

RECONSTRUCTION OF A SINGLE COPY OF THE QUMRAN CAVE 4 CRYPTIC-SCRIPT SEREKH HAEDAH ⁽¹⁾

HEREIN, we offer an edition of fourteen fragments in cryptic A script, reconstructed into a single copy of the Cave 4 Serekh haEdah scroll. We assign to this scroll the designation 4Q249a pap cryptA Serekh haEdah (henceforth 4QSE). (2) Together with new readings based on images kindly supplied by the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, we suggest new joins and a fresh configuration of the fragments. The rigorous methodology whereby these fourteen fragments (4Q249a 1-14) were selected is outlined below; other fragments previously attributed to 4Q249a-i are treated as additional fragments (designated herein 4Q249a A-I). While three of the latter probably also belong to 4Q249a, we only include those whose identity is absolutely certain. Following the reconstruction of the five columns of 4QSE, we deal with the text-critical implications of the fourteen clearly-identified fragments for Serekh haEdah.

(1) Work for this article was funded by the Israel Science Foundation, Grant Number 1330/14. Our thanks go to Marva Agnon for her work towards its preparation. All photos are courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, photographer Shay Halevi. The Cryptic A font was designed by Nir Yenni.

(2) We thank Emanuel Tov and Eibert Tigchelaar for their advice relating to the choice of title for this scroll—which ultimately rests with us alone, however. As indicated below, the DJD edition identifies nine copies of Serekh haEdah as 4Q249a-i. All the remaining letters of the alphabet are taken by other scrolls (4Q249j-z). Since the copy reconstructed here contains fragments from scrolls recognized as separate, we prefer the simple siglum 4Q249a, which avoids unnecessary complications. As only a meager amount of secondary research has accumulated on this scroll, we hope to keep confusion about its identity minimal.

Short history of research

Several scrolls—both parchment and papyri—in the Qumran corpus are written in cryptic scripts. Ten years after the discovery of the library, Milik deciphered the most commonly used code, naming it Cryptic A. (3) Over the years, he studied these encoded parchments and papyri, arranging and re-arranging them in various configurations on consecutive PAM plates. We focus here on the papyri. When Milik organized the plates in the Rockefeller Museum, he assigned about 220 papyrus fragments—many of them minute—to what is designated as 4Q249 in the DSS catalogues. Joining several fragments together with the help of John W. B. Barns, he identified them as a papyrus scroll bearing the title “Midrash Sefer Moshe” in square letters on its verso. (4) The other fragments were ascribed to 4Q250 already in the PAM series 41. In contrast to 4Q249, the latter is written on the verso—i.e., the vertical fibers.

In the 1990s, Stephen Pfann significantly advanced the study of the cryptic fragments. (5) Using software designed to identify strings of letters, he searched the Qumran corpus published at that date for matches with scattered letters in the cryptic fragments. Surprisingly, he discovered a partial overlap with Serekh haEdah. Up until this point, SE had only been known from one copy from Cave 1—probably part of the same scroll as 1QSerekh haYahad. (6) Pfann identified eight or

(3) For the process of decipherment, see Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City: Anchor, 1961), 45–46.

(4) See Józef T. Milik, “Milkî-šedeq et Milkî-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens,” *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144, here 138. For the title of this document, see now Jonathan Ben-Dov and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “4Q249 Midrash Moshe: A New Reading and Some Implications,” *DSD* 21 (2014): 131–149. For Barns’ papyrological work, see John W. B. Barns, “Appendix II: Note on Papyrus Fibre Pattern,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4 II*, ed. R. de Vaux and J. Milik, DJD 6 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 29. For more information on the classification of the cryptic fragments, see Stephen J. Pfann, “Cryptic Texts,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part I*, ed. Stephen J. Pfann et al., DJD 36 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 515–516.

(5) Stephen J. Pfann, “The Character of the Early Essene Movement in the Light of the Manuscripts Written in Esoteric Script from Qumran” (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2001); idem, “The Writings in Esoteric Script,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 1997*, ed. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Israel Museum, 2000), 177–200; idem, “Cryptic Texts,” DJD 36, 515–701; idem, “4Q249 Midrash Sepher Moshe,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XXV: Halakhic Texts*, ed. J. Baumgarten et al., DJD 35 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 1–24.

(6) According to Milik, Serekh haEdah (1QSa) and Serekh haBrakhot (1QSB) followed Serekh haYahad (1QS) in the same scroll: Józef T. Milik “Annexes à la Règle de la Communauté (1QS),” in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. D. Barthélemy, O.P. and J. T. Milik, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 107–108. See also Hartmut Stegemann,

possibly nine copies of SE rather than one: 4Q249a-h as well as possibly 4Q249i pap cryptA Serekh ha-‘Edahⁱ ?’. Each copy consists of between one and four fragments, the largest being 4Q249g (seven fragments). They were officially published in DJD 36, which also provides a general introduction to the cryptic papyri, an edition of the fragments, and a textual reconstruction of SE according to the Cave 4 copies.

Pfann’s isolation of various copies of SE is based on 1) textual overlaps, which cannot be explained other than by assuming several copies. In addition, he based his classification of the papyrus fragments of 4Q249 into several scrolls on three further pillars; 2) material characteristics of the fragments; 3) typology of the cryptic handwriting; and 4) number of letters and spaces in each line, which he used as a control system. (7)

All later publications of the cryptic fragments follow the edition in DJD 36. (8) While Pfann’s classification and readings have remained virtually unchallenged, as few scholars learned the cryptic alphabet and reexamined the fragments, those working on SE have made only little use of his results. (9) Qimron’s new edition, for example, only cites his readings in the footnotes—rather than placing them within the base text together with other parallels. (10)

Identification and classification of the SE copies

Cryptic SE has become the subject of our interest because of the meager number of fragments assigned to each of the copies. Like other foundational sectarian texts from Cave 1, we could expect to find several copies of SE Cave 4. Nine is a very high number, however. Although ten copies of Serekh haYahad were deposited in Cave 4, S is significantly longer than SE, also being far more influential. (11)

“Some Remarks to *IQSa*, and to *IQSb*, and to Qumran Messianism,” *RQ* 17 (1996): 479-505. Tov, however, contends that, while written by the same scribe, they constitute separate documents: Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 23, 77. If that were the case, SE would have been rolled in the same bundle as IQS.

(7) Pfann, DJD 36, 516-517, 541.

(8) *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library, Accordance.

(9) The cryptic script was also studied by Émile Puech, “L’alphabet cryptique A en 4QS^c (4Q259),” *RQ* 18 (1998): 429-435.

(10) Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), 1:235-237, esp. 211 (Hebrew). See also Charlotte Hempel, “Review of *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea*, Part I, by Stephen J. Pfann et al. eds.,” *JSS* 49 (2004): 161-163, here 162.

(11) The papyrus scrolls 4Q255 and 4Q257pap S^{a,c} closely correspond to the papyri copies of Serekh haEdah. While like the latter they are only preserved in three

Rigorous methodology is required to determine those fragments that belong to SE. We fed the extant certain letters in each fragment—several per line across a number of lines—into an advanced Accordance search, then checking them against the Accordance Qumran and BHS databases, setting a minimum and maximum number of letter spaces between each letter group. (12) In order to avoid a hermeneutical circle, we only included certain and probable letters (i.e., those unmarked or with a dot above), excluding the less-certain ones (marked by a circle or hollow letters). Determination of the latter is frequently based on the textual environment rather than actual ink remains. (13) Many of the fragments yielded ambiguous results, several possible matches being identified in the target corpus. The fewer the letters that occurred in a fragment, the more possible matches came up. We thus chose only those fragments for which SE was the single possible match, thereby seeking to establish the basis for a core edition against which less certain fragments may be compared in the future.

This method averts the mis-attribution of fragments, ensuring that the identifications are firm and solid. Despite the fact that it potentially excludes fragments that may form part of SE—and the significant loss this may entail—most of these fragments are very small, no new readings unequivocally supporting their inclusion in SE. Our primary goal was to distinguish between extremely probable and possible. The fragments Pfann adduced in his edition but we do not are designated below as “Additional Fragments.” We hope to broaden the frame to other, less certain fragments in a future edition.

In at least two cases in which Pfann assigned fragments to separate scrolls on paleographical, codicological, or textual grounds, we believe that substantial material and textual considerations indicate that they in fact belong together. One of these—4Q249a 1 + 4Q249e 2 (published separately)—is a composite fragment (number 3 in our reconstruction) that preserves the remnants of ten consecutive lines col. I of the 4QSE copy. (14) Another distant join (4Q249c + 4Q249i 1 + 4Q249d)

or four fragments, these are much larger than those of 4Q249a. Neither 4Q255 nor 4Q257 contained all of S, most probably only a text parallel to 1QS I-IV.

(12) Using the “Construct” function, we checked the boxes “Scope” and “Chapter,” allowing up to 15 words between consecutive lines. We are grateful to Roy and Helen Brown of Oaktree Software for visiting us in Haifa and providing in-depth guidance regarding Accordance letter searches.

(13) For our method of signifying doubtful letters, which slightly differs from standard practice, see below.

(14) Asaf Gayer, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, and Jonathan Ben-Dov, “A New Join of Two Fragments of 4QcryptA Serekh haEdah and its Implications,” *DSD* 23 (2016): 139-154.

contains fourteen consecutive lines of col. II. A join of frgs. 4Q249e 1 + 4Q249b also preserves significant parts of col. III. These joins are all supported by textual and material features of various degrees of certainty. Together, they confirm that Pfann's criteria for distinguishing separate scrolls are too stringent.

Our final result evinces that fragments originally identified by Pfann belong to a single copy of SE. (15) The following table correlates the new numbers suggested for each of the fragments with the DJD data.

Table 1: *Synoptic table of fragments: DJD, current fragment numbers, and location in the Serekh*

New fragment number	Location in 4Qpap crypticA SE	Olim (DJD 36 numbering)	New location in IQSa	Old Location in IQSa (Acc. to DJD 36)
4Q249a 1	4Qcryptic SE I 2-5	4Q249g 1	IQSa I 1-4	IQSa I 1-4
4Q249a 2	4Qcryptic SE I 2-6	4Q249g 2	IQSa I 1-4	IQSa I 1-4
4Q249a 3	4Qcryptic SE I 6-15	4Q249a 1 + e 2(a)	IQSa I 4-12	IQSa I 4-12
4Q249a 4	4Qcryptic SE I 13-16	4Q249e 3	IQSa I 9-13	IQSa I 9-12
4Q249a 5	4Qcryptic SE I 13-15	4Q249e 2(b)	IQSa I 9-12	IQSa I 8-12
4Q249a 6	4Qcryptic SE II 1-7	4Q249c	IQSa I 14-16	IQSa I 13-17
4Q249a 7i	4Qcryptic SE II 7-9	4Q249e 1 i	IQSa I 16-18	IQSa I 5-6
4Q249a 7ii	4Qcryptic SE III 6-10	4Q249e 1 ii	IQSa I 24-26	IQSa I 24-26
4Q249a 8	4Qcryptic SE II 7-12	4Q249i 1	IQSa I 16-19	IQSa II 11-14
4Q249a 9	4Qcryptic SE II 9-14	4Q249d	IQSa I 18-20	IQSa I 6-10.13-14
4Q249a 10	4Qcryptic SE III 10-12	4Q249b	IQSa I 26-27	IQSa I 25-27
4Q249a 11	4Qcryptic SE IV 9-11	4Q249h 1	IQSa II 8	IQSa II 8
4Q249a 12	4Qcryptic SE IV 13-15	4Q249h 2	IQSa II 11-12	IQSa II 11-12
4Q249a 13	4Qcryptic SE IV 14-16	4Q249f 1	IQSa II 12-13	IQSa II 12-13
4Q249a 14	4Qcryptic SE V 2-7	4Q249f 3	IQSa II 14-18	IQSa II 14-18

(15) Many of the cryptic papyri fragments (belonging to both 4Q249a SE and 4Q249 Midrash Moshe) are palimpsests, exhibiting evidence of previous cryptic writing prior to the currently discerned letters. This fact has no bearing on the reconstruction of a single or multiple copies, however.

Additional Fragments				
New fragment number	Location in 4Qpap crypticA SE	<i>Olim</i> (DJD 36 numbering)	New location in 1QSa	Old Location in 1QSa (Acc. to DJD 36)
4Q249a A	4Qcryptic SE II 4-5?	4Q249f 2	1QSa I 15-16?	1QSa II 12-13
4Q249a B	4Qcryptic SE IV 4-5?	4Q249g 3	1QSa II 4?	1QSa II 4
4Q249a C	4Qcryptic SE V 6?	4Q249h 3	1QSa II 17?	1QSa II 17-18
4Q249a D		4Q249a 2	NONE	?
4Q249a E		4Q249g 4	Many possibilities	1QSa II 5-6
4Q249a F		4Q249g 5	Many possibilities	1QSa II 7-9
4Q249a G		4Q249g 6	NONE	1QSa II 9-11
4Q249a H		4Q249g 7	NONE	1QSa II 16-17
4Q249a I		4Q249i 2	NONE	?

As noted above, Pfann classified the fragments into discrete scrolls based on: 1) textual overlaps; 2) material characteristics; 3) typology of the Cryptic A script; and 4) the number of letters and spaces per line. The following sections address each of these criteria in turn.

1. *Textual overlaps*

Pfann's strongest argument for the existence of several copies of 4QSE rests on the presence of several fragments exhibiting the same letter sequence of the same passage. His reconstruction of 4QcryptA Serekh haEdah (DJD 36, 536-538) evinces overlapping letters in several copies. The following table documents six overlapping passages he identified (referenced to the text in the better-preserved 1Q copy) and the copies in which they occur. (16) Since only a very limited number of letters actually overlaps—sometimes no more than one or two—the basis of the overlap is far from robust from the outset.

(16) Fragments designated by capital letters (e.g., 4Q249a frg. H) are edited as "Additional Fragments" below. While the copies 4Q249b and 4Q249e of 4QSE (=1QSa I 26) preserve consecutive letters from the same word there is no overlap between them; in the reconstruction below we thus refer to this case as a join rather than an overlap. A similar case occurs in 1QSa II 14. Not constituting true parallels, these two examples are not included in the table.

Table 2: *Textual overlaps according to DJD 36 and their new configuration*

	Passage	Appears in copy (olim) (DJD 36)	New fragment number	New location in 1QSa
1	1QSa I 5-6	(1) 4Q249a 1 (2) 4Q249e 1	(1) 4Q249a 3a (2) 4Q249a 7 i	1QSa I 4-12 1QSa I 16-18
2	1QSa I 7-9	(1) 4Q249d (2) 4Q249e 2	(1) 4Q249a 9 (2) 4Q249a 3b	1QSa I 18-20 1QSa I 4-12
3	1QSa II 11 הנה מושב	(1) 4Q249g 6 (2) 4Q249h 2	(1) 4Q249a G (2) 4Q249a 12	NONE 1QSa II 11-12
4	1QSa II 11 אם	(1) 4Q249g 6 (2) 4Q249h 2 (3) 4Q249i 1 (17)	(1) 4Q249a G (2) 4Q249a 12 (3) 4Q249a 8	NONE 1QSa II 11-12 1QSa I 16-19
5	1QSa II 12	(1) 4Q249f 2 (2) 4Q249h 2	(1) 4Q249a A (2) 4Q249a 12	1QSa I 15-16? 1QSa II 11-12
6	1QSa II 17	(1) 4Q249g 7 (2) 4Q249h 3	(1) 4Q249a H (2) 4Q249a C	NONE 1QSa II 17?

Our new reading and analysis of the fragments has eliminated all of the above-noted cases. The proposed reconstruction of 4QSE thus does not overlap with any other fragment:

- (1) 4Q249a 7 i (*olim* 249e 1) is read anew and assigned to a different location in SE.
- (2) 4Q249a 9 (*olim* 4Q249d) is read below in an entirely different way than that suggested in DJD 36 and identified with another passage in SE. It shares one letter—literally—with 4Q249a frg. 8, running across the two fragments on the join.
- (3) 4Q249a G (*olim* 4Q249g 6) is read differently than DJD and does not correspond to any passage in SE. The word מושב is extant only in 4Q249a frg. 12. (18)
- (4) For frgs. G (*olim* 4Q249g 6) and 12 (*olim* 4Q249h 2), see (3). 4Q249a 8 (*olim* 4Q249i 1) is now read in an entirely different way and related to another passage in SE.
- (5) 4Q249a A (*olim* 4Q249f 2) is very small, comprising no more than two complete letters. Its placement in SE is thus doubtful, precluding it from serving as evidence of an overlap. Were a less rigorous methodology to be employed, it would fit in 4QSE II 4-5, its

(17) Pfann's copy 4Q249i is only tentatively affiliated in DJD 36.

(18) Our reading of this word differs slightly from DJD, however: see Text-Critical Comments on the Reconstruction.

placement consequently diverging from the overlap suggested by Pfann (see Additional Fragments below).

- (6) 4Q249a H (*olim* 4Q249g 7) is now read differently, in such a way as clearly not to constitute part of SE. The three letters of 4Q249a C (*olim* 4Q249h 3) could fit 1QSa II 17 and numerous other passages. Although the fiber pattern suggests that it once formed part of 4QSE V, its brevity—which allows its letters to be identified with multiple other texts—precludes its inclusion here. (19)

The reconstruction proposed below presenting a single copy of SE with no overlaps, it averts any need to assume the existence of multiple copies of SE.

2. *Material Characteristics*

Pfann adduces a large variety of material characteristics in support of his differentiation into separate manuscripts—pen width/shape, the angle of cutting the reed’s tip, ink color/opacity, binding material, durability, the papyrus preparation method/color (hue, value, chroma), fiber width, separation and pattern, translucence, texture, quality, the alignment of the papyrus strips, the smoothness of the papyrus surface, and UV fluorescence. (20) While not stating so explicitly, he appears to consider one or two parameters sufficient for ascribing fragments to diverse scrolls. As a rule, the more characteristics required as evidence that two scrolls form a single composition, the greater the possibility that they will diverge. Scroll production, texture, and ductus are also never completely consistent. Once decomposed into fragments, the parchments/papyri were further exposed to other naturally-occurring conditions. Full material uniformity is thus never attainable.

As we have demonstrated, some of the fragments Pfann differentiates on material and paleographical grounds in fact belong together. (21) He classifies the script of *olim* 4Q249a 1 as formal to semiformal and that of *olim* 4Q249e 2 as semicursive, DJD 36 also suggesting a difference in papyrus translucence and ink color—only the latter scroll evincing a “flaky, pasty or powdery residue over the surface.” In our view, however, both textual and material considerations indicate that they form part of the same document. The single joint fragment exhibits several script registers and significant disparities in ductus, stroke width, and ink color. Pfann thus appears to have failed to properly assess the heterogeneity of the original artifact and its decomposition history.

(19) For the placement of this fragment, see Additional Fragments.

(20) All of these parameters are collected from the discussion in DJD 36, 516-522.

(21) Gayer et al., “A New Join.”

In our opinion, this parameter—in which the differences are sometimes minute—is an insufficient basis on which to conclude that two fragments represent separate scrolls. Scrolls vary in hue or smoothness across their length, on occasion even within the same column. All the more so given the harsh conditions to which these papyri were exposed when deposited and the small size of the fragments. Although Pfann's criterion might be applicable to large-size fragments, exposed in a homogenous way to the same type of eroding factors, it is not pertinent to our set of minute papyrus fragments.

3. *Script Typology*

Pfann identifies three distinct styles or “hands” within the papyrus cryptic letters—formal, semi-formal, and semi-cursive. (22) Arguing that they exhibit signs of development, he thus divides them into periods—“the beginning of the second century BCE” or “last quarter of the second century BCE,” for example. The complete letters preserved in 4Q249a-z and 4Q250 number between 300 and 400, only about 95 of which occur in the fragments identified as SE, i.e. about 10 complete letters per hypothetical SE copy on average. Some letters—*gimel*, *tet*, *samek*, and *pe*—only appear in complete form on less than four occasions. In our view, such a small number of letters is insufficient for establishing a detailed typology. It is also necessary to be particularly prudent when identifying paleographical categories in this field, cryptic writing being far less stable than the more established scribal tradition of the Judean script. Here, too, we have demonstrated that fragments Pfann ascribes to two different Cryptic styles of different dates in fact originally formed a single fragment. This argument applies to the whole scroll.

A script typology—such as that developed by Cross with regard to classical Jewish script—can only be constructed on the basis of a stable tradition: i.e., many scribes working in a (quasi-)institutionalized framework across several centuries. (23) While not without its problems, it is sustainable within a secure and ongoing writing tradition. In the Qumran case, the large number of documents discovered at the site and their

(22) Pfann has recently employed this typology again briefly, indicating three groups of cryptic hands he dates consecutively from the late third century BCE to the early first century CE: Stephen J. Pfann, “The Ancient ‘Library’ or ‘Libraries’ of Qumran: The Specter of Cave 1Q,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, ed. S. W. Crawford and C. Wassen, STDJ 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 168-213, esp. 205-207.

(23) Frank M. Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. E. Wright (Garden City: Anchor, 1965), 170-264.

correspondence with examples from other locations also fostered the existence of such a tradition and typology. The cryptic texts do not fall into this category, however. A single fragment sometimes exhibits enormous paleographical diversity and the pool of documents is extremely small, probably being penned by a handful of writers and displaying no clear sign of protracted continuity. (24) By definition intended for a limited audience (both writers and readers), codes rarely develop into a stable writing tradition. Paleographical criteria are thus invalid for identifying independent cryptic papyri.

According to our preliminary analysis, with regard to their script the Cryptic A scrolls fall into three clusters—one around 4Q298, one around 4Q324d, and all the papyri as well as the more regular 4Q317. (25) The papyri written in cryptic A show greater variability in ductus and size in comparison to the more homogeneous script used in the parchment scrolls 4Q317 and 4Q298. The new join demonstrates that Pfann's formal/semiformal and semicursive scripts were both penned on the same papyrus by one scribe. All the cryptic papyrus fragments in fact possess a very similar if not identical script, possibly having been written by a single scribe. The divergence between the papyrus scrolls and 4Q317, which belong to the same cluster, may reflect this scribe's desire to distinguish between parchment and papyrus artifacts by employing a different paleographical register.

4. *Number of Letters per Line*

DJD 36 ascribes the fragments to separate scrolls on the basis of the number of characters reconstructed per line. However, a reconstruction as a single scroll of all fragments certainly identifiable with Serekh haEdah is possible. Calculating the number of signs in a line is easier in this case, the Cryptic A letters being relatively homogenous in width due to the lack of narrow letters such as *zayin* or *yod* in the square alphabet. The mean number of characters per line herein is consistent in each column—col. I 31-38, col. II 26-34, and col. III 30-36, some columns being narrower or wider in the fashion typical of such scrolls.

(24) According to Pfann, Cryptic A letters also appear on a stone cup discovered during the 2009 Mount Zion excavations: Stephen J. Pfann, "The Mount Zion Inscribed Stone Cup: Preliminary Observations," in *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region* 4 (2010): 44-53. While this may be true (at this stage, we are unable to make a final ruling), they are no more than 10 or 15 in number and lightly etched in stone. They are thus difficult to compare with the Qumran parchment and papyrus corpus.

(25) We regard *olim* 4Q324d-i as a single scroll, designating it 4Q324d: see Eshbal Ratzon and Jonathan Ben-Dov, "A Newly-Reconstructed Calendrical Scroll from Qumran in Cryptic Script," *JBL* (forthcoming).

Completely consistent style being an ideal rather than actuality, the letters are not always equal in size, occasionally differing in width. The same is true of the spaces between words. Four fragments also contain interlinear additions and corrections, some substantial in size.

Dating

As indicated above, the typology of the Cryptic A script is insufficiently solid to produce a dating framework. Paleographical determinations can therefore only be made on the basis of an analysis of the regular Jewish letters preserved in the title of 4Q298 and on the verso of 4Q249 Midrash Moshe. (26) The scribe of 4Q249a pap CryptA Serekh haEdah closely resembles and possibly is the same person as that responsible for 4Q249 Midrash Moshe. 4Q298 dates to the Herodian period. The title of 4Q249 Midrash Moshe is ascribed tentatively (due to the small number of preserved letters) to ca. 100 BCE. This is included in the 191-90 BCE span given for the ^{14}C carbon-14 date of 4QMidrash Sepher Moshe. (27)

The Basis of the Reconstruction: Vertically-Joined Fragments

Based on three new material and distant joins, we suggest a reconstruction of the whole text of Serekh haEdah consisting of five columns of ca. 15 lines each. None of our attempts to place the fragments according to a different number of lines per column yielded any tenable results. The three new joins form long vertical fragments of three consecutive columns. The entire text of SE will accordingly fit into these three columns plus two additional ones, making five consecutive columns altogether.

1. *Fiber Patterns*

The fiber patterns—on both the recto and verso—of fragments whose combination is proposed are vitally important for establishing the position of distant joins when the remove is not too far, as in the case of frgs. 1-2, 3-5, 8-9, and 7+10. They become irrelevant, however, at greater distances—e.g., the vertical fibers between frgs. 2 and 4 or the horizontal fibers of fragments reconstructed across adjacent columns.

(26) See Ben-Dov and Stökl Ben Ezra, “4Q249 Midrash Moshe.”

(27) A. Jull, D. Donahue, M. Broshi, and E. Tov, “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert,” *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995): 11-19.

In several fragments, the recto and verso fibers—and thus also the text lines—do not exhibit the usual 90° angle. While the text lines are frequently oblique to the horizontal fiber pattern, recto-to-verso fiber obliquity is less common. One non-Cryptic-scroll example is 4Q503 frgs. 40 and 41. The plates containing cryptic papyrus fragments include a substantial number with oblique fibers, not all of which possess letters that agree with Serekh haEdah. This will serve as an important factor in the future reconstruction of additional 4Q249 papyrus fragments.

Amongst the unambiguous Serekh haEdah fragments, the recto fibers are particularly oblique in relation to the verso fibers and text lines in frgs. 3-5 (col. I), frgs. 8 and 9 (col. II), frgs. 11-13 (col. IV), and frg. 14 (col. V) and slightly less so in frgs. 1-2. Fragments 6-7 and 10 are difficult to measure due to deterioration and/or shortness of the writing lines. The obliquity is more prominent in the fragments assigned to the lower part of the scroll. The fiber patterns in general and the oblique angle in particular will constitute a determining factor in assigning to precise locations in the scroll fragments whose identification on the basis of content alone remains uncertain. For example, the reading of the oblique-fiber Additional Fragment C [ריוכ] almost certainly represents the ריוכ in 4QSE V 6, thereby constituting a distant join with 4Q249a 14.

On occasion, the papyrus appears to have broken along the border of a strip of the original stalk. The natural bonds between papyrus fibers are more stable within a single strip than between two separate strips, which are only connected via the perpendicular fibers of the other layer. Precisely one vertical papyrus stalk appears to be missing between frgs. 4 and 5 and frgs. 3 and 4. Within the new composite fragments, the deterioration again seems to follow the stalk lines. In terms of the deterioration pattern, a continuous line following the oblique horizontal fibers can be observed at the bottom of frg. 4 through frg. 5 and frg. 3 (col. I). Frgs. 8 and 7 (col. II) may also show such a pattern.

2. *Number of Lines per Column*

Due to the way in which they are produced, papyri tend to survive in long strips that break along the lines where adjacent pieces meet. Since the rolling and unrolling of the scroll exposes the horizontal fibers to more strain than the vertical fibers, the height of the fragments is usually greater than their width. We have identified three such pieces, each of which preserves 7-10 lines. Column I contains 16 consecutive lines, col. II 14. These data are crucial for establishing the number of lines per column. The two composite fragments either belong to two consecutive columns, of ca. 16 lines, or comprised one very long column of over 30 lines or so. The latter is not only unlikely for

a manuscript of this low quality but also inconsistent with the fact that the joins demand substantially different line widths (35 ± 4 for col. I, ca. 30 ± 4 for col. II). An average number of ca. 16 lines per column is thus required. The counts are based on the new joins—physical and/or distant—proposed here. While the latter are certain to different degrees, they are all solid, the aggregate effect supporting the proposed reconstruction.

Join 1: Frg. 3 (olim 4Q249 a 1 + e 2)

3.25 × 5.9 cm

This join has been presented, discussed, and justified on both material and textual grounds in a separate publication. (28) The composite fragment preserves the remnants of ten consecutive lines, including two interlinear insertions. Despite their importance, the latter do not affect the overall structure of the original scroll. The composite text corresponds to 1QSa I 4-12, with significant textual variants. Part of the top line coincides with the bottom line of frg. 2 with the latter placed slightly to the right above frg. 3. Together with the ten lines of the composite fragment (one overlapping), the fact that frg. 2 contains six lines suggests that col. I contained at least 15 consecutive lines. Frg. 1 elucidates the opening lines of SE to the right of frg. 2, frgs. 4 and 5 adding letters to the right of the composite frg. 3. Fragment 4 (*olim e 3*) preserves the faint remnants of a further line in col. I, producing a total of 16 lines (see Edition below). Despite the substantial scribal corrections and absence of bottom and upper margins, the material as a whole gives us a good sense of the first column of 4QSE.

Join 2: Frgs. 6+8+9 (olim 4Q249c + 4Q249i 1 + 4Q249d)

This distant join comprises three fragments containing successive lines. According to DJD, frgs. 6 and 9 are separate copies of SE, frg. 8 formerly being classified as “4Q249i = 4Qpap cryptA Serekh ha-‘Edah’?”. Completely new readings of all three fragments, together with an alternative interpretation of the interlinear insertions in frg. 8, however, suggest

(28) Gayer et al., “A New Join.” Therein, we gave a full account and explanation of the minor image-manipulation this join requires. Briefly summarizing the argument, the fragments as preserved on the IAA plates do not always maintain the original configuration of the fibers, small pieces moving slightly over time. The original texture of the papyrus normally running horizontally in a straight line (even if not always along a 180° angle), the original setting must be restored via image-manipulation programs. This process yields a neatly-reinstituted fragment with parallel fibers. While ideally it should be carried out on the actual fragments, these are frequently too fragile to risk the operation.

a distant join comprising the remnants of 14 consecutive lines. (29) The slightly-oblique fiber pattern further indicates that frg. 9 belongs immediately to the left of frg. 8, completing a split letter and continuing the fibers across the join. The 14 lines form part of our reconstructed col. II, stretching almost from top to bottom. Neither of these margins have been preserved, however. The join is significant because it lies very close to the right-hand side of frg. 7, which preserves the inter-column margin and is connected to col. III. The inter-line spacing varies within col. II even in the same fragment, the reconstructed number of 15 lines in this column thus closely resembling the 16 in col. I.

Join 3: Frgs. 7+10 (olim 4Q249e 1 + 4Q249b)

7.38 cm (maximum width) × 6.83 cm (maximum height)

One fragment of 4QSE preserves the remnants of two columns and the margin separating them. (30) Our research suggests that a vertical fragment should be attached to the bottom left of frg. 7 ii. The horizontally oriented frg. 7 should thus be expanded vertically by means of joining a vertical piece to its bottom part. While Pfann argues that this piece belongs to a separate scroll (4Q249b), both material and textual grounds evince that it is a join. The resulting Gamma-shaped composite fragment provides a further framework for deducing the measurements of the entire scroll. (31)

The Reading of Frgs. 7+10 and the Reconstruction of the Scroll

Fragment 7 is the only fragment to preserve two consecutive columns. These two columns enable determination of the number of lines per column and of the dimensions of the entire scroll. Column 7 ii is well preserved. 3.2 cm in width, its four consecutive lines are clearly legible, plainly paralleling 1QSa I 24-26. Column 7 i is very obscure, however. Fully discussed in the Edition section below, we only address it here to the extent that it is relevant to the reconstruction of 4QSE.

(29) The technical term ‘distant join’ means that the two fragments do not touch each other, but does not necessarily imply the real distance between them. As the image of the join provided in the Reconstruction below demonstrates, these fragments were very close, virtually touching one another.

(30) Pfann published this fragment in DJD 36, pp. 555-556. The introduction (p. 522) adduces two further fragments in which margins are preserved—4Q249g frg. 2 and 4Q249 9b. The former does not contain a margin, however, while the latter belongs to a different scroll (4Q249 Midrash Moshe).

(31) All three joins can be checked against the images presented below.

Reading וְלֵהֲבִינָם as in 1QSa I 5 in 7 i 1 and וְהָאֵל in the following line, Pfann (DJD 35, 555-556) reconstructed two consecutive columns: 7 i 1-2 reflecting 1QSa I 5-6 and its “opposite line” 7 ii 1 reflecting 1QSa I 24. We contest this reading and reconstruction on several grounds.

Firstly, as explained below we prefer the reading וְהָעֵדָה in 7 i 2. Secondly, on Pfann’s reading the textual expanse between 4Q249a 7 cols. i and ii equals twenty lines of 1QSa—ca. 1,100 letter spaces. The lines of 4QSE only allowing for ca. 35 letters, this reconstruction of frg. 7 calls for ca. 31 lines per column. This is an extremely large number, especially for papyrus scrolls. Tov refers to scrolls of 28 lines or more as “tall,” de luxe examples. (32) None are papyrus scrolls, most also being characterized by very regular blocks of writing and exemplary scribal craftsmanship. The cryptic papyrus fragments of SE are very rudimentary, however, far removed from de luxe scrolls. Their irregular script register more closely resembles 4Q398 papMMT^c, which has 10 lines per column. (33) Extensive writing blocks also call for a large number of columns, SE only allowing for three columns of such dimensions. (34) All these considerations make it unlikely that frg. 7 i 2 parallels 1QSa I 6.

The letter remains of 7 i 1-2 can be explained in several ways. While not perfect, they all are consistent with the reading and identification of the other fragments presented here and their physical/distant joins and reconstruction into regular columns of about 15-16 lines. The parallel passage in 1QSa I 14ff is difficult, possessing several unexplained lacunas. These are even more awkward in the fragmentary 4QSE. An important clue is the combined reading of 7 i and frgs. 6, 8, and 9—all of which belong to col. II of 4QSE.

We read the remains of the letters in line 1 as וְהָאֵל and those in line 2 as וְהָעֵדָה . Although the former is not attested in 1QSa, we make a detailed case for its reading below. The following reconstruction of 7 i parallels 1QSa I 16-18:

(32) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 125-129. According to the editors of 4Q223-224 pap-Jubilees^h, this scroll contained 54 lines per column: James C. VanderKam and Józef T. Milik, “Jubilees^h,” in *Qumran Cave 4 VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 96. Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 90) expresses some reservations regarding this claim.

(33) See Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4 V: Miḡṣat Ma’aše ha-Torah*, DJD 10 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 28. Cf. 4Q255 pap S^a, whose columns contain 11-12 lines. This scroll is more cursive than 4QcryptA SE, however.

(34) In papyrus scrolls, the number of lines per column is directly related to scroll length: see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 89-90.

[ראשי (35) אבות העד]§ שר יצא הנורל ל'הם
 [להחיצב בעב]¶[עדה] (36) לצאת לפני [עדה
 ולפי שכלו ע]ם ת[ום דרכו יחזק (37) מתנ]¶
]את[
 [למעמד צבא]¶ (38) עב[ו]ד[ע] [פ]עשו בתוך אחי[¶]

We may now reconstruct two consecutive columns (II-III) from frg. 7 of 4QSE, adducing the other fragments belonging to these columns in order to demonstrate our methodology. We omit the diacritical marks signifying doubt for this specific purpose, these marks being represented in the full edition below. For the convenience of readers unfamiliar with Cryptic A script the following table presents the equivalences:

5	ל	ב	א
ב	מ	ג	ב
ג	נ	ד	ג
ד	ס	ה	ד
ה	ע	ו	ה
ו	פ	ז	ו
ז	צ	ח	ז
ח	ק	ט	ח
ט	ר	י	ט
י	ש	כ	י
י	ת		כ

Table 3: Key to the Cryptic A Alphabet

1	1
2	2

(35) This word was originally written שרי in 1QSa and then corrected to רשי (Charlesworth, Qimron). We adopt the *plene* spelling: ראשי.

(36) 1QSa reads here לעדת ולבוא לפני העדה. Space considerations only permit the shorter phrase: לצאת לפני העדה (cf. 4Q375 1 ii 8: העדה [אבות] ראשי כן).

(37) Reading יחזק with Barthélemy *contra* Qimron

(38) For this difficult line, which in frg. 6 also contains an interlinear insertion, see the Text-Critical Comments on the Reconstruction.

1	1	יִנְשׁ לְרִיב רִיבִי [יִנְשׁ שִׁפְט וְלִהְיָצֵב]	1	[גִּיּוֹם רֶק בִּסְרֶךְ הִצְבֵּא יִכְתּוּב מִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ]
2	2	בְּרִשִּׁי אֶלְפִי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְשִׁרֵי מֵאוֹת]	2	[וּבַעֲבוּדַת הַמֶּס יַעֲשֶׂה עֲבוּדָתוֹ כְּפִי מַעֲשֵׂו]
3	3	שְׂרֵי חֲמִשִּׁים שָׁרִי עֲשִׂיָּוֹת שׁוֹפְטִים]	3	[וּבְנֵי לֹוִי יַעֲמֻדוּ אִישׁ בְּמַעֲמָדוֹ עַל פִּי]
4	4	וְשׁוֹטְרִים לִשְׁבִּיטָהָם בְּכֹל מִשְׁפַּחֹתָם]	4	[בְּנֵי אֶהְרֹן לִהְיָא וְלִהְיָא אֶת כֹּל הָעֵדָה]
5	5	עַל פִּי בְנֵי אֶהְרֹן [כֹּהֲנִים וְכֹל]	5	[אִישׁ בִּסְרֹכּוֹ עַל יָד רֵאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת הָעֵדָה]
6	6	רֵאשֵׁי אֲבוֹת הָעֵדָה שֶׁשָּׁר יֵצֵא הַגּוֹרֵל לָהֶם	6	[לְ] [וְ] [רִי] [אֵל] לְשׁוֹפְטִים וְלְשׁוֹטְרִים לְמַסְפָּר]
7	7	לְהִתְצַב בְּעַבְדֵּי הָאֵל לְצִאת לִפְנֵי הָעֵדָה	7	כֹּל צִבְצִיבָא [וְתָם עַל פִּי בְנֵי צִדּוֹק הַכֹּהֲנִים]
8	8	וְלִפִּי שְׁכֹל עַם תָּם וְתָם דְּרֹכּוֹ יִחוּז מִתְנָן]	8	וְכֹל רֵאָשֵׁי אֲבוֹת הָעֵדָה וְאֵם תַּעֲוֵדָה תִּהְיֶה]
9	9a	[אֵלָת]	9	לְכֹל הָאֵלָה לְמַשְׁפָּט אוֹ לְצֵצַת יֶחֱד אוֹ]
9	9	לְמַעֲמַד צִבְאָן עֲבִיבִי [וְ] [הָאֵל] [עֲשֹׂו בִּתְרֹךְ אַחִי]	10	[לְתַעֲ] [וְ] [תְּ] מִלְחָמָה וְקִדְשׁוֹם שְׁלוֹשֶׁת יָמִים]
10	10	בֶּן רֹבֵל לְמוֹעַץ לִפְנֵי זֶה יִכְבְּדוּ אִישׁ]	11	[לִהְיוֹת כֹּל הָבָא תַעֲנִיד לְעֵצָה vacat אֵלָה]
11	11	מִרְעָהוֹ וְרִבּוּתוֹ שְׁנֵי אִישׁ לִפִּי כֹחַו]	12	[הָ] [אֲנָשִׁים] הַנְּקָרָאִים לְעֵצַת הַיָּחִיד כֹּל חֲכָמִי]
12	12	יִתְנוּ מִשְׁאֵן בְּשִׁבְּ[וֹתָ] הָעֵדָה וְכֹל אִישׁ]	13	[הָעֵדָה וְהַנּוֹבְנִים וְהִידְעִים תְּמִימֵי הַדֶּרֶךְ]
13	13	פּוֹתִי אֵל יִבּוּא בְּגִבּוֹרֵל עַל הִתְצַב עַל עֵדָת]	14	[וְאִנְשֵׁי הַחֵל עִם רֵאשֵׁי הַשְּׁבָטִים וְכֹל]
14	14	יִשְׂרָאֵל לְרִיב וּמִשְׁפָּט לְשִׁאת מִשָּׂא]	15	[שׁוֹפְטִיָּהִם וְשׁוֹטְרֵיהֶם וְשִׁרֵי הָאֶלְפִים וְשִׁרֵי]
15	15	עֵדָה וְלִהְיָצֵב בְּמִלְחָמָה לְהַכְנִיעַ]	16	[מֵאוֹת וְחֲמִשִּׁים וְלַעֲשֻׂרוֹת וְהַלּוּיִם בִּתְרֹךְ]

Some notes regarding the reconstruction are in order. (39) The number of letters and spaces per line is between 31 and 38 in col. I, 26 and 34 in col. II, and 30 and 36 in col. III. These minimal variations are consistent with the general format of the extant Qumran scrolls. (40)

The breaks between cols. I, II, III, and IV are solidly established by the new material, the distant joins identified, and the consistent length of lines and number of lines per column. Although the last remaining column break—between cols. IV and V—is not supported by joins, it is quite certain unless col. IV is assumed to have contained 17 lines rather than the 15 or 16 lines in the other columns.

We can now offer an edition of all fragments of 4QSE.

Dimensions of the Scroll

Based on the reconstruction of letter height and row distance, we assume that on average the writing block was ca. 10 cm in height, col. I about 18.8 cm wide, col. II about 15.2 cm, col. III about 17 cm, col. IV about 18.6 cm, and col. V about 17.7 cm. Extrapolating an average inter-column space from the only preserved (albeit difficult) space between cols. II and III, the complete scroll may have been about 1 m long, excluding the handle sheets at the beginning or end. (41) No top or bottom margins are extant to enable an estimation of the scroll's overall height. Pfann posits an average papyrus thickness of 0.3 mm. (42)

Edition of 4Q249a fragments

The method whereby the damaged letters are marked in the present edition differs slightly from the standard system, largely due to the need to highlight those that consist solely of a slight ink mark that in paleographical terms could signify virtually any letter. In standard editions, these letters are identified primarily on the basis of the surrounding text—adduced from parallels or elsewhere. Rather than placing a circlet above the letter—(e.g., א̇), we employ hollow letters: א̈. The scale of certainty, classified according to the probability of the reading, is as follows:

- 1) No indication when the reading is paleographically and contextually virtually certain (90-100%);

(39) For an earlier reconstruction of col. I along the same guidelines that validates the methodology despite the occasional difficulties it raises, see Gayer et al., “A New Join.”

(40) See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82-83. Most of the data in this list derive from parchments rather than papyri, however.

(41) Ibid., 114-117.

(42) DJD 36, 518.

- 2) Dot (◌̣) when the reading is paleographically and contextually probable (60-90%).
- 3) Circle (◌̤) if paleography and context permit two or three different readings (30-60%). (43)
- 4) Hollow letter (◌̥) when the ink remains are so ambiguous that they may be read as more than three different letters (< 30% probability). In these cases, identification is based upon comparison with a parallel in another known, certain text.

N.B.: We only discuss the places where we disagree with the DJD reading, not addressing identical or very close readings.

4Q249a 1 (*olim* 4Q249g 1) = 4QcryptA SE I 2-5

Parallel: 1QSa I 1-4

IAA Plate 598, frg. 20, B-482625. PAM 41.995 (top, bottom), 43.410

Physical Description

Size: 2.17 × 2.63 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.7 cm

This fragment comprises two pieces joined below line 2. The pieces appear separately on PAM 41.995. The physical join is confirmed by the alignment of the vertical fibers. The horizontal fiber pattern is also consistent with a distant join to the right of frg. 2. Most of the horizontal fibers are ca. 2°-3° oblique to the vertical fibers.

Transcription



Image 1

] 2436[	] אספ[1
] 1347[	] נים[2
] 137[	] עם[3
] 111[	] ש[4

Notes on Readings

Line 2. An unexplainable dot of ink is visible above *mem*.

Line 3. Although *ayin* is broken, it is virtually certain.

Line 4. Only a dot at the top of the line has survived of *resh*. We read it in accordance with the text of SE.

(43) When two letters are possible, a dot is used if one of them is more probable. Otherwise a circle is used.

4Q249a 2 (olim 4Q249g 2) = 4QcryptA SE I 2-6

Parallel: 1QSa I 1-4

IAA Plate 598, frg. 19, B-482621. PAM 40.633 (bottom), 41.995 (top, bottom), 43.410

Physical Description

Size: 2.29 × 3.70 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.7 cm. The color and ductus of the letters of this fragment are particularly close to frg. 1 (above).

The fragment consists of two pieces, the horizontal break occurring in the middle of line 3. The bottom piece appears on PAM 40.633, the two being separate on PAM 41.995. The downstroke of *he* in line 3 is split in both pieces but complete in the composite fragment. According to the vertical fiber pattern, the lower part should be moved slightly (ca. 0.3 mm) to the right, thereby also straightening the downstroke of *he*. The horizontal fiber pattern agrees with the distant join with frg. 1 on the right. The fibers are ca. 3° oblique.

Fragments 1 and 2 lie very near, almost touching one another at the top of 4QSE.

Transcription

Image 2

]לִי[	1
]אנ[	2
]מִן אֵ[	3
]לכֶּפֶּ[	4
]בְּאֵימָ[	5

Notes on Readings

Line 1. The bottom part of *lamed* is complete. The upper stroke is missing, the recto of the papyrus having peeled off and exposed the vertical fibers of the verso at this spot.

Line 3. On the right edge the remnants of a downstroke above and below the crack are visible. While these could be several different letters, the context suggests *mem*. The right section of a circle or loop at the end of the line could also be various letters, the context suggesting *aleph*.

Line 4. The downstroke of *he* is very long, changing direction half-way. No other example of such an extreme ductus exists. The slanted stroke at the bottom may represent an interlinear letter or, less probably, a prolonged stroke of the previous letter. At the end of the line, the

right edge of a diagonal stroke and a remnant of ink above it are visible. The context suggests *pe*.

Line 5. The remains at the end of the line are consistent with both *mem* and *qoph*. The context favors the former.

4Q249a 3a+3b (*olim* 4Q249a 1 and 4Q249e 2) = 4QcryptA SE I 6-15

Parallel: 1QSa I 4-12

IAA Plate 598, frg. 1, B-478544; frg. 8, B-482577. PAM 40.633, 41.990, 43.410

Physical Description

Composite fragment size: 3.25 × 5.9 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.56-0.72 cm

The fragment comprises two pieces assigned in the previous edition to separate copies of Serekh haEdah—4Q249a 1 and 4Q249e 2. (44) Both textual and material grounds—their placement in the text of SE and the perfect alignment of the vertical fibers on the verso—support a join, however. The earlier identification of the fragments and the reasons for their reconfiguration are discussed in detail in a separate publication (45).

Transcription (3a = lines 1-6; 3b = lines 5-10)


	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	שְׁמִי [י] [פ]	1
	פְּסָלִים וְסִדְרֵי [פ]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י]	2
	פְּסָלִים וְסִדְרֵי [פ] <i>vacat</i> [פ]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] <i>vacat</i> [י]	3
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	4
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	5
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	6
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	7a
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	7
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	8
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	9a
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	9
	וְיָחַדְנוּ [ח] [ב]	וְיָת וְהַלְבֵּן [י] [פ]	10

Image 3

(44) Pfann, DJD 36, 547, 556

(45) For a detailed argument supporting the join, see Gayer et al., “A New Join.”

Notes on Readings

Line 1. The remains of the top-right-angle of *shin* can be seen before the lacuna. The ink marks after the lacuna represent the bottom part of the vertical downstroke and right curve of *mem* or *qoph*, the former being preferable because the two strokes do not rejoin.

Line 2. The trace preceding *tav* could be several letters. Our reconstruction favors *yod*. Following the *he* at the end of the line, the remnants of the top round edge of a letter and a spot of ink at the bottom of the line can only be *bet*.

Line 3. The left edge of *yod* is visible before *he* at the beginning of the line. The abbreviated spelling of the possessive suffix— ה rather than הה —is important for our reconstruction. The top diagonal stroke after the *vacat* (1.1 cm) indicates *vav*.

Line 4. This is very difficult to read. Only the right end of the lower diagonal stroke of *lamed* is legible. This is followed by signs of erasure or fading—either the lower text of the palimpsest or a letter deleted from the SE text. (46) Only *zayin* to the left of the central lacuna is relatively clear. If indeed it is *zayin*, it is the only exemplar of this letter in the Cryptic A papyri—although resembling the formal *zayin* in the Cryptic A parchment scroll 4Q298 1-2 i 1. (47) All other ink traces on the new IAA image and on PAM 40.633 have been associated with SE letters based on this observation.

Line 5. The two fragments joined together yield a clear reading of all the letters in this line. Although only the right part of *samek* is extant, it is unequivocally this letter.

Line 6. The letters coalesce with the smaller letters of the interlinear insertion below and those in line 5. Only the left curved stroke of *bet* is legible. While the ink remnants could be *khet*, *tet*, *kaph*, or *resh*, the placement of the fragment in SE identifies the letter. The right side of *qoph* is fully identifiable. *Yod* is slightly irregular, the left-hand side of the horizontal stroke being pulled downwards.

Line 7a. An interlinear correction, this is difficult to read. (48) Before the clear *shin*, a stroke beneath the horizontal roof of *khet* in line 6 is

(46) A similar phenomenon occurs in several other 4QcryptA SE fragments: see Ben-Dov and Stökl Ben Ezra, “4Q249 Midrash Moshe,” 138-139.

(47) Cryptic letters on papyri tend to be less formal than their parchment counterparts. As remarked above, the reading of *zayin* in the papyrus frg. 4Q249e 1 i 1 (DJD 36, 555) is doubtful.

(48) For the interlinear writing, see Pfann (DJD 36, 558-559). We hope to discuss its significance and implications for the literary development of SE in a separate publication.

discernible. This appears to represent the digit 10 (↷), known from elsewhere at Qumran. (49) Further to the right, on the edge of the fragment, IR-microscopy confirms that the dot below the adhesive tape is not a trace of ink. The letter after *shin*, of which only a right angle is visible, may be *nun* or *tav*, more probably the former in light of the oblique line that forms a triangle with the strokes of *shin*; This line either belongs to the interlinear addition or protrudes from the line above. (50) While Pfann reads *resh*, no trace of the left loop is evident.

The third letter is almost certainly *he*, a long horizontal stroke and short vertical line in its center being visible, the disconnection between the downstroke and the horizontal line probably being due to a protruding fiber. A very thin downstroke between the right end of a horizontal stroke descending from the line above and the left end of a horizontal stroke from the interlinear addition may be *yod*. The very small hook may also have been caused by the scribe's hand movement after finishing the *yod* in the main text line, however.

Following an empty space, another sign is visible beginning the next word at the edge of the fragment. Although the reconstruction requires *yod*, the mark more closely resembles the right angle of *shin* or *khet*. The interlinear addition may not have contained a full quotation of the missing text (see below).

Line 7. Here again, the letters coalesce with the interlinear insertion. *Mem* is incomplete but clear. *Ayin* is clear on PAM 40.633.

Line 8. Only the lower end of the downstroke of the first *vav* is preserved, constituting what appears at first glance to be a letter belonging to the interlinear addition below. Only the right end of the oblique top line of the final *vav* remains.

Line 9a. All the letters of this interlinear addition are clear, no space existing between *lamed* and *aleph*. *Aleph* is inverted, the loop occurring at the top and the two arms protruding right and left (cf. frg. 5 3a).

Line 10. Remnants of a horizontal stroke can be seen right below the inter-word space in the preceding line. This may be the top stroke of *tav* (cf. 1QSa I 13).

4Q249a 4 (*olim* 4Q249e 3) = 4QcryptA SE I 13-15

Parallel: 1QSa I 9-13

IAA Plate 598, frg. 12, B-482593. PAM 41.990, 43.410

(49) This sign is more angular than round. For angular representations of the digits 10 and 20, cf. 4Q554 New Jerusalem^a ar.

(50) The addition introducing the word שנה "year" (reading *tav* rather than *nun*) produces the Aramaic form שתה.

Physical Description

Size: 1.9×2.1 cm. Interlinear space: 0.68 cm

This fragment preserves three lines, a fourth line possibly existing at the bottom where the fibers have disintegrated and only faint traces of ink may be seen on PAM 41.990. The top left corner of the fragment is also damaged. The lines are evenly spaced, the letters executed in a firm hand.

Transcription



Image 4

]בִּזְּשָׁ[	]וִיִּם[	1
]ו[	]ו[	2a
]שָׁבָּ[	]קוּדָּ[	2
]בָּ[	]יָ[	3
]דָּ[	]הָ[	4

Notes on Readings

We concur with Pfann except with regard to lines 2a and 4.

Line 1. The remnants in the center suggest the zigzag of *dalet* joined to the vertical stroke of *yod*. While this scribe customarily separates letters, several other ligatures do exist (e.g., frg. 10 line 2). The letter might thus also be *samek*; *qoph* and *mem* are less probable options in the absence of a left downstroke. The downstroke to the right may be several letters, the context favoring *vav*. A short horizontal stroke followed by the remains of a loop can be seen to the left of *yod*. While these marks may represent several letters, the context suggests *mem*.

Line 2a. An oblique stroke descending towards the left may signify an interlinear addition. Concave viewed from the top, it is best read as either *dalet* or *lamed*. If not, it should be assigned to the following main line. This type of ductus is abnormal, however.

Line 2. A spot at the top of the upper horizontal stroke of the following *qoph* may belong to *tav*. The oblique stroke above it more probably forms part of an interlinear letter.

Line 3. Only the part right of the central downstroke of *samek* is extant. Were this *qoph*, we would expect the downstroke to cross the upper vertical stroke.

Line 4. Remnants of this letter can only be observed on the old PAM 41.990 photo. It consists of a stroke of the width of *qoph* or *vav*

running in the direction of the fibers on a virtually disjointed piece of about two papyrus fibers below the *yod*. Resembling the right edge of a diagonal stroke, it may be *he*. The precise placement of this piece is difficult to determine, the papyrus fibers being around 10° oblique, descending to the right.

4Q249a 5 (*olim* 4Q249e 2) = 4QcryptA SE I 13-15

Parallel: 1QSa I 9-12

IAA Plate 598, frg. 8, B-482577 (left side). PAM 40.974, 41.990, 43.410

Physical Description

Size: 1.22 × 1.98 cm. *Interlinear space*: 0.72 cm

Still independent on PAM photographs 40.974 and 41.990, Milik mistakenly joined this fragment to the left of 4Q249a 3 (*olim* 4Q249e 2). (51) The reading proposed herein differs substantially from Pfann's. (52)

Transcription



Image 5

]◦[	]◦[	1
]בפ[	]נ[	2
]בבב[	]בבב[	3a
]ר[	]ר[	3
]בב[	]בב[	4

Notes on Readings

Line 2. The traces of the first letter may be *tav*—or more probably *vav*. Pfann reads]נ[. The identification of *nun* is based on an incorrect join, however, making it implausible.

Line 3a. An interlinear line, the script is small and irregular. A tiny remnant of the bottom diagonal stroke of *lamed* is visible in PAM 40.974 and PAM 41.990. The later PAM and IAA photos hide this behind the erroneous join. Following this mark, *aleph* is clearly identifiable—albeit somewhat skewed due to the interlinear writing. The space between *aleph* and *yod* is a bit small for the average gap between words, possibly

(51) See PAM 43.410 and frg. 3 above.

(52) See further Gayer et al., “A New Join.”

due to the exigencies of the interlinear insertion. The right vertical stroke on the edge of the fragment may be *gimel* or *khet*. Pfann reads:]ל"יח[.

Line 4. The triangular shape crossed by the edge of a vertical stroke on the left appears to be *tav*. The context of the preceding faint remains of a vertical downstroke on the right side favor *vav*. Pfann reads:]ו"י[.

4Q249a 6 (*olim* 4Q249c) = 4QcryptA SE II 1-7

Parallel: 1QSa I 13-16

IAA Plate 598, frg. 5, B-482565. PAM 41.990, 43.410

Physical Description

Size: 2.8 × 4.2 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.6-0.65 cm

This fragment consists of two separate pieces joined together between lines 3 and 4 (see the crack in PAM 41.990). These lines are thus faint and difficult to read. While we concur with the join, the pieces were not placed accurately on the IAA plate. The fiber match on the verso requires that the bottom part be placed 1.5-2 mm lower and 1 mm to the right (looking from the verso side). The left part of the fragment has largely deteriorated and is impossible to read, only a number of ink marks still being visible on the papyrus fibers. The latter nonetheless help posit several additional letters in lines 4-5. As part of the disintegration, several fibers flipped, parts of line 6 now appearing on the verso rather than the recto. We have corrected both these faults via an image-manipulation program, taking care not to interfere with the other sections of the fragments. (53)

Transcription



]ח"י[	]ח"י[	1
]ש"ב[	]ש"ב[	2
]ח"י[	]ח"י[	3
]ח"י[	]ח"י[	4
]ח"י[	]ח"י[	5
]ח"י[	]ח"י[	6
]ח"י[	]ח"י[	7

Image 6

(53) For the uncorrected image, see <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-482565>.

Notes on Readings

We agree with Pfann's reading except for one letter in line 6 and two letters in lines 1 and 5, which we reconstruct in accordance with the context.

Line 1. The horizontal fibers containing the central sections of the letters have disappeared. A vertical stroke with a slight curve to the left on its upper part indicates the first to be *vav*. The remnants of a horizontal stroke at the top linked to a 3-shaped mark may be *mem*.

Line 3. This line has faded and is difficult to read. The hook on the right-hand side suggests *yod*. A horizontal stroke and three short vertical strokes indicate that the third letter is *shin*. Based on the placement of the fragment in SE, the faint ink traces at the end of the line may be *resh*.

Line 4. Remnants of the last letter are visible on PAM 43.410.

Line 5. Visible ink marks following the *nun* point to the beginning of the next word.

Line 6. The remnants of a diagonal stroke above *vav* in the bottom line may be *aleph*, *dalet*, or *lamed*. The placement of the fragment in SE suggests that a horizontal stroke and several ink marks may be *he*. Several ink marks are preserved on the realigned (flipped) papyrus fiber at the left end of this line, presumably forming a third letter. The context suggests *aleph*.

Line 7. The tip of a left stroke may indicate that the first letter is *dalet*. At the left end, a diagonal stroke might constitute the right end of *tav*.

4Q249a 7 i+ii (olim 4Q249e 1) = 4QcryptA SE II 7-9 + III 6-10

Parallel: 1QSa I 16-18 + I 24-26

IAA Plate 598, frg. 9, B-482581, PAM 40.633, 41.990, 43.410

Physical Description

Size: 7.4 × 3.2 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.69 cm. *Inter-column space:* 2.4 cm

This is the only fragment with two consecutive columns separated by a margin. The left column (ii) preserves the beginnings of five consecutive lines. Very few remains of the right column (i) have been preserved. In addition, there are regions at the top of col. i where the recto fibers have peeled off. While we generally concur with Pfann's reading of col. ii, we differ substantially with regard to col. i.

Column ii is a square block of relatively-well-preserved papyrus (3.29 × 2.55 cm). Col. i—on the right-hand side of the fragment—is comprised of three long, parallel horizontal strips measuring up to 3.81 cm in length whose fibers veer in different directions. The recto and verso fiber patterns thus clearly require manual correction and should be presented fully parallel. The corrected image, created via image-manipulation techniques, is presented here. (54)

Column 7 i is extremely difficult and doubtful. Its placement in relation to the other fragments in col. II of 4QSE is certain, however.

Transcription

Col. ii	Col. i	Col. ii	Col. i	
][]ת[	ז[	][ ]ש[	הם[	1
][]פ[	ז[	כול צב[	העדה[	2
][]פ[	פ[	וכל רא[	י[	3
][]פ[	פ[	לכול ה[	י[	4
][]פ[		נ[		5



Image 7

(54) For the correction method, see Gayer et al. “A New Join.” The changes made to the image, modifying it from the earlier IAA image B-482581, are as follows. The fragment has been semi-manually separated from the black background via the “magic wand” tool with a threshold around 20 on each black spot. The rice paper covering lacunae was then deleted manually via the “intelligent scissors,” the fragment subsequently divided into six major parts where the original fiber pattern was clearly confused on the IAA plate: 1) the very right top edge of col. I; 2) the top main section of col. i lines 1-2; 3) the middle principal section of this column; 4) the lower principal section of this column; 5) the lower right part of col. ii; 6) the remainder of col. ii. Finally, each part was aligned with its neighbours, thereby enhancing the continuation of the horizontal and vertical fibers. Parts 1, 4, and 5 were rotated slightly anti-clockwise, part 5 slightly clockwise, all also being moved minimally horizontally and vertically.

Notes on Readings

Column i

Line 1. At the top of the fragment, three strokes forming the bottom parts of two or three large letters are clearly visible. The preceding papyrus portion appears to be blank. The three strokes preserve about half of the original letter height, which corresponds to the largest extant letters of 4Q249. Pfann (DJD 36, 555-556) interprets them as נָמ, reading the word וְלִהְבִּינָם paralleling 1QSa I 5. Numerous other readings are possible, however. The rightmost stroke comprises the lower part of a downstroke, consistent with *he*, *vav*, *nun*, *tsade*, or *tav*. The two following strokes may be the remains of one or two letters. If read as one with two arms, the first slanting leftwards, it would form the bottom part of *mem*, *qoph* also being a slight possibility. If read as two letters, the stroke to the right must be *lamed*, the vertical stroke to the left possibly being *bet*, *gimel*, or *khet* or *he*, *vav*, *tet*, *resh*, or *tav*.

Lying further left than the remains in this line and the other lines of 7 i, we pondered the possibility that these traces constitute a marginal gloss. Such glosses consisting of more than one letter being extremely rare in the Qumran scrolls, however, the letters are better read as part of the line 7 i 1 (55). The absence of any preceding letters may be a function of small and high letters and the deterioration of the recto layer—close scrutiny of the uppermost papyrus in fact revealing segments in which some of the horizontal fibers are missing. (56)

One damaged papyrus region is situated to the left of the fiber distortion, looking like a knot just above the *he* in line 2. Another occurs to the right of the “knot” above *ayin* in line 2. Some ink traces may also exist here.

The easiest solution to the crux is to insert the dative להם “to them” in the *serekh* text immediately after the word הַגּוֹרֵל at the end of the line. (57) This yields the reading: [אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא הַגּוֹרֵל לְהֵם]. While the word order is slightly irregular, the dative normally immediately following the verb, this word order is nevertheless well documented in the DSS. (58)

(55) For examples of this custom, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 226-227. For Cryptic A *mem* as a scribal mark, cf. 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) 1-2, v 3. Tov has collected all the marginal Cryptic A marks in the DSS: *ibid*, 336-338; *idem*, “Letters of the Cryptic A Script and Paleo-Hebrew Letters Used as Scribal Marks in Some Qumran Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1996): 330-339.

(56) The absence of these papyrus parts can be seen on the raking light images of this fragment: RLBLU_025, RLIR_026, RRBLU_027, and RRIR_028.

(57) Cf. 1QS VI 18: וְאֵם יֵצֵא לוֹ הַגּוֹרֵל לְקִרְבִּי לְסוֹד הַיָּחִיד.

(58) CD III 21: וְהַבְדִּיל אֶל לָהֶם; 4Q266 3 iii 5: וְהַבְדִּיל אֶל לָהֶם; 1QM XVII 10: וְתִקְצוּ יִתְקַצּוּ; 1QH^a XII 32: וְצִיר אֶל לוֹ; 1QH^a XVII 24: וְתִהְיֶה תוֹכַחְתָּה לִּי; 1Q34 2 ii 6: cf. וְהַבְדִּיל אֶל לָהֶם.

In the less-likely case that the ink remains at the left end of 7 i 1 represent an inter-columnar gloss, this may be a comment or corrected word inserted at the end of one of the lines in 7 i that, beginning above, continued into the margin. (59) The possibilities are צד[וֹךְ or משפחוֹתָם. While line 5 refers to בני אהרן ה[כהנים—Aaron's priestly sons—line 24 speaks of בני צדוק הכהנים in a very similar context. The latter phrase is common in the DSS in general and the S literature in particular (cf. 1QS V 2, 9). A later hand may have wished to replace the sons of Aaron with the more regular sons of Zadok. This is a remote possibility, however. משפחוֹתָם appears in our reconstruction at the end of line 4. An omission or mistake may have required its correction, the remains of which are extant in the margin.

Line 2. עֲדָה[We discuss the letters in this line from left to right. The vertical and horizontal strokes of the final *he* are quite clear, despite the damage the former has sustained. The right-hand side of its roof is too long, however, part of it thus necessarily belonging to the previous letter. Right next to the bottom of *he* lies a dot that cannot be part of this letter. Together, these two signs form the outline of *dalet* slanting significantly to the left at the bottom in Cryptic A script. Exhibiting both an upper roof and a slanted stroke at the bottom, it perfectly matches the nearly-invisible remains in this line.

To the right, a broad, slightly-curved horizontal line is visible with a sharp hook at its right end. This must be *ayin* or *pe*. Pfann's *zayin* is problematic on several grounds. The shape does not clearly conform to this letter, which only appears once elsewhere in the cryptic papyri ductus (4Q249a 3 4 [*olim* 4Q249a 1 4])—and even there as a probability rather than a certainty. It would also be a rather cramped version of the formal cryptic A form of this letter (cf. 4Q298 1-2 i 1), lacking the loop above the horizontal line this *zayin* exhibits. (60) Nor do the remains resemble the 4Q249a 3 4 *zayin*. We thus much prefer *ayin* here.

Further rightwards, the tiny remnants of a horizontal stroke are visible at the very top right edge of the papyrus. We suggest this to be *he*.

Line 3. A small hook is preserved at the left end of the final letter.

4Q509 97-98 i 8: וּתְחַדֵּשׁ בְּרִיתָךְ לָהֶם; 4Q381 69 8: וְלִהְיוּ בְרִית כְּרַת לָכֶם; 4Q504 1-2 v 16: יִקְדִּי[ש] אֱלֹהִים לוֹ; 4Q511 35 2-3: וְלִהְיוּ בְרִית לָהֶם.

(59) A similar case of marginal correction appears in 1QIsa^a to the right of col. XXIX 16, the word עֲמֹנִי being added after the “wrong” reading עֲבָדִי in the previous line: see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 227.

(60) See the paleographical chart in DJD 36, 528; Pfann, “The Character of the Early Essene Movement,” 186. What appears to be a loop in 4Q249a 7 i 1 is not the remnants of a letter.

Line 4. An oval mark belonging to the upper part of a letter can be discerned. Pfann reads *vav*.

Column ii

Line 1. The two extant arms of the letter at the very top left edge of the fragment may be *mem* or *qoph*, preferably the former because the two arms do not touch. Pfann reads:]ם[]ה[.

Line 2. The last letter is visible next to the tip of a loop—the SE text suggesting *aleph*.

Line 4. The right-hand edge of a roof is extant. While this might be either *he* or *nun*, the former fits the SE text better.

Line 5. Traces of a slightly-curved horizontal line suggest *ayin* here.

4Q249a 8 (*olim* 4Q249i 1) = 4QcryptA SE II 7-12

Parallel: 1QSa I 17-19

IAA Plate 598, frg. 35, B-482685. PAM 40.633, 41.990, 43.410

Physical Description

Size: 1.9 × 3.35 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.55-0.68 cm

An additional vertical strip of papyrus on the right side of the fragment, no longer extant on the newer images, is visible in the earlier PAM photographs (40.633 and 41.990). In PAM 41.990, Milik appears to have sought to join this fragment with frg. 10 on the basis of similar material traits. This is implausible, however. Despite their physical proximity, the vertical fiber patterns also preclude a physical join between frgs. 6 and 8.

Transcription



]פ[	]ו[	1
]ח[	]מ[	2
]ב[	]א[	3a
]פ[	]ע[	3
]ב[	]מ[	4
]פ[	]ר[	5
]פ[	]ב[	6

Image 8

Notes on Readings

Line 1. The bottom part of a single vertical stroke is visible. While this may be a variety of letters, the context suggests the bottom part of the first *vav* of ולבוא in 4Q249a 6 6 (= 4QSE II 7). Although *bet* is also a possibility it is less likely, this letter tending to be shorter. The *tav* or *tsade* of the preceding word in II 7 are also plausible options.

Line 2. The edge of *tav* is clear on the left. Part of the vertical stroke of *mem* is also certain, parts of its horizontal stroke being discernible with *tav* from the added line (3a).

Line 3a. One clear letter and part of a preceding one are visible here. Pfann's identification of a third letter at the left of the line is in fact the bottom part of the *tav* of line 2. (61) The remnants of a diagonal concave stroke at the right-hand side of the line indicate *aleph*, the two letters forming the word אֵת (1QSa I 17). See Comments on Reading below.

Line 3. The bottom end of a vertical stroke is visible on the right-hand side of the fragment above *vav* in line 4. This may be *bet*, *he*, *vav*, *tet*, *nun*, *tsade*, *resh*, or *tav*. If our reconstruction is correct, it forms either *vav* or *yod* of the word that precedes the phrase אֵת עֲבֹדָה in lines 3 and 3a. Our reading supports the former. At the end of the line, the remnants of a dot of ink below a top horizontal stroke following *ayin* may be *bet*.

Line 4. Parts of both the vertical stroke and curved downstrokes of *mem* are visible, followed by a quite clear *vav* and *ayin*.

Line 5. *Vav* followed by *bet* are clearly legible. Preceding the *vav* a vertical stroke and oblong extension to its left are visible. The remnants of such a shape to the right of the vertical stroke can be seen on PAM 41.990. We thus read *resh*. The tiny black spot to the right is more likely a sprinkle such as found elsewhere (e.g., below the *aleph* of frg. 1) than another letter.

Line 6. A diagonal stroke most probably indicates *bet*. Remnants of ink can be spotted on the loosened fiber preceding it, the placement in SE suggesting this to be *vav*.

4Q249a 9 (olim 4Q249d) = 4QcryptA SE II 9-14

Parallel: 1QSa I 18-20

IAA 590, frg. 2, B-364641. PAM 40.633, 41.990, 43.409

Size: 2.38 × 3.6 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.79 cm

This badly-damaged fragment is flipped upside down on the plate and thus all the following images. Two slight changes were subsequently applied to the image to restore the fibers to their original configuration. (62)

Pfann identifies it as a separate copy of SE paralleling 1QSa I 6-10, 13-14, albeit with significant variants and analogous with the text included in col. I above—i.e., 4Q249 e 1. (63) Most notably, according to DJD 36 the fragment—broken as it is—supplies enough evidence to determine that it skips no less than three lines of the parallel text in 1QSa. If this reading was correct, it would indisputably prove the existence of multiple cryptic copies of SE. We dispute several of Pfann’s key readings, however, identifying the fragment with a completely different part of the Serekh—1QSa I 18-20 = 4QSE II 9-14—on the basis of the clear letters in line 3, lines 5 and 6, the oblique fiber pattern on the recto (which completely agrees with the fibers of frg. 8), and the vertical fibers on the verso that correspond to those of frg. 6. One letter in line 3 also seems to have been split in half, one part belonging to frg. 8, the other to frg. 9.

Transcription



Image 9

]ם[]ב[	]ב[]ד[	1
]ז[]פ[	]ח[]ל[	2
]ח[]פ[	]ב[]ז[	3
]ז[]פ[	]ב[]ד[	4
]פ[]ז[	]ב[]ד[	5
]ז[]פ[	]ב[]ד[	6

(62) The modifications inserted in the IAA image B-364641 are as follows. The fragment has been semi-manually separated from the black background via the “magic wand” tool with a threshold of ca. 20 on each black spot. A small, finger-shaped piece on the right-hand side of the fragment—inaccurately attached by the first conservators—was “cut” manually with the “intelligent scissors” and moved 1 mm to the right and about 0.5 mm upwards to align the fibers properly. The nearly-detached piece around the letters *vav* (line 5) and *pe* (line 6) was similarly “cut,” its right-hand section being moved upwards 1.5 mm to align the fibers properly and reconnect the letter strokes.

(63) Pfann, DJD 36, 552-553.

Notes on Readings

Line 1. Pfann discerns three unidentified letters in this difficult line. Of the first, a diagonal middle stroke and a few small marks are visible, consistent with *aleph*, *dalet*, or *lamed*. The second letter is represented by a long vertical stroke with a slight curve to the left at its bottom that crosses the letters of the line below, the hiatus in the middle of the stroke being due to the damage the papyrus has suffered. This might be any letter with a long vertical downstroke—*vav*, *tav*, *tsade*, etc. The two marks at the end of the line might be *mem*, *samek*, *tsade*, or *qoph*. All these suggestions rest on the identification of the fragment with SE.

Line 2. In our view, Pfann's reading and comments on this obscure line (DJD 36, 553) are implausible. The left hook at the beginning of the line could be *yod*, *khet*, *tet*, or *lamed*, identification of the fragment with SE favoring *tet*. After an empty space, the second letter, which crosses the downstroke from the line above, is most probably the head of *vav* or possibly *lamed*. It is interrupted by a horizontal hiatus on the papyrus surface where the downstroke of *vav* would have been. Although not very clear in the color image, the peeling of the papyrus surface is evident in the raked-light image supplied by the Leon Levy Digital Library. (64) The uppermost end of a downstroke can be seen to the left of the upper curved stroke. The next letter is certainly *lamed*. At the end of this line, two horizontal lines are separated by a missing horizontal fiber. Of the two possible identifications—*pe* and *tsade*—the former is clearly preferable after the *vav* and *lamed*, being quite firmly anchored by the context. The reading of 4QSE can shed light on the reading of 1QSa, the text of the latter being highly doubtful due to the damage it has sustained (see Text-Critical Comments on the Reconstruction).

Line 3. Pfann reads הַוּקִי הַ. We agree only with the *vav*, whose triangular-shaped head and downstroke are clearly visible. The lower curve of the proposed *qoph* in fact belongs to the *vav* of the line below. The ink traces to its left occur high up above the line, resembling *yod* without its typical hook. They may be the palimpsest remnants of an erased letter between lines 2 and 3, a phenomenon found elsewhere in 4QSE (see above). An inter-word space follows. At the end of the line, a 90° right angle with some ink remnants on the horizontal fibers might be *shin*. The minute traces at the very beginning of the line are the left curve of *bet*, the rest of which is still extant on frg. 8 (*olim* 4Q249i 1).

Line 4. The absence of many of the fibers of this line makes it very difficult to read. Pfann reconstructs 𐤀𐤓 followed by a space. At the beginning of the line, a faded slight curve fits well with the *ayin* suggested by the SE context. A wide space follows, where the raking-light image reveals the upper layer of the recto fibers to be missing. The space is sufficient for the *bet* our identification of the passage calls for. The next ink trace is a vertical downstroke that pulls leftwards at the bottom. Together with the oblique upstroke next to the *tav* of the line above, this can only be *vav*. Then follow several wavy curves interrupted by missing fibers, these traces only allowing for *dalet*. A small ink spot at the end of the extant fibers in this line must belong to a fifth letter—*tav* according to our reconstruction.

Line 5. Based on our identification of the passage with SE, the faded final letter is *resh*.

Line 6. The only clear letter in this line is *pe*. It is preceded by what appear to be the upper end of a downstroke and a slightly curved horizontal stroke. These match the ductus of *shin* (cf. frg. 35 on Plate 590). The faint traces at the end of the line could be virtually any letter. Our reconstruction suggests *tet*.

4Q249a 10 (*olim* 4Q249b) = 4QcryptA SE III 10-12

Parallel: 1QSa I 26-27

IAA Plate 598, frag.2, B-478548. PAM 40.977, 41.990, 43.410

Physical Description

Size: 1.75 × 3.9 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.76 cm

PAM 41.990 suggests that Milik thought this fragment should be joined to 4Q249a 9 on the basis of similar material traits. In our view, our “join 3” (see Introduction) constitutes a far better option. This fragment is placed just under fragment 4Q249a 7 ii. Although not actually touching one another, the two fragments share the same vertical fibers on the verso. A protrusion of vertical fibers at the bottom of 7 ii (below the letter *kaph*) also matches the left upper part (looking from the verso side) of frg. 10. Here, the missing vertical fibers reveal the horizontal fibers on the verso side.

The tiny piece of papyrus (recto only!) containing line 3 is detached from the rest of the fragment. On the new images, this piece is rotated 90° clockwise from its original position, whereas PAM 40.977 and 41.990 evince the original alignment. Via image-manipulation software, we restored the piece to the orientation in which it appears in PAM 40.977.

Transcription

Image 10

]פֿ[	]לֵת[	1
]←ט[	]להי[	2
]חִנְּ[	]אַנְש[	3

Notes on Readings

Apart from the join with frg. 7 ii, we concur with the DJD reading of this fragment.

Line 1. Only the end of a diagonal downstroke of the first letter has survived. This could be *aleph* or *lamed*, or, less probably, *dalet*. Pfann's reading of *lamed* is supported by the 4QSE reconstruction.

Line 2. The roof of *he* and horizontal stroke of *yod* are connected.

Line 3. The left part of a loop and a diagonal stroke to its left indicate that the first letter is *aleph*. Two parallel vertical downstrokes and the beginning of a horizontal stroke are the remains of *shin*.

4Q249a 11 (olim 4Q249h 1) = 4QcryptA SE IV 9-11

Parallel: 1QSa II 8

IAA Plate 590, frg. 8, B-364654. PAM 40.636 (right part), 41.995, 43.409

Physical Description

Size: 3.17 × 1.37 cm

The fragment comprises two pieces, a vertical join running down the middle and cutting the letter *aleph* in half (the pieces appear separately in PAM 40.633). The alignment of the horizontal fibers verifies the join. (65)

(65) In PAM 41.995, the right side of the fragment lies near 4Q249z 56, implying a possible join. Fine differences in the fiber pattern appear to counterindicate this possibility, however.

that the final letter is *vav* (see Physical Description). *Mem* is represented by a vertical stroke and the lower curved stroke approaching it; *he* by a leg and tiny remnant the left of the roof. No space corresponding to the minimum width of any other attested inter-word space exists between the two, however. The diagonal stroke at the right edge of the line (see PAM 41.995) suggests that the first letter is *aleph* rather than *he*, also being considerably shorter than the third letter identified as *he*. With respect to the second letter, a vertical stroke with a foot to the left may be *vav*, *nun*, *pe*, or *tav*. The probable reading is thus: *וְהָמוֹן שֶׁב* (see Text-Critical Comments on the Reconstruction).

Line 3. Only minute ink traces of the first and last letters are visible. Our reconstruction suggests that they are *aleph* and *lamed*.

For a detailed discussion of the reading and its implications, see the Text-Critical Comments on the Reconstruction.

4Q249a 13 (*olim* 4Q249f 1) = 4QcryptA SE IV 14-16

Parallel: 1QSa II 12-13

IAA Plate 598, frg.15, B-482605. PAM 41.993, 43.410

Physical Description

Size: 2.26 × 1.58 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.64 cm

Grey areas under the *yod* in line 1 indicate that some writing may have been deleted in this line.

Transcription



Image 13

וְהָמוֹן שֶׁב	שִׁיחַ 1
וְהָמוֹן שֶׁב	כֹּל 2
וְהָמוֹן שֶׁב	אֵל 3

Notes on Readings

Line 3. Pfann reads: *וְהָמוֹן שֶׁב*. No downstroke descending from the horizontal stroke of the final letter makes *shin* unlikely, however. The only remains of the previous letter are a stroke resembling a 90° curve ascending to the right at the top of the main line of the row and a small ink spot to its right. *Vav* is not impossible, although its top curve is usually straighter. A more probable reading seems to us the top end

of *aleph*. Based on the placement of the fragment in SE, the first letter may be *dalet*, the faint dot just above the ink mark at the right edge of the fragment strengthening this suggestion.

4Q249a 14 (*olim* 4Q249f 3) = 4QcryptA SE V 2-7

Parallel: 1QSa II 14-18

IAA Plate 590, frg. 35, B-364707. PAM 40.636, 41.986, 43.409

Physical Description

Size: 3.2 × 3.77 cm. *Interlinear space:* 0.7 cm on average

An extra horizontal fiber still exists at the top of the fragment in PAM 40.636 and 41.986. The scant ink marks it preserves help to identify the letters of line 1. Possible erasure marks are visible in lines 2, 3, and 6. The horizontal fibers are approximately 4-5° oblique.

Transcription



Image 14

]ה'שנ]	1
]ניהמ]	2
]עמ חכפ]	3
]י כבודו]	4
]ירוש]	5
]ת א]	6

Notes on Readings

We agree with the DJD reading, adding further tentative identifications in lines 1 and 4.

Line 1. Remnants of three letters can be seen before *shin*. A pointed hook to its right may be the left end of *yod*. This is preceded by the leg of *vav*, separated from the preceding signs by a short inter-word space preceded by several specks of ink. The context suggests *lamed*.

Line 2. The text is written over an erasure (cf. DJD 36, p. 561).

Line 3. For a similarly narrow-shaped *kaph*, see 4Q249a 11 2. A tiny spot of ink at the very left edge of the fragment is commensurate with

Line 4. A small dot left of the zigzagged upper half of *dalet* matches the *vav* required by the context.

Line 6. *Tav* is indicated by the top triangle. The left part of an oval-shaped stroke indicates *aleph*. The ink mark on the right side of the latter reflects the erasure of a previous text (cf. *aleph* in 4Q249a 2 5).

Red indicates probable letters, yellow possible letters:

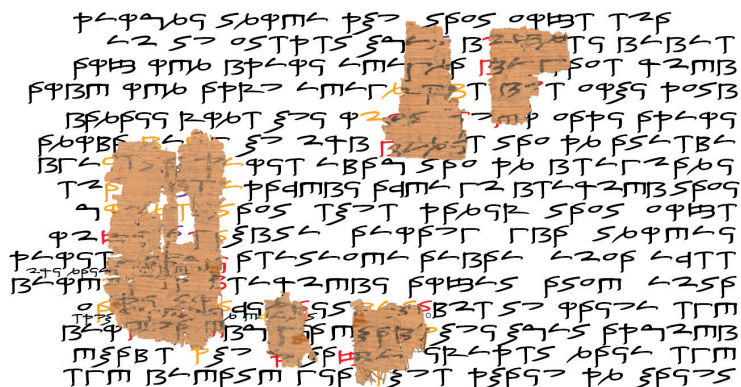


Image 15. Reconstruction of Column I

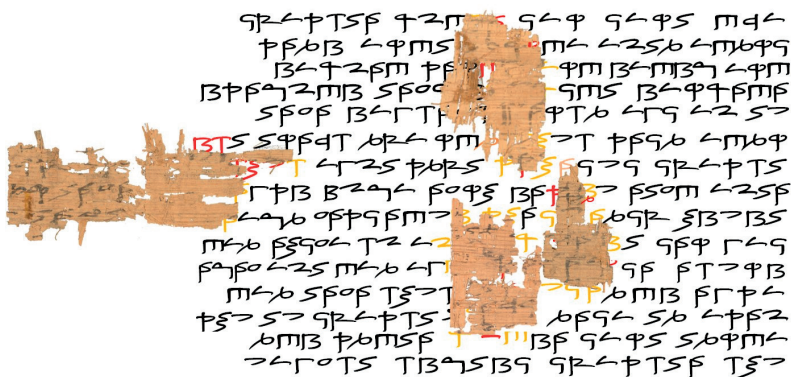


Image 16. Reconstruction of Column II

Image 17. Reconstruction of Column III

Image 18. Reconstruction of Column IV

Image 19. Reconstruction of Column V

Reconstruction in Square Script

Grey letters indicate letters not extant in 1QSa (i.e., lacunae). All the variant readings vis-à-vis 1QSa are noted in the apparatus and elaborated upon in the Text-Critical Comments on the Reconstruction.

Column I

[וזה הסרך לכול עדת ישראל באחרית]	1
[הימים בה]אספ[ם] ליןחד להתהלך על פי]	2
[משפט הכזה]נים[ו]אנ[ישי בריתם אשר סרו]	3
[מלכת בדרך ה]עם[ה]פה א'נישי עצתו אשר שמרו]	4
[בריתו בתוך רש]ע[ה]לכפ'ר בעד הארץ בבואום]	5
[יקהילו את כול ה]באים[מטף עד ג]ש'י[פ] וקראו]	6
[באוזניהם את כול חוקי הבר]ית ולהב[נים]	7
[בכול משפטיהם פן ישנו במשגות]הם vacat ו[זה]	8
[הסרך לכול צבאות העדה לכו]ל' { } חזק[ח]	9
[בישראל ומן נעוריו ילמד]והו בס[פר]	10
[ההגו וכפי יומיו ישכיליהו]חוקי[הברית]	11
[] – שנה' בוא בטפ	12a
[ולפי שכלו ליסרו במשפטיה]ם ובן ע[שרים]	12
[שנה יעבור על הפק]ודים[לב]וא [בג]ורל בתו[ך]	13
[] [] לא יג'ש [] אשה ל[דעתה]	14a
[משפחתו ליחד בעד]ה קוד[ש וב]ן [חמ]ש ועש[רים]	14
[שנה יבוא להתיצב ב]יס[וד]ת[עד]ה[הקודש]	15
[לעבוד את עבודת העד]ה[ובן שלושים שנה]	16

4QSE I 2 [בה]אספ[ם] 1QSa I 1 בהספם: see §5.

4QSE I 3 [הכזה]נים 1QSa I 2 + בני צדוק: see §6.

4QSE I 7 [באוזניהם] 1QSa I 4: בא[אוזניהמה]: see §1.

4QSE I 8 [משפטיהם] 1QSa I 5: משפטיה'מה: see §1.

4QSE I 8 [במשגות]הם 1QSa I 5: במ[שגותיהמ]ה: see §1.

4QSE I 9 [הסרך] 1QSa I 6 "סרך": see §7.

4QSE I 10 [והו] 1QSa I 7 מדהו[: see §8.

4QSE I 12a [] – שנה' בוא בטפ 1QSa I 8 עשר שנים. This sentence does not exist in the continuous text of 4QSE, being added interlinearly: see §2.

4QSE I 12 [] ולפי שכלו ליסרו] This reading follows Qimron: see §9.

[במשפטיהם] 1QSa I 8 reads במשפטיהמה: see §1.

4QSE 14a [] לא יג'ש 1QSa I 9 ולוא.

1QSa I 9 [] יג'ש: The reading in 1QSa should probably be changed to accord with this text rather than the previously suggested יג'ש: see §3.

[] [] לא יג'ש [] אשה ל[דעתה] The reading in 1QSa I 9 should probably be changed to accord with this text, rather than the previously suggested יג'ש.

Column II

- 4QSE II 2 [בראשׁי]] 1QSa I 14 בראושי see §10.
 4QSE II 3 שרׁי³] 1QSa I 15 Qimron: [ושרי]; Barthélemy: [שרי]: see §11.
 4QSE II 6 [ראשׁי]] 1QSa I 16 שׂרׁי⁶. Qimron: רשי: see §12.
 הַם [יצא הגורל ל]] 1QSa I 16 יצא הגורל see §13.
 4QSE II 7 [בשבׁת]] 1QSa I 16 בעבודת (Barthélemy) or בעבודת' (Qimron):
 see §13.
 [לצאת]] 1QSa I 17 + ולבוּא: see §15.
 4QSE II 8 [יחזק]] 1QSa I 17 (Qimron) וחזק see §16.
 למעמ[דו] Qimron. למעמ[...] לאת עבודת 1QSa I 17 למעמד צבא⁹ ארׁא⁹ see §17.
 לאת Barthelemy, Licht, DSSSe למעמ[דו] לאת: see §17.
 4QSE II 10 זה וְלָפִי] Barthelemy זה [זה על]; Qimron [בא]לָה: but see §18.

1	[גיום רק בסרך הצבא יכתוב משפחתו]
2	[ובעבודת המס יעשה עבודתו כפי מעשיו]
3	[ובני לוי יעמודו איש במעמדו על פי]
4	[בני אהרון להביא ולהוציא את כול העדה]
5	[איש בסרכו על יד ראשי אבות העדה]

- 6 [ל]ש[רי]ם ולשופטים ולשוטרים למספר
- 7 כול צבא[ותם על פי בני צדוק הכהנים]
- 8 וכול רא[שי אבות העדה ואם תעודה תהיה]
- 9 לכול ה[קהל למשפט או לעצת יחד או]
- 10 לתע[ודת מלחמה וקדשום שלושת ימים]
- 11 להי[ות כול הבא עתיד לעצה vacat אלה]
- 12 [ה]אנש[ים הנקראים לעצת היחד כול חכמי]
- 13 [העדה והנבונים והידעים תמימי הדרך]
- 14 [ואנשי החיל עם ראשי השבטים וכול]
- 15 [שופטיהם ושוטריהם ושרי האלפים ושרי]
- 16 [מאות ולחמשים ולעשרות והלויים בתוך]

4QSE III 6 [ולשוטרים] 1QSa I 24 added supralinearly: see §19.

4QSE III 8] 1QSa I 25 adds *vacat* before ואם: see §20.

4QSE III 11 [עתידי] Following Barthélemy; Qimron reads לעצה see §21.

4QSE III 11] 1QSa I does not have a *vacat* here.

4QSE III 12 [ה]אנש[ים] 1QSa I 27 הנשים: see §22.

Following the words לעצת היחד 1QSa I 27 + מבין עש: see §23.

Column IV

- 1 [מחלקת עבודתו אלה אנשי השם קיראי מועד]
- 2 [הנועדים לעצת היחד בישראל לפני בני צדוק]
- 3 [הכהנים וכול איש מנוגע באחת מכול טמאות]
- 4 [האדם אל יבוא בקהל אלה וכול איש מנוגע באלה]
- 5 [לבלתי החזיק מעמד בתוך העדה וכול מנוגע]
- 6 [בבשרו נכאה רגלים או ידים פסח או עור או]
- 7 [חרש או אלם או מום מנוגע בבשרו לראות]
- 8 [עניים או איש זקן כושל לבלתי התחזק]
- 9 [בתוך העדה אל יִצְטָרֵף לאלה להתיצב בתוך עדת]
- 10 [אנשי השם כיא] מלאכין קודש בעדתם ואם יש]
- 11 [דבר לאיש מאלה לדבר אל עצת הקודש ידורשוהו]
- 12 [מפיהו ואל תוך העדה לוא יבוא האיש כיא]
- 13 [מנוגע הו] וְהָמוֹן שְׁבֵאנִי הַשֵּׁם קִרְיָאִי מוֹעֵד]
- 14 [לעצת היח] אִם יִוָּלֵךְ אֶל אֶת הַמַּשִּׁיחַ אַתֶּם יְבוֹא]
- 15 [לשבת ברו] שִׁשְׁ כֹּהֲנֵי עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכֹל אַחֵי מִן]
- 16 [בני אהרן הכהנים קיראי מועד] אֲנִי־שִׁי]

4QSE IV 13 [הו] וְהָמוֹן שְׁבֵאנִי The reading in 1QSa II 1 is unclear: see §24.

4QSE IV 14 [אם יוּלֵךְ אֶל אֶת הַמַּשִּׁיחַ] The reading in 1QSa II 12 is unclear: see §25.

Column V

[השם וישבו לפניו איש לפי כבודו ואחר]	1
[יבוא משיח ישראל] לְיָשֻׁבְ[ו] לפניו ראשי אלפי]	2
[ישראל כמעמד במח] נִיחָם] וכמסעיהם וכול]	3
[ראשי אבות העדה] עם חֲכָפְ[יהם וידעיהם ישבו]	4
[לפניהם איש לפי] כבודו [ואם לשולחן יחד]	5
[יועדו או במועד הת] ירוש [וערוך השולחן היחד]	6
[ומסוך התירוש לשתו] אֶל ישלח איש את ידו]	7
[ברשת הלחם והתירוש לפני הכוהן כיא הואה]	8
[יברך את רשית הלחם והתירוש וישלח ידו]	9
[בלחם לפנים ואחר ישלח משיח ישראל ידיו]	10
[בלחם ואחר יברכו כול עדת היחד איש לפי]	11
[כבודו וכחוק הזה יעשו לכול מערכה כיא יועדו]	12
[עד עשרא אנשים]	13

V 3. [אי:] ש' לפי כבודו + 1QSa II 15 [ישראל]. see §4.

V 3. [כמעמדם] 1QSa II 15: Qimron כמ[עמדו] see §4.

Text-Critical Comments on the Reconstruction

The fragmentary composite text of 4QSE not being fully comparable with the virtually-complete copy 1QSa, it is difficult to assess its textual character. Herein, we only comment on those passages wherein the fourteen cryptic fragments we identified as belonging to Serekh haEdah differ from 1QSa—or bear particular relevance to the textual history of Serekh haEdah. We do not discuss the lacunae or *cruces interpretum* in 1QSa, especially in the second literary section (1QSa II 11 onwards), the cryptic fragments adding little if anything to current knowledge. (66)

The extant text of 4QSE I—the best-preserved column—attests to large-scale textual variants, whole sentences from 1QSa sometimes being missing. The remainder of 4QSE being significantly less preserved than col. I, the textual character of additional columns cannot be conclusively determined. In the absence of other factors, the reconstruction proposed here is based on a text relatively close to that of 1QSa unless otherwise indicated. Occasional disagreements of 4QSE with 1QSa are to be expected and we should not be deterred from

(66) For recent textual discussions of the latter part of SE, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Émile Puech, “Préséance sacerdotale et messie-roi dans la Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa ii 11-22),” *RQ* 16.3 (1994): 351-365; Stegemann, “Some Remarks.”

suggesting them when suggested by the material evidence. The discussion thus does not exhaust all possibilities when the text is not preserved in 1QSa. Large-scale variants are first noted, the remainder being treated in serial order.

§1: The final vowel *-a* in the third person pronoun is reflected in 1QSa (cf. 1QSa I 5, 8) by the spelling *המה*. In 4Q249a I 8 and 4Q249a I 12 (4Q249a frg. 3, lines 3, 7), however, the vowel is not represented: *משפטיהם*, *במשגותיהם*. This spelling is retained throughout the reconstruction.

Two significant textual variants appear in the paragraph dictating the stages of education according to age (1QSa I 6-17):

§2: I 12 *במשפטיהמה עשר שנים* [י]בוא I 8 *במשפטיהם* וכן עשרים *במשפטיהם* *בטפ* ובן *עשרים* 4QSE preserves a shorter text, without the phrase: *“for ten years he shall be counted among the youth”* (the last letter possibly being corrected from *bet*, reflecting the spelling *בטב*). 4QSE is also substantially shorter in the following lines, treating the subject of the order of education much more briefly than 1QSa. The missing text in 4QSE seems to have been completed by a second hand, a fragmentary interline addition reading *10 שנה* “ten years” (the digit symbol *↵* representing the number 10). (67)

§3: I 14 *חמש* [ובן] *קוד* [ש] *בעד* *ליחד* 4QSE skips directly from *בעדת* to *קודש* I 9-12 discussing the duty to marry at the age of twenty—and the ensuing legal liabilities—at much greater length:

ולוא יִגְשׁ (68) אֵלָּהּ לְדַעְתָּהּ לְמִשְׁכְּבִי וְכִי אִם לְפִי מוֹלֹאֹת לֹא עֲשֵׂה [רִי] שָׁנָה
בְּדַעְתּוֹ [טוֹב] וְרָע. וּבִכֵּן תִּקְבַּל לְהַעֲדִי עָלַי מִשְׁפָּטוֹת הַתּוֹרָה וְלֹהֵת [י] צָב בְּמִשְׁמַע
מִשְׁפָּטִים וּבְמִלּוֹא בּוֹ

He shall not a[pproach] a woman to know her by lying with her carnally until he is fully twe[nty] years (of age), at which time he knows [good] and evil. And consequently he shall be received so as to witness the precepts of the Torah, and to take a firm sta[n]d in the hearing of judgments. (69)

(67) For a similar interlinear correction, see below.

(68) For this reconstruction, see below.

(69) The translation follows James H. Charlesworth and L. T. Stuckenbruck, “Rule of the Congregation,” in *DSSHAGT Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Tübingen/Louisville: Mohr Siebeck/Westminster John Knox, 1994), 111-113, with slight variations. For the interpretation of this unit, see Licht, *Serakhim*, 256-257; Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community*, 16-20.

This additional text—which contains its own problematics—is entirely absent from the 4Q copy. (70) Parts of it were restored by a second hand in I 14a: וְלֹא יִגַּשׁ אֶל אִשָּׁה לְדַעְתָּהּ. The implications of this variant are considerable and will be discussed elsewhere. Here, we merely note that the interlinear addition וְלֹא יִגַּשׁ replaces the previously-proposed וְלֹא יִקְרַב אֶל אִשָּׁה (71).

§4: The proposed reconstruction in 4QSE V 3 may contain a superior reading than the 4Q version:

וַיֵּשְׁבוּ לִפְנֵי רֹאשֵׁי אֶלְפֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמַעֲמָדָם בְּמַחְנֵיהֶם וְכַמְּסַעֵיהֶם 1QSa II 15 is longer: וַיֵּשְׁבוּ לִפְנֵי רֹאשֵׁי אֶלְפֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ לְפִי כְבוֹדוֹ כְּמַעֲמָדוֹ. The space between the extant letters in frg. 14 lines 1-2 does not suffice for the required length of text and lacunae in the parallel 1QSa II 15. The 4Q scroll must thus have contained a shorter version, whose nature cannot be determined due to the fragmentary state of the text. We suggest that the formulaic phrase אִישׁ לְפִי כְבוֹדוֹ was added in 1QSa II 15 for stylistic reasons. It occurs thrice in the pericope under discussion, indicating the order of seating for: 1) the priests; 2) the military (?) leaders of the Israelite clans; and 3) the leaders of the community. While the order of seating for groups (1) and (3) is expressed solely by the formula אִישׁ לְפִי כְבוֹדוֹ (II 14, 16-17), this phrase is augmented by וְכַמְּסַעֵיהֶם in 1QSa with regard to (2). Since the latter phrase indicates a divergent system relating to the clans' travel and combat positions (cf. Numbers 1-2), the reference to the second group in 1QSa II 14-15 thus appears to be a duplicate. 4QSE consequently seems to constitute an earlier version, the formula אִישׁ לְפִי כְבוֹדוֹ being added in the 1Q version due to harmonization. Here, 4QSE thus seems to preserve a superior reading of SE. (72)

The following cases constitute less substantial variants. Some of these arising in the wake of our reconstruction of SE, they are not strictly attested.

§5: I 2 בְּהַסָּפָם [בה]. Cf. 1QSa I 1 בְּהַסָּפָם.

§6: I 3 מִשְׁפַּט הַכֹּהֲנִים. The reconstruction of this line does not allow reading the longer text מִשְׁפַּט בְּנֵי צְדוֹק הַכֹּהֲנִים of 1QSa I 2. The designation בְּנֵי צְדוֹק was omitted here as a formulaic phrase appearing (with

(70) Although Pfann noted this variant in DJD 36 (pp. 557-559), better joins and readings of the pertinent fragments are now available.

(71) See Gayer et al., "A New Join."

(72) We suggest the reading כְּמַעֲמָדָם (plural possessive pronoun) rather than the (reconstructed) כְּמַעֲמָדוֹ in the editions of 1QSa. The formula אִישׁ לְפִי כְבוֹדוֹ not comprising part of the text, the following word requires a plural pronoun. The most logical reference is to the military leaders of the clans.

minor variations) throughout Serekh haEdah and related literature. Thus for example, while 1QSa I 24 refers to **בני צדוק הכוהנים**, I 15 and II 13 read **בני אהרן הכוהנים** and I 23 **בני אהרן**. This divergence suggests some diversity in the collective designation of the priests. (73)

§7: I 9 **הסרך**. 1QSa I 6 **הסרך**.

§8: I 10 **והו** [למד]. The reading in 1QSa I 7 is unclear, this word beginning a line at a ragged place on the right-hand edge of the column. The extant letters in 1QSa are **מדהו** [ל], which Barthélemy reads as **מדהו** [ל] and Qimron as **מדהו** [ל]. 4QSE, in contrast, preserves the vowel *vav* before the pronoun.

§9: I 12 **ולפי שכלו ליסרו במשפטיהם**. The extensive lacuna in 1QSa I 7-8 is variously reconstructed in the scholarly editions. 4QSE not preserving any text therein, we present Qimron's reconstruction.

I 12: see also §2.

I 14: see §4.

§10: II 2 **בראשי**. Space considerations preclude the reconstruction of the *plene* spelling **ברואשי** as in 1QSa I 14.

§11: II 3 **שר**. Space considerations in 4QSE support Barthélemy's reconstruction **שרי** rather than Qimron's **ושרי**.

§12: II 6 **ראשי**. This word is spelt **רשי** in 1QSa I 16, corrected from the erroneous **שרי**.

§13: **אשר יצא הגורל להם**. The text of 1QSa I 16 is difficult as it lacks the indirect object, rendering the sentence incomplete. The different text in 4QSE may thus represent a superior reading. (74)

§14: II 7 **להתצב בעב** [הדורה]. This reading results from the combination of frgs. 6 and 8 (see Notes on Readings on the respective fragments above). Although 1QSa I 16 reads **בעבודות**, it remains unclear where the *vav* was meant to be added. Qimron suggests **בעבודתי**, which makes more sense if the relative clause refers to a single agent. The 4Q copy appears to support Barthélemy's **בעבודות**, especially in light of the proposed reference to the heads of the community (pl.) rather than a single community member in 4QSE.

(73) Although not entirely conclusive, this finding does not support Hempel's argument that 1QSa I 1-3 constitutes an editorial layer that plays up the role of the Zadokite priests in correlation with the same layer in 1QS V: Charlotte Hempel, "The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 253-269.

(74) Our thanks go to Elisha Qimron for discussing the 1QSa reading with us.

(75) In the first word, *vav* was deleted after *tav*. According to Qimron (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:236), the second word was also corrected. The letters *ayin*, *shin*, and *vav* are exceptionally thick, most probably as a result of correction. According to the latest Inscriptifact images, the previous (erroneous) reading appears to have been משהו.

because this kind of mutual relationship is already expressed in the following phrase—אִישׁ מֵרַעְהוּ. Perceiving a dot on the PAM photographs above the letter after the lacuna, he read that letter as *lamed*, reconstructing: [בא]לָה. (76) The new images of 1QSa available through the Inscriptifac internet resource clearly evince that the letter is *zayin* rather than *lamed*, however, the dots scattered in that area of 1QSa not being ink signs. Acknowledging this fact, Qimron (private communication) now reads 1QSa I 18 as: [לפי] זֶה (cf. 1QH^a 18:27-29). This reading is now supported by 4QSE frg. 9—whose difficult text attests to *vav* before *lamed*, however. (77) 4QSE and 1QSa thus agree here.

§19: III 6 [ולשוטרים] This word was inserted above the line in 1QSa I 24.

§20: III 8. The proposed reconstruction does not include a *vacat* before וְאֵם תְּעוּדָה.

§21: III 11[עתידי לעצה]. We prefer this longer reading to Qimron's עֵתִי לַעֲצָה (1QSa I 27) on the basis of the long lacuna. It is not a certain reading, however. For the same reason we inserted *vacat* after these two words, which is not attested in 1QSa.

§22: III 12 הָאֲנָשִׁים. 1QSa I 27 reads הַנָּשִׁים without *aleph*, possibly due to phonological factors. (78)

§23: III 12 The scribe of 1QSa (I 27) erroneously wrote מִבֶּן עֵשׂ following the superscription הַנְּקִרְאִים לַעֲצָתָהּ הַיָּחִיד, failing to complete the second word. While recognizing the error and stopping in the middle of the word, he did not delete the mistake. (79) The result is a *vacat* in 1QSa I 27 before the following phrase: כֹּל הַכֹּמִי, etc. Our reconstruction does not include the words מִבֶּן עֵשׂ.

§24: IV 13 הוּא מוֹן[שֶׁב]. The reading of 1QSa II 11 is disputed. The word הוּא at the beginning of the line evidently concludes the previous sentence, the subsequent word מוֹן[שֶׁב] opening a new one. The awkward form in 4QSE derives from the difficult reading of frg. 11 (see Notes on Readings). 1QSa II 11 is itself unclear, the opening noun מוֹשֶׁב without a preposition being stylistically awkward. Nor does 1QSa fully attest the word מוֹשֶׁב. Barthélemy reads: [הוּא] זֶה מוֹן[שֶׁב], DSSSE

(76) Qimron (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:236), places half brackets around *lamed*, a sign we cannot represent here.

(77) Private correspondence, December 2014. We are grateful to Prof. Qimron for his kind assistance.

(78) See Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 25-26; Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, SBLRBS 76 (Atlanta: SBL), 77-87.

(79) Licht, *Serakhim*, 263.

and Puech: שב[מ]ן[ה]וא, Stegemann: שב[מ]ן. Qimron prefers the shorter: שב[מ]ן[ה]וא. (80) If our reading is correct and assuming that the texts correspond to one another in this line, Qimron's two-letter lacuna should be expanded to a three-letter one. The narrow gap between *he* and *mem* indicates that they form part of the same word. The Cave 1 text reconstruction may need to be conformed to this reading.

The syntax of the title והמושב אנשי השם, etc. is admittedly awkward, a term introducing the title—such as the זה Barthélemy suggested but rejected due to lack of space in the lacuna—being expected. The definite article in the chain of constructs המושב אנשי השם is also superfluous. Cf. the not-dissimilar problematic form a few lines below, however: וערוך השולחן היחד (1QSa II 17-18).

§25: IV 14. אם יוליד אל את המ[ש]יח [אתם], “If [God] le[ads the Me]ssiah [with them]. 1QSa II 11-12 has become one of the most widely-discussed passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls in the wake of Barthélemy's reconstruction: אם ילד[ת] אל[א]ת[ה] המשיח, “If [God] fathers t[he] Messiah”. (81) Although a plethora of other readings have been proposed since the original publication of 1QSa, the following statement by Frank M. Cross seems to reflect the situation best: “Those who have had access to the original—and no one is happy with the reading—have without exception agreed that *ywlyd/k* is paleographically fixed.” (82) Examination of an infrared photograph of the left column of 1QSa (PAM 42.926) supports Cross' conclusion that the final word in II 11 is ילד. The presence of *lamed* is hard to deny, and *dalet* seems probable. This reading is best understood as a scribal mistake for יוליד. For the grammatical usage of Hiphil הלך + direct object see Ps 125:5. The Messiah being mentioned in the section below as attending the feast, it is expectable to have him led by God to attend it. In any event, 4QSE adds little to this debate. Rather surprisingly, its lacunas virtually overlap the transition between the lines in 1QSa II 11-12.

V 3: See §4.

§26: V 2 [יבוא]. Following Qimron's [בוא] vs. Barthélemy's שב^q.

(80) Barthélemy, DJD 1, 117; Puech, “Préséance sacerdotale,” 353; Stegemann, “Some Remarks,” 489. See further Licht, *Serakhim*, 267-269; Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community*, 53; Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran*, WUNT 2.104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 27-32.

(81) Barthélemy, DJD 1, 110. See Puech's paleographical discussion (“Préséance sacerdotale,” 354-363); Stegemann, “Some Remarks,” 409-492; and Qimron's remarks (*Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:237).

(82) Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*³ (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1995), 76. We are indebted to Dr. Yigal Bloch for assistance with regard to this passage in 1QSa.

Additional Fragments

We have excluded nine fragments identified by Pfann as belonging to SE copies from our reconstruction. In general, we only included those in which a computerized search of their extant letters yielded a single positive answer only for SE. Some of these are presented in DJD 36 as overlapping passages in SE and thus necessarily separate copies. This view is now undermined.

4Q249a A (*olim* 4Q249f 2)

IAA Plate 598, frg. 14, B-482601, PAM 41.993, 43.410

Size: 1.3 × 1.6 cm. *Interlinear space*: 0.69 cm

Remnants of what may have been an earlier layer of writing are discernible, indicating that this fragment is a palimpsest. (83) It is included here because a computer search of its extant letters does not produce an unequivocal match with SE. Were a less rigorous methodology employed, it would fit next to frg. 6 in 4QSE II 4-5 (*olim* 4Q249c). While this location suggests a possible join between the fragments, the poor state of frg. 6 prevents a determination whether the horizontal fibers of the two fragments align.

Transcription



Image 20

]שפּו[	]הו[	1
]ר'ת[	]ה[	2

Except for the first letter in line 1, the reading proposed here corresponds with that of DJD 36.

4Q249a B (*olim* 4Q249g 3)

IAA Plate 598, frg. 21, B-482629, PAM 40.636, 41.990, 43.410

Size: 1.43 × 3.1 cm. *Interlinear space*: 0.6 cm

This fragment is placed here because the computer search of its extant letters produced a number of possible matches above and beyond SE. Based on a looser methodology, it would fit 4QSE IV 4-5.

(83) See note 16 above.

Transcription

Image 21

]◦◦[	]◦◦[	1a
]בִּזְסִי[	]אדמ[	1
]פִּזְ[	]לִתִּי[	2

Notes on Readings

Apart from line 1a, we agree with Pfann's reading.

Line 1a. Three small marks at the top edge of the fragment may represent an interlinear addition, being too close to line 1 to form an additional "standard" line.

Line 1. Two curved strokes indicate *mem* or *qoph*. The former is to be preferred.

Line 2. Only the remnants of the horizontal top stroke of a *lamed* and a dot at the bottom left are visible. The horizontal stroke of *yod* at the end of the line runs into the horizontal stroke of *tav*.

4Q249a C (olim 4Q249h 3)

IAA Plate 590, frg. 17, B-364671. PAM 41.993, 43.409

Size: 1.12 × 0.72 cm

While we agree with Pfann's reading of this fragment, it only preserves 2.5 letters. A textual search of these returns some 200 possible matches in the Qumran literature. In contrast to the other fragments excluded from the reconstruction, this one has good grounds for being included, the oblique fiber pattern and angle of obliqueness resembling those of 4Q249a 14 in 4QSE. This fragment may well have formed part of col. V 6.

Transcription

Image 22

]פִּזְ[]רִיב[1.
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4Q249a D (olim 4Q249a 2)

IAA Plate 598, frg. 4, B-478556. PAM 40.633, 41.990, 43.410

Size: 1.88 × 2.4 cm. *Interlinear space*: 0.8 cm

Pfann assigns this fragment to 4Q249a on the basis of its material similarity with 4Q249a 1. (84) The latter now constitutes part of our new composite frg. 3. While the severe damage to the surface of 4Q249a D makes the reading very difficult, the preserved letters do not agree with any passage in 1QS_a.

Transcription



Image 23

]פֿוֹלֹ[	]נִכְּוֹ[	1
]פֿ מ[	]ש ע[	2
]וֹו[	]וֹו[	3

Our reading of this fragment differs only slightly from DJD 36.

4Q249a E (*olim* 4Q249g 4)

IAA Plate 590, frg. 6, B-364649, PAM 41.995, 43.409.

Size: 1.13 × 66.1 cm. *Interlinear space*: 0.82 cm

A textual search of these letters returning 18 possible matches in the Qumran literature and more than 25 in the Hebrew Bible, this fragment was excluded from 4QSE.

Transcription



Image 24

]פֿדִּפֿ[	]נִנֵּעַ[	1
]פֿאֵר[	]חִרְ[	2

Notes on Readings

Our reading agrees with Pfann's.

Line 1. A vertical stroke indicates that the first letter is *vav*, *mem*, *nun*, *tsade*, or *qoph*. *Vav* is most probable.

Line 2. After *khet*, the right end of a circle or slightly-curved hook fits *kaph*, *resh*, or *tav*. Contrast the less rounded *ayin* in line 1.

(84) Pfann, DJD 36, 549.

4Q249a F (olim 4Q249g 5)

IAA Plate 598, frg. 30, B-482665. PAM 41.995, 43.410

Size: 1.31 × 1.85 cm. *Interlinear space*: 0.66 cm

A textual search of the contents of this fragment yields multiple hits.

Transcription

]◦◦[	]◦כ[1
]†◦[	]בת[2
]◦†כ[	]◦ת[3

Image 25

Notes on Readings

Line 1. Pfann reads *kaph* and *he* separated by an inter-word space. The next letter—amounting to the remains of a mere one stroke—in fact follows *kaph* immediately. No downstroke being visible, this cannot be *he*.

Line 3. Three stripes of ink indicate *dalet*, as in DJD. The last letter, however, is not identifiable.

4Q249a G (olim 4Q249g 6)

IAA Plate 598, frg. 29, B-482661. PAM 40.633, 40.977, 41.995, 43.410

Size: 1.1 × 2.6 cm. *Interlinear space*: 0.67 cm

Our reading differs from DJD 36. (85) Not fitting the text of SE in our view, we excluded it from the reconstruction.

Transcription

]◦◦[	]◦◦[ 1
]◦◦[	]י[2
]◦◦[	]הל[3
]◦◦[	]א[4

Image 26

(85) Pfann, DJD 36, 565-566.

Notes on Readings

Line 1. Pfann reads *aleph* and *khet*. Although the first letter may be *aleph*, *dalet* and *lamed* are equally possible. The second consists of a very short top vertical stroke that could be numerous letters.

Line 2. Pfann read the first letter as *pe* or *ayin*. For *pe*, we would expect a top stroke that is not present. The angle of *ayin* opens to the left rather than to the right as here. Pfann's reading is thus untenable. Noting the similarity between the adjacent letters, we read the first letter as *yod*.

Line 3. Pfann read:]^נה[. We agree with the first letter. Preceding *he*, a trace—too small to be a letter—is visible. The shape left of the top stroke of *he* is either *lamed* or the edge of the top part of the following *vav*.

Line 4. We agree with Pfann's reading of this line. The second letter could also be *qoph*.

4Q249a H (olim 4Q249g 7)

IAA Plate 598, frg. 28, B-482657. PAM 41.990, 43.410

Size: 1.52 × 1 cm

A textual search of the contents of this fragment yielded multiple hits. The only theoretical possibility of reading this fragment as parallel to 1QSa II 20-22 (4QSE V 10-12) would create unfeasibly long lines of ca. 90 letters.

Transcription



Image 27

]◦[	]◦[ 1
]צ←[	]ימ[2
]פ→[	]ער[3

Notes on Readings

Line 1. The descending downstroke after *mem* belongs to the line above. While Pfann reads *tav*, the lower part of the vertical stroke could be *bet*, *vav*, *tet*, *nun*, or *tsade*. The reading is very dubious.

Line 2. The first letter is indicated by a sharp angle on the top of the line. *Yod* is probable. Following it, *mem* is exceptionally round.

4Q249a I (*olim* 4Q249i 2)

IAA Plate 597, frg. 70, B-498114. PAM 40.977, 41.990, 43.411

Size: 1.15 × 1.9 cm. *Interlinear space*: 0.65 cm

Pfann assigns this fragment to 4Q249i due to its material similarity with 4Q249i 1. The fragment is flipped upside down on IAA Plate 597. Our reading differs from DJD 36. (86) The letters of this fragment do not fit the text of SE on either our reading or the DJD version. We thus excluded it from the reconstruction.

Transcription

Image 28

]◦[	]◦[	1
]פ◦[	]ת◦[	2
]ט◦[	]א◦[	3
]◦[	]◦[	4

Notes on Readings

Line 2. The end of a diagonal top stroke may indicate several letters —*ayin*, *tav*, or the tip of *yod*. Pfann's reading of *aleph* is untenable, the left end of the letter not reaching the bottom of the line.

Line 3. We agree with Pfann's alternative reading of this line (DJD 36, 574). The horizontal stroke is does not allow the second letter to be *nun*, clearly continuing to the left of the vertical stroke.

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Postscript

After this article went to print we have thought it necessary to replace the reconstructed word לשבת 'to sit' (4QSE IV 15 = 1QSa II 12) with הכוהן 'the priest'. While we had earlier adopted Qimron's reconstruction, we now prefer the reconstruction accepted by all other scholars: Licht, Barthélemy, Stuckenbruck and Charlesworth. Detailed reasons for this preference will be supplied elsewhere. Since the word is reconstructed in both 1Q and 4Q versions, its significance is highly diminished, however.

We are indebted to Dr. Yigal Bloch for this important observation.

(86) Pfann, DJD 36, 573-574.