי ארעא
- 17 עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא וסחרת ליד פורת עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא למדנחא והוית אתה
לי ליד
- 18 ימא שמוקא עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף די נפק מן ימא שמוקא וסחרת לדרומא עד די
דבקת גהון
- 19 נהרא ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם ואשכחת כול אנשי שלם ואזלת ויתבת באלוני ממרה
די בחברון
- 20 כלמדנח צפון חברון ובנית תמן מדבח ואסקת עלוהניז עלא ומנחא לאל עליון ואכלת ואשתית
תמן
- 21 אנה וכול אנש ביתי ושלחת קרית לממרה ולערנס ולאשכול תלתת אחיא אמוראא רחמי
ואכלו כחדא
- 22 עמי ואשתיו עמי
- 23 קדמת יומיא אלן אתה כדרלעומר מלך עלים אמרפל מלך בבל אריוך מלך כפתוך תדעל
מלך גוים די

24 הוא בין נהרין ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם ועם ברשע מלך עומרם ועם שנאב מלך אדמא

25 ועם שמיאבד מלך צבוין ועם מלך בלא כול אלן אזדמנו כחדא לקרב לעמקא די סדיא ותקף

מלך

26 עילם ומלכיא די עמה למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי ושוי עליהון מדא תרתי עשרה שנין הווא

27 יהבין מדתהון למלך עילם ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה ובשנת ארבע עשרה דבר מלך עילם

לכול

28 חברוהי וסלקו ארחא די מדברא והווא מחין ובזין מן פורת נהרא ומחו לרפאיא די בעשתרא

29 דקרנין ולזומזמיא די בעמן ולאמיא דני בזושה הקריות ולחוריא די בטורי גבל עד דבקו

לאיל

30 פרן די במדבנרהו ותבו ומחו ל...[בחצצן תמר

31 ונפק מלך סודם לעור'עהון ומלך נעומרם ומלך אדמא ומלך צבואין ומלך בלע קרבא

32 בעמקא דני סדיא לקובלי כדרלנעומר...[ומלכיא] די עמה ואתבר מלך סודם וערק

ומלך עומרם

33 נפל בעגיאין...מלך עילם כול נכסיא די סודם ודי

34 וזשבו לוט בר אהוי

1QapGen, Column 22

1 די אברם די הוא יתב בסודם כחדא עמהון וכול נכסוהי ואתה חד מן רעה

2 ענה די יהב אברם ללוט די פלט מן שביא על אברם ואברם באדין הוא

3 יתב בחברון וחוייה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל ודי

4 נגדו מלכיא ארחא חלתא רבתא למדינתון ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין ואזלין

5 למדינות דרמשק ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי ואתחלם אברם וקם

6 ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא ותמניאת עשר וערנם

7 ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה והוא רדף בתרהון עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון

8 שרין בבקעת דן ורמה עליהון בליליא מן ארבע רוחיהון והווא קטל

34 אליעזר בר ז'ן...זרתני ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן להך די יפוק...

1QEnGiants^a (1Q23)

Fragment 1

- 1 חמ'ין מאתין ערדין
- 2 ען מאתין תישין מאתונן
- 3 ברא מן צל'חיה...נ...
- 4 על עו'ג...נ...

Fragment 2

- 1 ...זאנון נ...
- 2 ...זאין נ...

Fragment 3

- 1 מנה...
- 2 ...והוית...
- 3 ...ושחיות...

Fragment 4

- 1 ...
- 2 זתקרנב...
- 3 ...

Fragment 7

...וארזי... 1

... 2

Fragment 9

...זרבו... 1

... 2

...גברין... 3

... 4

Fragment 11

...קם... 1

...גבורין... 2

Fragment 13

...נלזארבנע... 1

...נעזתק נהרוא... 2

...אזלו... 3

Fragment 14

... 1

...זידעו... 2

...בארנח... 3

...זיטלו לנ... 4

... 5

Fragment 15

- ... 1
- ... 2 [שגיא...
- ... 3 [כזל די נ...

Fragment 16

- 1 גוח נ...
- 2 ואי נ...
- 3 ...

Fragment 17

- 1 ועלו נ...
- 2 בידוחון נ...
- 3 ושרו נ...

Fragment 18

- ... 1
- 2 צאברת...

Fragment 20

- 2 אבוהון באדין...
- 3 ...עלמן...
- 4 ...וכל בני...
- 5 ...

Fragment 21

... 1

... 2 תמכין בכל די נ...

... 3

Fragment 22

... 1

... 2 אלזפין מן נ...

... 3 באדין נ...

Fragment 23

... 1 זמן נ...

... 2

Fragment 26

... 1 זמן נ...

... 2

Fragment 27

... 1 זאלן נ...

... 2 מהוי נ...

... 3 זבין נ...

... 4 זעד נ...

... 5 זכין נ...

Fragment 28

...זברה... 1

Fragment 29

... אהוא... 1

... לא שיצו... 2

Fragment 30

... שרה... 1

... בין... 2

1QEnGiants^b (1Q24)**Fragment 1**

... ור"ח... 1

... ובחשן... 2

... ולנהון... 3

... ולחבריא... 4

... ולכול... 5

... 6

... ולברקא... 7

... 8

Fragment 2

... 1

2 על ארנח...

... 3

Fragment 3

... 1

2 ...זשוכיא...

3 ...וזלכול 00נ...

Fragment 5

... 1-2

3 ... רוהון ולכול נ...

4 ... ולמטרא ולטלנא...

5 וזלכוזלו...

Fragment 6

1 ... לכל נ...

... 2

Fragment 7

1 ...זים לקץ נ...

2 כלא גמורנות...

3 עלוהון די נ...

Fragment 8

... 1

2 ... לא שלם לכוּן נ...

A.2 Cave Two Texts

2QNJ (2Q24)

Fragment 1

... 1

...בזחמשין דן... 2

...ושבק נסזחור סחנור 3

...אזכדן אהזיני...זכול משחת 4

...ארבעין ותרתין 5

Fragment 2

...זר אמין... 1

...זה לו... 2

Fragment 3

...חדן...סו... 1

...זמשח עד תרע ספירא... 2

...פתזרא די קודמוהי לזמרא... 3

...זכתול תנ... 4

Fragment 4

...בשרהון נ... 1

...לקורבן רעהנ... 2

...ויזעלון להיכלון... 3

- 4 תמנא סאין סולותא ...
- 5 ויטלון לחמא נ... ..
- לקדמין על מדובחא ...
- 7 סדרין על פתנורא ...
- 8 תרי סדרי לחמא ...
- 9 לחמא ויסבון לחמנא מן ...
- 10 מערבה ויתפלגון ...
- 11 וחזית עד ד' סלנ... ..
- 12 רושמתא כן... ..
- 13 שביאנו דזי בהון וארבעת עשר כהונין ...
- 14 כהניא vacat תרתי לחמא די הינ... ..
- 15 הוית עד חדא מן תרתי לחמא יהיבת נ... ..
- 16 עמה vacat ואחריתאנו יזהיבת לתנינה די קאם פנבד נ... ..
- 17 vacat חזי הוית עד די יהיב לכול... ..
- 18 זל ד' איל ען חד לכול גבר וגברו... ..
- 19 זעד עדי די יתבו נ... ..
- 20 חזד בכול נ... ..
- 21 ...

Fragment 5

- 1 זמלמנ... ..
- 2 ופנותיה משחא חדאנו... ..
- 3 זזה מן כאן... ..
- 4 ז מן דן
- 5 קורון מדבחזא

6...מזא ופּוּתִיָּה

7...לְכַנּוֹל

8...רִזְוֹחַ נְ

Fragment 7

1

1...וּפּוּתִיָּהוֹן מִן כְּאֹן ...

2 [... וְכֹל מִדְּבַחַא נְ ...]

Fragment 8

1 ...

2...עֲשֵׂרָא שׁוּרָא אַרְבֻּנְעָא ...

3 [... כֹּתְלֵיא אֲבָן חוּר ...]

4...זַה אַחַרְנֵיא מִן בְּרַ עֶשְׂרִינִי ...

5...עֲדָן... וְלֵהִינן מִכְּפָרִין בַּה עֲלוּנְהִי ...

6... וְלֵא יִתְכַלָּא עוֹד כּוֹל יוֹסִם וְיוֹסִם נְ ...

7...זַעֲרֵתָא [... וְאַחֲזִינְנָא... אַחֲרֵינִי בְרַ מִן ...]

8 [... מֵאָה וְעֶשְׂרִינִי ...]

Fragment 9

1...לְעֵתְנִי ...

2...זַאֲשֵׁי כּוֹל נְ ...

3...זַנְ ...

Fragment 10

1 אלוהיני...

2 ...סני...

Fragment 11

1 ...תני...

2QEnGiants (2Q26)

Fragment 1

1 ...הדיחו לוחא לממו...

2 ... וסלקו מיא עלא מן [א...]

3 ... ונטלו לוחא מן מיא לוחא די [א...]

4 ...

A.3 Cave Four Texts

4QTargum to Leviticus (4Q156)

Fragment 1

- 1 גְּמוּרֵי...
- 2 ... חִפְנוּהֵנִי...
- 3 ... לַפְּזֹרְכָתָא וַיִּשׁוּהָ...
- 4 ... וְזִכְסָהּ עֲנָנָא...
- 5 ... וְזִלְא יִמּוּת וַיִּלְקַנְחוּ מִן...
- 6 ... עַל כְּסִיָּא וְקִדְם כְּסִיָּא לְמִדְנַחָא...
- 7 ... מִזֵּן דְּמָא בְּאַצְבָּעָתָהּ וַיִּכְסּוּ...

Fragment 2

- 1 ... עֲלוּהֵי...
- 2 ... קִרְנֵי מְנוּדֵי בִּתּוּלָא הָא...
- 3 ... שׁוֹבְעָה... וַיִּדְכְּנָה וַיִּקְדְּשָׁנָה... טַמְאוּתָהּ...
- 4 ... זְכוּנֵי... עַל בֵּית קִדְשָׁא... מִשְׁכַּן זְמַנָּא וְנִעַל
- 5 ... צְפִירָנָא חִיָּא וַיִּסְמַךְ אַהֲרֹן תְּנִירָתִין יְדוּהֵנִי עַל
- 6 ... צְפִירָנָא חִיָּא וַיִּיהוּדָא עֲלוּהֵי כָל...
- 7 ... לְכַנּוֹל חֲטָאֵיהֶוּן...

4QTargum to Job (4Q157)

Fragment 1

... 1

...עלוזה ענגנ נ... 2

...ביוזמי שנה נ... 3

... 4

... 5

Fragment 2

1 אנוכי...

2 האנש מאו...

3 ובמלאכוהי...

4 דבעפרא נ...

5 ומן בלי מניו...

6 ימוותון ולא בוחכמנה...

7 תבקה vacat הלא סכל יקוטל...

8 ואנה חזית דרשע מוועה ולטת לנ...

9 מפורקון אסע והתסס...

10 זלנ...

4QpapTobit^a (4Q196)**Fragment 1**

1 ... שורא די נינוה נ...

Fragment 2

1 ...מן בניא נינוה והחוי למלכנא...אנה קבנר אנון וזאחויית וכדי ידעת נדין ידע בי

- 2 ...למקטל דחלת וערקת ו...כול דניז הוה לי ולא שביק {פ} לי כל מנדנ...
- 3 ...לנוח חנה אנתתי וטוביה ברי ולא הוה יומין אנרבעין...
- 4 ...בנוזחי ואנון ערקו לטורי אררט ומלך ומולך אסרחדון...
- 5 ...אשלט לאחיקר בר ענאל אחי על כל שזאפנוזת...
- 6 ...שזלטן על נכול המרכלות מלכא ובעה אחיקר עלי
- 7 ...רב שקה ורב עזקן והמרכל
- 8 ...שזאפן קדם אסרחריב מלך אתור ואשלטה אסרחדון תנין לה ארי
- 9 בר אחי הוה ומן בית אבי ומן משפחתי וביומי אסרחדון נמלזכא כדי תבת
- 10 לביתי ואתבת לי חנה אנתתי וטוביה ברי וביום חג שבועיא הותז לוי
- 11 שרו טבה ורבעת לומאכול ואקרבו פתנוזרא לקודמי וחזית נפתניא די קרבו
- 12 עלוהי שגיאין ואמרוט לטוביה ברי ברי אזל דבר לכל מן נדי תזהשכח באחנינא
- 13 ...זברי אזל דבר ואתהייתה ויכל...עמי והא אנה...

Fragment 3

1 ...אתזחנק...

Fragment 4

1 ...לעזלם בעדנא...

Fragment 5

1 ...למעבד בי...

Fragment 6

1 ... בתרהון ולנא נחזי לכי בר נ...

- 2 ... ווסלקות לעלית בית...
- 3–4 ...
- 5 ... חוסד עוד בחיי ו...
- 6 ... לקובל ו...
- 7 ... זשמן קדישא וויקירא לכל עולמין וויברכוונד...
- 8 ... עזליך אנפי ועינינו נוטלת ואמר לאפטרותני מן עול...
- 9 ... זדע דני דכיה אנה בגרמי מן כל טמאת ו...
- 10 ... געלת שנמי... אבזי בכל ארעת שבינא נחידא אנה ו...
- 11 ... זבר לה אחרן די ירתננה וזאח לה וקר״ב לוא...
- 12 ... נפשי לבר דני אהזה לה אנתה כבר אבודן מני שבעות...
- 13 ... זל...

Fragment 7

- 1 ... לאוסיא חנוריא...
- 2 ... נהרות שנמיא...
- 3 ... זל...

Fragment 8

- 1 ... מוזת ולמא לא ו...
- 2 ... עזל כספא ו...

Fragment 9

- 1 ... וזביומן ו...
- 2 ... לזמחטא ולמשטה ו...
- 3 ... זד שקר ו...

Fragment 10

1 ...לִידָךְ בְּרִי הוּי עֹבֵד...

Fragment 11

1 ...אֱלֹהֶיךָ...

2 ...פִּקְדוֹתַי לִי אֵעֲבֹד...

Fragment 12

1 ... קִרְאֵנִי...

2 ... מֵהַיּוֹמָן...

Fragment 13

1 ...וְאָכַל וְאָף לְאֹרְחָא שׁוּהַ מְלוּיַחַה שְׁאַרְזִיתִיָּא אֲנֹלֵו...

2 ...שׁוֹאֵל עוֹלִימָא לְמִלְנָאכְא *vacat* (עֲזַרְיָה) אַחִי אֲמֹר...

3 ...בִּזְלִבְבִי נוֹנָא וְכִבְדָּה עֲלוּהִי...1...ן...

4 ...זִלְנָא יִסְחָרוּ...

5 ...זִלְנָו...

Fragment 14, Column 1

1 וְחִכְדֵי נְתוּבֵי מִן...

2-3 ...

4 ...דִּי רְנוּחֵם לָהּ

5 שׁוֹד קֵטֵל לְהוֹן

6 ...חִזִּי אֲבִי וְאֲמִי

- 7 ...די יקבר
- 8 ...לפקודי אַבּוּךְ די פּקדן
- 9 וכען שמע לי אחי אל
- 10 בלטיא דן
- 11 סזב מן לבב
- 12 ...ויריח שדא וינערק
- 13 ...

Fragment 14, Column 2

- 4 שגיא רחמה...
- 5 עזריה אחוני...
- 6 והנשכחו לרעואל יתב קנדס... דרונה...
- 7 להון לשלם אתיותון ועלנו בשלם...
- 8 כמה דנמה... ושאלנו...
- 9 ואמרנו... די שבילון...
- 10 דט ידען אנחונא...
- 11 אבי הוא ושור...
- 12-13 ...

Fragment 16

- 1 ...עמוך ונתן לה אגרה...

Fragment 18

- 1 ...שוריזכי וכל ממגריין...
- 2 ...חדי ובועי בבני...

- 3 ... כול רחמיכי וטובינא ...
- 4 ... על נכל מכתשיכי דני ...
- 5 ... למלכא רבא דני ...
- 6 ... שאריותא מן זרעי לנחזה ...
- 7 ... וספיר תתבנין ...
- 8 ... דזהב תתבנין ועעניתא ...
- 9 ... וקין ובאבן די ין ...
- 10 ... קמולולו להלוליה ...
- 11 ... עלמיא דביכי יברכון שומה ...
- 12 ... טוזבי ומית בשלם בור ...
- 13 ... שנין חמשין ותמונה ...
- 14 ... עזינהי חי בטב ובכול ...
- 15 ... יחזהו ולהודיה רבנותה ...
- 16 ... ושבעות בנוהי ובקדה ואמור ...

Fragment 19

- 1 ... אברהם בתו ...
- 2 ... רחמי נ ...
- 3 ... אל ...

Fragment 20

- 1 ...
- 2 ... זלחון כנ ...
- 3 ... סוכו ...
- 4 ... איברו ...

...זל... 5

Fragment 25

...זל קוס... 1

...זל בשר... 2

Fragment 26

...זל ארענא... 1

Fragment 27

...זל מייא... 1

...זל כואל... 2

Fragment 29

... 1

...זל די יפלג... 2

Fragment 31

...זל ברא לענ... 1

Fragment 32

...זל מייא... 1

Fragment 33

... 1

...א עד דנ... 1

Fragment 34

...י למר נ... 1

...על נ... 2

Fragment 39

...לה תתנו... 1

Fragment 40

...שגיא נ... 1

Fragment 43

...בריק נ... 1

Fragment 44

...בחר נ... 1

4QTobit^b (4Q197)

Fragment 1

- 1 ...מִן דִּי לְמִנְחָזָה...
- 2 ...חֲסִדִּין מִן חֲדָה נ...
- 3 ...בְּאִיזְשָׁא קִטְל נ...

Fragment 2

- 1 ...חֲזִי מִסְכָּנָא נ...
- 2 ...לְלַחֲוֹן נ...

Fragment 3

- 1 ...צִרְיִךְ לְךָ נ...
- 2 ...לְמַנְדַּע נ...
- 3 ...אֵנָה עֲזָרְיָה...
- 4 ...וְאָמַר לָהּ...
- 5 ...לְמַנְדַּע בְּקִנְשֵׁטָא...

Fragment 4, Column 1

- 1 ... אֵל יִדְבַק וּבְכִסְיָא בְּרִי וְכָאנָא...
- 2 ...וְאָמַר לָהּ אֵל תְּדַחֲלִי בְּשֵׁלֶם יְהִךְ בְּרִי
- 3 ...בְּשֵׁלֶם אֵל תְּדַחֲלִי וְאֵל תְּצַפִּי לָהּ אַחֲרָי
- 4 ... אֵהּ אֲרוּחָה וְשִׁתְּקִיָּה עוֹד וְלֹא בִכְתָּ *vacat*
- 5 ומֵלֵאזְכָּא עִמָּה וְנִהְיִךְ נְכֻלְבָּא וְאִזְלוּ כְּחֲדָא וְסִדְרָא לְהוֹן

- 6 ... עזד דקלת ונחת עלימנא... נוין חד רב מן
- 7 ... למבזלע רגל עלימנא נאזתקף נונא וגבר עלימא
- 8 ... ואנפוקה ליבשא ואומר... ופרוקהי ואנפק... וולבבה...
- 9 ... בזידך ומעוהונו... וולבבה וכבדה ופרק...
- 10 ולבבה נכבדה... ונאכל ואכל ואף נ...
- 11 שאריתא אזלין תריהונון וכחדא... קורבו לזון למדי vacat נ...
- 12 ואזמר לה עזריה אחי מה סם בלבב נונא ובכבדה...
- 13 תזאתנה קדם גבר או אנתא נגיעי שד או רוח נ...
- 14 יסחרון סחרתהונון לעלם ומררתא למכחל עינני...
- 15 אחריא וזון וכנדזי עלו לגו מדי וכבר הוא מנדבק...
- 16 לעלימנא טונובבה אחי ואמר... ליה הא אנה ואמר לה אבית נ...
- 17 וגברא מן בית אבונא הוא ואיתי לה ברא שפירה נ...
- 18 ואיתי לה להונון שרה בזלחודיטה ואנתה קוריטב לה נ...
- 19 אלך לנאנתא וזדינא לנד...

Fragment 4, Column 2

- 1 ... ותקיפוא ושפירא לחדא ואבוה רחס נ...
- 2 ולזך נ... לזאבוהא ועליך דין קשטא גזר למנסבה...
- 3 ... זתמלל בלנמזתא דא בליליא דן תקימנה ותסבנה לך לאנתנה...
- 4 ... זמשתותא וידע אנה די לא יכול רעואל למכליה מןך בדיל די הוא ידע נ...
- 5 ... זלמסב ברתה מן כל אנשו... והוא ידע די הן ינתננה לגבר
- 6 ... זמושע וכען... ובעלימנא דא ליליא דן ונקימנה
- 7 ... לרפאל עזריה אחי שמעת
- 8 ... בזדי עללאין עליה הו
- 9 ... דחל אנה נמן שדא די

- 10 ...לאזבי ולאמי
- 11 ...אזחון לא
- 12 ...זדי פקדן
- 13 ...שזא דן וסבא
- 14 ...
- 15 ...
- 16 ...עזמה עזר...
- 17 ...ואזל תדחל...ולזן היא חליקא ולך נ...
- 18 ...זרשזבנה...וזמדמה אנה די להון לך...וולזחון
- 19 ...שזמע טוביה מלי רפאול...לזה אחא ומן

Fragment 4, Column 3

- 1 ...שזגיא רחמה ולבה <דבק> בה נלחדזא וכדי עלו לגוא אהמנותא...
- 2 לזה טוביה עזוריה...דזברני קשיטא לבית רעואל אחונא ודברה ואזלנו...
- 3 רעואל ואשכחנו לזרעואל יתב קדם תרע דראתה ושאלו שלמה לקדמין ואמר להון
- 4 לשלם אתיתון ועלו בשלום אחי ואעל אנון לביתה ואמר לעדנא אנתתה כמא
- 5 דמה עלימא דן לטובי בר דדי ושאלת אנון עדנא ואמרת להון מנאן אנתון אחי
- 6 ואמרו לה מן בני נפתלי...שבין בנינה ואמרא להון ידעון אנתון לטובי אחונא
- 7 ואמרין לה די ידעין אנונזא לה השלם הוא זאמרו לה שלום ואמזר נטוביה
- 8 די אבי הוא ושור רעואל נשקה ובכנה...
- 9 טבא עלניד...גברא קשיטוא...
- 10 צור טוביה...
- 11 דכר די ען טבוח...
- 12 למאכל ולמשתה...
- 13 אהתי ושמע...

Fragment 5

- 1... לרחמיִן ולחִדוֹהּ נ... 1
- 2... דזִי יטמוֹן... 2
- 3... תִּרְנִין... 3
- 4–5... 4–5
- 6... אובִּיל עמֵךְ לבֵּית אִבוֹךְ... 6
- 7... בְּרִי אֵנָה אִבוֹךְ ועֵדנָא אִנְמֵךְ... 7
- 8... תִּדְחַל בְּרִי *vacat* נ... 8
- 9... לִזְה עֲזַרְיָה אַחֵי דְבַר עֵמֵךְ מִן תְּנָא אִרְנֵבַעַת... 9
- 10... וְזִתְאֵתָה בִּי-ת־ גְּבִנְאֵל וְהֵב לָהּ כְּתָב נ... 10
- 11... לְהִנְה... יִזְמִיא וְחָן נ... 11
- 12... מְזִמְתָּת... 12

Fragment 6

- 1... וְזִכְדֵּי מְפִיגְן נ... 1
- 2... 2

Fragment 7

- 1... כְּלִהוֹן... 1

4QTobit^c (4Q198)**Fragment 1**

- 1... צִדְקָה וְחוֹסֵף לְמִדְחַל לְאֵלֵהָא וְלֵהֲנוּדִיָּה... 1

- 2 ...בְּנוֹהֵי וּפְקֻדָּה וְאָמַר לְנֹחַ...
 3 ...אֱלֹהֵי דֵי מַלְלָה...
 4 ...גִּינֹנָה... מִזְלֹלוֹ...
 5 ...כֹּלָא יִתְעַבַּד לְזַמְנִיָּהוֹן...
 6 ...בְּכֹל דֵי אָמַר אֱלֹהֵימָא כְּלָא יִתְאַיִתְנָא...
 7 ...יִתְבִּין בְּאַרְעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּלִהְוֹן...
 8 ...וּזְשָׂרָאֵל צְוִיָּה וְשְׁמוֹרִין...
 9 ...עֲדָנָא דֵי יִתִּיב בְּנֹרְחַמִּין...
 10 ...וְזִלְאָ כְּקִדְוֹסִין... עֲדָנָא...
 11 ...לִירוּשָׁלַם בִּינְקָר...
 12 ...מַלְלוֹ נְבִיאָנִי...
 13 ...וִירְמוֹן כָּל אֵלִילִיָּהוֹן...
 ... 14

Fragment 2

- 1 לא נ...
 2 אנפין לנה...
 3 ו...לְקֹ אֲנִי...
 4 נפל לִפְחֵי נ...
 ... 5

4QTobit^d (4QTobit^d)

Fragment 1

- 1 ...טוֹבִיָּה דֵי לֹא אֲכֹל תֵּנָא וְלֹא...

... 2

Fragment 2

1... עזבדי נדן נ... 1

4QEnoch^a (4Q201)**Column 1**

1... חנך לבחנירין... 1

2... מתלוהני ואמר נ... 2

3... ומן מלי נעירין וקדישין כלהון... 3

4... להדן זרה להן לדור רחיק אנה אמנל... 4

5... ינפק קדישנה רבה מן... 5

6... רבה ויפיע בותקין גבורותה... 6

7... קצות ארעה וניזעון כל קצות... 7

8... זמן וי... 8

9-15 ...

Column 2

1... ולא... בסורכן חנוז לארעה ואנתבוננו בעבדה... 1

2... לאחורנה דמונדנעם... לאשניה וכל מתחנזא ולכן חזו לדגלי 2

3... עליה ובדגלי שתוא דוכלו ארעא 3

4... ועננה נמטורא שפכין חזו דכל אילונייה כלהן מיבישין 4

5... זמן... ועליהן מתקימין... 5

6 עד דתרתין ותלת נשנין יעברון חזו לכן לדגלי 6

- 7 ... כוּזַה וּשְׁלָקָה וְאַנְתָּן נִטְלָל וּמִסְתַּרִּין בְּעֵין מִן קַדְמִיָּה
- 8 ... וְלִמְדוּךְ עַל עֲפֹרָהּ וְעַל כַּפִּיהָ לֹא תִשְׁכַּח מִן
- 9 ... אִיזְלַנְיָה כְּלָהּן... בַּהֲן לְרוֹקֵן וְחִפִּין
- 10 ... לַהֲדוּר תִּשְׁנַבַּח... וְאַתּוֹבוֹנְנוּ בְּכָל עֲבָדִיָּה נְאֻלֹּנִין
- 11 ... וְהוּא לְעֵלְמָס... כָּל עֲבָדִיָּה אֵלֶיךָ שְׁנָה
- 12 ... וְכֹלְהֵן עֲבָדִין מִמֶּרָה וְאַנְתָּן שְׁנִיתִן עֲבָדֶיךָ
- 13 ... וְתַעֲבֹרוּן עֲלוּהֵי רַבְרָב וְקִשְׁיִן בְּיוֹם טְמִיתֶיךָ
- 14 ... לְבַבְךָ לֵה שְׁלֵם לְךָ אֲדִין יוֹמִיֶכָן תְּלוֹטוּ... וְשִׁנִּי
- 15 וְשִׁנִּי אֲבָדְנֶיךָ יִסְגִּין בְּלוֹט... וְרַחֲמִיִן
- 16 ... שְׁמַהֲתַכֹּן עֲלֵם לְוֹכֵל...
- 17 ... וְלִכְלָנוּ...
- ... 18-27

Column 3

- 1 וְאִמְרוּ לָהּ כְּלָהּן...1...
- 2 נְתוּב כְּלָנָה מִן מַלְכָּה דְּנִין...
- 3 כְּלָהּן כַּחֲדָה וְאַחֲרָמוּ...
- 4 בְּיוֹמֵי יָרֵד עַל נ...
- 5 דִּי יָמוּ וְאַחֲרָנוּ... בְּוָהּ וְאַלִּין vacat נ...
- 6 שְׁמִיחָזָה... תִּנְיִן לָהּ רַמְטָנְאֵל...
- 7 לָהּ כּוֹכְבָאֵנְל... וְחַמְזִישִׁי לָהּ רַעַמְ אֵנְל...
- 8 דְּנִיָּאֵל שְׁבִינְעִי... תְּמִינִי לָהּ בְּרַקְאֵל תְּשִׁיעִי...
- 9 עֲסָאֵל עֲסִירִי... וְחַדְעֵסְרָא לָהּ מֵטֵר אֵל תְּרִיעֵסְר...
- 10 עֲנַנְאֵל תְּלַתַּת עֲסֵר... וְאַרְבַּעַת אַעֲאֵסֵר לָהּ שְׁמִשְׁנַאֵל...
- 11 וְחַמְשַׁת עֲסֵר לָהּ שְׁהַרִּיאֵל וְשִׁתֵּת עֲסֵר לָהּ וְתַמְזִיאֵל שְׁבַעַת וְעֵסֵר...

Column 5

- ... 1-2
 ... קזשטנה...זלנצולה... 3
 ...עד...נומנה...עלזמניסה vacat... 4
 ... אמזר אונזל...זלנ... 5
 ... 6-27

Column 6

- ... יתקזשטון ת... 3
 ... ותנתרמיני... 4
 ... אשזגר אנה... 5
 ... ובאדין אנפתח... 6
 ... 7-27

4QEnoch^b (4Q202)**Column 2**

- ... יזמי... 1
 ... והוא כדני... 2
 ... שפירן ת... 3
 ... ואתמנוללו... 4
 ... 5
 ... ואמרו... 6
 ... נמנא...מזלכא דון... 7
 ... נעבד... 8

- ... 9-14
- 15 ... ארבעת עשרוֹ לֶה... וחמשת עשרי...
- 16 ... תמאל שבנות עשרי... קמאל נ...
- 17 ... תשעת עשרי לה יהדינאל עשרוֹ... אלן נ...
- 18 ... נשין מן כול... זשריו נ...
- 19 ... לחרשֹתא ולכושפתא...
- ... 20
- 21 ... כידותנהון... הוואֹ אכלין...
- ... 22-23
- 24 ... ורזחשינא...
- 25 ... שתניא דמוא... מואֹ בה מתעבד vacat נ...
- 26 ... עשאולו אנלף... ולמעבד חרבן די פרזל ושרנינן... נחוש...
- 27 ... להון מא יתחפרו... ויעבדון דנהבאֹ ולמעבדהא מֹכונא ועלא כספא למעבדהא
לצמידין נ...
- 28 ... הוואֹ על vacat כחלא ועל צדינדא...
- ... 29

Column 3

- 1 ... והוואֹ פחוני... שמיחזֶהֶ אלף...
- 2 ... אלף חרש למֹשרא... אלף...
- 3 ... אלף נחשי כוכבין...
- 4 ... ארעֹתקפ אלף נחשין ארנעא...
- 5 ... וכולהון שרין לגליה...
- 6 ... ארעא וקלא...
- 7 ... מיכאל ושריאולו... ווגברִינאל...

- 8 ...שפיזך ועזל...
- 9 ...
- 10 בחרבוֹת בְּנִיזָא ארנעא סלקיִן עד תרעני...
- 11 ...קבולִן ננפשת...
- 12 ...
- 13 ...ומינכאל...
- 14 ...מְרנא רבא נהוזא מרא עלמא...
- 15 כורסאֵ יקרך לכלא לְדר דריא די מן עלמנא...
- 16-28 ...

Column 4

- 1-4 ...
- 5 ...עוליתנא...מרזיא אזל...
- 6 בנטי עיריא נ...ובקרב אבדן...
- 7 ...חיני...
- 8 ...וואודנע...
- 9 נלשמוניחזא ולכנול תברוהי די אתחברו...
- 10 יבדון בניהון ויהנזון...שבעין...
- 11 ארעא עד יומא רבא...
- 12-28 ...

Column 6

- 1-5 ...
- 6 ...תתזבון ונ...
- 7 ...דין גזיר...

...לאבדֹנא... 8

...בניִהוֹן... 9

...תְּקוּדֵמִיכֹן...עֵל... 10

... 11-28

4QEnGiants^a (4Q203)

Fragment 1

1 אכדי קוּם... 1

2 ברקאל... 2

3 אנפי עוד... 3

4 אנה קאם... 4

Fragment 2

1 עליהוֹן... 1

... 2

3 וענִזָּה מהוּני... 3

Fragment 3

... 1

2 חברוהוּני... 2

3 חובבש ואדכו... 3

4 ומה תתנוני לקוטלה... 4

Fragment 4

1 בְּהוֹן נ... ..

... 2

3 אַמַר אֹהֵיָה לְהַנְהִיחַ] נ... ..

4 מִן עֲלוּי אֲרַעָא וְנ... ..

5 אַרְזַעָא כְּנַדִּי... ..

6 אֲשׁוּי וְכַבְרִי לְקוֹנְדִּם... ..

... 7

Fragment 5

... 1

2 חֲמַס אַנְוַשָּׂא... ..

3 קַזְטִילוֹ נ... ..

Fragment 7**Column 1**

... 1–2

3 וְתוֹקְפִנְכֹה... ..

... 4

5 וְלֹאָ עֲנִי אֲדִיִּי... לְהַהֲיִתָּה אֹהֵיָה... בְּאֲדִינִי... ..

6 עֲזִירִיךְ נְבִי... לְזַה וְעַבְדִּי לְעֲזָאֲנֹזֵל נְאֻלָּה לְנָא... ..

7 לְכֹתָה וְתִקִּיף עַגְנָנָא לְהַ חְבִיבִיָּהוּן כּוֹל יִתְנַשּׁוּן וְלֹחָא גְבִרִיא... ..

Column 2

... 1-4

5 לכה מהנוי...

6 לתרי לוחיא ...1

7 ותנינא קן לא קר'י נ...

... 8

Fragment 8

1 ספור ...

2 vacat ...1

3 פרשגן לוחא ותנינא די איגרתא...

4 בוכתב יד חנוך ספר פרשא נ...

5 וקדישא לשמינחזה... ולכול חבורה...

6 ידיע להוא לכונ...

7 ועובדזכון ...1

8 אנון נובניחון ונשיא דני...

9 בזנתוכון בנארעא והוה ועליכון...

10 וקבלה עליכון ועל עובד בניכון...

11 חבלא די חבלתון בה vacat ...1

12 עד רפאל מטה ארו אבנדזנא...

13 ודי במדבריא ונדי בימא ופשר צבורא...

14 עליכון לבאיש וכען שרוא אסורכון מחנבל...

15 וצלו vacat ...1

Fragment 9

- 1 ... וְכֹל נ...
- 2 ... עֲלֵיךְ מִן קוּדֵם הַדָּר יִקְרָךְ...
- 3 ... יִקְרָךְ דִּי כֹל רִזִּיא יִדְנַע...
- 4 ... וְכֹל צְבֹר לֹא תִקְפְּתִכָּה נ...
- 5 ... קוּדְמִיכָה vacat וְכַעַן נ...
- 6 ... מְלֻכּוֹת רַבּוֹתִיכָה לְשׁוּנֵי...
- 7 ...
- 8 ...

Fragment 10

- 1 ... וְכַעַן מֵרֵאשִׁי...
- 2 ... שְׂגִיט וְנ...
- 3 ... תִּצְבֹּא וְכֵן...
- 4 ...

Fragment 11

- 1 ...
- 2 ... וְטֵלָא וְזִכְרָא...

Fragment 13

- 1 ... וְשׁוּי מִן נְקוּדוֹם...
- 2 ... בַּאדְוִין אִמַר לֵה נ...
- 3 ... זֵאִיתִי לְכָה שְׁוֹלֵם...
- 4 ... לְמַהוּהָ נ...

4QEnoch^c (4Q204)

Fragment 1, Column 1

- 15 ... רבוזאת קדישוהי...
- 16 עובדי בשרא על...
- 17 ר'בוֹרְבִן נוקשִׁין...
- 18 לנכונן שְׁמִיא לעובד...
- 19 במסורת... נהזריהונן כולהונן די...
- 20 לכון חזוא... ואתבוננא לנארעא בעעִבְדוּה...
- 21 ... לכאִין מתחזא לִסְוּ...
- 22 ... די כול...
- 23 ...
- 24 מן עליהון... ארבעת ברא די
- 25 ... דתרתין ודתלת שנין
- 26 ... בְּהוֹן כִּייה ושלקה נ...
- 27 ... כִּיִּתְאָ וּלְמִדְרָךְ נ...
- 28 ... בכוז אילניא כולהון נ...
- 29 ... תשבחה נ...
- 30 ... די לכל עלם נ...

Fragment 1, Column 2

- 24 ואלון... שמוחזת נ...
- 25 כוכבאל רביעי... לה תליתִי לה *vacat* נ...
- 26 דזניאל שביעי... זיקיאל תמיני...
- 27 וחרמני חדן עשר לה מטרנאל... עֲנָנָל לה תלתת אשר לה *vacat* נ...

28 ... שמשניאל... [שהריאל שתת עשור] לנה...

... 29–30

Fragment 1, Column 5

1 ... ולעיקא ... עלמא די וכול חרויר

2 ... אובקון... אדין יאבדון לכול

3 ... ואברת עולה מן ...

4 ... נצבת קושטא ותהנא

5 ... קשיטין יפלטון ולהון ... אלפין וכול ימוני...

6 ... ושיבתכון בשלם ...

7 ... בקושטא וכולה תתנצב ברכה וכול אילנין ...

8 ... ותנצב ... בה

9 ... אלה

... 10-18

19 ... וארו ענירא

... 20-30

Fragment 1, Column 6

1 ... עום... תחנניהון על כול נפשתהון לכול חד וחד

2 ... אזל ... חרמונין די למנערבהון

3 ... ותחנניהון... נפלזו עד דני

4 לשכנני עיני לתרעי הניכל...

5 וחזית חזיון דרגוז אונכחה...

6 עליהון וכולהון כנישן כחנדזה ויתבן ואנבלק...

7 *vacat* ומללת קודמיהון כולו...

- 8 ...מזלי קושטא וחזיה ומוכח לעירי שנמיא ...
- 9 ספר מלי קושטא נ... ..
- 10 ...רבוא בחלמא די אנה
- 11 ...דזי יהנבו רבא לבוני... למלולה ...
- 12 ...מנדע חלק ועבד וברא לאנוכחה ...
- 13 ובחזיה לי אתחזית כלקובל די בועותכון ...
- 14 ובגזירינא עלטכון די עוד מן כנען ...
- 15 ...למאסרוכון עד כל יומי עולמא ...
- 16 בניהון ובקוניאניא די חביביןכון ...
- 17 אבדן כלקובל די בועותכון עלויהון ...
- 18 אנתון בעין ומתחוננין ...
- 19 מן כתבא די אנה כתבת ...
- 20 לי זעקין וזיקין ובורקין ...
- 21 לעלא ואובלוזני ואעלוזני ...
- 22 ...ולשנני נור סחרין סחור סחור ...
- 23 ...עד דזי דבקת לביא רנבא
- 24 ... תלג אנ...

Fragment 1, Column 8

- ... 1-26
- 27 כרסא אניתי
- 28 ותמן אשותיני
- 29 בה עמודני
- 30 מן דן נקרא ...

Fragment 1, Column 12

... 1-22

23 מְנַהוּן אַרְחֻקָּת

24 ... קְנִיָּא טַבִּיָּא דִּי בִשְׁמַא דִּי

25 ... קְזִינִים בִּשְׁמַא vacat וְלַהֲלֵא מִן נַחְלִיָּא

26 ... אַחְזִרְנִין וְאַףּ בְּחִן חֲזִיַּת אֵילָנִין דִּי נִפְקֵי

27 ... וְלַזְהֵלֵא מִן טוּרִיָּא אַלֵּן אַחְזִיַּת vacat טוּרֵי

28 ... וְכוּזֵל אֲוִילִנְטִיָּא ... וְהוּא דִּמְא לְקַלְפִּי לִוּז ...

29 ... בִּשְׁזֵם רִיחַ כְּדִי מִדְּקִין קְלִיפִּיָּא vacat אֵלֵּן

30 ... כְּזִצְפֻן מִדְּנַחְוִין אַחְזִיַּת טוּרִיָּין

Fragment 1, Column 13

... 1-22

23 תְּרַעִין פְּתוּיַחִין ...

24 ... חֲשַׁבְוִיָּהוּן בְּאַנְדִּין ...

25 מִן תַּמֵּן אֲוִבְלִת לְדִרוּם ...

26 לְרוּחַ דְּרֹמָא לְטַל וּמְטוּר ...

27 אַחְזִיַּת תְּרַעִין תְּלִנְתַּתְהוּן ...

28 ... שְׁוִמִּיָּא ...

... 29

30 בְּאַדִּין ...

Fragment 4

1 וְכוּזֵלְהוּוִין הוּוּא דְּנַחְלִין ...

Fragment 5, Column 2

... 1-16
17 ... נלל בימי קד אנבי
18 עזרנ... חטיקן ועבורק

... 1-19
20 ... וישמון כורל
21 ... ארעני ארעני
22 ... ארעני ורעני
23 ... לורל *vacat* כורל
... 24-25
26 ... שמח לערל
27 ... ארעני ורעני
28 ... חטיקן

Fragment 5, Column 1

2 ... הרעני בנעמן לא יכלון ארעני ארעני לוקסן לוקסן
3 ... בנעני ורעני לראש כורל ורעני שרעני
4 ... לרעני ורעני לא רעני ורעני ענא ענא ענא ענא
5 ... ורעני על ענא ורעני כורל
6 ... ורעני ורעני ורעני ורעני ורעני ורעני
7 ... ענא ענא ענא ענא ענא ענא ענא ענא
8 ... ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני
9 ... לרעני לרעני לרעני לרעני לרעני לרעני לרעני לרעני
10 ... ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני ארעני

- ... 19
- 20 נולחוא [ארעא ...] רבוא
- 21 ד' יליד נלכון יפולטון ארעא vacat ...]
- 22 וותתדזכא ארעא [חבלא נרבא vacat] בקשוטו...
- 23 נעליזמא [שמה ...]
- 24 גזפלט הואנ...
- 25 [הוא בלמונהי] תקיף
- 26 [ידע אנה ברזי קדישן אחויני זאחזיני]
- 27 שמיא קרית וחזית כתיב בהון די נדר מן דר יבאש בדכין ובאש להוא ...]
- 28 דרי קשוטוא ובאישתה ורשעה יסוף וחמסא יכלא מן ארעא דז וענד ...]
- 29 עליהון vacat וכען אזל נא ענד [למן נברזן ...]
- 30 די עלימא דן ברה הואה בקשוט ולא בכדבין ...]

4QEnoch^d (4Q205)

Fragment 1, Column 1

- 1 ...זותנזקון ביים דינא מן... מן תנה...
- 2 ...זאמרת להוה בריק דין קושטא... רבותא ...]
- 3 ...ומזן תמן אובלת לאתור... ואתחנזית...
- 4 [... ולא ישרי בדבורנה... כחדזה לבן
- 5 ...לא איתזל לה נכלו שנליא... דזגלה ונורא הוא
- 6 [... שנמיא... דזלוקו אשן בינתנהון ...]
- ... 7-30

Fragment 1, Column 2

- 1 ... לקוֹבֵּלָהּ די מְכוּן ...
- 2 ... לַמְצִיעַ אַנְרַעָא ...
- 3 ... וּנְבַקִּינן מִן תַּחֲוֹתֵיהּ נ ...
- 4 ... *vacat* ...
- 5 ... מְנָה וּבִינֵיהוּן חֵלָה עֲנֻמִּיקָה ...
- 6 ...
- 7 ... וּבִינֵיהוּן נ ...
- 8 ... וּתְנִמָּהֵת עוֹל טוֹרִיא ...
- 9 ... וּכּוֹלָנָה ...
- 10-30 ...

Fragment 2, Column 1

- ... 1-23
- 24 ... וְלִמְדֵבֵר אֶק
- 25 ... וְעֵרְדִין
- 26 ... חֲזִיטֵר אֲכֹם נוֹדִיכֵר די עַן
- 27 ... תְּרִי עֵשֶׂר *vacat* ...
- 28 ... מְנָהוּן לַעֲרֵדִיא וְעֵרְדִיא
- 29 ... לְנַחַד ... אַמְרִיא כּוֹלָהוּן
- 30 ...

Fragment 2, Column 2

- ... 1-26
- 27 ... חֲזֵד רֵאם וְנֵמְרָא ...
- 28 ... *vacat* ...

29 ...לקובל ענא וחזיה תקיף ורב ונדחיל...

30 ...מזחין...1...

Fragment 2, Column 3

... 1-26

27 ...בקרנוה'י נ...

28 ...חזירין שגיאין נ...

29 ...לדכרא די ענא...

30 ...בארנוח *vacat* נ...

4QEnoch^e (4Q206)

Fragment 2, Column 2

1 ... כל בני אנשא והא אלן אנון פחתיא לבית עגנון...

2 לכדן עבנדו עד יום די יתנדינן ועד זמן יום קצא דני...

3 ד'עא רבא די מנהון יתעבד *vacat* תמן חזית רוח...1.

4 אנש מת קבלה נוחאנינה ענדו שמיא סלק ומזעק וקבול...

5 ... לעירא וקדישא דני...

6 ... דמן היא דכון...

7 ... לי אנמר...

... 8-21

Fragment 3

... 1-2

3 ... חד נ...

- 4 ... אזולת באִתּוֹר ...
- 5 ... לַמְדַנְחָה פִּאוֹתָא ...
- 6 ... מַדְמוּעֵין ...
- 7-13 ...
- 14 ... בּוֹה ...
- 15 ... בַּאִלְוִנְיָא ...
- 16 ... מְדַקֵּק קְלִפּוּחֵי אֲנָוּן ... מן
- 17 ... אֵלֶן כְּלַצְפוֹן מַדְנַחְהוֹן נֶאֱחַזְזִיתְּ טוֹרִין אַחֲרֵינִי
- 18 ... וְנֹרְדֵי טַב וְצִפְרֵי וְקִרְדָּמִן וּפְלִפְלִין *vacat* וּמִן תַּמֵּן חוֹבֵלֵת
- 19 לַמְדַנְחָה כָּל טוֹרִיאַ אֵלֶן רְחוֹקֵי מְנַחֵן לַמְדַנְחָה אַרְעָא וְאַחֲלָפוֹת
- 20 ... מִן יִמְאָה שְׁמוּקָא וְאַרְחֻקָתָה שְׁגִיאַ מְנַחֵה וְאַעֲבֵרֵת עֲלוּנָה
- 21 מִן חֲשׂוּכָא רְחוֹקֵי מְנַחֵה וְאַחֲלָפֵת לִיד פְּרַדְסֵי קִשְׁטָא

Fragment 4

- 1 וְאַחֲזִיתְּ מִן ...
- 2 שְׁנִיךְ ...
- 3 וְשִׁפִּיר ...
- 4-9 ...
- 10 וְאַמְךָ רַבְתָּא וְיִנְדַע ...
- 11 דְּנִי עֲרִטְלִין ...
- 12-18 ...
- 19 ... עֲזִירִין וְאַחוּיִנִי ...
- 20 ... בַּהֲדוּמִיָּה לְמוֹזְמִיָּהוֹן ...
- 21 ... וְאַחֲזִיתְּ עֲבָדִין רַבְרַבִּין ...

Fragment 5, Column 1

- 1-10 ...מזן
- 11 ...סוכבז'א שגיאנ'א
- 12 ...לכלזחון ידן ורגלן ורמא
- 13 ... ארבוזעתא על על חד מן תוריא
- 14 ... ועבז'ד לה ערב חדה ויתב בגוה
- 15 ... עמה לערבא וערבא חפית וכסית
- 16 ... חז'ה והא מרזבין שבעה שפכין
- 17 ... ו'ה'א חדרין פתיחו ב'גוא ארעא ושר'ן
- 18 ... וז'אנה ה'וית חזה עד א'רעא חפית מן
- 19 ... ק'אמין עליה ותוריא שקעין וטבעין
- 20 ... וערבה פרחא עלא מן מיא וכל תוריא
- 21 ... ופיליא ירו מ'ינון *vacat*

Fragment 5, Column 2

- 1 ...בחלזמי עד מ'נרזביא...
- 2 ... ח'דריא שכירו ו...
- 3 ונחתין בגוהון עד ס'פנו...
- 4 תקנת ועל א'רעא נ...
- 5-10 ...
- 11 לאלן נ...
- 12 ועגל'א נ...
- 13 ז'ז עון...
- 14 א'מוריין תורי...
- 15 וערדיא יהנבו...

- 16 ודבר דכרא לנ...
 17 לות דבליא והותשגאו...
 18 שריו למלחץ לענא...
 19 גזשקע מין נ...
 20 אמר נתנר...
 21 תקיפולת עד נחת נ...

Fragment 5, Column 3

- ... 1-12
 14 דבליא רדפין לענא...
 15 חזמיא חפו עליהון תענא...
 16 צדיותא אתר נ...
 17 ועיניהון התפתנחו...
 18 להון ויהב לנהון...
 19 סזלק לרנאש כף חד רם ונמרא...
 20 קמוז מן נ...
 ... 21

4QEnoch^f (4Q207)

Fragment 3

- 1 ... כוכב נ...
 2 ... ביניהון הא באדין חזינת...
 3 ... ודיריהון נועגלניז'הון...
 4 ... והא סוכבין שג'נאן...

...תזריא נ... 5

4QEnastr^a (4Q208) ²

Fragment 15

1 ...ופלג ובלילא נ...

2 ...ובציר מן נהורה לשנביעין...

3 ...תרזעא תליתיא ואגירנ...

4 ...זוקוי בימימה דון...

5 ...זשאר יממנא...

6 ...בזה כסנה...

4QEnastr^b (4Q209)

Fragments 1 and 2

1 ...ובזאדן ערנב...

2 ...נהור שביעין תלתנה ופלג נ...

3 ...זבלילא נשבזעה נבזה שביעין תלתה ופלג נ...

4 ...זיממא דן שביעין ארבעה ושיי בה נ...

5 ...vacat ואגיר בלילא תמניה בה שבעין נ...

6 ...שביזעין ארבעה ופלג ושיי בה נהור נ...

7 ...זואגיר בלילא תשעה בה שביעין נ...

8 ...זדן שביעין חמשה נ...

²It should here be noted that only fragment 15 of 4QEnastr^a is included here because, when the Enochic literature was processed in 2000, we did not have access to the work of García Martínez and Tigchelaar in DJD36. The base transcription of this fragment was corrected against PAM 43.210.

- 1... וְאֵלֶּיךָ בִּלְבָב רִמְיָהוּ נִזְכָּר
- 2... חֲמִשָּׁה וּפְלֵג נִזְכָּר
- 3... חֲמִשָּׁה וּבְרִית נִזְכָּר
- 4... שְׁבַע וְרִבְעִים וְרִבְעִים נִזְכָּר
- 5... חֲמִשָּׁה חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 6... נִזְכָּר וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 7... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר

Fragment 5

- 1... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 2... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 3... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 4... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 5... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 6... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 7... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 8... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 9... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 10... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 11... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר

Fragment 3

- 9-10... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 12... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר
- 13... חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה וְשֵׁשׁ חֲמִשָּׁה נִזְכָּר

8... ובציר מנהורה שביעין נ...

9... ביממא דן שביעין...

Fragment 6

1... ופולג וקוי ביממא דן שביעין...

2... בה כסה שביעין שתנה... מנהורה...

3... דן שבעין שתה ופלג ובאדין ערב...

4... תמניה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין שתה ופלג ובציר מנהורה...

5... בשאר ליליא דן פלג שביעין חד וקוי ביממא דן כלה ובאדין ערב ועל נ...

6... דן כלה ולקוח כל שאר נהורה ונפק גלגלה ריקון מן כל נהור מטמר עם נ...

7...

Fragment 7, Column 2

1...

2... יממא דן שביעין

3... בזה כסה שביעין ארבעה ופלג נ...

4... ובאדין נפק ואניר בשאר ליליא דן שביעין תרין ופלג וקוי

5... ביממא דן שביעין חמשה ובאדין ערב ועל וכסה שאר יממא דן שביעין תרין *vacat*

6... ובלילא חמשה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה ובציר מנהורה שביעין חמשה

7... ובאדין נפק ואניר בשאר ליליא דן שביעין תרין וקוי ביממא דן שביעין חמשה

8... ובאדין ערב נוזל לתרעא תנינא וכסה שאר יממא דן שביעין חד ופלג *vacat*

9... ובלילא שתה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה ופלג ובציר מנהורה שביעין חמשה

10... ופלג ובאדין נפק מן תרעא תנינא ואניר בשאר ליליא דן שביעין חד ופלג וקוי

11... דן שביעין שתה ובאדין ערב ועל וכסה שאר יממא דן שביעין חד *vacat* ובלילא

12... בה כסה שביעין שתה ובציר מנהורה נ...

13 ... ליליא דן שביע חד וקוי ביממא דן ...

Fragment 7, Column 3

- 1 ... בזה ושׁבניעין ארְבַּעָה ובאדין ערב ועל בליליא דן אשְׁלֹמֹת...
- 2 שמשא למחך כל חרתיה די בתרעא קדמיא ומשרה למתב למתה ולמפק בחרתיה ...
- 3 ערב ועל וקבל שאר ליליא דן שביעין תלתה וקוי ביממא דן שביעין ארבעָה ...
- 4 נפק ושלט בשאר יממא דן שביעין תרין ופולוג *vacat* ואניר בלילא תשעה בנה ...
- 5 ארבעה ופלג ובאדין ערב ועל בליליא דן ... שמשא למתב ולמתא בחרתניה ...
- 6 בהון ובאדין ... ערב ועל לתורעא חמישיא וקבל שאר ליליא דן שביעין ...
- 7 ופלג וקוי ביממא דון שביעין חמשה ושוי בה נהורן שביעין חמשה שלם ...
- 8 מן תרעא נחמנישיא ...
- 9 ...
- 10 שביעין ...
- 11-13 ...

Fragment 23

- 1 ... ואבדן נחמנישין ...
- 2 ... שמיא שלמהון ופרשהון אחוזית ...
- 3 ... קדמיה וקרין לדרומא דרום בדיל לתמן דאר רבא ובה ...
- 4 דאר ... עלמא *vacat* ולרוחא רבא רוח מאמערבא בדי תמן
- 5 ... כוכבי שמיא מאין ערבין ומאין עללין וכלהון כוכבין ובדכן קרין מערבא
- 6 ... בדי בה צפנין ומתכנסין וסחרין כל ערבי שמיא ואזלין למדנחי לושמיא
- 7 ... מדנח בדי מן תמן דנחין מאני שמיא ואף מזרח בדי מאנין זרחין *vacat*
- 8 ... ארעא חד מנהון למדבר בה בני אנשא וחד מנהון ...
- 9 ... למדברין ולשבע... קושטא *vacat*

10... כזל... ונחית עליהון תלגע'נ...

Fragment 25

1 שניא לנ...

2 vacat [...]

3 חושבון אחרן אחזית לה די אזל נ...

4 זלנ...

Fragment 26

1 ...

2 ברתעא שתיתיא בנה...

3 ויזומין תרין ומחסר מן דבר שמשא'נ...

4 ב'ה כדמות חזו דמי כדי נהורה בה האחור...

5 קצת דמי חזוא דן כדמות אנש נחביממא מן נ...

6 בלחודהי וכען מחוה אנה לך ברל'נ...

7 חושבון נ...

Fragment 28

1 לזמעדיהון לחדשיהון לדגליהון נ...

2 וכשזלטנהון לכל מסרתהון נ...

3 זראשין נ...

4 מפרשין בינומין...

5 זאזלן שמה'ת נ...

4QEnatr^c (4Q210)

Fragment 1, Column 2

- 1 ותלתת די בתריהון על שמאל *vacat*
- 2 להין לרפיהא ארעא ולאחיתה *vacat*
- 3 ומיא וכל מה די בהן די רבין וצמחין ורחשון...
- 4 בתרעא קדמא נפקא רוח קדים די נ...
- 5 ובתרעא תנינא נפקא רוח קדים קדומה...
- 6 קדים גרבה די קריב לרוח גרעבי...
- 7 נפק לקדמין בתרעא קדמא נ...
- 8 די קרין לה נגבה טל נ...
- 9 וזבורה נפק רוחא נ...
- 10-13 ...
- 14 וחרבן ושלמו תרי עשר תרעי ארבע רוחי שמונא...
- 15 בדי הוא קדמא וקרין לדומא דרום בדני...
- 16 שמיא מאנאין ערבין ומנאן נ...
- 17 ומתכאנעסין וסחרין וכל ערבי נ...
- 18 די מאנאין דרחין ירחין בהשתלמותהון... ויוסם לאתחזיא נ...
- 19 *vacat* [... וחד מנחן נ...
- 20 ...

Fragment 1, Column 3

- 1-2 ...
- 3 [... בשמיא נ...
- 4 ... ומשלמין בכל ויוסם וזיוסא עד יום ארבעת עשר ומשלמין...
- 5 [... חמשת עשר ומשלמין בה כל נהורה נ...
- 6 ... ודבר ירחיא בפלגי שביעין *vacat*...

7 ... וביומא תנינא חד מן תלנות...

8 ...רבז'עיא חד מן חד נ...

9 ...

4QEnoch^a (4Q211)

Fragment 1, Column 1

1 ...

2 ...ומטר מחתיך ועל ארעא וזרע

3 ... עשב ארעא יעא ונפק ועל

4 ... ושתוא הוה ועלי כל אילניא

5 ...ארבעת עשר אילניך די לא חזה להון נ...

6 ... מתקימן

Fragment 1, Column 2

1 ...

2 דן מן משחתה נ...

3 מעשר תשיע חנד ...

4 ... תשיע חד וכוכבין נזחו בותרעין שמינא קדומיא...ונזפקו

5 ... ביומא קדמיא...מעשר...חד ותנינאא חד מן חמשת

6 עשר בשתיית חנד וזלתיא חנד מן תלתיך בשתיית חד *vacat*

7 ...

Fragment 1, Column 3

1-3 ...

4 ... ובאותה בימומא...

5 אָךְ...דן מן נ...תלת תשיע וְחַמְנִשְׁתּוּ...

6 ומעשר תשיע vacat נ...

7 ...

4QEn^s (4Q212)

Fragment 1, Column 1

1 ... מן נ...

Fragment 1, Column 2

1 ...

2... ותוֹתִיחַבְּ נ...

3 וְלָהּ תִּשְׁבַּחַהּ...

4 ותנוח ארנעא...

5 כל דרי עלמין...

6 ארחת קשטנא...

7 די תדעון מה ניתעבנד...

8 קושטא למהך בהון ו...

9...זל... אבד לסלף אבדנא נ...

10...כתב ויהב למתנושלח...

11 ותוכים אנושא ובחיןר) ○ ○ ○ נ...

12...ונוהי וזלדריא אחריא לכול יתבי...

13...תהון בְּהַשְׁתָּא אַתְנוּן...

14 ... יחב נ...

Fragment 1, Column 3

- 1 ...
- 2 ... בחזשוכא
- 3 ... מן יומא
- 4 דן... חזנד מתלה
- 5 אמר ועל... סלקו מן נצבת
- 6 יצבתא... בזני אנא הוא
- 7 חנד אחזית... ממר ○ ○ ○ וקדשין
- 8 אנה כלא ידעת ובלוחת שמיא אנה כלזא קרנית ואתבוננת ותנב
- 9 נסב חנד מתלה ואמר... שיע אנתילדת בשבוע
- 10 קדמי ועד עלי קשטא כבור הוה מתקים ומן בתרי יקום שבוע

Fragment 1, Column 4

- 1 ... בטועותא
- 2 ... בחירין... לזשהדי קשט מן נצבת
- 3 עזמא... די שבעה פועמיזן חכמה ומדע תתיהנב...
- 4 ולהון עקרין אשי חמסא ועבד שקרא בה למעבד...
- 5 ומן בתרה יקום שבוע תמיני קשוט דבה תתיהנב...
- 6 לכול קשיטין למעבד ○ ○ ○ דין קשוט מן כול רשיעין
- 7 ויתיהבון בידהון ועם סופה יקנון נכסין בקשוט
- 8 ויתבנא היכל... וזות רבא ברבות זזה לכול דרי עלמין
- 9 ומן בתרה שבוע תשעי וקשוט וזסנין... בהז יתגלא
- 10 לכול בני ארעא כלה וכול עבודי... יעברון מן כול
- 11 ארעא כולה וירמון לבור... כזלהון
- 12 לארח קשט עלמא ומן... דבשביטה

- 13 דין עלמא וקץ דינא רבא [...] ושמין
 14 קדמין בה יעברון ושמון [...] שמיא
 15 צהרזין ודנחין לכול עלמין... שזבעין שגי
 16 [...] איתי סוף לכול מונניהון... וקשטא יעבדון

Fragment 1, Column 5

- 1 ...
 2 [...] ינדע מנה בִּטְעִים ...
 3 ייכל ישמע מְלִי קדשא ...
 4 או מנו הוא כול אנוש דִּי ...
 5 זויא די אנון ...
 6 למתב למתְּוניה ...
 7 או מנו הוא [...] אֲנוֹשׁ די יכל ...
 8 אורכה ופתיח דִּי ארעא כולה או ...
 9 וצרתה ומנו הוא כול אנוש די יכל ...
 10 הוא רומהון והיכה אנון סמכִּין ...
 11 וכען לכוּן אנה אמר בְּנִי ...
 12 ארחת קְשִׁטָּא ...
 13 אֲנוּשָׁא ...

4QLevi^a (4Q213)

Fragment 1, Column 1

- vacat 1
 2 [...] מִית בה

Fragment 1, Column 2

- 1 ...טמורה ולא תעלה תעלה ולא נ...
- 2 ...שמעון למען שורש ואלו נ...
- 3 ...מתן שפחה שפחה נ...
- 4 ולא יאמר נכח מתן נגד נ...

- 3 ...אמר
- 4 ...לכך
- 5 ...אמר לך
- 6 ...על עבדך
- 7 ...אמר וקרא
- 8 ...ברכה דורש עבד עבד
- 9 ...מאמר ומאמר ומאמר
- 10 ...לך ואלו חכמה ואלו חכמה
- 11 ...לכך ולכך ולכך ולכך ולכך ולכך
- 12 ...מאמר חכמה ואלו חכמה
- 13 ...אמר חכמה חכמה חכמה
- 14 ...אמר חכמה חכמה חכמה
- 15 ...לך ולך ולך ולך ולך ולך ולך
- 16 ...אמר חכמה חכמה חכמה
- 17 ...אמר חכמה חכמה חכמה
- 18 ...אמר חכמה חכמה חכמה
- 19 ...אמר חכמה חכמה חכמה
- 20 ...אמר חכמה חכמה חכמה
- 21 ...אמר חכמה חכמה חכמה

- 5 בעא חכמה נחזמתה נ...
 6 מטמרה מנה נ...
 7 ולא חסנוט נ...
 8 וקשט נ...
 9 חוכמה די אל נ...
 ... 10-13
 14 ידע נ...
 ... 16
 17 תהיל נ...
 ... 18-19

Fragment 2

- ... 1-3
 4 זכל בעי נ...
 5 זספר ומוסר
 6 זרתון אנון
 7 רבה תתנון
 8 זקך *vacat*
 9 זא בספריא
 10 זראשין ושפטין
 11 זעבדין
 12 זא כהנין ומלכין
 13 זמלכותכן
 14 זקז ולא איתי סוף
 15 זעבר מנכן עד כל

16 ... בִּיקֶר רַב

Fragment 3

1 ... זְכַל עַמְמִיָּא

2 ... שׁוֹרָא וְכֹכְבֵיָא

3 ... זְמַן

4 ... לְנִשְׁהֶרְהָ

Fragment 4

1 ... וְתַחֲשִׁכֶּנְךָ נ...

2 ... הֲלֵא קִבְלֵנָּה נ...

3 ... וְעַל מִן תְּהוּא חֹבְתָא

4 ... הֲלֵא עֲלֵי בְנֵי אֲרוּ יִדְעוּנָה

5 ... אֲרַחַת קִשְׁטָא תִשְׁבַּקוּנְךָ מְכַל שְׁבִילֵי

6 ... תְּמַחְלוּן וְתַחֲכוּן בְּהָ נ...

7 ... דֵּי חֲנִשְׁזֹכָה תִתָּא עֲלִיכֶן נ...

8 ... כְּעַן זְמַנִּין תְּהוּן לִשְׁפִלִין

9 ...

Fragment 5

1 ...

2 ... בְּאִיכָן אֲדִין בְּכֶן נ...

3 ... זִשְׁנוּן בְּכֶן מִן כָּל מִן...

4QLevi^b (4Q213a)

Fragment 1, Column 1

- ... 1-4
 5 ...אָדן
 6 ...אָנה
 7 ...אָוּכל
 8 ...אָנטלט לשמיא
 9 ...אָאצבעת כפי וידי
 10 ...אָמרת מרי אנתה
 11 ...אָנתה בלחודיק ידע
 12 ...אָרחת קשט ארחק
 13 ...באישאא וזנותא דחא
 14 ...חזכמה ומנדע וגבורה
 15 ...לאשכחה רחמיך קדמיך
 16 ...אָדשפיר ודטב קדמיך
 17 ...וואָל תשלט בי כל שטן
 18 ...עזלי מרי וקרבני למהוא לכה

Fragment 1, Column 2

- ... 5
 6 מרי בִּנְרִכְתָּ...
 7 זרע דקשט...
 8 צלות עבונדך...
 9 דין קשט לְכֹנֵל...
 10 לבר עבדך מן קֹדֶם...
 11 באדין נגדת נ...

- 12 על אבי יעקוב וכדני...
- 13 מן אבל מין אדין ו...]
- 14 שכבת ויתבת אנה עול...
- 15 vacat אדין חזיון אחזית ו...]
- 16 כחזית חזיאה וחזית שמוניא...
- 17 תחותי רם עד דבק לשמינא...
- 18 לי תרעי שמיא ומלאך חד ו...]

Fragment 2

- 1 ...]
- 2 אַשבען...גבריא
- 3 אַנתה ותחלל שמה ושם אבוה
- 4 עִם...בְּהַתָּא וְכָל...]
- 5 לָהּ זֵי חִבְלַת שִׁמְהָ וְשֵׁם אֲבֵהֶתָּהּ וְאֲבֵהֶתָּת לְכָל אַחִיָּה
- 6 אַבוּהָ וְלֹא מִתְמַחָא שֵׁם חִסְיָה מִן כּוֹל עִמְהָא לְעַלְמָא
- 7 לְכָל דְרֵי עִלְמָא...קְדִישִׁין מִן עִמְהָ ו...]
- 8 מְעַשֵׂר קוֹדֶשׁ קִרְבָּן לְאַלְפִין

4QLevi^c (4Q213b)

- 1 ...זְכֹה רְעִיתֶךָ מִן כָּל בְּשָׂרָא...
- 2 ...זְאֵנָה אֲתַעִירֶת מִן שְׁנֵי אֲדִין
- 3 ...זְאֵף דָּן בְּלִבִּי וְלְכָל אֲנִשׁ לֹא
- 4 ...כֹּדִי הוּא יַעֲקֹב אֲבִי מְעַשֵׂר
- 5 ...זְוִלִי מִן בְּנוֹהֵי יְהוָה
- 6 ...לְאַזְלֵ עֲלִמְיָא ו...]

4QLevi^d (4Q214)

Fragment 1

... 1-3

... רזגליך נ... 4

... מדבח נ... 5

... לאסק נ... 6

... 7-8

Fragment 2

... 1

... נרגליך מן... 2

... ראשא נ... 3

... ואל יתחזי נ... 4

... אבתרחן ידיא נ... 5

... בתרחן ירכתא ושדרת נ... 6

... רחזען עם קרביא וכלהון... 7

... כזמסתן *vacat* ובותר... 8

... וזבתר כלא חמר נ... 9

... וזהוא עבדך בסורך... 10

Fragment 3

... ארו נ... 1

... אנה נ... 2

... יקירין נ... 3

... 4

Fragment 4

... 1

... 2 וגברי נ...

... 3 דנה נ...

... 4 מְרִיָּה נ...

Fragment 5

... 1

... 2 vacat נ...

... 3

... 4 אַטב נ...

... 5-6

... 7 שם נ...

4QLevi^c (4Q214a)**Fragment 2-3, Column 1**

... 1 אֱלֹךְ נ...

... 2 על מדבחא vacat נ...

... 3

Fragments 2-3, Column 1

- 1 ... כדִּי
 2 ... עֲלוּהִי
 3 ... שְׁבוּעָא...
 4 ... וְשׁוּיַת
 5 ... בְּשָׁנָה
 ... 6–7

Fragments 2-3, Column 2

- 1 וְמִדְּיָהָא ...
 2 לֹא יִשְׁכַּחוּן...
 3 טְבוּיָהּ ...
 4 מִנָּה ...
 5 וְכַעַן בְּנֵי סִפְרָא ...
 6 חָזִית ...
 ... 7

4QLevi^f (4Q214b)

Fragment 1

- 1 מִן מֶן כִּי ...
 2 כֹּל לְבִיד ...
 3 דִּי כֹל ...

Fragments 2-3

- ... 1

- 2 ...תרי עשר עעין]...]
 3 ... סֶלֶק וְאֵלֶן שִׁמְהָ]...]
 4 ... בְּרוּתָא וְתַכְכָּה]...]
 5 ... אֵלֶן אֲנוּן דִּי]...]
 6 ... אֵלֶן לְמַדְבְּחָנָא ...]
 7 ... עַל כּוּתְלֵי מַדְבְּחָא וְתוּב]...]
 8 ... מוּצוּלְחִין רְאוּשָׁא]...]

Fragment 4

- 1 ...]
 2 ... לִי]...]
 3 ...]

Fragment 5–6, Column 1

- 1 ... מוּצוּלְחִין]...]
 2 ... כּדן חזית לאברהם]...]
 3 ... לְאַסְקָא מְנַחוּן לְמַדְבְּחָא]...]
 4 ... וְסִיגְדָה]...]
 5 ... עוּרָא אַדְסָא וְעַעִי]...]
 6 ...]

Fragment 7

- 1 מן כול בשרוא ...]
 2 ...]

Fragment 8

1 ... אִתְּךָ כֹּל ...

2 ... מִטְמְרִיא מִנָּה ...

3 ...

4QPrayer of Nabonidus (4Q242)**Fragments 1–3**

1 מְלִי צוֹלָתָא דִּי צְלִי נְבִי מֶלֶךְ נְבֻזַל מֶלְכָּנָא ...

2 בְּשַׁחְנָא בְּאִישָׁא בְּפִתְגָם אֱלֹהִיא בְּתִימָן ...

3 כְּתִישׁ הוּיִת שְׁנִין שְׁבַע וּמִן נְדִין שׁוּי אֱלֹהִיא ...

4 וְחִטָּאֵי שְׁבַק לָהּ גָזַר וְהוּא יְהוּדִי מִן ...

5 הַחֹזֵל וְכָתַב לְמַעַבְד יֶקֶר וְרִנְבוֹ לְשֵׁם אֱלֹהִיא ...

6 כְּתִישׁ הוּיִת בְּשַׁחְנָא בְּאִישָׁא בְּתִימָן ...

7 שְׁנִין שְׁבַע מִצְלָא הוּיִת קִדְסִי אֱלֹהִי כִסְפָא וְדַהְבָּא ...

8 אַעַא אֲבָנָא חִסְפָּא מִן דִּי נְהוּיִת סְבוּר דִּי אֱלֹהִין הוּמִין ...

8a ... אֵין ...

9 ... מִיְהוּן ...

Fragment 4

1 ... לְבָר הַמִּין אַחֲלַמַת

2 ... מְנָה אַחֲלֹזֶף שְׁלָם שְׁלוֹתֵי ...

3 ... רַחֲמֵי לֹא יִכְלַת ...

4 ... כְּמָה דְמָא אַנְתָּה ...

5 ...

4QPseudo-Daniel^a (4Q243)**Fragment 1**

1 שאיל דניאל לממר בדניסל נ...

2 אלהכה ומנץ נ...

3 יצלה נ...

4 ...

Fragment 2

1 [... דניאל קדום ...

2 [... בלשצר נ ...

Fragment 3

1 [... איתי נ ...

2 [... מלכא נ ...

Fragment 4

1 ... מטלכזא יתרמח נ ...

Fragment 5

1 [... דניאל נ ...

2 ...

Fragment 6

... 1

... 2 ובה כתיב נ...

... 3 דזניאל די נ...

... 4 אשתכח כתיב...

Fragment 7

... 1

... 2 כשדיא הָא בְּנִי נ...

... 3 אורחת קנושטא...

Fragment 8

... 1 כרזטא נ...

... 2 ישראל גברין נ...

... 3 די לא לשניה נ...

... 4

Fragment 9

... 1 לחנוך נ...

... 2

Fragment 10

... 1 זלא נ...

... 2 עזל מגדלא ושלח נ...

3 לזְבַקְרָהּ בְּבִנְיָן נְ... 3

4 כּוֹרְסָאָ נְ... 4

Fragment 12

1 אַרְזֵבֶעַ מֵאָה וּמֵן נְ... 1

2 סְהוֹן וַיִּתֵּן מִן גּוֹא נְ... 2

3 מַעְבְּרָהוֹן יִרְדְּנָא יִבְלֹא... 3

4 וּבְנִיָהוֹן נְ... 4

5 ... 5

Fragment 13

1 בְּאַחֲרֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנַפִּיָהוֹן... 1

2 דְּבֹאֲחִין לְבְנֵיָהוֹן לְשִׁידֵי נְ... 2

3 לְמִנְתָן אֲנֹן בִּיד נְבֹכְדַנְצַר... 3

4 אַרְעָהוֹן מְנַהוֹן נְ... 4

Fragment 14

1 אַבְתֵּר דְּנָה יִתְעַבּוּד... 1

2 אַמֵּאָה מְלִכְנִין... 2

3 אַנֹן בְּגוֹ עֲנַמְמִיא... 3

Fragment 15

1 אַ בְּשֵׁלֵר נְ... 1

Fragment 16

- 1 ...אֵיךְ נִשְׁנֵן שְׁנֵן נִ...
 2 ...בִּיזוּדָה רַבְתָּא וַיִּשַׁע אַנְוֹן...
 3 ...חֲסִינֵן וּמַלְכוּת עַמּוּנִיא...
 4 ...הָיָא מַלְכוּתָא קְדוּשָׁתָא...

Fragment 19

- 1 ...שְׁנֵן...
 2 ...
 3 ...שְׁנֵן תּוֹלְתֵן...
 4 ...אִמְלוּךְ נִ...

Fragment 20

- 1 ...זְבֵר מְלֻכָא...
 2 ...שְׁנֵן עֶשְׂרֵן נִ...
 3 ... דִּי נִ...
 1 ...זְמֵךְ שְׁנֵן נִ...

Fragment 21

- 1 ...
 2 ...בְּלַכְרוּס...
 3 ...

Fragment 22

1... בַּר וּשְׁמֹה נ... 1

2... אֶלְהוֹן תְּרִין נ... 2

3... אֶמְלֵל נ... 3

Fragment 23

... 1

2... אֶבְרַח נ... 2

3... אֶמְעַל נ... 3

... 4

Fragment 24

1... אֶבְנֵי נְרִשׁוּעָא אֶטְעוּ נ... 1

2... אֶבְתַּר דְּנָה יִתְכַנְשׁוּן קְרִיאִינוּן... 2

3... אֶמְמִיא וְלַהוּה מִן יוֹם נ... 3

4... אֶשְׁקֵן וּמְלָכֵי עַמְמִיא נ... 4

5... אֶעְבְּדִין עַד יוֹמָא דְנָה נ... 5

Fragment 25

... 1

2... אֶלְהוּ עַד יִשׁוּ... 2

3... אֶתְתַּמְלָא אֶנְרַעָא... 3

4... אֶכֹּל שְׁלַדִּיְהוֹן נ... 4

... 5

Fragment 26

...זוף מנינה'תון... 1

...די לא מנין'ן... 2

...שז'אל... 3

Fragment 27

...מן בני'ן... 1

...יהב... 2

... 3

Fragment 28

...אל... 1

...פניח'ס אבישוע... 2

... 3

Fragment 32

...אזהין'ן... 1

... 2

Fragment 33

...שז'ב'קו אור'חת... 1

... 2-3

Fragment 34

... 1 זמן משכנא נ...

... 2

Fragment 40

... 1-2

... 3 קימא נ...

... 4 עליוכו...

4QPseudo-Daniel^b (4Q244)**Fragment 4**

... 1 קדים נ...

... 2 אמרא זניאל נ...

... 3

Fragment 6

... 1 די ע...

Fragment 7

... 1 ולשמין...

Fragment 8

... 1

... 2 מן בתר מבולא נ...

... 3 נזח מן לובר נטורא...

... 4 זקיה נ...

Fragment 9

... 1

... 2 זא מגדלא רומה...

... 3 vacat נ...

Fragment 10

... 1 קמוא מן נ...

... 2 vacat נ...

Fragment 12

... 1 זבחרו בני ישראל אנפיהון מן נ...

... 2 לזשידי טעותא ורגז עליהון אלוהין ואומר...

... 3 בזבל ולאחרבא ארעהאון מנהון מן די נ...

... 4 זשטא בני גלותא נ...

Fragment 13

... 1 זבדר אען נ...

4QPseudo-Daniel^c (4Q245)

Fragment 1, Column 1

- ... 1
 2 ... ומה די
 3 ... דניאל
 4 ... כתב די יהיב
 5 ... לזי קחת
 6 ... בוקי עוזי
 7 ... צדוק אביתר
 8 ... חלוקיה
 9 ... חוני
 10 ... יונתן שמעון
 11 ... דודי שלומה
 12 ... אחזיה יואש
 ... 13

Fragment 1, Column 2

- 9 ... די נ...
 ... 10

Fragment 2

- ... 1
 2 ... למספ רשעא
 3 ... אלן בעור וטעו
 4 ... אלן אדין יקומון

קז'ישנתזא ויתובן... 5

זרשעא... 6

Fragment 3

... 1

זתלתין וח'משנה... 2

Fragment 4

... 1

זדן... 2

4QApocryphal Daniel (4Q246)

Column 1

עזלוהי שרת נפל קדם כרסיא... 1

מזלכא ולז'מ-עלמא אתה רגז ושניך... 2

זחזוך וכלא אתה עד עלמא... 3

רז'ברבין עקה תתא על ארעא... 4

ז... ונחשירון רב ב'מדינתא... 5

ז... מלך אתור נומצרין... 6

ז... רב לחוה על' ארעא... 7

זעבדון וכלא יש'משון... 8

רז'בא יתקרא ובשמה יתכנה... 9

Column 2

- 1 ברה די אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה כזיקיא
- 2 די חזיתא כן מלכותהן תהוה שנינון ימלכון על
- 3 ארעא וכלא ידשון עם לעם ידוש ומדינה למדינונה
- 4 vacat עד יקים עם אל וכלא יניח מן חרב
- 5 מלכותה מלכות עלם וכל ארחתה בקשוט ידיון
- 6 ארעא בקשוט וכלא יעבד שלם חרב מן ארעא יסוף
- 7 וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון אל רבא באילה
- 8 הוא יעבד לה קרב עממין ינתן בידה וכלהן
- 9 ירמה קדמוהי שלטנה שלטן עלם וכל תהומי

4QWords of Michael (4Q529)

Fragment 1

- 1 מלי כתבא די אמר מיכאל למלאכיא עו...
- 2 אמר די גדודי נורא תמה השכחות תמה
- 3 נחזית ותשעה טורין תרין למדננחא...
- 4 ולדרוזומא תמה חזית לגבראל מלאכאנדין
- 5 כחזוא והחזיתה חזוה ואמר לי יו...
- 6 בספרי די רבי מרא עלמא כתיב האנו...
- 7 בני חם לבני שם והא רבי מרא עלמאנו...
- 8 כדי כשבין דמעא מן אנדרא יו...
- 9 והא מתבניה קריה לשמה די רבי מורא...
- 10 יתעבד כל די באיש קודם רבי מרוא...
- 11 וידכר רבי מרא עלמא לבריתה יו...

- 12 רבי מרא עלמא לה רחמין ולה אָנ...
 13 במדינתא רחיקתא להוּא גבר לָנ...
 14 הוא ולהוּא אָמר לה הא דן הוּנא...
 15 לי כספא ודהבא דָנ... אָרנ...
 16 נבן צדיק אָנ...

Fragment 2

- 1 נ זָהא דנח שמשאָנ...
 2 זאמר לָנ...

4QEnGiants^b (4Q530)**Fragment 1, Column 1**

- 1 ...
 2 לזלוט ולצער אנה די לדי
 3 אָן וכל בית פלטא די אהך לה
 4 קטילין קבלן על קטליהון ומזעקן
 5 אָסתא ונמות כחדא ונתן שיציא
 6 קצף שגיא ואהוה דמך ולחם
 7 אָחרת לשכני חזותא ואף
 8 זעל לכנשת גבריא

Fragment 2, Column 1

- 1 זָלוּתבה
 2 אָנ... שזמלא עם

3 וַיִּתְמַנֶּן בְּכָל

4 ...לְמַן

Fragment 3

1 ...זֶה יִתְחַשְׁבוּ בְּחִשְׁבֵּן שְׁנֵי ...

2 ...שְׁבֹעַת יוֹמֵי אֶלֶן בְּמִטְרֵהוֹן ...

3 ...אֵל תְּחַדּוֹן וְאֵל תֵּלֵן ...

Fragment 2 (Column 2) and Fragments 6, 7 (Column 1), 8–12

1 על מות נפשנא נועלו כל חברוהי ונאוהיה אחוי אנון זמא זי אמר לה

2 גלגמיס וחונובס אפחא ומתאמרן דזין על נפשה וחיבא לט לרוזניא

3 וחדו עלוהינן גבריא ותב ואתלוט וקבל עלוהי באדין חלמו תריהון חלמין

4 ונדת שנתן ועיניהון מנהון וקמו שנת עיניהון מנהון וקמו ופתחו עניהון

5 ואתו עלו... לחלמיהון אשתעיו בכנשת חנבריהון

6 נפילי אנ... חל מי הוי ת חזא בליליא דן נהא

7 ... לנה זהוהא גננין והוא משקין

8 ... ושרושין רברבין נ פקו מן עקר הוון

9 ... זהוית עד די לשנין די נור מן

10 ... עפוהא רא בכל מיא ונרא דלק ב כל

11 ... בוא רעא כנדי היא

12 ... מבולזא עד כא סוף חלמא ...

13 ... ולא השכחו גבריא לחויה לה

14 נתלמנא... חלמא דן תנתן ולחנן לספר פרשא ויפשר לנא

15 חלמא ... באדין ענה הווא אחוהי אוהיה ואמר קדם גבריא אף

16 אנה חזית בחלמי בליליא דן גברוא נהא שלטן שמיא לארעא נחת

- 5 חלד וחלף לשהוין מדברא רבא נ...
 6 וחזהני זחנך וזעקה ואמר לה מהוי מ'הנ...
 7 לתנא ול כה תנינות למהויך פ'שורא...
 8 למ'ליך וכל נפילי ארעא הן הוב לו...
 9 מן ימונו במומתהון ויתוסנד עז לו...
 10 גנדע מנך פשר'הנון...
 11 גנניך די מן שמין נוחתו...

Fragment 13

1 עלו...

2 גנניך נ...

3 ...

Fragment 14

1 א'ן...

2 גבריא נ...

Fragment 15

1 ...

2 אאוהיה נ...

Fragment 16

1 א'ן להוין...

2 לא'ס ו'תו...

Fragment 17

1 ...זבהוןא...

2 ... אתהלך עִמָּהוֹן

Fragment 18

1 ...סגִּי...

2 ...יֵס בּוֹל...

3 ... הוא נ...

Fragment 20

1 ... שקרנ...

4QBook of the Giants^c (4Q531)**Fragment 1**

1 ... עיריץ אטמיו נ...

2 ...גברין ונפילין נ...

3 ... אולדו ואלו כגִּנְבְּרין ...

4 ...זבִּדְמָה ועל יד מ הנומת...

5 ... גברין די לא שפק להון ו לבִּנְיָהוֹן ...

6 ...זבעין למאכל שגיא מלנ...

7 ...

8 ... פִּתְחוּה נפיליא נ...

Fragments 2 and 3

- 1 ...זשהרָאָנִי...
- 2 ...זָרְעָא עבד תּוֹ...
- 3 ... שְׁמִינִסִּין...זְנוּנִיא רב רבִּיזָא נִ...
- 4 ...זוֹכֹל עוֹף שְׁמַיִם עִם כּוֹל דִּי פְרָאָנִי...
- 5 ... ועִם זְרַע אֲרַעָא וְכוּל דְּגַנָּא וְכוּל אֵילָנִי אִנִּי...
- 6 ... ועִם זְעַנָּא בַעֲרִיא דְּמוֹ דְּקִדְקָא עִסָּנִי...
- 7 ... וְכוּל שֶׁר צִאֲרַעָא וְאַחֲרֵי כֵלָנִי...
- 8 ... כּוֹזֵל עוֹבֵד קֶשֶׁה וּמְמַרָא מִנִּי...
- 9 ...זְדַכְר וְנִקְבַּהּ וּבִאֲנִשָּׁא לִנִּי...
- 10 ...זְחִכְמָה וְרַחֲנִי...

Fragment 4

- 1 ...זְמַבּוּעִינִי...
- 2 ...זוֹכֹל שְׂרָץ אֲנִירַעָא...
- 3 ... עַבְדְּתָהּ כּוֹל אֲוֹלִין...
- 4 ...זֹרְתָא רַבְתָּנָא...

Fragment 5

- 1 ...זָאָנִי...
- 2 ...
- 3 ... אֲמַר לֵהּ דִּי אֲנִי יָדַע עַד דְּנִי...
- 4 ...זָה וְכוּל דִּי עֲלִיכָה טִנִּי...

Fragment 6

- 1 ...לְתוֹ...
- 2 ...דְּבָרִין נְ...
- 3 ...י הַבְּתָה לֵה דְכָרְנָא דְנָה בְּאִנְ...
- 4 ... אֶתְזַמְּמוּ עֲלֵיכּוֹנָן טוֹמָאָה רַבָּא אֶ בְּאִנְ...

Fragment 7

- 1 ...וְלֹאֲחִירָס וְנְ...
- 2 ... וְלֹ עֵנָאֵל וְלִבְרַקְאֵנֹל וְלִנְפִילִין נְ...
- 3 ... לְלִנְעֵמָאֵל וְלִרְזֹאֵלֹ וְלִעֵמִיאֵלֹ...
- 4 ... וְלִזְכוֹל אֵלִין גְּבִרִיא מַה חֲטוּנִיא לְכַה דִּי קִטְלוּתָה...
- 5 ... הֵלֵא כּוֹל אֵלִין אִזְלוּ בְּחַרְבַּ כְּתָנָ...
- 6 ... כְּנַהֲרִין רַבְרַבִּין עַל אֹרְעָא...
- 7 ... עֲלִיכָה עֹשְׂאֵל...

Fragment 8

- 1 ... אֵל וְלֹאֲרַעְתְּקִי [
- 2 ... וְזִשְׁנָ [

Fragment 9

- 1 ...זְמַרְעוֹ...
- 2 ...זְאֵל נְ...
- 3 ... לְנָ...

Fragment 10

... 1

... 2 קזטילינן...

Fragment 11

... 1

... 2 חזקת כורסיה ו...

... 3 תומשה קודמו הני...

Fragment 12

... 1 איתי סלן...

... 2 אפיל לבוש ה...

... 3 וכשביבין דני...

Fragment 13

... 1 זכ תפתה ואשרלן...

... 2 א קודם חדות...

... 3 אהי יקירין...

... 4 מן זיא רנ...

... 5 בדמותה נ...

... 6 די נהור נ...

Fragment 14

... 1 ארתה אלף אלפין להנ...

2...זוהי ל א בהיל על כו ל מ לך ואלו...

3...אחדות ואנה נפלת על אנפי קלה שמועת...

4... לזא יתב בין בני אנש ולא אלף מנהון...

... 5

6...זדי מו...זדו...מאן תרינו...

7...זמ אנ...

Fragment 15

1...זשהו...

2... הלאו...

3...זאחרת נ...

4...סה נ...

Fragment 16

1...זו...

2...זאמרו...

3...זאריחו...

4...זכה נ...

Fragment 17

1...קשיטין והקדשת הו...

2...עלם לי עבדתנא...

3...זמאבל כול עדניו...

4...זשלחתה נ... לו...

5...זבשרא ולו...

Fragment 18

1 ...אקדיש רים מקסו...

2 ...אמאור חרבן אבדן נ...

3 ...א אנתנא די חטינא...

4 ...ואנה מחבל וינ...

5 ...אנשא חבנ...

Fragment 19

1 ...אן...

2 ...אדי חמס שגיא בלבשתא

3 ...די זלוא גרמין אנתנא ולא בשר

4 ...בושר ונתמחה מן צורתנא

5 ...ושרק דישיכה לנאנ...

6 ...

Fragment 20

1 ...אף קד לאנ...

2 ...

3 ...אחטין ולנ...

4 ...

Fragment 21

1 ...ואנתון

2 ...תקנתעלמין

Fragment 22

- 1 ...אָ וימינא... כול ביתנ...וצדזיק לא ()...
- 2 ...זרזעוון נ...
- 3 ...מתגבר ובתקוף חיל דרעי ובחסן גברותי
- 4 ...כזלֹ בשר ועבדת עמהון קרב ברם לא
- 5 ...מִשכח אנה עמן לאשת ררה דבעלי דיני
- 6 ...א יתבין ובקדשיא אנן שרין ולא
- 7 ...ן תקיפין מני נ...
- 8 ... רה די חיות ברא אתה ואיש ברא קרין
- 9 ...זוכדן אמר לה () [blank] אוהיה חלמי אנסנוי...
- 10 ...שנת עיני למחזא ()...זֹה ארו ידע אנה די עלו...
- 11 ...אזדמוך ולא אב עזלהון...ס...
- 12 ...גלגמיש אמר נחזלמכה...

Fragment 23

- 1 למחה לזמן יומין...
- 2 כול רשיעיא מו...
- 3 אתקטל ואמות ()...
- 4 ...זכולאֹ ישניציא...
- 5 ...

Fragment 24

- 1 ... בֹ...
- 2 ...אָסר ונתלֹקח...
- 3 ...איד רביא שניא...

Fragment 25

1 ...אָן...

2 ... די עביד בנ...

3 ...אָ עבורי ולמנ...

4 ...לא יסוף סלנ...

5 ...אנון מאתקין...

6 ...אָ

Fragment 26

1 ...מלל עליך מלך ונ...

2 ...מפלת בניכון ונ...

3 ...לנ...

Fragment 28

1 ...

2 ...בדמהנ...

3 ...כדון...

4 ...זכען לכנ...

5 ...אמרתנ...

6 ...למנ...

Fragment 30

1 ...

2 ...אָ ולא תנ...

... די נשתרא ו... 3

... 4

... ולו... 5

Fragment 31

... 1

... זױהי וכמדמא... 2

... זיה שניא בו... 3

Fragment 32

... 1

... זוכען בדמא... 2

... 3

Fragment 33

... זױרגאון... 1

... זױן עלי... 2

Fragment 42

... אױנתון 1

... אױטון 2

Fragment 44

... 1

... 2 לַחֲנוּךְ לֹנֹ... 2

... 3 וְקֹשֶׁט... 3

... 4

Fragment 45

... 1 אֲתַפְנִית... 1

... 2

... 3 נִפְקֹר מִסְּבִחֵיךְ... 3

... 4 אֲדַע עַד שְׂמִיאָנִי... 4

... 5 מִקְּנִי... 5

Fragment 46

... 1 אֲנִי אֲנִי... 1

... 2 וְעַלֹת לְשֹׁמְיָא... 2

Fragment 47

... 1 פְּתִיחִין בְּמִנְלֵאךְ... 1

... 2 וְקִדִּישׁ אֲנִי... 2

... 3

4QBook of the Giants^d (4Q532)

Fragment 1, Column 1

... 5 שְׂמֵעוּ... 5

... 6 אֲדִין... 6

7 ... שולחן לכן

8 ... אגוריה נפק

9 ... אנקבן עבד

10 ... כולֹּ בשר

11 ... זא יהב

12 ... זי עלם

13 ... וידע

14 ... זלו...

Fragment 2

1 ... זס...

2 ... זבבשור...

3 ... זנפי ליון...

4 ... זא הוו קאמוין...

5 ... זארעא תרנ...

6 ... זעשיתין לו...

7 ... זדי מן עירין עלו...

8 ... זסף ואבד ומית ועו...

9 ... חזבל רב חנבלו בא...

10 ... זשפק להן למאנכל...

11 ... זארעא ועד ל...

12 ... זארעא בכל בנ...

13 ... זרְבא וכען לא שו...

14 ... זאסור תקיוף...

4QBook of the Giants^e (4Q533)

Fragment 3

- 1 ...צלו ילדין מן קדמוה נ...
- 2 ...א כתיב וכל יבעון כון עלו...
- 3 ... כתיב עלויזכון פתגם לו...

Fragment 4

- 1 ...קרהו...רעא כל דו...
- 2 ...הוה משתפך וכדבין הו מו...
- 3 ...מבול על ארו...

4QBirth of Noah^a (4Q534)

Fragment 1, Column 1

- 1 די יד אנו תרתין אורכוֹבְתָהּ...אֲבִי שוּמָה שׁ מִקְמָקוֹנִין
- 2 שַׁעַר תוּהַ וְזַטְלוּפְחִין עַל נֶאֱנַפּוּהִי...
- 3 וְשׁוּמִין זֹעִירִין עַל יִרְכַתָּהּ וְשַׁעֲרִין שְׁנִין דִּן מִן דִּן וְדַעָה בַל בַּה תְּהוּא...
- 4 בַּעֲלִימוּתָהּ לְהוּהַ כְּלַטִּישׁ נֹכְאִינֻשׁ דִּי לֹא יַדַּע מַדְעֵם עֵד עַדן דִּי
- 5 וַיִּזְנַדַּע תְּלַתִּת סַפְרֵי אֲנִי...
- 6 וּבְאֲדִין יַעֲרִם וַיַּדַּע שְׁבִי...אֲמִין חֲזִין לְמֵאתָהּ לְהַ עַל אֲרִכּוּבְתָהּ
- 7 וּבְאֲבוּהִי וּבְנֵאֲבָה־תוּהִי רִנְזִין אֲחִין יִזְקוּנָה עִמָּה לְהוּוֹן מַלְכָּה וְעֵרְמוּמִנְתָּה...
- 8 וְזִידַע רִזִּי אֲנִישָׁא וְחֹכְמַתָּה לְכֹל עֲמַמִּיא תַּחַךְ וַיַּד עַרְזִי כֹל חֵיִיא
- 9 נֹכְאוֹל חֲשׁוּבִינְהוֹן עֲלוּהִי יִסּוּפוּ וּמִסְרַת כֹּל חֵיִיא שְׁגִיא תְּהוּא
- 10 ...שְׁבוּנְהִי בְּדִי בַחִיר אֱלֹהָא הוּא מוֹלְדָה וְרוּחַ נִשְׁמוּהִי

17 חלף קללה [א...י קדיש ועיבי...כזמאמר

18 ...אדי חדוהנא אמרו עלוהי נ...

19 ...אגט טאנו ועד מותנהון יסו פון

20 ...אלו... חזה

21 ...

Fragment 7

2 די לכהנ...

3 חובה למנ...

4 דן ינטור נ...

5 ...

6 ...

4QBook of Noah^b (4Q535)

Fragment 2

1 ...רשומת זמן מו לודה...

2 ...אמוריא בית נ...

3 ... לשמעה פמהנ...

4 ... אתוהיני...

Fragment 3

1 ... הוזה מתילד והוין מר מש כחדה נ...

2 ... חמש בליליא מתילד ונפק ש לום...

3 ... תקל תקלין תלת מאה וחמושין...

4 ... יוֹמִיא דמךְ עד מפלג יתנו יוֹמִיא שו...

5 ... ביממא עד משלם שונן...

6 ... נזחה לה מנהנו וזל בותר...

4QBook of Noah^c (4Q536)

Fragment 1

1 ...א דמךְ עד מפלג יומוהני...

2 ... בזממא עד משלם שונן תִּנְמִנְנָה...

3 ... לה מנה ולנב[תרִ שְׁנִיז א תנ...

4 ... לנ...

Fragment 2, Column 1, and Fragment 3

1 ... עיא תהו אנ...

2 ... קודישין ידכר נ...

3 ...לה יתגלון נהירנ...

4 ...אלפ ו נה כולה זי

5 ... תו כמת אנש וכול חכי

6 ... במתתא ורב להוא

7 ...תזיע אנשא ועד

8 ...איגלא רזין כעליונין

9 ... ין ובטעם רזי

10 ... וְ הִי דְנִי זֵא וּאָף

11 ...זֵא זֵבֶעֶפְרָא

12 ...זֵא זֵבֶעֶפְרָא הֵן...סֵלֶק רֵזֵא

13 ... רזא די מסר לי במנין שאַראַן...זומנתה

Fragment 2, Column 2

7 מן הנ...

8 עבד נ...

9 די אנתה יצף מנה לכול אנ ש נ...

10 כסותה בסיף מחסניך אתקף [] טובוהי ל כול אונש...

11 ולא ימו ת ביומי רשעא [] וי לכה סכלא די פמך ירמנכה בנאבדנא...

12 חובה למ מת מן יכתוב מלי אלה בכתב די לא יבלא ומאמרי דון...

13 תעדה ארי ועדן רשיעין ידעך לעלמן גבר די לעבדיך לבננ...

4QTJacob? (4Q537)

Fragment 1

4 וכלנ...

5 ו אנסב דן נ...

6 זתפקון מנה וביום נ...

7 ...

Fragment 2

1 זא שני חיי נ...

2 זוחזית כתיב בה ד נ...

3 זריקין מן קודסו

Fragment 3

1 ...לוחא מן ידו...

Fragment 4

1 ...

2 ...אנ...

3 בין...

Fragment 5

1 ... בארעא ותכלון פריה וכל טבתה ותוחון נ...

2 ... לז מש טא ולמטעא ול מהך בארחת טעו זינו...

3 ...זובאישתכון עדן...זתהוון קדמוהי ל נ...

4 ...

Fragment 6

1 ...חטזאיכון וכל חוביכון וכלסנ...

Fragment 7

1 ...זאנ...

2 ... תמוטנכון ביד פשעינכון...

Fragment 8

1 ...זא תמטנכון...

Fragment 9

1 ...וְהִי דִינִי...כֹּחַ נִי...

2 ...וְאִנְתּוֹן תְּהוֹן מִמְרִן וּמִקְשֵׁן לְקוֹבְלָהּ וְלִנִי...

3 ...לִנִי...לִנִי...

Fragment 10

1 ... קְשִׁיטָא טְבִילָא וְלִנִי...

2 ... יֵז תְּכֹנֹן לְרַחֲצֵן עֵלְמִין וּיְתֵנּוּ...

Fragment 12

1 ...אֵל וְהִדְךָ הוּא בְנִינָא...יְהוֹן לְהוֹן לְבִשְׁתִּי וְטַהֲרִין

2 ...מִסְקֵן דְּבַחִיא לְמַדְבַּחַא וְהוּן...סִנִּי...לִנִי אַרְזַעַא אַכְלִין מִן קֶצֶת

דְּבַחִיָּהוֹן

3 ...אֵדִי לְהוֹן נִפְקִין מִן קְרִיתָא וּמִן תַּחֲתֵי שׁוּרִיָּהּ וְאֵן לְהוֹן מִשְׁנֵי...

... 4

5 ... קְדַמִּי אַרְעֵי רַבְעִין תְּרִין וְאַנְרַע...

Fragment 14

1 ...מְכַסִּיא וּנְפַקְשׁוּהוּ...

2 ... בִּיזְתָּאֵל נִי...אֲתָהּ בְּאֵר זֵית עַל מִי

3 ...מִן קֶשׁוּט לְחֵלֶת קְרַבָּא וּנְפַק לְרִמּוֹן

4 ...שׁוּהוּ...

Fragment 15

1 ...כֹּחַ עֵמָא עֵלְלוּ...

Fragment 16

1 ...עממין...

Fragment 24

1 ... מבוועי תאנת...

2 ...ן לעמק רמת חצור ואזל

3 ... כל דנה אתרא אחזיני די

4 ... ע מלהון ושׁרית

5 ...

4QTJud (4Q538)**Fragments 1 and 2**

1 ...אדין חשל עול...אחוהי זשן...ן...

2 ...עזלי ואן איתי בלובבהון עלי... כדי אונביזלת ואעלת

3 ...זבו כחדא עלי טנועניהון בן...בראנשיהון וקדם יוסף

4 ... ולה זסגדו אדין ידע די לא איתני...רוח באישה ולא יכל עוד

5 ...זבן...ן מנה ולא עוד יכל לאן...ושרז רבה איתי על אחוהי

6 ...פנ...על צורי ועפקני בכנה שגיא כולקבל די הוית

7 ...דחל

8 ...עוד יוסף וכל אן...ולא

Fragment 3

1 אל נ...

2 טב א... ..

3 הוא אל טב נ... ..

4 תקפונא באתר מותנו... ..

Fragment 4

1 ...א די תורזשעון נ... ..

2 ...למלה מן נ... ..

4QTJoseph (4Q539)

Fragments 2 and 3

1 ... חדזה יעקוב בוכה... ..

2 ... שזמעו בניו למאמר יוסף אבוכון ואציותו לי חביבי נואנה... ..

3 ...בני דדי ישמעאל...מאספד אבי יעקוב... ..

4 ...תומנין מניא ועבדנא...תמנין בזני ותקלין... ..

5 ... זבנותהון אן תסובר [מבשר שלינחא... ..

6 ... עובדנא דן מא אסנבל...לזאחי למבשרו די... ..

7 ... רחזמן מ נ אנושאנ... ..

4QapocrLevi^a? (4Q540)

Fragment 1

1 ... תובא תתה עקא עלוהי ויחסר נכסין זעירא ויבנעה... ..

2 ...תובא יתה לה חסרון ויחסר נכסין ון... ..

3 ... די לא יד מה לכול גבר כסר נכסין להן כימא רבאנ... ..

- 4...זביתא די יתילד בה מנה יפונק זומדור אחרון...
- 5 ... כזשמש אול בנכזסוהי מקדשאנ מן דזי יחרבונה...
- 6 ...זא נ...

4QapocrLevi^b? (4Q541)

Fragment 1, Column 2

- 1 כולא הגי ענל...
- 2 טעואן יפילון...
- 3 וכול נשמי הון...
- 4 אל נטו...
- 5 ותנין...

Fragment 2, Column 1

- ... 3-4
- 5 ... מזלין לומלזל וכרעות
- 6 ... הזגה לי עוד כתב
- 7 ... ומזללת עלוהי באוחידואן
- 8 ...זקריב ל עלי להן רחיק מני
- 9 ... לזא להונה זעמניק חזזה נ... ואמרת פריא

Fragment 2, Column 2

- 1 ...זות לה ארו...
- 2 מן קודם אלו...
- 3 תסב מכאבנין...

4 ו אבריכ כה עלת ו... 1

5 רוחך ותחד הנ... 2

6 ארו חכים דני... 3

7 יואן ו... 4

8 רדפ לה ובעה... 5

Fragment 3

1 לזחון יסוד ולם כנה... 1

2 (נסזב אנה לכה מת לני... 2

3 זא ומתבונן בעמיקנין ומ מלכנ... 3

4 חכמה יאתה לעליכה די נסיבת ו... 4

5 זזה למבלע ארו שגי תחדנה... 5

Fragment 4, Column 1

2 ז... 2

3 זחדי... 3

4 מזלל אחי דואן... 4

5 קנה ועופא... 5

6 זשגי אתר... 6

Fragment 4, Column 2

1 זארעאנ... 1

2 לבר יונ... 2

3 לכא מסנ... 3

4 דמכהנ... 4

5 ב ט ש בי מו...

6 מן הינ...

Fragment 6

1 ... ומכאבין על מו...

2 ... דז'נכה ולא תהוה חינוב...

3 ... נגדי מכאוביכה דני...

4 ...לא גועלונכה ? וכול נ...

5 ... חדז'יט ל'בכה מן קנ...

Fragment 7

1 ... הגלו מ'נסתר עמינקתא...

2 די לא מתבוין וכ ת'בו...

3 ישתמק ימא רבא מן הו...

4 אדין יתפתחוןן ספרי חכ מנתא...

5 מאמרה ו משות'משין ח כנימיא...

6 ... אזלפונא...

Fragment 8

1 ...ז'יט'בו...

2 ... ומן כול כ'דוב...

3 ... בימא ד'נא...

4 ...ד'נו...

5 ...ז'ב'ח נ...

Fragment 24, Column 2

1 ...אס... 1

4 ... ואחלא רחמא לכר דני...

3 ...ה נ זברח בגמא דנא מנ...

2 ...ברת...

1 ... 1

Fragment 10

7 ויתפסן על על אספון...

6 קצת בנתי יתני...

5 דכרן שבא חקת...

4 דני חזת חדת...

3 ...אגבס...

Fragment 9, Column 2

7 דחמ ולחה ודי שקר ומסר מקמח וניטעה עמא לפתחי וישבתון

6 ...בדובן ובדבאן עלתי עלתי גמאן וכו' וכו' עלתי עלתי עלתי עלתי

5 ...מנ ארעא וערפלא מן יבשתא שגאן עלתי עלתי יאמרון ועגון

4 ויתחז נרהא בכרל קצוי ארעא ועל חשוכא תני אדן יעדח חשוכא

3 ...עמא מאמרה כמאמר שמן ואלפיה כרתת אל שמש עלמח תני

2 ...אמיתו לחתו חכמתו ויכפר על כרל בני דני וישתלח לכרל בני

1 ...אמ...אמיתו חתו...ולבנתו עי' מרתל נ...

Fragment 9, Columns 1 and 2

Fragment 1, Column 2

1 ... וְעַל כֵּן אֵין מִן הַיָּמִין בְּקִרְבָּן אֶלְפִינִים

- 13 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 12 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 11 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 10 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 9 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 8 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 7 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 6 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 5 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 4 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 3 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 2 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 1 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה

Fragment 1, Column 1

4QTQahat (4Q542)

- 6 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 5 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 4 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 3 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה
- 2 וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה וְהַיָּמִין אֶתְּנֶה

- 13... ואתה ואתה רחוק
- 12... ואתה רחוק
- 11... ואתה רחוק
- 10... ואתה רחוק
- 9... ואתה רחוק
- 8... ואתה רחוק
- 7... ואתה רחוק
- 6... ואתה רחוק
- 5... ואתה רחוק

- 13... ואתה רחוק
- 12... ואתה רחוק
- 11... ואתה רחוק
- 10... ואתה רחוק
- 9... ואתה רחוק
- 8... ואתה רחוק
- 7... ואתה רחוק
- 6... ואתה רחוק
- 5... ואתה רחוק
- 4... ואתה רחוק
- 3... ואתה רחוק
- 2... ואתה רחוק

11 ... וְאֵבָה יִקְרָו וְאֵבָנִיָּא אִסְוּ...

12 ... אֵן לְהוֹן מִן זִנְתָא שְׂגִי מִן דִּי נְ...

13 לְחַדָּה דִּי לֹא אִיתָאִי לֶה כּוֹל כּוֹנְ...

4QVisions of Amram^a (4Q543)

Fragment 1a

1 פִּרְשָׁן כְּתָב מְלִי חֲזוֹת עֵ מַרְס בְּרִנְ...

2 אַחֲוֵי לְבִנוּהֵי וְדִי פִקְדֵי אַנּוֹן בְּנִיִּים...

3 וְתִלְתִּין וְשֵׁת הֵיא שְׁנִיתָא דִּינְ...

4 וְחַמְשִׁין וְתִרְתִּין לְגִוּ... זִשְׁנִרְזֵאל לְמִנְצִרִינְוֹ...

5 עֲלוּהֵי וְשִׁלּוּחַ...

6 לֶה לְמַרְיִים נְ...

7 ...

Fragments 2a and 2b

1 ... מְמַרְדֵּךְ וְנִתֵּן לְךָ נְ...

2 ... אֲדָרְיֵי עֲלִמְיִן וְנִתֵּן לְךָ חֲכֵמָה...

3 ... יִהְיוּסוּפִי זְלָדְנִי...

4 ... אֵל תְּהוּהֵי וּמִלֵּאךְ אֵל תִּתְקַרְהֵי נְ...

5 ... תַּעֲבֹד בְּאַרְעָא דָּא וְדִין חֲסִין תְּנִי...

6 ... זִוְרוּן לֶה שְׂמֵךְ לְכָל מַעֲוֵי...

7 ... אֲכָל דְרֵי עֲלִמְוִין...

8 ... וְאֵבָה תַעֲבֹד דְנִי...

9 ... אֲתִכְשֵׁר נְ...

Fragment 3

1 ...זשבקווי...

2 ...זמן אר ע...

3 ...לומטֿ רנין...

Fragments 5

3 ...

4 ...זטלת עיני וחזית וחד מו...

5 ...זענין וחשיך חשודן...

6 ... vacat ואחרנא חזית והנא...

7 ... ואזֿ פיהי חעכון ומכסה בֿ...

8 ...זלחד... על עינוהינו...

9 ...זלו...

Fragment 10

1 ...זאנה שליטן...

2 ...זשן...

Fragment 15

1 ...זתוב לעמֿן...

2 ...זלכלהון זלהואו...

3 ...זבכל שנאין אֿן דני...

4 ...זין...

Fragment 16

1 ...אָן לדכר

2 ...תעבד לעמך וחדוה

3 ...אדין כאלין

4 ...עדבך ...ברי

5 ...מלכאן...זל

Fragment 17

1 ...שניא בהן...

2 ...זלא למבכין נ...

3 ...תני אסן...סן...

Fragment 18

1 ...לה וענידן...

2 ...לך לבב מבן...

3 ... בשלם בין חייאן...

Fragment 20

1 ...אנה ברי דבן...

2 ... מהון...

Fragment 2

- 11 ... משהו עליו עשיתי.
- 12 ... וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 13 ... וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 14 ... וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 15 ... וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 16 ... וזהו זה, זהו זה.

Fragment 1

- 1 קחתי את זה, זהו זה.
- 2 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 3 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 4 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 5 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 6 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 7 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 8 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 9 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 10 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 11 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 12 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 13 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 14 וזהו זה, זהו זה.
- 15 ...

Fragment 3

1 ... נהוֹרָא אשֶׁלֶטֶת וּשְׁאֵלֶתָהּ...

2 ... וְאָמַר לִי תִלְתָּה שְׁמַהֲנָן...

3 ...

4QVisions of Amram^c (4Q545)

Fragment 1a, Column 1

1 פֶּר שְׁגֹן... אֲתָ עֵמְרָם בְּרִי קָהָת בֶּר לִי כֹוֵל...

2 דִּי... אֲנֹן בְּיוֹם... בְּשָׁנָת

3 מֵאָה וְתִלְתִּין וְשֵׁת הֵינָא... שְׁנַתָּ דִּי מוֹתָהּ בְּשָׁנָתָּ מֵאָה

4 וְחֻמְשִׁין וְתִרְתִּין לְגִלְוֹתָנָן יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִצְרַיִם וְאִף עַ בְּרַ עֲלוֹנְהֵי...

5 וְקָרָא לְעוֹזִיאֵל אַחוּהֵי זַעִירָאֵן וְאַסְבֵּל לֵה לְמִרְנִיזִם בְּרִתָּהּ

6 לְאַנְתָּה בְּרִת תִּלְתִּין שְׁנָן וְעַבְדֵּי מִשְׁתוֹתָהּ שְׁבַעֲהוֹן יוֹמִין

7 וְאָכַל וְאַשְׁתִּי בְּמִשְׁתוֹתָהּ וְחָדִי אֲדִין כְּדִי אֲשִׁתְּצִין

8 ... יוֹמֵי מִשְׁתוֹתָא שְׁלַח קָרָא לְאַהֲרֹן לְבֵרָה כֹּוֹמֵאֵן בְּרַ שְׁנָן

9 ... וְלֵה קָרִי לִי בְּרִי לְמִלְאַכִּיָּה אַחִיכֹּון מִן בֵּית

10 ... עֲבִינֹדְתָה לְעִלְיָהּ וְזַקְרָא לֵה

11 ... מִפְּקֹדָא אֵנָה

12 ... דַּ אַבּוּהֵי

13 ... אֲמֵן

14 ... מִמְרַכָּה

15 ... עֲלוֹמִין

16 ... חֲכֵמָה זַהֲוִסְף

17 ... וּמִזְלַאֲךָ אֵל

18 ... בארעזא דא

19 ... לזא שמך לוכוזל

Fragment 1a, Column 2, and Fragment 1b

1-9 ...

10 מְתוּ...

11 בא רעא דא וסלקת לְמוֹקֶם...

12 למק בר אבהתנא וסלקתו...

13 לְמוֹקֶם ולעמרה ולמבנא קו...

14 שגיאין מן בני דדי כחדנא...

15 עבידתנא...שגיאין לחודא...זרון מותין נ...

16 שמועת קרב מְבַהֵלָה תאבְנָה...זתנא לארע מוצרין...

17 לעובע ולא בו...זריא די...זון...זון...זון...

18 ולמבנה ולמסב להוון...זן ארע כנעון...

19 אנחנה בנין וקרנבא...זפ לשת למצרין ונצחון...

Fragment 4

13 ... אזעבדו...

14 ...זא אחוה לכה שמהנתון...

15 ...זכתנבז בארעא לה מושה ואף על נ...

16 ...זאחוח לכה רז עובדה כהן קדיש הו א...

17 קדניש לחוח לה כל זרעה בכול דרי ענלמן...

18 שביעי באנוש רעותו...זקרה ויתא מו...

19 יתבחר לכחן עלמין...

Fragment 6

- 1 ... תופע ז'לא תהוה
 2 ... קודמיתא תהא
 3 ... על נפשה תכמון בין...
 4 ...

Fragment 7

- 1 ... ואמרת בך אנה רבנ...
 2 ... למרגז עלי ולדחלוֹתונני...

Fragment 8

- 1 ... אליסוד לו...
 2 ... תתקורא במלי יקור...
 3 ...

4QVisions of Amram^d (4Q546)**Fragment 1**

- 1 ... בשנת מ'אהנ...
 2 ... מאה זוח משין נותרותינן...
 3 ... עבר ז'לוחני וזשלחנ...
 4 ... לזאנתה בורתנ תולותינן...

Fragment 2

- 1 ... בן שנת רישי ברשונתי...
- 2 ... מצרינן וסלקת למק בנר...
- 3 ... אבנהתחון ושב קוני אבי קהנת...
- 4 ... ולמסב להון כל צרכיהון מן אנרע...

Fragment 3

- 1 ...
- 2 ...
- 3 ... דזי חזית עמה נ...
- 4 ... בנן עמה נ...
- 5 ...לנו...

Fragment 4

- 1 ... ועננה ואמר לני...
- 2 ...זה ואנה שליט לא נ...
- 3 ...זשאלתנה נואמרת לה מא אנ...
- 4 ...ל...נ...

Fragment 5

- 1 ... שולזטנה ואנ...
- 2 ...אף קשיטיא נ...
- 3 ...בראנ...

Fragment 6

1 ... לכלהוון ולחואנו...

2 ... ונתטב עו...

3 ... ששתעא לכנל...

Fragment 7

1 ... מי דינא...

2 ... ישזרבע שוב...

3 ... זרו די תכשרו...

4 ... בבא עמו...

5 ... זאל מוענדא...

6 ... אזכליאנות...

Fragment 8

1 ... זפרקתה שמהו...

2 ... זאהרון ארו אנ...

3 ... עזבדה יתובו לנארע...

4 ... וזתקרא לחו...

5 ... ואמרת זמרי אונתה...

Fragment 9

1 ... זוחו...

2 ... אזתגלה לי סונל...

3 ... וזקראת זשמה מנושה...

4 הויתנו...זבתרהנ...

5 עדעדן די בעות צלות...

6 מהילכין לאורע...

7 ועוד לנו...

Fragment 12

1 ...ז בנין ענד זעלם לחנ...

2 ...זעלמינ...זכען נמזקרב הוא עול...

3 ... אזל עליה בשלם ונדזבק לאהנרזון להוה נ...

4 ...זה ורז מרים עבד להנ...זלנ...

5 ...זלנ...

Fragment 13

1 ...

2 ...זאנה בל נ...

3 ...זסה בי אנ...

4 ...זה יהוון פתג מניא...

5 ...זד מה לגיד קנדס...

Fragment 14

1 וכען ברי זננה...

2 לעמד נ...זתנדנע...זלנ...

3 אל פתח ביתכ עולזהון...

4 וכען בני שמעו די נ...

5 חזיתנ...זלנ...

... 6

4Qvisions of Amram^e (4Q547)**Fragment 1 and Fragment 2, Column 3**

שמוֹעַת קרב... 1

... 2-3

וְתִאֲתָא... 4

לְמִתְבַּלְמִצְרִין... 5

וְזִבְכוֹל דִּן יוֹכַבֵּד... 6

אֲנִתְהָ אַחֲרֵי... 7

דְּיִי אַתּוּב לְמִצְרִין... 8

חֲזִית בַּחֲזוֹת... 9

דִּילוּהִי וְאַחַדִּין... 10

וְאַמְטְרִין לִי אַנְחִנָא... 11

אַנְתְּהָ בְּעָה... 12

וְחֲשִׁיךְ... 13

Fragment 3

... 1

... 2

... 3

... 4

... 5

... 6

7...לָנוּ...

Fragment 5

1 ... קִזְרַבְנָה

2 ...קִרְבַּ כְּדָן

3 ...תִּרְהָ נֹחַ

4 ...וְ

Fragment 8

1 ...וְנָן...

2 ...לְ דִי קִרְבַּ לֹי בְרַה עֵנֶל...

3 ...מִרְתַּ לְכַה עַל מִדְבָּן... דִּי אֲבַנְיָא...

4 ...כֹּל קִרְבַּנְסַן...הִוְאָן...

5 ...

Fragment 9

1 ...וְאָן...

2 ...פְּצִיתָן...

3 ... וּמוֹשֵׁה הַ בְּנֵה נָן...

4 ...בְּהַר סִינַי יִצָּן...

5 ...וְכִי רַבָּא עַל מִדְבַח נַחְשֹׁנָא...

6 ...וְכִי יִתְרִם כְּהֵן מִן כֹּל בְּנֵי עֵלְמָא בָּא חֹן...

7 ...וְכִי וּבְנוּהֵי בְתֵרָה לְכֹל דְרֵי עֵלְמִין בְּקֹוֹשֶׁט...

8 ...וְכִי אֲתַעִירְתָּ מִן שְׁנַת עֵינֵי וְחֹזָא כְּתִיב...

9 ...וְכִי אֲרַעְכְּנֵן וְהוּא לִי כְּדִי אֲמַרְנָן...

- 16 בגיג...לכל בני נחראר...ג
- 15 ואורעדנ...ן מן חשכא אר כל נ...ג
- 14 ולבדכא יחכר נ...לעמא נחראר ואורעדנ...ג
- 13 לנראר ל נחראר נע' מראר...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 12 אר כל סכל ור...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 11 וברל מנראר נ...לראר וכלי חשכא מראר נ...ג
- 10 נחראר לנראר חשכא מראר לנראר...ג
- 9 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 8 ונראר...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 7 מראר אר כל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 6 לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 5 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 4 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 3 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 2 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 1 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג

Fragment 1, Column 2, and Fragment 2

4Qvisions of Amram' (4Q548)

- 12 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 11 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג
- 10 אר...א...לכל בני חשנ...א...לכל בני חשנ...ג

1 עֲמֵדִין חֲנִי... 1

2 לִיּוֹם בְּיוֹסֵן... 2

3 אֶסֶר תִּנְא... 3

4 תִּנְ... 4

4Qvisions of Amram⁸ (4Q549)

Fragment 2

1 ...זַר וְאָכַל הוּא וּבְנוֹהֵי... 1

2 ... ׀ ׀ ׀ לֵהָא שְׁנַת עֲלֵמָה... 2

3 עֲלוּהִי וְאֶשְׁכַּחְהֵי... 3

4 בְּנוּהִי וּבְנֵי אַחֲוֵי... 4

5 וְתַבּוּ בַר שַׁעֲתָהוּן... 5

6 פֶּטֶר לְבֵית עֲלֵמָה... ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀... 6

7 ... vacat ׀... וּמִן... 7

8 עֶשְׂרָא וְאוֹלַד מִן מְרִיאָם עֲמֵן... 8

9 וְלִסְתְּרֵי vacat וְנִסְבַּ חוֹרֵן... 9

10 וְאוֹלַד מִנָּה לְאוֹר וְאֶהֱסִין... 10

11 מִנָּה אַרְבַּעַן בְּנִין... 11

A.4 Cave Six Texts

6QpapGiants (6Q8)

Fragment 1

- 1 ...וַיִּזְכֹּר... 1
- 2 ...ואוהיא ואמר למהוי 10... 2
- 3 ...ולא מרתת מן אחזק כלא אן... 3
- 4 ...א ברקאל אבי עמיהוה vacat... 4
- 5 ...ולאושזצי מהוינ...לאשתעיה מה דינ... 5
- 6 ...לזה ארו תמהין שמעת הן ילדת סרילקה... 6

A.5 Cave Eleven Texts

11QTargum to Job (11Q10)

Column 1

- 1 נתולעָה ומא אפו 1... 1
- 2 הָעמי לשאול תו... 2
- 3 נטשכב vacat... 3
- 4 ענא בלדד שוחנאה... 4
- 5 גִּל תשוֹא סוף למנא... 5
- 6 לבועִירא דמינא 1... 6
- 7 זחעל דנברתך... 7
- 8 זמן אתורה... 8

Column 2

- 1 ותקוף עלי רגזה וחנ...
- 2 יתון חתפוהי וכבשו נ...
- 3 הרחקו וידעי נ...
- 4 ביתי אמתי לנכרני...
- 5 לעבדי קרית ולא עונא...
- 6 רוח המכת לאנתתי נ...
- 7 רשיעין יסגפונניז
- 8 כל אנש די

Column 3

- 1 זבאיש
- 2 ...
- 3 זב לכ לבבי נ...
- 4 קלולתי אשמע ורונח...
- 5 ידעת מן עלמא מן דני...
- 5 ...
- 6 ארו מבע רשינעין...
- 7 לעבע תעדא נ...
- 8 ואנפה לענניא נ...

Column 4

- 1 זלי להותנ...
- 2 מנדעי תמיקונו...

- 3 ארו אפו לא תו...
- 4 סימו ידיכון על נ...
- 5 ותמהא אחד לי הו...
- 6 והסגיו נכסין זרעוהון...
- 7 לעיניהון בתיחון נ...
- 8 אלהא עליהונו...
- 9 הריתהוון פלו...

Column 5

- 1 עינוהי במפלתה ומנחמת
- 2 צבו לאלהא בביתה נ...
- 3 ו...ן ירחוהי גזירין הלאנלהא
- 4 וזהוא רמיא מדין אבנרוהי
- 5 ...אגרמוהי דן ימות בנפוש
- 6 לזא אכל כחדה על נ...
- 7 עליהון ארו ידעני
- 8 ...התעיאטנותון

Column 6

- 1 ...לאנלהא
- 2 ... ארחד
- 3 ...טעל עמד
- 4 ...לזא איתי
- 5 ...אחיד מגן
- 6 ...צעהא לא

7... לזחם ואמרת

8... אזנפיהי

9... לזנ...זה

Column 7

1 די מיתנו...

2 אמרין נ...

3 לנא אלהוא...

4 ועטת רשניעין...

5 ויחאכון נ...

6 היך לא נ...

7 הסתכול...

8 קבל נ...

9 ...

Column 7a

1 *vacat* ענא איוב ואמור...

2 מן טלל שעותי די נ...

3 נתנחתי מלוא אנדע ואשכנחה...

4 אתר מדרה אמלל קדמונהי...

5 נופמזי אמלא הוכחה ואנדע נ...

6 ואסתכל מא יאמר לז נ...

7 נינעזול עמי מלוא עד נ...

8 ארו קשט ודת נ...

9 הן לקזום...

... 10

Column 8

1 מן קריהוֹן נ...

2 תקבל אלהא נ...

3 קדמוהי לנרונה...

4 בשבילוהי נ...

5 ומסכן ובליליא...

6 קבל למאומר...

7 ויחטאא חֶנְתֶּר...

8 בבאיִשְׁנֶתְחֹן...

9 להוֹן...

Column 9

1 נהתכֹּפְפוּ כיבלא יתקפאצון נ...

2 נמֶן אפו יתיבנני פתגם וינשוא...

3 *vacat* ענא בלֶדֶנְד... נ...

4 נשֶׁלְטֶן ורבו עם אלהא ענבד...

5 נבמרזֶמָה האיתי רחצן להשֶׁן...

6 ...או על מן לא תקום נ...

7 אלהא ומא יצדק נ...

8 זֶכִי וכוּכְבִיא לֹא נ...

9 נובֶזֶרְ אַנְש תולעֶנְתֶּא *vacat* נ...

10 נואמֶזֶרְ הֶעֱדֶנְרֶת...

Column 10

- 1...על־נְסִיפֵי חֶסֶדְךָ
- 2...יִזְעֵעַ וַיִּתְמַהוּן מִן
- 3...יִמָּא וּבַמְנַדְעָה קִטֵּל
- 4...הַדְּוֹגַחַת חֲלַלְתָּ יְדֵה תַנִּין עֶרְקְךָ
- 5...שְׁבִילֹזְהֵי מֵא עֵטֶר מֵלֵא נְשׁוּמַע...
- 6...וַיִּסְתַּכֵּל *vacat*
- 7... *vacat*
- 8...וַאֲמַר חֵי אֱלֹהֵיךָ נ...
- 9...לְנַפְשֵׁי הָעָם לְכַמֵּנָא...
- 10...בְּאִפֵּי הָעָם יִמְלֹךְ...

Column 11

- 1...בִּיזֵד אֱלֹהֵיךָ וְעַבְדֵךָ
- 2...כֹּלְכֹן חֲזִיתֹן לְמָה
- 3...וַאֲנִשׁ רְשִׁיעִין
- 4...וְקִדְמוֹהֵי יִנְסֹן הָעָם
- 5...חֲרוֹזֵב יַפְצֹן וְלֹא יִשְׁבַּעוּן
- 6...וַאֲרַמְלַתְהָ לֹא
- 7...וְזֹהֵיָא כְּטִינָא יִסְגָּא
- 8...מִמוֹנָה קְשִׁיִּיטָה יִפְלֵג
- 9...וְכִקְטוֹתָא
- 10...שְׁזַכְבֵּי וְלֹא אִיתְחַדֵּי
- 11...וְכַמֵּין בְּאִישׁ

Column 12

- 1 רגל נ...
- 2 וחלינף אתנורי
- 3 ספירא...
- 4 לא...נהדזרכאה
- 5 תננין...
- 6 טיפזן...
- 7 כולא...
- 8 ...
- 9 אנזש...

Column 13

- 1 אתר ערימותא נ...
- 2 צפרי שמיא אסותתרת...
- 3 באדנינא שמענא נ...
- 4 בה ארו הוא נ...
- 5 לקצוי ארעא נ...
- 6 במעבדה לרוחא נ...
- 7 במכילה במעבדונה...
- 8 קלילין באדינן...
- 9 ואמר לבני נ...
- 10 ומסטינא...

Column 14

- 1... בוצפרין בתרעי קריא בשוקנא...
- 2... הוזזוני עלומין טשו וגברין נ...
- 3... הורברבאין חשו מללא וכף ישון נ...
- 4... קל סגנין הטמרו לחנך דבנק...
- 5... תזשמע אדן שבחתיני ועין חוזת...
- 6... אזרו אנה שיאזבת לענא מן נ...
- 7... דזי לא עדר להואן ברכת אנבד...
- 8... בפוס ארמלה הוית לצלו...
- 9... לבשזתני וככתון לבשת נ...
- 10... הורגלין לחגיר נ...
- 11... לזא ידענות...

Column 15

- 1... זאחאך להון ולא יהנימנו...
- 2... זבחרת ארחי והוית נ...
- 3... זבראש חילה וכגבר די אנבלין...
- 4... חזאכו עלי זערין מני ביומין נ...
- 5... אבהזתהון מלמהוא עם כלבי עוני...
- 6... זלזא הוא לי צבין ובאכפיוהון...
- 7... כפון רעין הוא ירק דנחשת...
- 8... בזאישה די אכלו...
- 9... רתמוזין לחמהון...

Column 16

- 1 לסזתרי יתון ופצא לא

- 2... וכען בתקף שחני יתון
- 3... בזאישה אתכפפת התכפפת
- 4... כרוח טבתי ורבואתי וכען
- 5... פורקוני וכען עלי תתאשד
- 6... יזומי תשבראא יאקפוני
- 7... אגרמי יקדון ועדקני
- 8... אחיל יאחדון לבונשי
- 9 יסנפונני אחתוני
- 10 ...

Column 17

- 1... זאתה
- 2... זבדי
- 3... רתחז ולא
- 4... וזהלכת
- 5... ואזעקת
- 6... לבנות יענה
- 7... זמן
- 8... אבובז
- 9... זלא

Column 18

- 1 יאוכל... פתיא
- 2 לבי באונתא... צודת
- 3 תטחן... דזנא רג

- 4 והוא חטא...היזא עד
- 5 אבדון תנאכל...זהן אתקצרת
- 6 בדין ענבדי...מזא אעבד
- 7 כדי יקום...ארו
- 8 עבנדי חזד הן
- 9 אנמנע...סזיפת

Column 19

- 1 דנח ולסוהרא
- 2 ונשקת ידי נ...כדזבת
- 3 לאלהא מעלנא הזללת
- 4 על באישתה נ...
- 5 לוטי וישמע נ...זברגז
- 6 ואחדת נ...למחטזא
- 7 חכי למשנאל אנש
- 8 ביתי מון...
- 9 לא נ...

Column 20

- 1 תחות חטא נ...
- 2 באשושה ספון...
- 3 אלן מלהתנבה...
- 4 הוא איוב זוכי...
- 5 ...vacat
- 6 אדין רגז נ...

7 זרע רומנאה...

8 ואף ענל...

9 מלין...

Column 21

1 מלי אף אנה ארו סברת נ...

2 תסיפון עד תחקרון סוף נ...

3 וארו לא איתי מנכון לאנויב...

4 למלוהי די למה תאמרון נ...

5 להן אלהא חיבנא ולא נ...

6 מלין וכמא לא יתיבנה נ...

7 והחשיו ונטרת מנהון נ...

8 נוקזמו ולא ימלון עונד...

9 נואחורה מלי אף נ...

Column 22

1...הן חרגתי לא תסורדנך...

2...יקר הך אמרת באדני וקול...

3...זכוי אנה ולא חטא לי ונקנא...

4...הן עולין השכח אחד לי נ...

5...זשוא בסדא רגלי וסכר כול...

6... ארו רב אלהא מן אנשנא...

7... רבבן תמלל ארו בכל נ...

8... אזר בחדא ימלל אלהנא...

9...בזחלמן בחדידי לילינא...

Column 27

- 1 למלכין יתבי עול... רחמימוהי לרחצן ירמון
- 2 ואף עם אסירין בן... אחידין בחבלי מסכניא
- 3 ויחוא להואן עבדיהון... ארו התרוממו ויגלא
- 4 אדניהון למוסר ואומר... אהן יתואבון מן באישתהון
- 5 הן ישמעון ויעבדון... בטב ימהון ושניהון
- 6 ביקר ועדנין... ישמעון בחרבא יפלו
- 7 ויאבדון מן מונדעא לזבבהון לרגז
- 8 עליהון וס... מזדינתהון בממתין
- 9 ויפרק מן... די אדניהון
- 10 זלא...

Column 28

- 1 עבנדת... דכר ארו רברבין עבדוהי די... נ
- 2 חזו המוןן וכל אנשא עלוהי חזין ובני אנשא
- 3 מרחיקן עלוהי יבקון הא אלהא רב הוא ויומוהי
- 4 סגיאנ... ננדע ומנין שנוהי די לא סוף ארו
- 5 ענני... וזיקי מטר יהכנ ועננהי ינאחתון
- 6 טניפי... עם סגיא הן vacat מן פרס
- 7 ענ... אתרגושונה מן טלל ופרס נהורה...
- 8 כוסי ארו סבהון ידין עזממין
- 9 זעל מאמרה מן...
- 10 גזשיאח עלוהי

Column 29

Column 31

אינני אלא אדם אנונימי... 2
הוא... 1

10 זכרונות וזכרונות
9 ואלה הן...
8 ואלה הן...
7 ואלה הן...
6 ואלה הן...
5 ואלה הן...
4 ואלה הן...
3 ואלה הן...
2 ואלה הן...
1 ואלה הן...

Column 30

9...
8...
7...
6...
5...
4...
3...
2...
1...

- 4 תכול למעבד ולא יתבצר מנד תקף וחכמה
 5 חדה מללת ולא אתיב ותרתינ ועליהן לא
 6 אוסף שמע נא ואנה אמלל אשאלנד
 7 והתיבני למשמע אדן שמעתך וכען עיני
 8 חזתך על כן אתנסך ואתמהא ואהוא לעפר
 9 וקטס *vacjat*
 10 וקשט *vacat* [א...] [א...]

Column 38

- 1 ...ועבדון...
 2 אלהא ושמע אולהא בקלה די איוב ושׁבֿק
 3 לחון חטאיהון בדילה ותב אלהא לאיובא ברחמין
 4 ויהב לה חד תרין בכל די הוא לה ואתין לות
 5 איוב כל רחמוהי וכל אחוהי וכל ידעוהי ואכלו
 6 עמה לחם בביתה ונחמוהי על כל באישתה די
 7 היתי אלהא עלוהי ויהבו לה גבר אמרה חדה
 8 וגבר קדש חד די דהב *vacat*
 9 ואלהא בֿרֿך יֿת אַנוֿזב באַחורי זלו...

11QNJ (11Q18)

Fragment 6

- 1 [א... מאתינ ותמנין אַמנין...
 2 [א... אַזְלֿן פּרזיא ליד שורנא...
 3 [א... דרומא ופלגנ...]

4 ...זפריאן...זחנ...

5 ...זלנ...

Fragment 7

1 ...ז על כול זרע בני נ...

2 ...זדא די להון אכלקנ...

3 ...זב להון סחור נ...

4 ...זט מאה וחמשונ...

5 ...זלעלנ...

Fragment 8

1 ...זטב כולה ארבע רגלוהני...

2 ...זפזתיה אמה ותרת עשורה...

3 ...זפתוזרא ועלוי לחמא שולון...

4 ...זפזתי תרינ...זורומנ...

5 ...

Fragment 9

1 ...ז סחור לעליתא דנ...

2 ...זאמין עמודין שבעה תנ...

3 ...זפוזתיהון אמין שת בשת נ...

4 ...זבא ובנא בנין עלוי עמן...

5 ...זבא וכול בנינא דן שן...

6 ...זקדשאנ...זולסנ...

Fragment 10, Column 1

- 1 ... מיין חייך
- 2 ... זורא דן דהב טב
- 3 ... מיין מיין
- 4 ...
- 5 ... זבן קול אבניהון
- 6 ... זוך חפא דהב
- 7 ... זאה ועשור...
- 8 ...

Fragment 11

- 1 ... תוהי ארבעא רמין אמין אנרבע...
- 2 ... זינא ליד כותלא די סחר לנו...
- 3 ... פותיה אמיון תרתין ורומה אמין תרתיון...
- 4 ... נאמה וכולה דהב טב דיני...
- 5 ...
- 6 ... די עמודין סחר מן תרע לתורע...
- 7 ... מן תרע לתרע בשורתאנו...
- 8 ... זלסן בכלורנו...

Fragment 12, Column 1

- 1 ... מן אלן וערבליא די
- 2 ... זיא פרישא ודי מעשריא
- 3 ... זחון פרישא וסכנתא

... 4

5 ... סל רוח מערב

6 ... שורא

7 ... זבן הובן

8 ... בימן

... 9

Fragment 12, Column 2

... 1–2

3 ... בן

4 ... מן

5 ... רון

6 ... טון

7 ... ועלאן

8 די ...

Fragment 13

1 ... בארבע רגלוי ונשט תורא נ...

2 ... רחע רגלוי וקרבוהי ומלח כולהו...

3 ... וזשויה על נורא ואיתי קמח סולתו...

4 ... רוזבע סתא ואסקה למדבחא כלהו...

5 ... רוזבע סתא ונסך לגוא מורכלותא...

6 ... זא ובשרא מתערב כחדאן...

7 ... זריחא *vacat* נ...

8 ... מרפסתא ליד יסן...

9 ...אומבֿ מס...

10 ...רנֿ...

11 ...

Fragment 14, Column 2

1 גפן כדי פרש מן לולביא...

2 מנצבהון וכלילא חמינשיא...

3 גוא כפרה וכלילא שתיתניא...

4 שביעיא כדמות נצ ורדו...

5 לחוה לבש כהנא רבא...

6 ...זים וכול נ...

7 ...לכול ענ...

8 ...

Fragment 15

1 ...משרתאא עוד לחן די להוהנ...

2 ...א וכול די להון משצין שבעתניהון...

3 ... אחיהון עללין חלפהון ארבע מנאה...

4 ...א ואמר לי לעשרין ושת נ...

5 ...קדישי קדישיא ולאנ...

6 ...עללנין ענ...

Fragment 16, Column 1

1 ...ני הובן כלהון

2 ...לבוצ

3... כותפן

4... את

Fragment 16, Column 2 and Fragment 17, Column 1

1 ברכה נ... תניניסל ותודתהון

2 ופסחיהון לו... כזהניא מקבלין

3 מן ידהון דפשו... לז וולזאנ...

4 עלל לה כול אנש...

5 ידוהי כול נ...

Fragment 17, Column 2

1 שבעא בשבעא זאנ...

2 קנין תלתא ורום תרעניא...

3 לכול תרי עשר תרעין...

4 תרתין ועובי פותי כותנלא...

5 קדמהון קנין מאהנ...

6... זלנ...

Fragment 18

1 כסין שבעה וספלין למרח שתהנ...

2... זי ועליא שבעא דודין תפין על אבנינ...

3... וכזולחון תלתין ותרין אלפין ותשע מאהנ...

4...

5... אומר לי חזא אנתה דני...

6... זלבתי חדוא ולנ...

... 7

Fragment 19

1 ... ׀ה תרעיא די לקובל היכלא לנו...

2 ... ׀ ביומא שביעיא וביום ראשי חנדשא...

3 ... קזדיש הוא היכלא ויקרא רבנא...

4 ... ׀ לכל עלמין ׀...

5 ... ׀ שרי למקרא לי בנכ׀תבא ׀...

6 ... ׀ מחזא לי כתב כ׀...

... 7

Fragment 20

1 ... כ׀זל יום שביעי קודם אל דכרונא...

2 ... ׀לברא מן היכלא לימין מערבא ׀...

3 ... ׀פליג לתמנין וארבעה כהנין ש׀...

4 ... ׀ מן כול שבעת פלוגת פתורי ׀...

5 ... ׀בהזון וארבעת עשר כהנין...

6 ... ׀לחמזא די הות לבונתא ׀...

7 ... ׀זהיבת לכהנא ׀...

8 ... ׀קאום פנבד ׀...

Fragment 21

... 1

2 ... ׀ ר ותרעין תרין

3 ... ׀ לתרותי עליתא

4 ...קזנא חד פותי

5 ...אזא וכדן

6 ...דרגא

Fragment 22

1 ... על ארבע קרנת מדבחוא...

2 ... ין מנה כול תרבה

3 ... תרתין כוליתה

4 ... נושיפה פיל

5 ... מדובחא לריח

6 ... לקדמין

7 ...

8 ...עין

Fragment 23, Column 1

1 ...אין ומן

2 ...פא

Fragment 23, Column 2

1 עליהון לנו...

2 ודשלם נ...

3 נכסיהון נ...

4 ומברכין בנו...

5 כולה סגין...

6 הן סלחנ...

7... ישראלו...

Fragment 24

1... של שמשא ארו...

2... זה דין מן כול שו...

3... דא די ארבעתו...

4... על כול זרעסו...

5... בכול שנה לנו...

6... כה עללין ו...

7... כול די ו...

Fragment 25

1... מן קודשי ישראלו...

2... זור ובליה הו...

3... זריתא ויקראו...

4... בי בשרה דיסו...

5... לון עמה ומון...

6... זון ויכלון וישנתון...

7... ומו...

Fragment 26

1... זכול אנשא די יחו...

2... זיתמנון עלוהי...

3... א עד תדנח שמונשא...

4... זחי כחדא vacat...

... vacat שבעה... 5

... להוון שבנ... 6

... להוון... 7

Fragment 27

1 ... כול ישראל חנ...

2 ... וכדי ישנ...

3 ... לי פסחיא חפנ...

4 ... עד תנדנח שמשא וכו'...

5 ... ששלמיהוון...

6 ... לא לרוין ו'...

Fragment 28

1 ... לנהוון דברין בנ...

2 ... אבר שבעות...

3 ... עד מעל שנמשא...

4 ... קורבני אנ...

5 ... תורין תרנין...

6 ... וכו'...

Fragment 29

1 ... קודם מדנבחה...

2 ... זכון עם עונ...

3 ... רבון לה נ...

4 ... ממשח וחמונ...

5 ... קודמוהיני...

6 ... ריטח ניחונח...

Fragment 30

1 ... אן ככול דני...

2 ... און עוד לויא דבחנ...

3 ... זולהוה להון סני...

4 ... מן מועדי אלני...

5 ... מא די לני...

6 ... זורהני...

Fragment 31, Column 1

1 ... זת

2 ... זון

3 ... לא

Fragment 31, Column 2

1 דני...

2 כורסינא...

3 מנה בני...

4 ידא חני...

5 ועל שני...

6 היכלנא...

7 ויקני...

Fragment 32

- 1 ... כרסיא נ...
- 2 ... וכזתא וישוורנ...
- 3 ... א היכלא ומן דמנ...
- 4 ... שזבעת קניה נ...
- 5 ... זעל ארבע ס...
- 6 ... זן מן היכלא נ...
- 7 ... ויד אבן דמאנ...
- 8 ... ויקדשנהס...
- 9 ... לארבע
- 10 ... זן ויסוד

Fragment 33

- 1 ... זריח נחוחנ...
- 2 ... זיא ואיליא גנ...
- 3 ... זפרישא עלנ...
- 4 ... זן כנ...

Fragment 34

- 1 ... אכן נ...
- 2 ... זורני...
- 3 ...

Fragment 35

1 ... מן כול...

2 ... רחמי נ...

Fragment 36

1 ... שרין

Fragment 37

1 ... עלון אנ...

2 ... מי מנ...

3 ... יא פחמא נ...

4 ... די ישנ...

Appendix B

Photographs of the Genesis

Apocryphon

The following photographs of the *Genesis Apocryphon* are included in the interest of intellectual integrity. Photographs of all of the other scrolls used in the preparation of this work are commonly available in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series or in separately published volumes, as we have cited earlier in this volume. These photographs formed the basis against which the medial columns (columns 3–18) of the *Genesis Apocryphon* were published. However, the photographs have never been released to the public and the readings of these columns have never been able to be verified independently. Therefore, in order to enable the reader to verify every reading included in this work, we included the following images.

These photographs were taken in 1994 by Bruce and Ken Zuckerman of the West Semitic Research Project. They are included here by the kind permission of the Israel Antiquities Authority who retains copyright ownership of them.

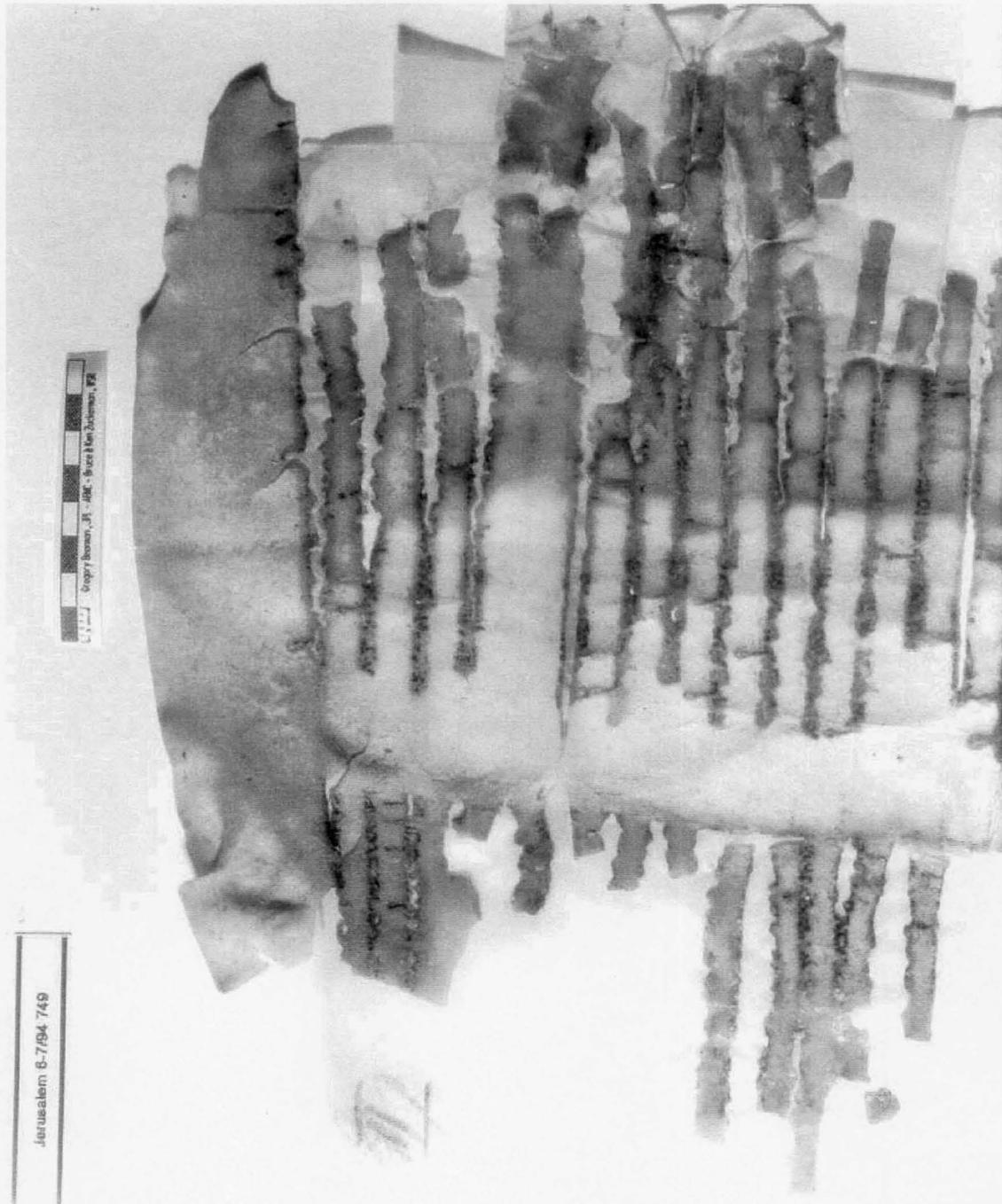


Figure B.1: 1QapGen cols. 3 and 4 (top).



Figure B.2: 1QapGen col. 3 and 4 (middle).



Figure B.3: 1QapGen col. 3 and 4 (bottom).



Figure B.4: 1QapGen col. 5 (fragment #1).



Figure B.5: 1QapGen col. 5 (fragment #2).



Figure B.6: 1QapGen col. 6 (top).



Figure B.7: 1QapGen col. 6 (bottom).

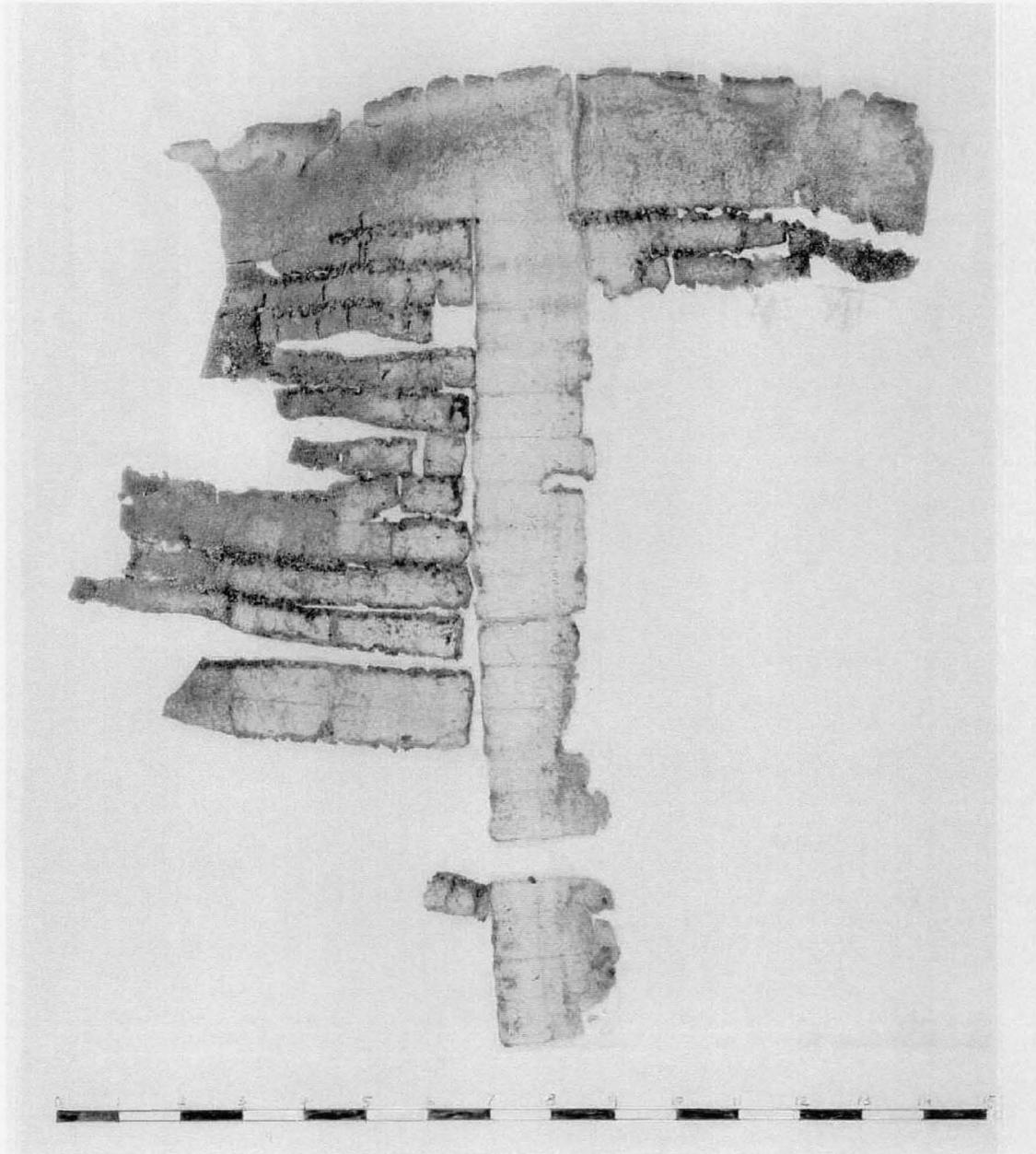


Figure B.8: 1QapGen cols. 8 and 9.



Figure B.10: 1QapGen col. 11 (top-middle).

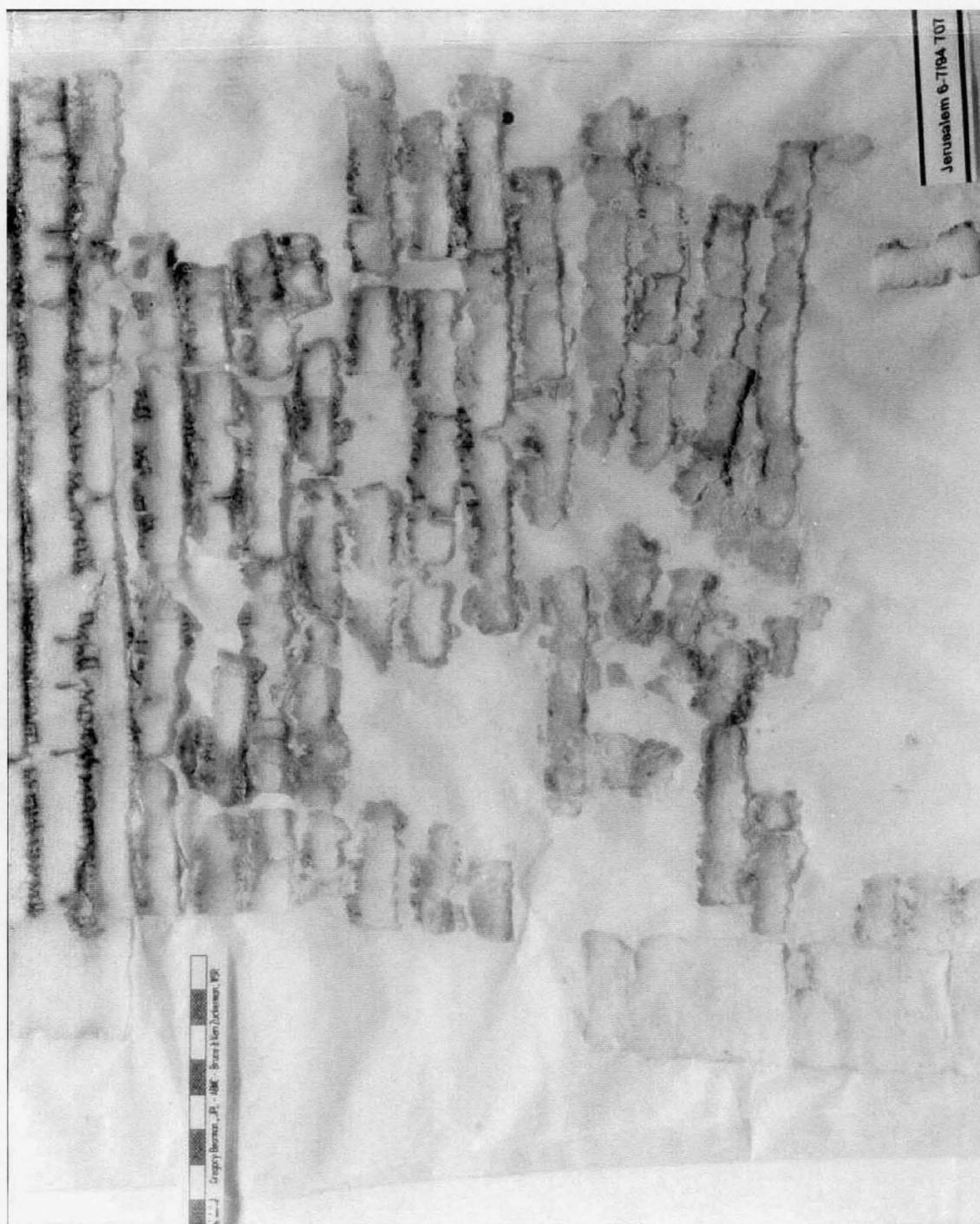


Figure B.11: 1QapGen col. 11 (bottom-middle).

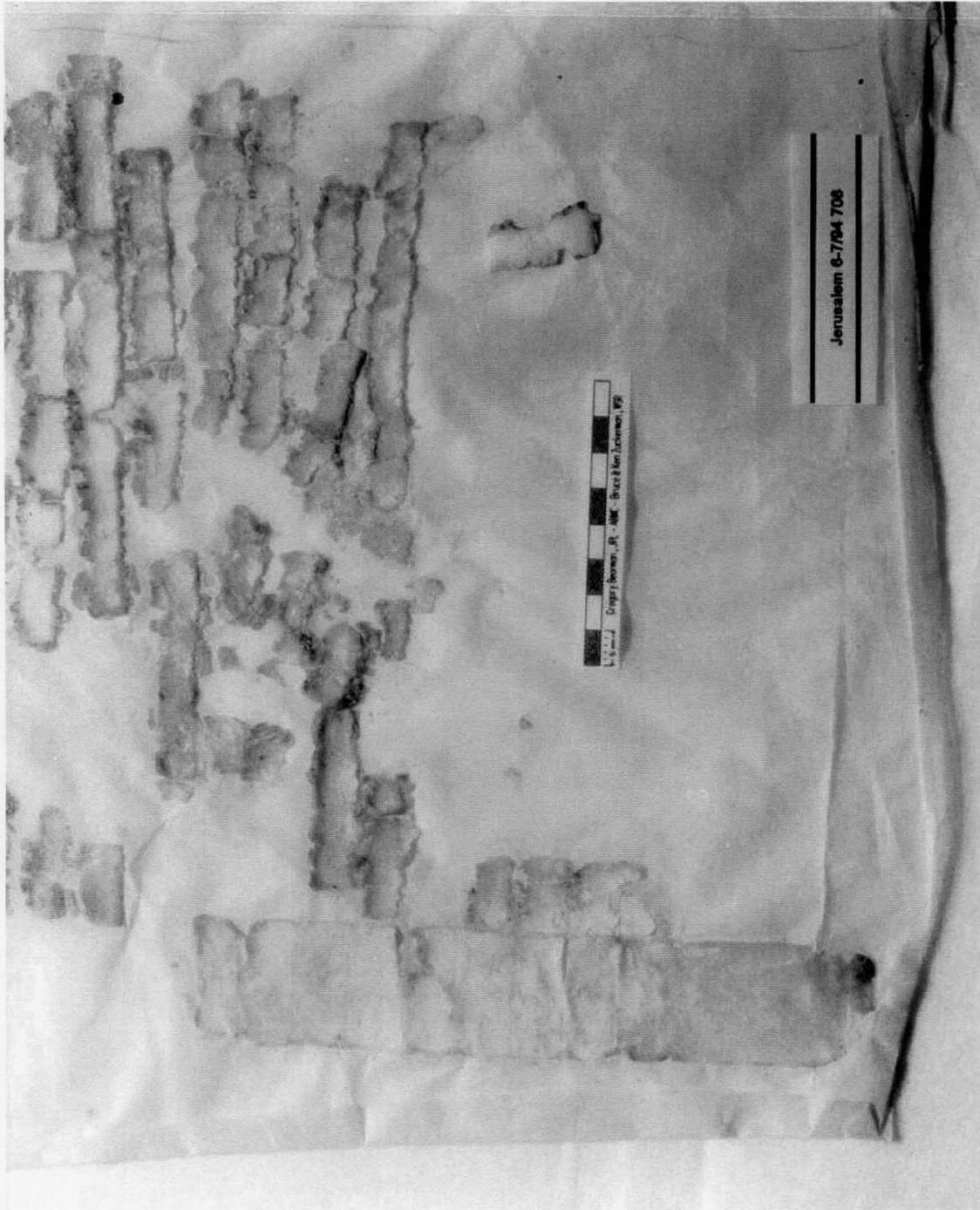


Figure B.12: 1QapGen col. 11 (bottom-middle).



Figure B.13: 1QapGen col. 12 (top).

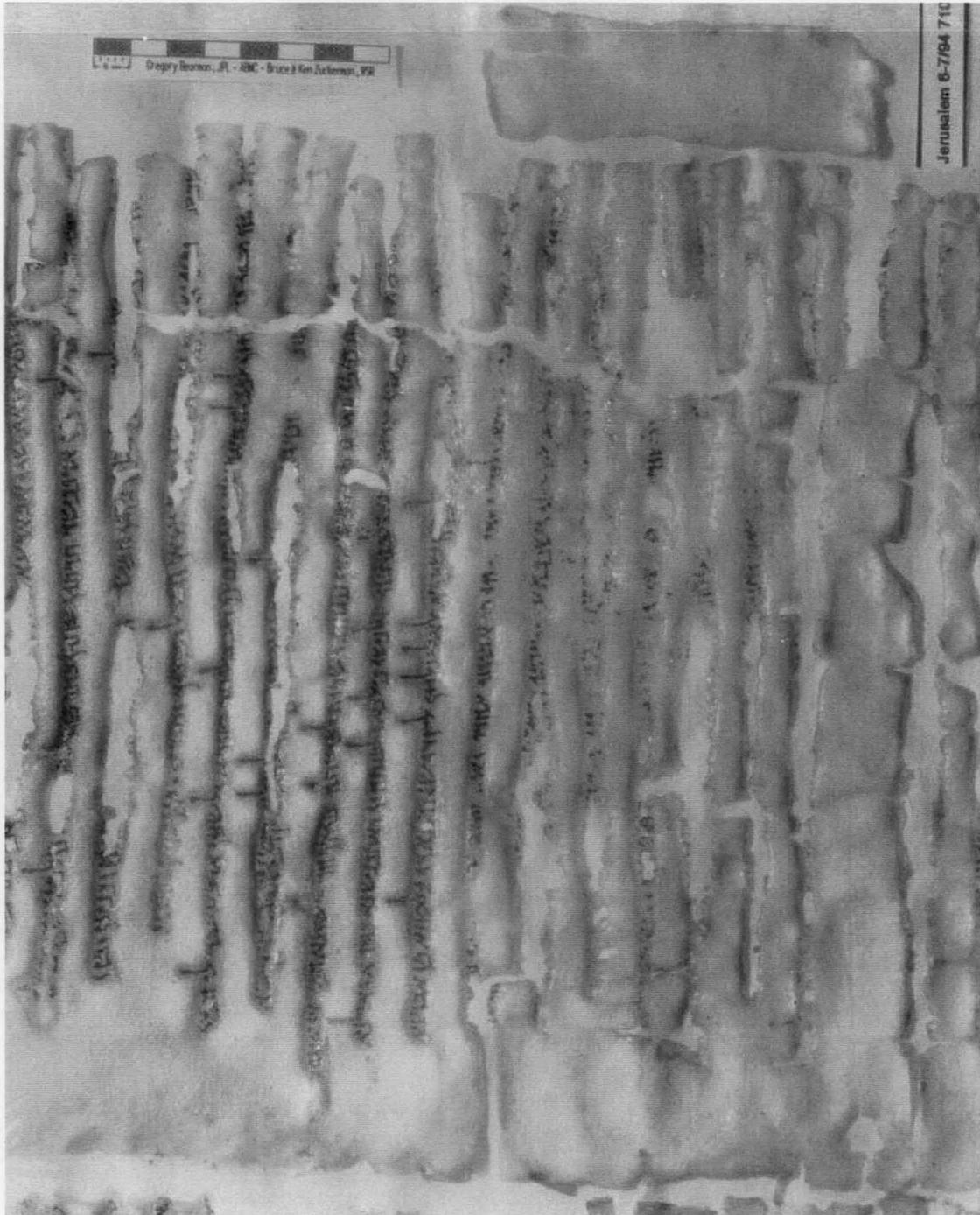


Figure B.14: 1QapGen col. 12 (middle).

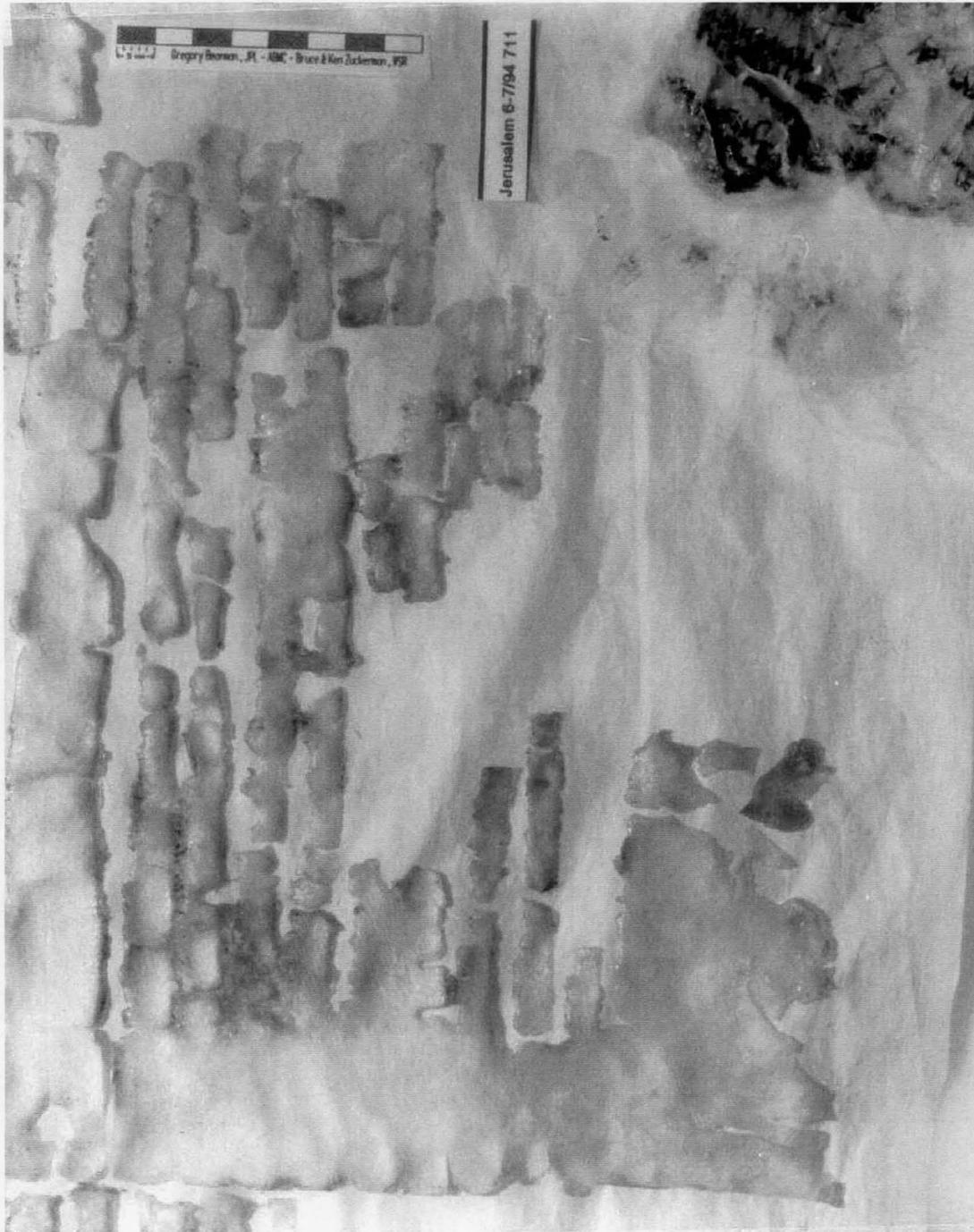


Figure B.15: 1QapGen col. 12 (bottom).

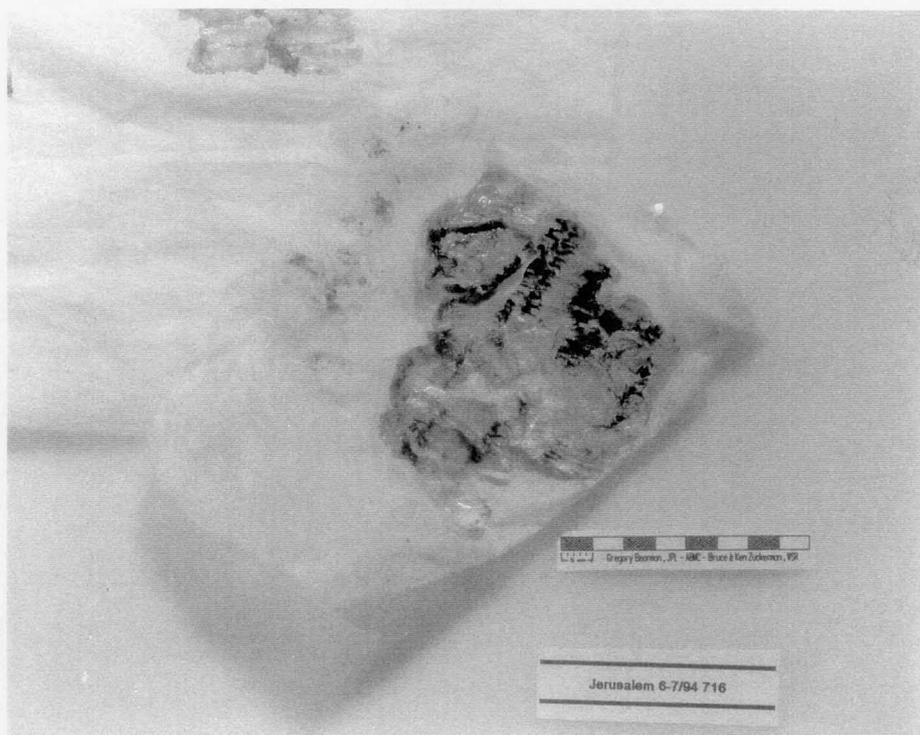


Figure B.16: 1QapGen col. 12 (fragment).



Figure B.17: 1QapGen col. 13 (top).

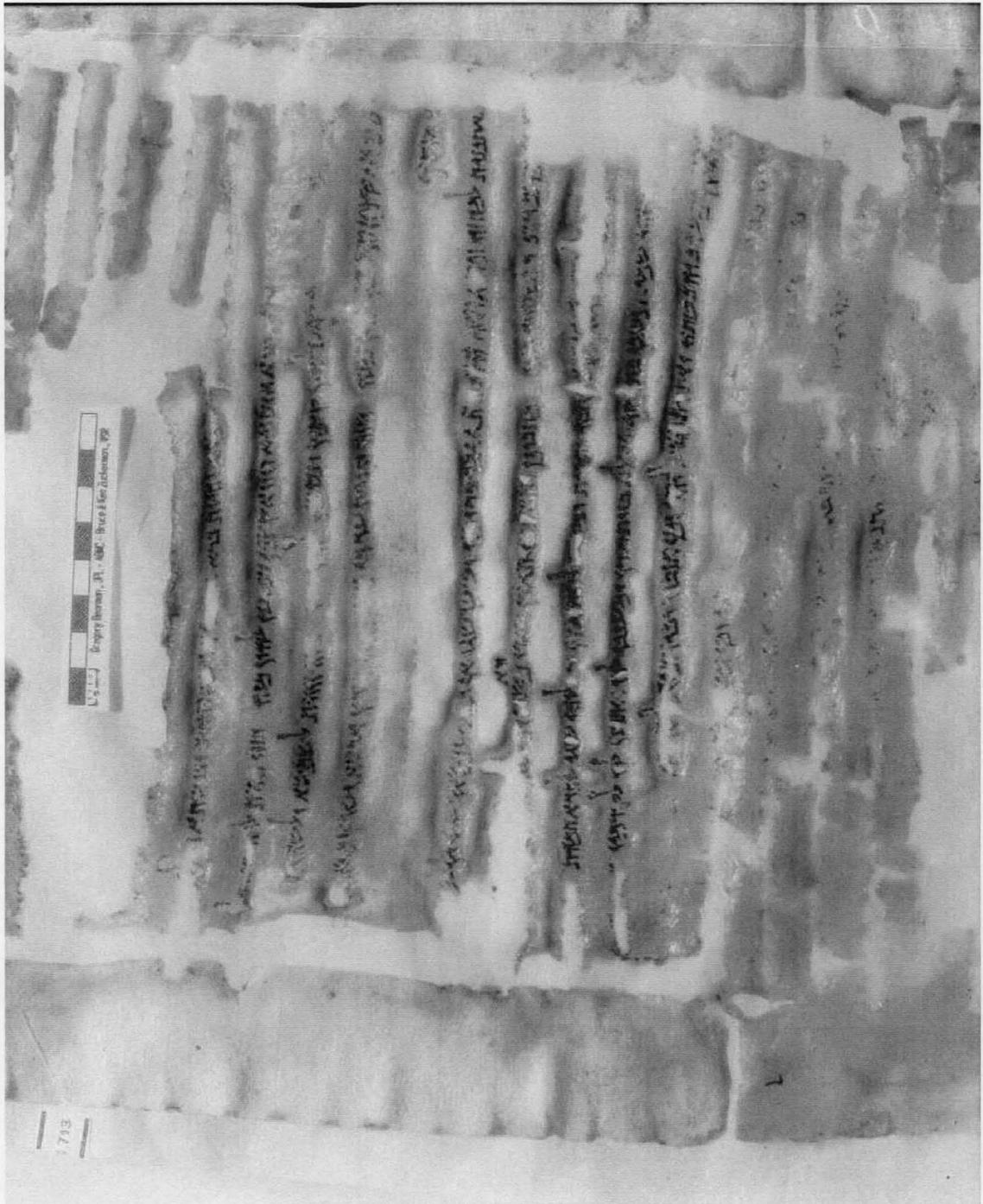


Figure B.18: 1QapGen col. 13 (top–middle).

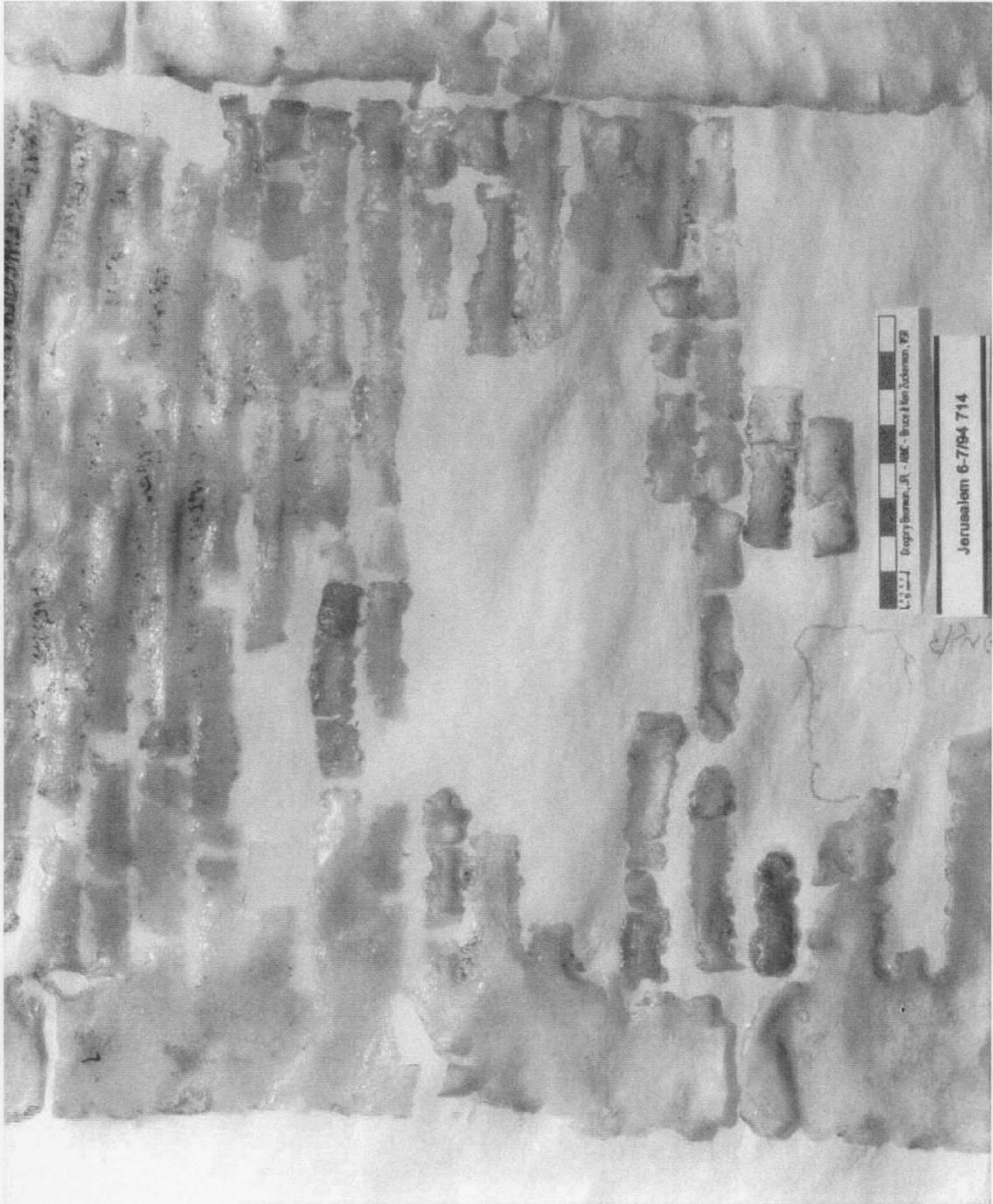


Figure B.19: 1QapGen col. 13 (bottom–middle).



Figure B.20: 1QapGen col. 13 (bottom).



Figure B.21: 1QapGen col. 14 (top).



Figure B.22: 1QapGen col. 14 (middle).



Figure B.23: 1QapGen col. 14 (bottom).



Figure B.25: 1QapGen col. 15 (middle).



Figure B.26: 1QapGen col. 15 (bottom).

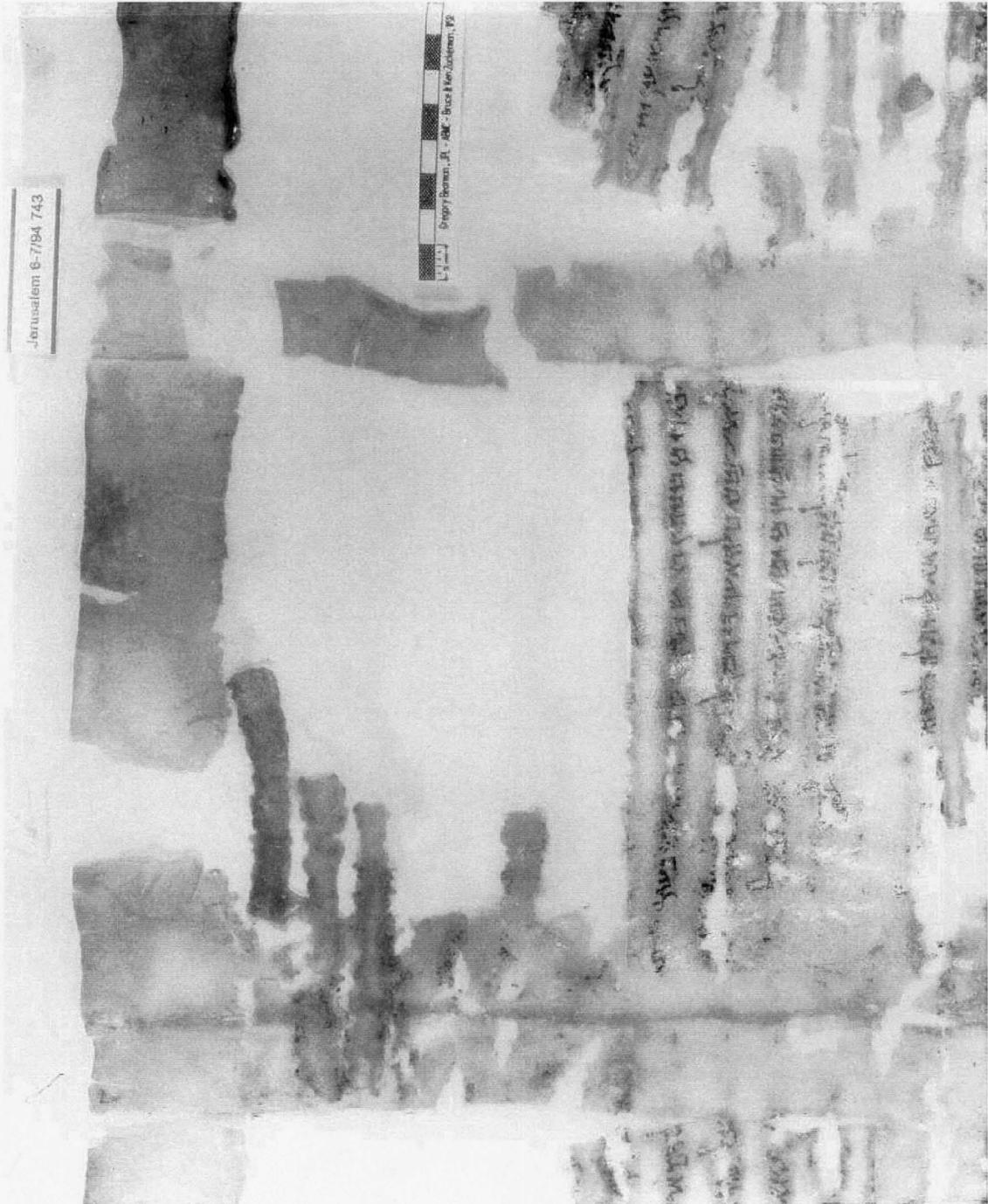


Figure B.27: 1QapGen col. 16 (top).

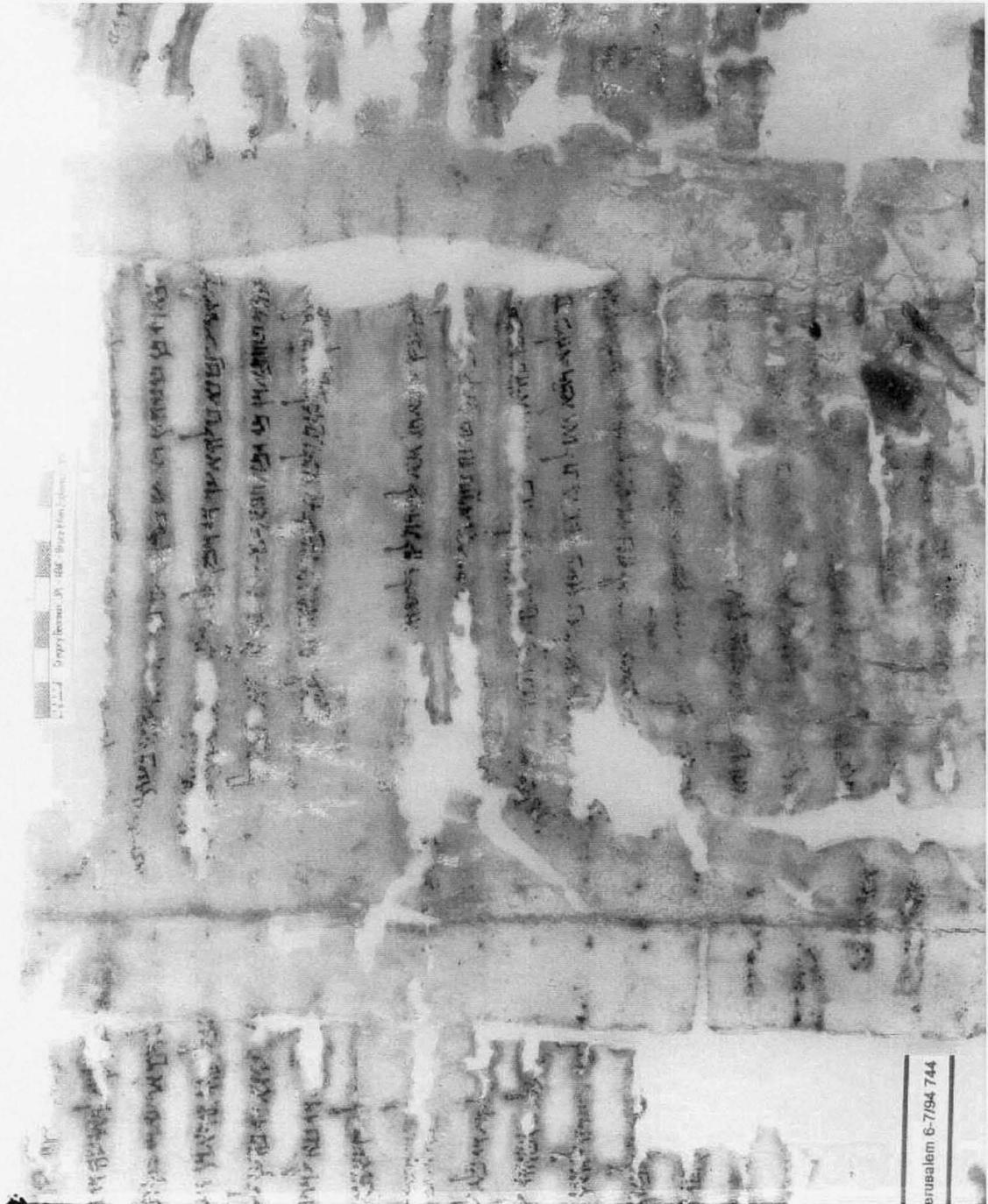


Figure B.28: 1QapGen col. 16 (middle).



Figure B.29: 1QapGen col. 16 (bottom).



Figure B.30: 1QapGen col. 17 (top).



Figure B.31: 1QapGen col. 17 (middle).



Figure B.32: 1QapGen col. 17 (bottom).

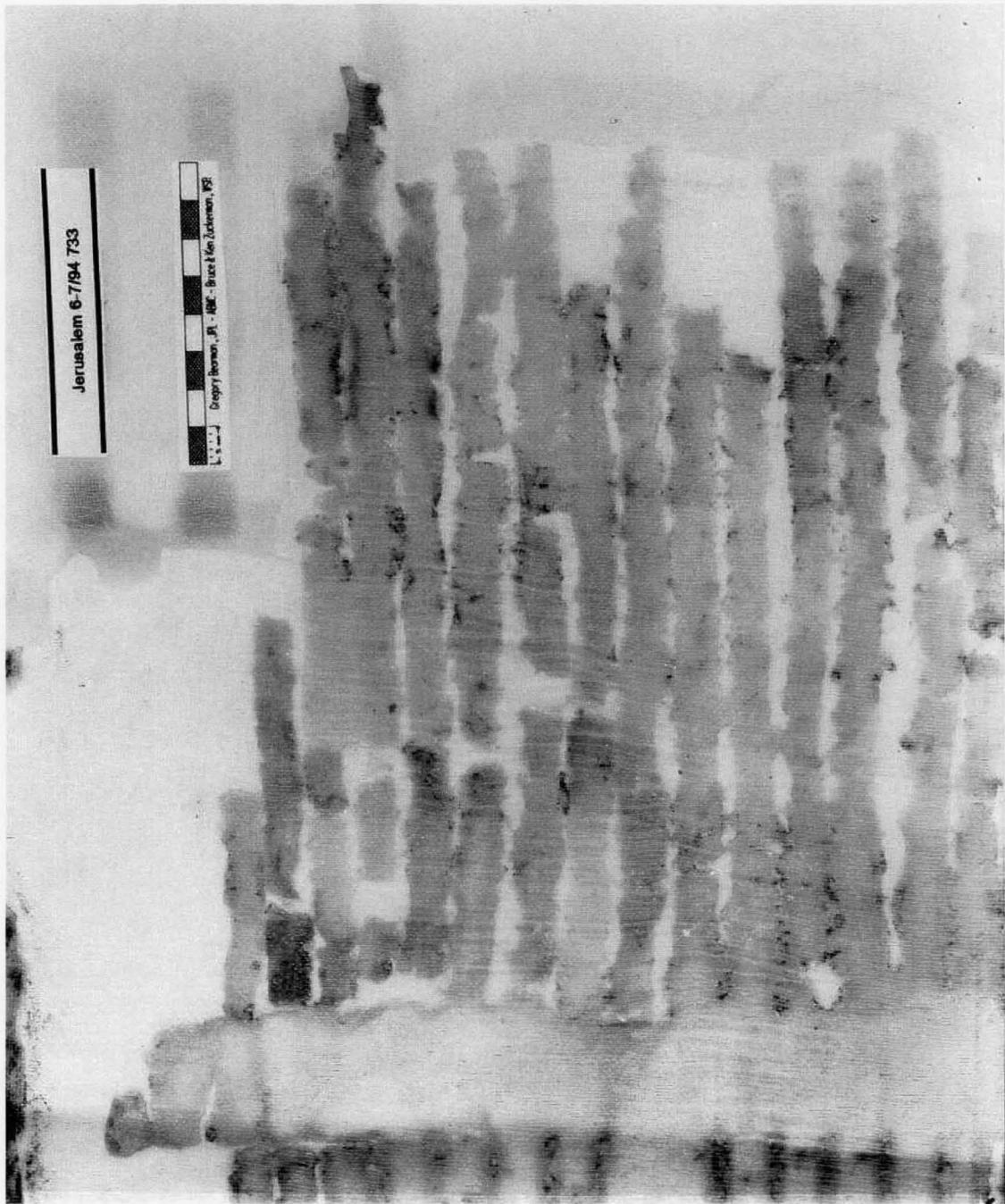


Figure B.33: 1QapGen col. 18 (top).



Figure B.34: 1QapGen col. 18 (middle).

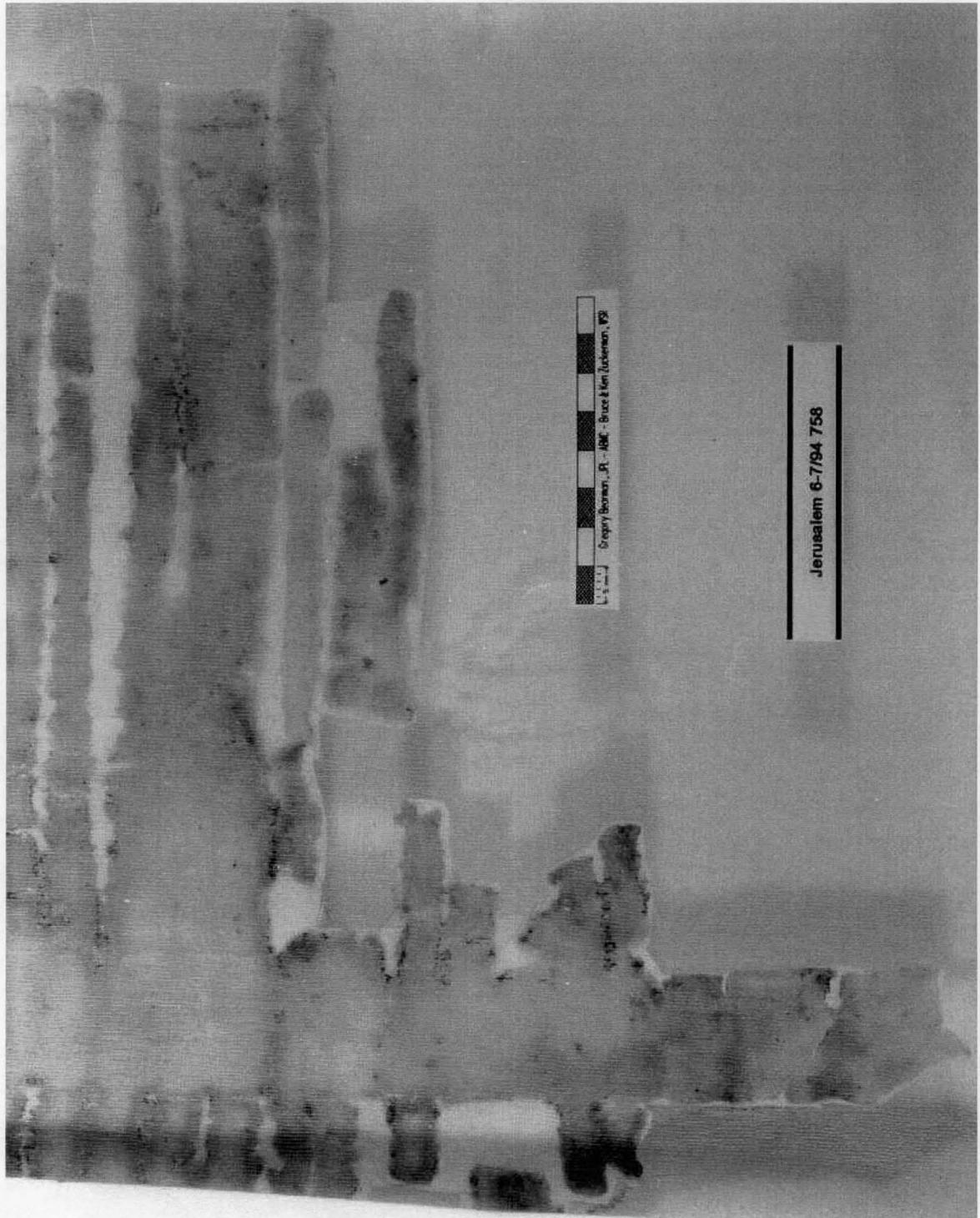


Figure B.35: 1QapGen col. 18 (bottom).

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