English Abstracts

Reconstructing 4QJosh[a] (4Q47): The Contribution of Frag. 21

Ariel Feldman

4QJosh[a] 21 preserves faint traces of letters in its right margin. This contribution suggests that these are imprints of words found in this very fragment. A crease running through the middle of the fragment indicates that the imprints result from folding. Two other fragments of 4QJosh[a], frags. 17 and 19, exhibit similar phenomena. All three fragments containing Joshua 10 clearly belong to the same column that was folded. It is possible that this column was detached from the scroll and then was folded, yet it is just as likely that it was folded while still a part of the original scroll. The two columns of a rolled scroll that are most susceptible to folding are those found on the outside and the inside of the scroll. The beginning of a given scroll could become folded due to a mishandling. The last column might have been folded if the scroll was not rolled tightly and was then squeezed. Signs of cracking found elsewhere in 4QJosh[a] suggest that at some point it was indeed under pressure. In any case, whether this scroll was rolled with the column containing Joshua 10 inside or outside, it appears that it was the last column of the scroll. In other words, 4QJosh[a] possibly contained no more than the first ten chapters of Joshua.

A Thanksgiving of a Leader (4Q491): A Revised Edition of the So-Called "Self-Glorification Hymn"

Elisha Qimron

The author provides a new reconstruction of 4Q491 fragments 11+12+23, called the "Self-Glorification Hymn." He rearranges the fragments and adds two tiny fragments that have not been taken into consideration in the composite texts suggested so far. The author revises many readings

and offers a new reconstruction on the basis of material data, the other versions of this poetic work found at Qumran (also re-edited in this article) and other parallels (especially from the Hodayot), and in light of linguistic considerations. Biblical allusions, most significantly to Isa 52:13–53:3, are discussed. In the Appendices to the article a new reading of 4Q433 (4QHodayot-like Text A) is provided, and noun patterns ending with *–ya* in the Hebrew of the Scrolls and in biblical Hebrew are discussed. The author contends that the so-called "Self-Glorification Hymn" is a thanksgiving to God, who lifts up the poor ones, setting them on par with the angels.

New Data for the Reconstruction of a Copy of the Wisdom Composition 4QInstruction (4Q418a)

Eshbal Ratzon

4QInstruction is a long wisdom composition, preserved in eight copies comprising hundreds of fragments. Several good editions of this work have been published, but the exact order of the preserved fragments remains unknown. The scroll 4Q418a, preserved in wads, is a key copy for the reconstruction of the sequence of the composition and its length. Using some digital tools on all existing images of 4Q418a reveals some previously unnoticed fragments attached underneath fragment 22. While these layers are currently inseparable, thus leaving only a few legible letters from the new fragments, their existence advances the general reconstruction of 4QInstruction. The new finding implies that two additional columns are missing between the introduction of the composition (4Q418a frg 9; Qimron, DSS, vol. 2, pp. 147–151) and the section dealing with general instructions regarding interpersonal relationships (4Q418a frg. 22; Qimron, DSS, vol. 2, pp. 152–160).

The So-Called "Vision of Gabriel" Inscription: A New Edition

Elisha Qimron and Alexey (Eliyahu) Yuditsky

The first edition of the inscription named "The Gabriel Revelation" was published in 2008 by Yardeni and Elitzur. Since then, a number of modifications and improvements have been suggested by Yardeni and Elitzur, Knohl, Elgvin, the present authors, and others. In this paper, we provide a completely new edition of the inscription based on new photographs and a re-examination of the text. In the present edition of the text we have suggested many new readings and reconstructions, and noted readings of other scholars. We contend that the inscription is an assemblage of visions that have been seen by an unknown person, probably a prophet, and that it comprises dialogues between that person and heavenly beings, and perhaps God himself, concerning the interpretation of the visions.

Third Person Pronouns and the Question of the Historical Essence of Written Hebrew from the Second Temple Period in Comparison with Modern Spoken Palestinian Dialects

Ohad Cohen and Muhammad Hamed

In this interdisciplinary article, we rely on insights from the study of modern Arabic diglossia in general and of the Palestinian Arabic dialects in particular, to shed light on the history of Hebrew. The discussion of the historical essence of Hebrew has been at the center of an intensive debate. The main dispute is between supporters of the "traditional" philological approach, who claim that it is possible to draw a historical picture of linguistic development, and the "revisionists" who seek to challenge the very possibility of drawing such a picture. Using Marc Bloch's historical method, this article combines historical discussion with synchronic observation. Our premise is that despite many differences between the ancient and modern periods, there are also aspects of similarity that can be compared in order to understand the ancient historical processes. Among the central

aspects of this comparison are the following features: similarly polyglot communities; social milieus allowing language contact between close Semitic languages; the possibility of describing the dialects according to geographical, social and ethnic aspects; and a diglottic continuum between canonical language and colloquial varieties. We illustrate this comparative method by examining one concrete linguistic question—the formation of 3ms and 3fs pronouns.

The challenge regarding the ancient Hebrew forms of these pronouns has been how to explain the fact that in the Hebrew of Qumran, the forms are הואה/היאה, which seem typologically more archaic than the forms that appear in Biblical Hebrew (הוא/היא). We show that this difficulty exists only to the extent that we assume a uniform and continuous historical developmental line for the Hebrew language. Comparison with the Modern Arabic Palestinian dialects enables us to understand that these features of written Hebrew are actually only a few remnants of a wide range of dialects that characterized the ancient period.

Linguistic and Stylistic Levelling in the Canticles Scrolls from Qumran

Oded Essner

Four copies of Canticles were found in Qumran (4Q106, 4Q107, 4Q108 and 6Q6), two of which (4Q106 and 4Q107) differ substantially from all other known witnesses, both text-critically and compositionally. In this article, I discuss a selection of variant readings that reveal one aspect of the textual dynamics that underlies the transmission of this biblical book in antiquity, namely, the tendency to level the language and formulation of similar or nearby passages by analogy, such that one passage exerts influence on the other.

The verses discussed in this article are: Song of Songs 1:2–4; 2:11–14; 4:1–5; 4:8, 10, 16.

Saturation, that is, Drunkenness: The Interpretation of 1QpHab 11:8–16

Noam Mizrahi

Habakkuk 2:15–17 is a satirical dirge describing how a wicked man seduces another person to become drunk in order to draw satisfaction from seeing the latter's nudity. The prophet asserts that God will repay the wicked, publicly revealing his own disgrace. This passage is interpreted in 1QpHab as referring to the Wicked Priest, who persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness, and v. 16 is understood as relating the Wicked Priest's foreseen punishment (1QpHab 11:8–16). Embedded in this passage (ll. 13–14) is an allusion to Deut 29:18, a passage that is similarly alluded to in 1QS 2:11–17. The two scriptural passages seemingly have no verbal point of contact, and commentators were forced to assume various kinds of associations between them that could have yielded the present composition of 1QpHab 11:8–16.

This paper explains the integration of the two passages against the linguistic background of the bilingual Jewish society in which 1QpHab was composed. The prophet refers to drunkenness (employing the Hebrew root *š-k-r*), while Deut 29:18 refers to saturation (employing the Hebrew root *r-w-y*). Aramaic *r-w-y*, however, is the standard equivalent of Hebrew *š-k-r* in the Targumim and other Aramaic versions of the Bible. It stands to reason, therefore, that a bilingual pesherist could easily have connected *š-k-r* in Hab 2:15 with *r-w-y* in Deut 29:18. The paper further discusses the literary and exegetical implications of this insight in the context of 1QpHab and for our understanding of the sectarian literature more generally.

Priestly Instructions in the Aramaic Levi Document and the Order of the Morning Daily Sacrifice

Hillel Mali

The Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) includes a long section, narrated in the first person by Levi, son of Jacob, in which he relates how his grandfather, Isaac, taught him "the law of the priesthood." This section is preserved

in an Aramaic manuscript found in the Cairo Genizah and in a Greek translation, as well as in four tiny fragments from Qumran.

I argue that the details concerning the "whole burnt offering" in ALD refer to the *tāmîd* (the daily sacrifice) offered in the mornings, rather than to voluntary whole burnt offerings, as commonly understood in the scholarly literature. I contend that the passage of "the law of the priesthood"—a collection of laws on purity, wood used for the altar, and sacrificial offerings—pertains to the daily morning service in the Jerusalem Temple.

The section on "the law of the priesthood" in ALD is, according to this interpretation, an exemplar of the genre of instructions for the order of service of the morning daily offering, which has its roots in priestly manuals of the ancient Near East and is attested also in the Mishnah.

Sectarian Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature: Polemics, Filiation, and Independent Parallels

Menahem Kister

The article deals with several cases that illustrate the manifold relationships between the corpus of the so-called sectarian scrolls from Qumran (including CD) and rabbinic literature, in both halakhic and theological matters. In one case, the author contends that sectarian passages react to a midrash that is known to us only from rabbinic literature; in some cases, an integrative study of the two corpora is crucial for interpreting the texts and their settings. In other cases, however, similar traditions in both the scrolls and passages of rabbinic literature seem to be independent parallels pertaining to the same issues; but even in these cases, a comparative study of the two corpora and their inner dynamics is often instructive for the understanding of the concerns and viewpoints of each.

The main issues dealt with in the article are:

I *Halakhah:*

(1) The polemic concerning the legitimacy of marrying one's niece.

(2) The privileges of priests: priority in meals; the priest's role in eating and/or uttering the blessing before the meal; dynamics of social hierarchy in the scrolls and in rabbinic literature.

(3) The minimal quorum of ten people for constituting a community; the biblical proof-texts suggested for this at Qumran; the rules concerning the idolatrous city (עיר הנידחת) that are connected to this issue at Qumran.

II *Theology:* the striking similarity between the phraseology of the concluding unit of Seder Olam (chapter 30) and passages in the sectarian scrolls.

Intercultural Relations and Biblical Exegesis: Traditions Concerning the Destructions of the World by Water and by Fire

Menahem Kister

The idea of two periodical cosmic calamities, by water and by fire, was current in Hellenistic literature, often based on a passage of Plato's Timaeus. The identifications of the destruction by water with the biblical flood and the destruction by fire with the devastation of Sodom are attested in a variety of forms in divergent corpora such as Philo, Celsus, Christian and Gnostic texts, and rabbinic literature; alternatively, the destruction by fire was identified with the eschatological conflagration. While these traditions interpret the Bible, explicitly or implicitly, the initial motivation for their emergence was to accommodate the biblical narrative to the Hellenistic conception. This is true not only for authors well acquainted with Hellenistic culture, like Philo, but also for those more remote from it, like the rabbis.

A tradition concerning a prophecy of two future destructions of the world, by water and by fire, occurs in Josephus's Antiquities and The Life of Adam and Eve. Seth and his descendants, being aware of this prophecy, preserved records from oblivion by writing them on bricks and stones. This is a "mythologized" version of the account given by the Egyptian priest Chaeremon; according to this pagan author astronomical records were preserved on baked bricks, because this material withstands water and fire in general. Another variation of the tradition found in Josephus and The Life of Adam and Eve is reflected in the Babylonian Talmud.

The article demonstrates the remarkable impact of Hellenistic ideas on divergent Jewish milieus; the continuity of traditions; and their metamorphoses from the period of Second Temple to rabbinic and Christian literature.

Destruction by Fire in the Genesis Apocryphon and Related Literature

Esther Eshel

This paper focuses on an ancient Jewish tradition regarding the destruction of the world by both water and fire in the days of Noah. This tradition is shared by the Genesis Apocryphon and the Aramaic Book of Giants; the present study is based upon a close look at the Genesis Apocryphon, and suggests some new readings and interpretations for that text. Traditions about an eschatological destruction by both fire and water are also found in some earlier and later Hellenistic, Jewish, and Christian sources, as described by other authors in this thematic section of *Meghillot*.

Flooding in the Lebanon Forest: Relics of Levantine Mythology in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Jonathan Ben-Dov

Jewish apocalyptic literature, especially in Aramaic, includes traditions that are not exclusively Jewish. Many of these traditions were shared by other participants in the cultural hybrid of the early Hellenistic Levant, encompassing Mesopotamian and Greek lore alongside local indigenous material. The Enochic books of Watchers and Giants exemplify this hybrid, and as I show here, it is also attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls, both in Aramaic and in Hebrew.

Several traditions recount a story about two stelae that preserve ancient wisdom, constructed to survive floods of both water and fire. This story reflects acquaintance with multiple ancient monuments—mostly carrying cuneiform script and Mesopotamian iconography—dispersed in the

Levant, and especially in Lebanon. The Nebuchadnezzar monuments at Brisa are a prime example. This environment is also the origin for the apocalyptic motif of a grove or forest that *also* preserves ancient wisdom, which will be destroyed in the coming flood. This grove is tended by semi-divine gardeners, the Watchers, who tend the plants but also bring destruction upon them. This tradition is reflected in the Aramaic Book of Giants, whose readings and significance is discussed here. Special attention is given to the motif of writing and its obliteration. Finally, the same tradition is traced in the Hodayot (1QH^{a} column 16). While this famous hymn incorporates biblical motifs and vocabulary from Ezekiel and Ben Sira, it is fundamentally based on the mythic pattern of the Lebanon forest and its obliteration in the flood. The Hodayot convey a somewhat tame manifestation of this mythological tradition, which originated in the Aramaic apocalypses. A motif from the area of Syria–Lebanon thus found its way to the heart of Jewish apocalypticism.

The Stelae Tradition in Byzantine Universal Chronicles

William Adler

Traditions about ancient wisdom carved on monuments before the flood form part of a broader discussion in the Hellenistic age about the origins, preservation, and transfer of universal culture. In a much-quoted passage from Plato's Timaeus (22B-E), an Egyptian priest had already set out the terms of the debate. Compared to the Egyptians, he tells Solon, the Greeks are little more than "children." This was because favorable geography and a mild climate shielded Egyptian civilization from the floods and fires periodically destroying both Greece and its memories of the past. In their own critique of Greek culture, later polemicists found a powerful ally in the Egyptian priest's rebuke. Lacking reliable documentation, Greek historians, writes Josephus in the prologue to the first book of Against Apion, could only manufacture the past out of their own imaginations. Severe climate was in Josephus' view only part of the reason for the lamentable state of Greek historiography. The Greeks were also careless record-keepers, late in acquiring literacy, and negligent in making a fixed record of events in archives, on public monuments, or on some other durable medium.

For those nations whose recorded history included a universal flood, traditions about ancient wisdom inscribed on stone and brick monuments helped to explain how the earliest generations protected their accumulated knowledge from regularly recurring natural catastrophes. Versions of the same motif also figured in disputes between nations vying for supremacy in the celestial sciences. According to the Egyptian grammarian Chaeremon (first century CE), the Babylonians claimed that, after the Nile had flooded and destroyed whatever knowledge the Egyptians had previously acquired about the motion of the heavens, they were compelled to appeal to the Babylonians for guidance. Only later did the Egyptians take the added precaution of recording their wisdom on brick monuments, and not simply in books. Other iterations of the same tradition extended the contents of pre-flood stelae into more occult branches of the heavenly sciences. In the prologue to the Book of Sothis, the Egyptian priest Manetho, its pseudonymous author, makes a lofty claim about the contents of this Hermetic work of late antiquity. Dedicated to King Ptolemy Philadelphus I, the Book of Sothis was said to contain revelations "about the future of the universe." The work also boasted a distinguished and exotic pedigree. According to (ps.-) Manetho, it originated in antediluvian revelations "inscribed on monuments found in the land of Seiris," and composed by Hermes-Thoth in "a sacred language and priestly characters."

The accounts of antediluvian stelae found in Josephus's Antiquities and the Book of Jubilees reveal two highly opposing perceptions of their contents. As part of a larger project to transform figures of biblical history into vital links in the discovery and transfer of universal culture, Josephus casts the learning preserved on them in an entirely favorable light. By inscribing their discoveries on stone and brick monuments (again in the land of Seiris), the virtuous offspring of Seth saw to the preservation of their astronomical learning up to Josephus's own day (Antiquities 1.69–71). By contrast, the decidedly negative perspective of Jubilees, a work with a marked distaste for alien wisdom, treats the discovery of a pre-flood stone monument as one stage in the gradual decay of civilization after the flood. For Jubilees, the legitimate astronomical wisdom recorded in a book by Enoch before the flood had nothing to do with the dangerous and proscribed teachings about heavenly omens carved on stone by the fallen Watchers. Cainan thus committed a grave transgression by reading and transcribing its contents (Jub. 8.3–4).

Older Hellenistic traditions about antediluvian stelae circulated widely and in various forms in Byzantine universal chronicles, most notably in the works of John Malalas (sixth century), George Syncellus (ninth century), Symeon Magister (tenth century), and Michael Glycas (twelfth century). In the chronicle of Malalas, application of the principles of euhemeristic historiography enabled him to weave together the conflicting accounts of Jubilees and Josephus into a unified narrative about the first discoveries of writing and astronomy, and the subsequent dissemination of this learning after the flood. Discussions about the contents of these monuments would also later play a central role in twelfth-century Byzantine discussions about the origins and legitimacy of "Chaldean" science (i.e. astrology). How chroniclers used and reshaped these traditions, and to what end, are the questions examined in the latter half of paper.

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