INCORPORATING SYNTAX INTO THEORIES OF TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION: PRELIMINARY STUDIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT ISAIAH SCROLLS AND FRAGMENTS

by

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
BHK	*Biblia Hebraica*
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHQ	*Biblia Hebraica Quinta*
BQ	*Biblia Qumranica*
BQS	*The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*. Edited by Eugene Ulrich. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
Burrows	M. Burrows, J.C. Trever, and W.H. Brownlee. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Marks Monastery. Vol 1: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary*. 2 vols. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950.
CL	Clause (a syntactical constituent in a sentence)
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
comm	Common
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJD 2	P. Benoit, O.P., J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabbaʿât.* DJD 2. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.
DJD 5	J.M. Allegro with A. A. Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4: I (4Q158–4Q186)*. DJD 5. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
DJD 15	E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4: X, The Prophets*. DJD 15. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
DJD 32	P.W. Flint and E. Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 1: II, The Isaiah Scrolls*. DJD 32. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 2010.
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DSSB	*The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time in English*. Edited by Abegg, Martin G Jr, Peter Flint, and Eugene Ulrich. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1999.
DSSEL	The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library. Edited by Emanuel Tov. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
DSSHU	E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University.* ed. N. Avigad and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes Press, 1955.
DSSNT	*The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*
DSSR	*The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader.* Edited by Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov. 2nd ed. 2

	vols. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
EHLL	*Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Edited by Geoffrey Khan. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
fem	Feminine
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by E. Kautsch, Translated by A. E. Cowley. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
HAL	Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. 3d edition. Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
HDSS	Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* HSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUB(P)	*The Hebrew University Bible* (*Project*)
HUB^{ISSE}	Goshen Gottstein, Moshe H. *The Book of Isaiah: Sample Edition with Introduction*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1965.
HUB^{IS}	Goshen Gottstein, Moshe H. *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Isaiah*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995.
HUB^{EZ}	Moshe Goshen Gottstein and Shemaryahu Talmon. *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Ezekiel*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004.
HUB^{JER}	Chaim Rabin, Shemaryahu Talmon, and Emanuel Tov. *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Jeremiah*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004.
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
$\mathfrak{M}$	Hebrew Masoretic Text (not necessarily $\mathfrak{M}^A$ or $\mathfrak{M}^L$)
$\mathfrak{M}^A$	Aleppo Codex
$\mathfrak{M}^L$	Leningrad Codex (B19a)
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JDS	Judean Desert Studies
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JM	Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Subsidia biblica 27. Roma: Pontificio istituto biblico, 2006.
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew

LLBIS	E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language.* Jerusalem: Magnes; Leiden, Brill, 1982.
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
masc	Masculine
Ms(s)	Medieval Hebrew Manuscript(s)
N	Sentence (a subject and its predicate)
NAB	New American Bible
NIV	New International Version
NIV[11]	New International Version (2011 ed.)
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text.*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OTL	Old Testament Library
P-Q	Facsimile edition by Donald W. Parry and Elisha Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa*[a]*): A New Edition.* STDJ 32; Leiden: Brill, 1999.
Part	Participle
QSP	Qumran Scribal Practice (as proposed by Prof. Emanuel Tov)
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
sing	Singular
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SP (ܡܡ)	Samaritan Pentateuch
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
Ziegler	Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias.* Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 14; 3d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983.
√	Lemma as found HALOT or DCH Lexica

ABSTRACT

Prior to the discovery of the Qumran and Judaean Desert scrolls and fragments, text-critical scholars conducted their investigation of textual variation by means of manuscript stemma, among which 𝔐 and its associated scribal school was the golden rule. With nearly seventy years of research now complete, scholars have emended their methodological framework to account for variation by means of the scribal practices of the Second Temple era. To analyze textual variation vis-à-vis scribal practices and approaches has required that scholars incorporate historical linguistics into existing philological methods. The linguistic categories of orthography, phonology, and morphology have received a significant amount attention, mostly in Emanuel Tov's Non-Aligned theory. However, syntax has received little attention. To test the hypothesis that syntax should likewise be incorporated into transmission theory methodology, several case studies from the Judaean Desert Isaiah corpus are presented. The conclusion of the present study affirms that syntax offers a viable method to account for the extant readings witnessed in the Judaean Desert Isaiah corpus.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction: A Statement of the Problem

> A collation of variants extant, based on the synoptic study of the material available, either by a comparison of parallel passages within one Version, or of the major Versions with each other, results in the conclusion that the ancient authors, compilers, tradents and scribes enjoyed what may be termed a controlled freedom of textual variation. The exact limits of this "variation-scope," though, cannot be accurately established intuitively, nor can they be gauged from mere sample collations. An investigation into this matter, based on a thorough and comprehensive synopsis of all types of variants, glosses, intentional modifications, etc., which can be ascertained in our sources is an urgent *desideratum*.[1]

The discovery of the Judaean Desert manuscripts[2] provides corroborating evidence that the Hebrew Bible is the product of sophisticated scribal processes whereby textual transmission was susceptible to various *Fortschreibung* or *relecture*.[3] Textual development and inner-interpretive and exegetical growth had, prior to the discovery of the scrolls, largely remained within the scholarly discourses of historical critical methodology, envisaged as 'higher criticism.' As for text-critical

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[1] Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible — A New Outlook," in *The Textual Study of the Bible — A New Outlook* (ed. F.M. Cross; Cambridge: Hardvard University Press, 1975); 326.

[2] By using the description of "Judaean Desert manuscripts," I mean the documents found in the last 60 years in the regions of Qumran, Wadi Daliyeh, Ketef Jericho, Khirbet Mird, Wadi Nar, Wadi Ghweir, Wadi Murabba'at, Wadi Sdeir, Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Ḥever/Seiyal, Naḥal Mishmar, Naḥal Se'elim, and Masada. For a complete list of the manuscripts and/or scrolls found, see Emanuel Tov, "A Categorized List of All the "Biblical Texts" Found in the Judaean Desert," *DSD* 8/1 (2001): 67–84. Emanuel Tov, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and An Introduction to the Discoveries of the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 27–114; Emanuel Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[3] These terms have become ubiquitous for describing interpretive and exegetical accretions in the overall process of transmission. See, e.g., John Van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the 'Editor' in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 295; Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 125; Andrew D Teeter, "The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature: Methodological Reflections," *DSD* 20/3 (2013): 349–377.

studies or 'lower criticism,' scholars conceived of textual transmission, leading up to 1947 and even

beyond, in terms of 'recensions,' 'archetype,' or *Urtext*.[4] Assessment of textual differences operated

under the paradigm of text *qua* text. That is, critical assessment proceeded to evaluate variants in

terms of manuscript stemma—a comparative philological analysis of several manuscripts. The

pre-Masoretic and Masoretic Text[5] (𝔐) was preeminent among the manuscript families (Mss) of

the Septuagint (𝔊) and Samaritan Pentateuch (𝔖𝔪).[6] The Qumran scrolls, however, served as a cata-

lyst for scholars to reevaluate, among other things, the precedence of 𝔐 and its associated scribal

culture in text critical theories.[7] What is more, the Qumran scrolls have provided sufficient evi-

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[4] For a comprehensive survey of the theoretical development the 'recensions' in the twentieth-century, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 155–180.

[5] When it is necessary to make a distinction between Masoretic Text*s*, of which B19[A] and Aleppo Codex are most frequently cited, I use 𝔐[L] and 𝔐[A] respectively. Should any other Masoretic witness enter the discussion, I adopt the sigla per the *HUB*. See Moshe H. Goshen Gottstein, *The Book of Isaiah: Sample Edition with Introduction* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1965); Moshe H. Goshen Gottstein, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Isaiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995); Moshe H. Goshen Gottstein and Shemaryahu Talmon, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Ezekiel* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004); Chaim Rabin, Shemaryahu Talmon, and Emanuel Tov, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004).

[6] This is exemplified best by the associated vocabulary and assumptions regarding discussions of the goal of textual criticism. For example, Würthwein states, "Many generations of scribes and translators have played a role in transmitting the text of the Old Testament. They contain, *therefore*, a great variety of scribal errors, such as occur inevitably in any form of manuscript transmission, caused by errors of reading, errors of hearing, orthographical slips, and defective exemplars" (Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica* (Translated by Rhodes Erroll F. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 105, italics mine). In the following sentence, Würthwein does mention scribal emendations. However, it should be noted that he moves directly from transmission to scribal errors. Transmission and scribal errors are thus predominate in his textual critical methods. He later describes the task of textual criticism as an attempt "to ferret out all the errors and alterations (variants) that have occurred, and to achieve on the basis of scholarly principles a Hebrew text providing a solid foundation on which higher criticism, exegesis, etc., can build" (Würthwein, *Text of the Old Testament*, 105). The discoveries of the Judaean Desert evinces significant problems for maintaining a bifurcation between lower and higher criticism. The still-fluid state of the text in Second Temple Judaism presents significant obstacles to such a methodological construction. I take up these issues throughout the entire thesis, most directly in chapter 2 and 4 below.

[7] As Michael Segal notes, the correlation between the available evidence in the Qumran scrolls and the role of the scribe in textual formation, particularly insofar as how a subset of the texts at Qumran, notably the 'Rewritten Bible,' facilitate queries more in line with scribal habits in the event of textual transmission. See Michael Segal, "Between Bible and 'Rewritten Bible'," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005); 10–28; Molly M Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exgesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011); Emanuel Tov, "Scribal Practices Reflected in the Documents from the Judean Desert and in Rabbinic Literature: A Comparative Study," in

dence to affirm a still-fluid text in the Second Temple era—in which case the categories of textual families or stemma are ill-suited to categorize and collate the observable variants. Consequently, there is a need—suggested above by Talmon—to articulate and nuance textual variants and growth within a paradigm of scribal practices. To articulate the 'types of variants' witnessed and to discern the 'various limits' within the still-fluid text, scholars have adjusted their methodologies; textual analysis proceeds, no longer in terms of text *qua* text, but it carefully analyzes the text through the scribal practices of the Second Temple era.[8] Shifting the methodology of textual trans-

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מקדש, מקרא ומסורת: מנחה למנחם הרן (eds. M. Haran and V. Fox; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996); 383–403. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004). Pertaining to the predominance of 𝔐, Tov states that it is part of the manuscript evidence dating to as early as 250 BCE (Tov, *TCHB*, 180). The shape of the text, however, was not caused by an ideal of stabilization, but rather borne out of a conservative view of the text. The fortuitous events of the first century results in 𝔐 becoming more predominate and thus prioritized. Lange argues for stabilization, *vis-à-vis* Hellenization, whereby it slowly becomes an operative goal in textual transmission. See Armin Lange, ""They Confirmed the Reading" (*y. Taʿan. 4.68a*): The Textual Standardization of Jewish Scriptures in the Second Temple Period," in *From Qumran to Aleppo* (eds. J. Zsengellér M. Weigold and A. Lange; FRLANT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009); 29–80.

[8] Two distinct yet perhaps related phenomena have initiated the paradigm shift to text *qua* scribe: the compositional techniques of Second Temple era scribes and the disparate readings in the biblical scrolls. Relating to the composition techniques, the Qumran manuscripts 4Q158 and 4Q364–367, the so-called 4QRewritten Pentateuch, have defied the hermetic categorization of biblical or non-biblical. For a summary of the relationship between 4Q158 to 4Q364–367, and those to the Pentateuch, see Michael Segal, "Biblical Exegesis in 4Q158: Techniques and Genre," *Text* 19 (1998): 45-62. For a discussion on the inherent problems faced in categorizing 4QRP manuscripts, see Molly M. Zahn, "The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?" *DSD* 15/3 (2008): 315-339; Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*, 1–23. Due to the similitudes with the biblical text, on the one hand, and the heterogeneous relationship with it, on the other, the 4QReworked Pentateuch texts have prompted scholars to turn to issues of genre and scribal habits for explanation of its textual character. As Michael Segal notes, the correlation between the available evidence in the Qumran scrolls and the role of the scribe in textual formation, particularly insofar as how a subset of the texts at Qumran, notably the 'Rewritten Bible,' facilitate queries more in line with scribal habits in the event of textual transmission. Prior to the discovery of the scrolls sufficient evidence was lacking to grant empirical research on the *process* of transmission. The focus of scholarly research addressed the *end of that process*—the text. With the evidence now easily accessible, scholars are, albeit in an indirect fashion, capable to assess the various and fissiparous roles of the scribe *during the process of transmission* (see M. Segal, "Between Bible and 'Rewritten Bible'," 10–28; Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 7–29). Relating to the disparate readings in the biblical scrolls, Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam, for example, have commented on the similarity of scribal practices reflected in non-biblical and biblical Qumran scrolls (see Eugene Ulrich, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* [eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 1: 79–100; James C VanderKam, "Questions of Canon Viewed Through the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Canon Debate* [eds. J.A. Sanders and L.M. McDonald; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2001]; 91–109; Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*, 4–5). Thus, a slow and discernible shift has occurred whereby the scribe is adduced not only to explain mechanical errors but also to explicate textual growth.

mission theories to account for scribal practices created a need to analyze textual variance through the lenses of historical linguistics.

Text-critical scholars have indeed adjusted their textual transmission theories to take into consideration issues of scribal culture and historical linguistics. For example, in his monograph *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert,* Emanuel Tov devotes an entire chapter to the identity, nature, and status of the scribe in antiquity. Tov positions textual variation within the purview of the scribe when he posits, "Scribes approached their *Vorlagen* with differing degrees of faithfulness to their *Vorlagen*; some scribes felt more freedom than others to insert, omit, and change details."[9] Tov's analysis of scribal habits is punctilious on historical linguistic categories of orthography, phonology, and morphology. These three associated linguistic categories have served as the impetus for Tov's proposal of a "Qumran Scribal Practice" (QSP).[10] However, a potentially important layer of data goes unexamined by Tov, namely, a sustained and developed discussion concerning syntactical change, namely, various changes a language will undergo in its structure of phrases and clauses when making sentences. The predominant textual theories of the last sixty years of research have, to various degrees, neglected to incorporate syntactical changes of Early Biblical Hebrew (EBH), Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH), and Qumran Hebrew (QH)[11] into an assessment of the transmission history of the Hebrew Bible. We thus encounter an intriguing problem: the methodologies of textual transmission of the Hebrew Bible have yet to account for syntactical change.

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[9] Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 16.

[10] Tov, *TCHB*, 99–104.

[11] The taxonomy of Early Biblical Hebrew (EBH), Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH), Qumran Hebrew (QH), and Mishnaic Hebrew (MH) are heuristic categories for generally appealing to a subset of data with the Hebrew linguistic corpus. The various issues and dangers of generalizing at a conceptual level are discussed in Chapter 2 below.

Thus, what should one think regarding syntactical change and the transmission of the text? Are there textual variations and differences which find sufficient explanation by means of syntax? If syntactical changes do explain differences, then what prompted the syntactical change? Was it due to various diachronic changes in the Hebrew language, or was a scribe emending the text so as to resolve interpretive issues, or perhaps both? More importantly, how does one determine whether textual differences were indeed prompted by diachronic changes of syntax or interpretive decisions by a scribe whose practices were not guided by a replication of his *Vorlage*? What linguistic methodology would be required to establish and discern the differences between syntactical change and/or interpretive emendations? What implications does syntactical change have, should it prove a viable method to account for some textual variances, on the transmission theories of the Hebrew Bible?

1.1. The Goal and Scope of the Thesis

The goal of this thesis is to determine whether syntactical change is a category of textual variant. To accomplish this goal, several steps are made. The first step is to demonstrate the above claim that by and large textual transmission theories have overlooked syntactical changes in their methodological praxis. Thus, chapter 2 surveys each of the four reigning transmission theories of the Hebrew Bible so as to demonstrate that each of the theories has to various degrees incorporated historical linguistics into their methodological framework; however, a significant category of historical linguistics, namely syntax, has received little attention. For the second step, I develop a historical linguistic methodology at the level of syntax. Thus, chapter 3 specifically addresses the methodological issues encountered when discerning whether textual variances are best categorized as relating to syntactical change. The fourth step is an application of the method to some of

the data, so as to test the hypothesis that syntax best explains some of the differences in the so-called biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. Chapter 4 presents four case studies to learn whether syntactical change best explains a category of textual variant hitherto uncatalogued. Finally, the thesis concludes by revisiting the hypothesis of syntactical change especially at it pertains to the predominant transmission theories.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE TRANSMISSION THEORIES OF THE HEBREW BIBLE: THE
NEED FOR HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

2.0. The Use of the Dead Sea Scrolls Evidence for Understanding The History of 𝔐

The discovery of the so-called biblical Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) precipitated a necessary re-examination of the various theories pertaining to the transmission of what has become 𝔐. The previous century of scholarship—summed up between the *Urtext* theory associated with Paul de Lagarde and the *Vulgärtexte* theory associated with Paul Kahle—had reached an impasse for an empirically based understanding of the transmission of 𝔐.[1] Without sufficient evidence, scholars were at a loss to articulate a nuanced understanding of the various issues relating to textual development. Indubitable evidence[2] was required for the purpose of progressing the scholarly discourses beyond unfounded speculation. The discovery of the scrolls proffered such data and thus served to revolutionize the previously espoused theories resulting in proposals of new theories. The question before us now, however, is whether these newer theories are in need of further refinement in light of the various insights regarding syntactical changes throughout the history of the Hebrew language.

The evidence of the scrolls offers reliable data for advancing text-critical methodologies in

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[1] For a summary of these two views, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 155–180. See also Emanuel Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls," *HUCA* 53 (1982): 11-27; Emanuel Tov, "The Relevance of Textual Theories for the Praxis of Textual Criticism," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (eds. E.F. Mason S.I. Thomas A. Schofield and E. Ulrich; JSJSup; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1: 23–35.

[2] By "Indubitable evidence" I mean direct Hebrew evidence, not retroverted evidence from the ancient versions.

an assortment of related ways. The scrolls also add to the available corpora of extant Hebrew documents. Semiticists, Hebrew linguists, and Qumran scholars have also invested efforts in understanding the nature of Qumran Hebrew and its relationship to EBH, LBH, and MH. It stands to reason that text-critical methodologies and linguistic analysis of the Hebrew language can mutually benefit one another—yet they have to date rarely held court together. Consequently, this is a study whereby the relationship between textual criticism and linguistics are synthesized for the purposes of articulating methodological issues as it pertains to the transmission of scripture in Second Temple Judaism. The developing argument of this chapter demonstrates that the four predominant transmission theories of the Hebrew Bible have not incorporated syntactical change into their methodology.

2.1. A Survey and Assessment of Transmission Theories

To begin his discussion of textual theories, Tov observes, "Ideally, a description of the development of the biblical text is based on evidence relating to textual witnesses and the relations between them."[3] These two phenomena—the homogeneity of and disparity between texts—are the data with which any given transmission theory of the Hebrew Bible must elucidate. In addition, any theorist must always expose the operative principles to the inescapable evidence of the scrolls. In other words, an *a posteriori* analysis should *lead* to a theory of the transmission, not a theory leading to an explanation of the history of the biblical text.[4]

Consequently, the following assessment centralizes on how the premises of each proposed

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[3] Tov, *TCHB*, 169.

[4] Tigay, among others, have cogently demonstrated the need for empirical methods. See Jeffrey H Tigay, "An Emprical Basis for the Documentary Hypothesis," *JBL* 94/3 (1975): 329-342; See also Jeffrey H Tigay, *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985)

theory does or does not extrapolate from a close examination of the data.[5] What is more, I propose that the notion of 'text' and associated categories of textual formation predominate the early discussions resulting in deleterious effects for assessing scribal culture and the freedom inherent in scribal practices and hence the textual history.[6] Later theories emend their methodologies, accounting for various processes of scribal practices and stages of literary development, such as composition or transmission. A close examination of how syntactical developments of LBH and/or QH contribute to textual variation, in the broader discussions of transmission theories, remains unexamined for the most part. Any theory of textual transmission must account for, as stated above, the homogeneity of and differences between texts—especially as these two lines of evidence relate to scribal culture and syntactical developments.

Of central importance therefore is an empirical methodology which begins with historical linguistics. Two issues are held in mutual dialog: language change and the transmission of the text. Pertaining to the former, historical linguists have documented and demonstrated that languages undergo change.[7] All languages do not necessarily experience the same sort of changes, but linguistic change is evident in all languages—for various and sundry reasons. Historical linguists identify change most readily within sub-disciplines of orthography, phonology, morphology and

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[5] In other words, the empirical methodology starts from the observation of data. Once the data has been gather and observed, the text-critical proposes a particular premise to explain phenomena. More general statements are thus extrapolated at the theoretical level, which in turn is this applied to data to test its viability. For the importance of a such a methodological approach, see Moshe H. Goshen–Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (eds. F.M. Cross and T. Shemaryahu; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975); 42–89.

[6] In other words, we must always remember we are dealing with a 'text' which is constituted by a *language*. This may seem like a trivial comment, but how the text is configured often leaves behind the language component.

[7] See, e.g., Olga Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change: Functional and Formal Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11–45; Alice C Harris and Lyle Campbell, *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (CSL 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 48–149.

lexis. Linguists have equally demonstrated that change occurs in syntax. Likewise, Semiticists have identified various aspects of syntactical change in LBH and/or QH, which action leads to the latter issue of textual transmission.

The forgoing assessment of the transmission theories demonstrates how, one the one hand, methodological adjustments have meticulously accounted for orthography, phonology, and morphology, yet on the other hand, they have not incorporated syntax to analyze and assess occurrences of textual variation. Thus, any recognition of a scribal process which permits scribal freedom in the transmission process must incorporate syntax, otherwise it runs the risk of overlooking a potential category of textual variation.[8] It stands to reason that, upon such occasions where syntactical change can be demonstrated, a category of variants has yet to be fully incorporated into the overall transmission history of scripture in Second Temple Judaism.

2.1.1. Frank Moore Cross and the Local Text Theory

Frank Moore Cross stood as a monumental figure in the study of the Hebrew Bible and ancient Near East. Cross, most widely known for his contributions on the paleography of Jewish scripts, made significant contributions to the study of Dead Sea Scrolls. Apropos to the current topic is Cross's research on and espousal of a Local Theory of textual transmission.[9] For the majority of his

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[8] Various issues arise in discerning the exact nature "scribes" in the Second Temple era, mostly on account of the fact that there is little direct evidence recapitulating their role and function (e.g., Ben Sira 38:24–39:11; 2Kgs 12:11; 18:18; 22:3, 8–12; Jeremiah 36; Daniel 1–6). An analysis of the scrolls gives ample reasons to posit that the scribe's role extends beyond that of a mere copyist (see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 15–19; Anthony J Saldarini, "Scribes," *ABD* 5:1012-1016; David Andrew Teeter, "Scribes and Scribalism," *EDEJ*, 1201-1204); for more extensive treatments, see David McLain Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); David McLain Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: a New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 51–74; and Christine Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period* (JSOT 291; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

[9] The following resources track the historical development of Cross' development of and research on the local text theory: Frank Moore Cross, "The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955): 147-172; Repr. in *Qumran*

career, Cross developed the Local Text theory—*vis-à-vis* William F. Albright's supposition that the Qumran scrolls can offer refinements on 'recensional problems.'[10] After summarizing Cross's Local Theory first, I then transition to an assessment of whether the Local Text theory sufficiently accounts for scribal practices and syntactical developments in LBH—this process of analysis is also amenable for the Multiple Texts theory of Shemaryahu Talmon, the Non-Aligned theory of Emanuel Tov, and the Editions theory of Eugene Ulrich.

2.1.1.1. The Central Premises of the Local Text Theory

Cross argued that any proposal for understanding the transmission of the biblical text must account for three lines of evidence. Cross identified these three lines of evidence as "the plurality of text types, the limited number of distinct textual families, and the homogeneity of each of

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and the History of the Biblical Text (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 147–176; Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. G. Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library at Qumran* (Rev. ed. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); Frank Moore Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *Harvard Theological Review* 57 (1964): 281-299; Repr. in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 177–195; Frank Moore Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (eds. S. Talmon and F.M. Cross; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975); 306–320; Frank Moore Cross, "Problems of Method in the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts* (ed. W. Doniger o'Flaherty; Berkeley Religious Studies Series Berkeley, CA: Graduate Theological Union, 1979); 31–55; Frank Moore Cross, "New Directions in Dead Sea Scrolls Research: The Text Behind the Text of the Hebrew Bible," *BR* 1 (1985): 12-25; Frank Moore Cross, "Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. J.C. VanderKam and P.W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1: 379–402; Frank Moore Cross, "The Stabilization of the Canon of the Hebrew Bible," in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Frank Moore Cross, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Canonical Text," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume 1: The Hebrew Bible and Qumran. Proceedings of the Jubilee Celebration at Princeton Theological Seminary* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; N. Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL Press, 2000), 1: 93–104; Frank Moore Cross, "Reminiscences of the Early Days in the Discovery of the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000); and Frank Moore Cross and Richard J Saley, "Singular Readings in 4QSamuela and the Question of Rewritten Scripture," *DSD* 20/1 (2013): 1–16.

[10] Albright's discussion of "recensions" was a first attempt to move discussions forward. He admitted that his was a "pioneer attempt" to account for the newly acquired evidence of the scrolls. It should also be noted, the idea of "recensions" was not original to Albright; it was already an operable category by which to conceive of the transmission history of the Hebrew Bible; for example, Albright writes, "Recognition of the existence of early Hebrew recensions is not new." Neither Albright nor Cross are innovating a new theory of transmission, but are seeking to advance the previous theory of Lagarde et al. Cross, *The Ancient Library at Qumran*, 138.

these textual families over several centuries of time."[11] Thus, Cross recognized a "plurality of text

types," yet plurality was conceived along the lines of a gradual process of recensional growth.[12]

That is to say, during the gradual process (between 5th through the 1st B.C.E) of each of three fami-

lies, the Palestinian text, the Egyptian text, and the Babylonian text, each having developed inde-

pendently of one another accruing *ad hoc* characteristics of their own. According to Cross, The

"Old Palestinian" text contained "conflations, glosses, synoptic additions, and other evidence of in-

tense scribal practices and can be defined as 'expansionistic.'"[13] In addition, Samaritan Pentateuch

and the Chronicler's citation of the Pentateuch and Samuel was identified by Cross as representa-

tives of the Palestinian family. As for the Egyptian text, it was the *Vorlage* of the OG which Cross

characterized as "a full text" yet without synoptic editions and it is so closely related to the Pales-

tine that it perhaps was a "branch."[14]

According to Cross, the scribal practices evidenced in the Qumran scrolls served as the ex-

emplar by which textual fixation can be understood, insofar as the evidence of Qumran[15] granted a

counter witness to the textual families discovered in Judaean wilderness refuge caves of Murab-

ba'at, Masada, and Naḥal Ḥever. Cross concluded that the wilderness texts were preferred on ac-

count the familial resemblances to the proto-Rabbinic or Babylonian family—the textual family

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[11] Frank Moore Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text" *IEJ* 16/2 (1966), 86.

[12] This is perhaps most evident in his comments on Qumran evidence, whereby " . . . the textual variation is not inchoate, the result of indiscriminate mixing of manuscript readings." Frank Moore Cross, "The Fixation of the Text of the Hebrew Bible," in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 210.

[13] Cross, "Fixation," 212.

[14] Cross, "Fixation," 212–213.

[15] Cross uses "baroque" to characterize the orthography extant in some of Qumran Biblical scrolls. See Cross, *The Ancient Library at Qumran* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1961), 176–177. Thus, Cross finds the acceptance of the Babylonian style text at the end of the first century an indication for the Babylonian textual family.

which was later selected to form the Hebrew Bible.[16] Hence, Cross proposed the Local Text theory to account for the dissimilarity and similarity observable in the three manuscript families.[17]

Consequently, " . . . the supreme goal," Cross states, "or rather the only goal of textual criticism is the reconstruction of the *Urtext*, however slowly or cautiously we may be required to move forward in its pursuit."[18] The so-called *Urtext* is closely 'related' to the 'Old Babylonian' family, which is the base for the proto-Rabbinic and later 𝔐. Based on this goal, the practice of textual criticism is to reestablish the *Urtext,* resulting in an eclectic text yet theoretically attests to the Old Babylonian archetype. What is more, the role of the scribe was a preservationist under this theory of textual transmission, and the "textual critic is to *ferret out inferior readings*."[19]

Cross did address some aspects of scribal intervention under the paradigm of 'Rewritten Scripture.' In a joint publication with Richard Saley, Cross examined singular readings in 4QSam[a] for the purpose of isolating "possible tendentiousness."[20] Cross and Saley divided 79 singular readings—namely, non-reconstructed variants extant on the leather which are in disagreement with the Masoretic Text[21]—into five categories.[22] Of particular interest to the present study is the criteri-

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[16] Note also that Cross understands the preference for the wilderness texts illustrative of a rejection of the "baroque" orthography in Qumran scrolls. "Indeed we can speak for the first time of evidence controls which extend to orthographic detail in the manuscripts carried into the Wilderness by remnants of the host of Bar Kokeba." Cross, "Fixation," 213.

[17] Cross elaborates on this theory in numerous places. The immediate purpose of the transmission theory survey is to seek an understanding of what extent the evidence of linguistic change has factored into the overall textual theory of transmission.

[18] Cross, "Problems of Method," 51.

[19] Cross, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Canonical Text," 75. Cross uses the language of "ferreting out," in his previous publications; for example, "The sole way to improve a text, *to ferret out error*, is to trace the history of readings, to determine an archetype which explains or makes transparent the introduction of error or corruption." Cross, "Problems of Method," 50; italics mine.

[20] Cross and Saley, "Singular Readings," 1–16.

[21] Cross and Saley, "Singular Readings," 1–2.

[22] The five categories are: "Minor Grammatical Differences; Probably Scribal Changes; Agreement with

on, "Probable Scribal Changes," and the final step of the assessment, which is explained as "evalu-
ating the assembled evidence of the singular readings for traces of any distinctive agenda on the
part of the tradent(s) of 4QSam[a], and in that light, engaging the question of 'Rewritten Scripture'
..."[23] The methodology expanded, in principle at least, to account for scribal intervention, but it is
conducted in terms of "the revision of one scriptural *text* . . . by the inclusion of supplementary in-
formation from another scriptural *text* . . . ."[24] Thus, the predominant category is manuscript stem-
ma, not necessarily scribal intervention per se. While Cross and Saley included categories of scrib-
al activity in their parsing of the data, they reverted to a philological method ill-suited to account
for linguistic and interpretive issues. Cross and Saley argued that the singular readings are not evi-
dence of tendentiousness or rewritten scripture, as they defined it. Several immediate concerns
present themselves upon an analysis of Cross's Local Text theory.

2.1.1.2. Assessment of the Local Text Theory

The most significant concern, in line with the purpose of the assessment, is the scarcity of
methodological discussions on applying historical linguistics to textual variance. Apart from ad-
dressing scribal errors, Cross's Local Text theory rarely accounts for textual growth and expansion
by means of a methodological discussion of historical linguistics. While this may be expected in
his earlier research, it is disconcerting that such a layer of data largely goes unnoticed in his latter

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Another Passage/Source; Too unclear for Classification; and Putative Primitive Readings." Cross and Saley, "Singular Readings," 3.

[23] Cross and Saley, "Singular Readings," 3.

[24] Cross and Saley, "Singular Readings," 14; italics JT. It should be noted that, while rewritten Scripture recog-
nizes the inclusion of a previous scriptural text, assessment of the text focuses on the various compositional tech-
niques—the notable differences between the source and the text of question—so as to discern the nature of the re-
working (see Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture,* 1–21). Pending the results of the current study, it seems a close
analysis of the syntactical changes might perhaps shed additional light on issues of rewritten Scripture. I touch upon
this in more detail in chapter 4 below.

work.[25] Even in his article with Saley, Cross did not incorporate historical linguistics to examine scribal tendentiousness; rather, tendentiousness is measured in terms of how one *text* relates to another—the word "language" or "linguistics" is no where to be found in the article.

Cross's oversight to incorporate historical linguistics is most likely founded on his theoretical commitment to and excessive emphasis on the existing similarities between the text families. According to Cross, the task of textual criticism is "the science of removing error,"[26] and by classical terms its goal "attempts to establish archetypes and stemmata of manuscript families, but always with a view to the ideal of penetrating to the readings of the autograph."[27] Hence, the methodology primes the critic to perceive the differences through the similarities—otherwise stated as text *qua* text.[28] Conversely, differences are perceived either as elements which are otherwise unshared among the recensions or as scribal blunders requiring explanation in terms of why one reading merits preference over the other(s). Pertaining to the former, Cross posited the Local Theory of texts, and to the latter the task of recovering the *Urtext*. In other words, we might say Cross's theory established a semantic frame whereby 'text' is the predominate means to assess the textual history, and it did not develop a complimentary historical linguistic methodology to accompany the

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[25] As we have seen, Cross does take up questions of "Rewritten Scripture" in connection with 4QSam[a]. However, a significant issue emerges in his analysis of the singular readings of 4QSam[a], for Cross defines Rewritten Scripture in terms of one manuscripts relationship to another. The rubric of a Local Theory truncates opportunities to account for singular differences at the scribal level—these differences rather are attestations to the Local Text. Cross and Saley, "Singular Readings," 1–16.

[26] Cross, "Problems of Method," 36.

[27] Cross, "Problems of Method," 36–37.

[28] Cross admits his propensity to be a "clumper" rather than a "splitter." "Splitters," Cross opines, "see a new species in every individual. Clumpers wish to include variation of minor sort within a single species." Cross, "Some Notes on a Generation of Qumran Studies," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner eds.; vol. 1; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 6–7.

predominant philological method used to analyze textual differences—which is to say that *language* and historical linguistics deserves more attention in the Local Text theory.[29]

2.1.2. Shemaryahu Talmon and The Multiple Text Theory

Shemaryahu Talmon made significant contributions to the study of the DSS and the Hebrew Bible. He contributed to DJD 21 with his work on the Qumran Calendrical texts,[30] and he served as one of the editor-in-chiefs to the *Hebrew University Bible Project*. He authored numerous articles on the history of the Hebrew Bible, particularly in terms of how the evidence of the scrolls facilitates further insights regarding the theories of transmission.[31] While he was not directly responsible for in-

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[29] This might seem like a difference without a distinction, but, as the ongoing investigation reveals, negligence to maintain a difference between text and language can be deleterious to understanding the formation of the Hebrew Bible. An apropos example would be Hindy Najman's claim, whereby she cites Cross's comments about "ferret[ing] out errors," and then posits "that textual formation need not only be understood backwards. It may also be understood forwards." Hindy elaborates more on what this shift in focus entails, saying, ". . . once we abandon the assumptions that make a retrospective approach compulsory, we should stop thinking in terms of *compositional process* that culminate in the production of *fixed texts*. Instead, we should think in terms of what I call *tradionary processes* that encompass both textual formation and textual interpretation, as well as variety of text-involving practices, individual and communal." Hindy Najman, "Configuring the Text in Biblical Studies," in *A Teacher For All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (Eric F. Mason et al.; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 4, Italics Najman. See also James Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as it Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), xviii.

[30] Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov, and Uwe Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4; XVI Calendrical Texts* (ed. Emanuel Tov; DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

[31] Talmon's theory of the text is a result of an empirical investigation. A majority of his articles engage specific examples from which he extrapolates to larger issues of social-religious, transmission, and textual formation. Nevertheless, several of Talmon's articles directly address issues of theoretical concern. Cf. Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds. *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); Talmon, Shemaryahu "A Case of Abbreviation Resulting in Double Readings" *VT* 4, (1954): 206-208. idem, "Double Readings in the Massoretic Text" *Text* 1, (1960): 144-184. idem, "Synonymous Readings in the Textual Traditions of the Old Testament," in *Studies in the Bible*, (ed. Chaim Rabin; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961) 335-383; idem, "The Three Scrolls of the Law that Were Found in the Temple Court" *Text* 2, (1962): 14-27; idem, "The Old Testament Text," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, I: *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (eds. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambride University Press, 1970), 159-199; idem, "The Ancient Hebrew Alphabet and Biblical Text Criticism," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*, (eds. P. Casetti *et al.*; Göttingen: Vadenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981) 497-530; idem, "Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in Light of Qumran Manuscripts," in *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 71-116; idem, "Between the Bible and Mishna," in *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 11-52; idem, "Textual Criticism: The Ancient Versions," in *Text in Context: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (ed. A.D.H. Mayes; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 141-170; idem, "The Transmission History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of Biblical Manuscripts from Qumran and Other Sites in the Judaean Desert," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration So-

novating the Multiple Text theory, he believed that the Qumran evidence corroborated its main premises and was grounds for further extrapolation. Unlike Cross's Local Text theory, Talmon's utilization of the Multiple Texts theory correlated directly with scribal practices, insofar as textual differences were plausibly explained by means of scribal practices. It could perhaps be said that Cross began from a top-down approach whereby the single Masoretic Text was at the top and at the bottom were three textual families; as for Talmon, he began with multiple text*s* and allowed differences to exist on the basis of the "limited freedom" in *scribal processes*.

2.1.2.1. The Central Premises of the Multiple Texts Theory

In the previous century of scholarship, Paul Kahle proposed, in contradistinction to Paul de Lagarde's *Urtext*, his *Vulgärtexte* hypothesis. Kahle's theory, attempting to explain the textual diversity adduced by the studies of H.L. Strack and V. Aptowitzer,[32] posited textual diversity which, by various scribal processes, was moving towards an archetype. Talmon adopted the essential premise of Kahle's theory—but not at an abstract level. The evidence of the Qumran scrolls, according to Talmon, "make possible the systematic presentation of the processes which can be proved empirically to have been conducive to the emergence of *variae lectiones*."[33] The variants are an attestation to the implausibility of the Local Text theory, for

> The very earliest biblical manuscripts known—and in this respect the biblical scrolls from Qumrân are of decisive importance—exhibit all types of variants found in later witnesses.

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ciety, 2000), 40-50; idem, "The Crystallization of the 'Canon of Hebrew Scriptures' in the Light of Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (eds. E.D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2002) 5-20.

[32] For a discussion of the research of Strack and Aptowitzer, see Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Book of Isaiah: Sample Edition with Introduction* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1965), 39.

[33] Talmon, "Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in the Light of the Qumran Manuscripts," *Textus* 4 (1964): 95. Repr. in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon eds.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 226.

This fact indicates that variation as such in the textual transmission *cannot be laid exclusively at the door of careless scribes*, or of sometimes unscrupulous, and sometimes well-meaning, emendators and revisers.[34]

The textual variation and differences find explanation in the "pristine textual traditions."[35] Within these traditions are a "confluence" of readings among Cross's so-called Local Texts.[36] It is for this reason Talmon adopted and further elaborated on the *Vulgärtexte* theory of Kahle.[37]

Acknowledging textual multiplicity positioned Talmon to address a crucial methodological issue. Perhaps most significant was his proposal that a textual comparison surfaces differences whose explanation did not reside in textual families, but were best explained by means of scribal practices. The reception of the text was susceptible to various types of scribal emendations, interpretive expansions, and stylistic updating.[38] To account for these various types of variants, Talmon appealed to the extant methodologies of so-called of "higher" and "lower" criticism; rather than

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[34] Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon eds.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 4. Repr. *The Cambridge History of the Bible* vol. 1, *From Beginnings to Jerome* (eds. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970], 162); Italics mine.

[35] Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," 4.

[36] For examples, see Talmon, "Textual Study of the Bible — A New Outlook," 321–381.

[37] The dependence upon and adoption of Kahle's previous textual critical theory is made explicit in Talmon's analysis of the ancient versions: "The juxtaposition of the textually 'multiform' Qumran biblical scrolls of the last centuries BCE and the textually 'uniform' fragments of the first centuries CE from Masada and other sites in the Judaean Desert prompts the following conclusion which *mutatis mutandis* echoes the basic thrust of Kahle's thesis: the earliest attainable biblical manuscripts give witness to a wide variety of textual traditions which were current in the *pre-divide* [namely, 70 CE] stage of transmission." Talmon, "Textual Criticism: The Ancient Versions," in *Text in Context: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (A.D.H. Mayes ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 163.

[38] Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible — A New Outlook," 326. It should be noted that the impetus for a close examination for discerning scribal processes and interpretive traditions begins with Abraham Geiger's research in the nineteenth century. Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judentums* (Zweite Auflage mit einer Einführung von Prof. Dr. Paule Kahle und einem Anhang enthaltend: Nachträge zur Urschrift, Verzeichnis der Bibelstellen und Bibliographie zusammengestellt und bearbeitet von Dr. Nachum Czortkowski; Frankfurt am Maim: Verlag Madda, 1928 [1st ed. Breslau: Julius Hainuaer, 1857]).

isolating higher criticism from lower criticism, Talmon adduced a dialectic between the two for ex-

plicating textual phenomena,[39] variation of stylistics,[40] and linguistic developments whether at the

scribe's unconscious or conscious level.[41]

Consequently, Talmon's theory of multiple texts operated from a methodology which was

informed at the level of philology,[42] but it also utilized other insights for assessing social issues. The

unification of philological methods of study with broader literary and social issues were crystal-

ized in Talmon's comparison of the Qumran documents and the Judaean Desert manuscripts of

Murabbaʿat and Naḥal Ḥevel, that is, the relationship and differences between these groups of

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[39] Talmon adduces the differences between the early and late texts of Jeremiah. If the early text is indeed chronologically earlier than the later, then Talmon observes the later accretions are explained best as literary developments. Talmon, "Textual Study of the Bible," 327–328.

[40] In effect, Talmon's recognition of 'controlled freedom' permits a more nuanced perspective, whereby composition, formative techniques, interpretation, and transmission are accounted for in the larger social environment of Second Temple Judaism. "In fact we expect," notes Talmon, "such transfers [between formative techniques and literary composition] to occur to a high degree of probability in a literature which experienced the transition from a state of relatively flexible and modifiable oral tradition to a more stabilized written transmission ultimately to textual uniformity" (Talmon, "Textual Study of the Bible," 334; More recently Carr has studied the nexus between Orality and Literacy. See David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 3–16; idem, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011], 13–102). This transition from a 'relatively flexible' state to its fixed form presents numerous methodological challenges. The difficulty centers on two predominate issues, in my mind. The first is a methodology whereby issues of composition and exegesis are easily distinguished among the larger question of textual formation. Andrew Teeter observes "Within this process of extension, texts are take up, responded to, reworked, clarified, distilled, or otherwise brought to bear on later circumstances" (Andrew D. Teeter, "The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature: Methodological Reflections," *DSD* 20/3 [2013], 367–368). Teeter's comments are stated in connection with the phenomenon of 'Rewritten Scripture' and *Fortschreibung,* the historical processes of reinterpretation and redactional growth, pertaining to the Hebrew Bible. A simple problem persists, nonetheless. That is, apart from utilizing methodological enhancements offered by linguistics, syntax in particular, how are we to judge between what might be an exegetical development or a simple grammaticalization of LBH? If the former, our analysis of the text centers on semantic issues pertaining to epistemological values, such as theology, ethics, or politics; whereas the latter, syntax grants the methodological refinements to separate interpretive issues from exegetical issues. See chapter 4 below for a full discussion on this point.

[41] "In most instances the differences are of a linguistic or a grammatical nature, which resulted either from the unpremeditated impact of the linguistic peculiarities of successive generations of copyists, or from their intentional attempts to adjust the wording of scripture to changing concepts of linguistic and stylistic norms." Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," *QHBT* 4.

[42] By philology, I mean a methodological analysis of textual relationships founded on the linguistic principles of syntax, semantics, morphology, and phonology. See James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 1–13.

manuscripts find explanation on account of, what Talmon called, the "Great Divide," the destruction of the "sovereign statehood" in Palestine at the time of 70 C.E.[43] In other words, the pristine texts were perceived as relating to different religious communities in Second Temple Judaism, of which Qumran "witnesse[d] to . . . a 'Living Bible.'"[44]

2.1.2.2. Assessment of Multiple Text Theory

With an explicit recognition of "controlled" scribal freedom, Talmon's Multiple Text theory indirectly incorporated syntax to account for textual differences.[45] Syntactical change—a smaller area of investigation in the broader spectrum of Second Temple social-religious issues—was solicited to persuade readers of his conclusions, namely, "the professional scribe seldom if ever was merely a slavish copyist of the material which he handled."[46] Hence, the textual differences were indicative to a scribal phenomenon whereby the activity of the scribe teetered between a passive and active role. A fine-tuned distinction was operable in Talmon's philological and historical linguistic approach, insofar as philological analysis alerted him to those instances of textual variation, and

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[43] Talmon, "Textual Criticism: The Ancient Versions," 151–152.

[44] Talmon, "The Crystallization of the 'Canon of Hebrew Scriptures' in the Light of the Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Discovery of the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 10. Note well that the reprint of this article in *Text and Canon of the Hebrew Bible: Collected Studies* changes the anarthrous adjunct of "witness to" to an articular construction, namely, "Qumran literature evinces not only an 'open-ended biblical canon,' as is argued, but rather gives witness to what I [Talmon] have termed '*the* living Bible.'" Talmon, "Crystallization," 434. To demonstrate his claim, Talmon examines 11QPsᵃ—a scroll which shows that "The Qumranites . . . freely adapted canonical texts to the particular requirements of their community and their time." Talmon, "Between the Bible and Mishna," in *The World of Qumran from Within* (Jerusalem/Leiden; Magnes Press/Brill, 1989), 33. Hence, Talmon sets the evidence of the texts within a social structure that has yet to realize a fixed 'Canonical' text. An implication, therefore, is a recognition of the operative scribal/social processes which were leading to the so-called Canon.

[45] E.g., Talmon states, "These factors are more readily recognized in a synopsis of Hebrew Versions than in a collation of Hebrew readings with translational variants. To be sure, attention must be paid to the expected impact from changing conventions of syntax in a collation of Hebrew inversion-variants in sources which may have been affected by diachronic linguistic developments, such as MT versus Sam. or Qumran material." *QHBT*, 371.

[46] Talmon, "Textual Study of the Bible," 381.

Talmon strengthened his theory of textual transmission by incorporating historical linguistics to explain textual variance vis-à-vis scribal activities at the level of linguistics and other social issues.

By starting with the scribe, Talmon addressed a deficiency in the Local Texts theory, insofar as the manuscripts cannot be characterized so easily along the lines of Palestinian, Egyptian, and Babylonian text families. Upon closer inspection of the Qumran manuscripts, mixed readings, spanning over the so-called text families, are at odds with the theoretical basis of the Local Text proposal; according to Talmon, they were best explained along the lines of pristine texts—hence, multiple texts. In turn, this enabled Talmon to construct and enhance previous textual analyses vis-à-vis methodological insights on both the levels of philology and historical linguistics as it related to scribal culture—a significant methodological strength.

To my mind, Talmon's theory of Multiple Texts is informative to the current study on at least two accounts. The first is that he indirectly employed syntax as a methodological tool for discerning scribal freedom, yet it should also be noted that Talmon did not explicitly factor syntactical change into his overall theory of transmission. Thus, the present study seeks to supplement Talmon's work insofar is it includes syntactical change as a category of variant.

The second feature of importance is Talmon's incorporation of social factors in Second Temple Judaism as a means to account for textual differences. Talmon explicitly appealed to the symbiotic relationship between the text and the respective community as a means to account for textual development.[47] It extends beyond the scope of the present study to comprehensively analyze Talmon's sociological principle; nevertheless, Talmon's social approach influences the present study with respect to the operative assumptions at work in the relationship between philology and

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[47] See e.g., Talmon, "Textual Criticism," 143.

historical linguistics; an issue which is explored below in chapter 3.

2.1.3. Emanuel Tov and The Non-Aligned Theory

Emanuel Tov's proposed Non-Aligned theory is arguably the first to explicitly reassess the data in terms of shifting the methodological paradigm from assessing texts in terms of textual families to scribal approaches.[48] By jettisoning the criteria of manuscript stemma and recensions, Tov focuses explicitly on on idiosyncrasies and fissiparous readings inherent in the scrolls.

2.1.3.1 The Central Premises of the Non-Aligned Theory

In a 1982 article entitled "A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls," Tov addressed the persistent problem of analyzing texts on the basis of "*the* three streams of textual tradition in the Pentateuch, and the MT and LXX as *the* two streams in the other books."[49] The implications of the Qumran scrolls, noted Tov, has been slow to change the outdated language and categories for

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[48] The following publications, listed in chronological order, are germane for discerning Tov's theory of textual transmission. Tov, Emanuel. "A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls," *HUCA* 53, (1982): 11-27; idem, "Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules," *HTR* 75/4, (1982): 429-448; idem, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts" *JSOT* 31, (1985): 3-29; idem, "The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls," *Text* 13, (1986): 31-57; idem, "The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of these Scrolls," *Text* 13, (1986): 31-57; idem, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39, (1988): 5-37; idem, "The Exodus Section of 4Q422," *DSD* 1/2, (1994): 197-209; idem, "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch," *DSD* 5/3, (1998): 334-354; idem, "The Dimensions of the Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 5/1, (1998): 69-91; idem, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (vol. LXXII; VTSup; ed. H.M. Barstad et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1999); idem, "A Qumran Origin for the Masada Non-Biblical Texts?" *DSD* 7/1, (2000): 57-73; idem., "A Categorized List of All the "Biblical Texts" Found in the Judaean Desert," *DSD* 8/1, (2001): 67-84; idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001); idem, "The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert — an Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (eds. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2002); idem, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54, Leiden: Brill, 2004); idem, "The Writing of Early Scrolls and the Literary Analysis of Hebrew Scripture," *DSD* 13/3, (2006): 339-347; idem, "Some Thoughts About the Diffusion of Biblical Manuscripts in Antiquity," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Florentino García Martínez *et al.*; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 151-172; idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013); idem, "New Fragments of Amos," DSD 21/1, (2014): 1-11.

[49] Emanuel Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook," 11; Italics Tov.

explicating textual history. At this juncture in scholarship, the scrolls were incomplete in terms of publication, yet Tov was confident, at the completion of an in-depth study of 11QpaleoLev, to propose what has become the most significant premise of his Non-Aligned theory.

Tov's study of 11QpaleoLev led him to the conclusion that "this scroll should not be ascribed to the 'type' of the MT or the Sam. Pent., as suggested in the literature, because the scroll is not exclusively affiliated with either of them."[50] 11QpaleoLev is sometimes in agreement with MT, other times Sam. Pent., and also the LXX—and other times it "contains several *unique* readings, not shared with any other source."[51] Tov therefore hypothesized that "a scroll does not have to be grouped with one of the so-called major sources; it can also be *independent* of them, that is, individualistic."[52] Perhaps the most significant conclusion is what Tov stated next, namely, "Each scroll reflects the idiosyncrasies of its own scribe."[53] Consequently, Tov questioned the previous research conducted under the rubric of the tripartite divisions. Rather, Tov proposed the general principle of his Non-Aligned theory, that is, "some scrolls are not to be linked with any of the known textual documents, and they present individualistic, hitherto unknown, sources."[54] The proposal of a Non-Aligned category accompanies three other categories operative in Tov's classification system: 𝔐-Like Texts, Pre-Samaritan Texts, and Presumed Hebrew Source of 𝔊.[55] The concomitant status of

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[50] Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook," 19.

[51] Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook," 19. italics Tov.

[52] Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook," 20. italics Tov.

[53] Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook," 20.

[54] Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook," 22. See idem, *TCHB*, 108. Tov's definition of 'Non-Aligned' remains consistent throughout his analysis of the Qumran data, but the percentages do change. At the publication of the second edition of *TCHB*, Tov states 35% of scrolls found at Qumran are classified as 'Non-Aligned.' In the third edition of *TCHB*, Tov notes that 39% of Torah texts (18 texts) and 49% of the remainder of Hebrew-Aramaic Scripture are 'Non-Aligned.'

[55] Tov, *TCHB*, 107–109.

these texts—namely, that one particular text can attest to multiple so-called families and that these texts were all extant in the Second Temple era—at Qumran is a decisive factor for Tov to posit two general scribal approaches: free[56] and conservative.

Thus, it is apparent that Tov has jettisoned the theoretical commitment of textual families. The only theoretical statement requiring attention from the text critic is the position of an original text. A text critic cannot enter into the praxis of text criticism without—whether directly or indirectly—taking a position on whether there once was an "original text."[57] Consequently, it could perhaps be said that Tov works from the evidence to his theory, whereas the previous theory of local texts interpreted the data through the dictum of textual families.

2.1.3.2. Assessment of the Non-Aligned Theory

Tov's Non-Aligned theory is founded on the observable phenomenon of textual variety. The inescapable result of the disparate nature of texts—in terms of their disagreements—is a central premise upon which Tov's proposed Non-Aligned theory begins. For Tov, this starting point is coherent with the quintessential premise of any given theory of textual criticism, namely that a scholar cannot proceed in textual analysis without a position on an "original text." By adducing the scribe to explain textual differences, Tov is not pressured to confine the data to a limited group of *textual* relations, as per the Local Text Theory. Tov's proposal is more in line with Talmon in this regard.[58] The Non-Aligned theory is perhaps the first whereby differences are conceptualized—in

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[56] This is later emended to "interventionist." See *TCHB*, 213–216; Tov, "Scribal Practices and Approaches," 222. See also Michael Segal, "The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Materia Giudaica Anno* XII/1–2 (2007): 19.

[57] Tov, "The Relevance of Textual Theories," 30.

[58] Tov makes this comparison himself; see Tov, "A Modern Textual Outlook," 25.

terms of a methodological point of view—from the perspective of the scribe.

While Tov does incorporate scribal habits to buttress his premise of a non-standard text, an investigation of syntactical variation surprisingly goes unexamined for the most part. When assessing interpolations, Tov does regard syntax as a criterion to adjudicate between a 'gloss' and 'interpolation;' the former "remain[s] outside the syntax of the sentence" and the latter is "integrated into the syntax of the sentence."[59] However, this discussion is made in the context of ancient versions and *not the direct Hebrew evidence of Qumran*. The relationship between syntactical changes and the scribal interventionist approach—especially as it pertains to the larger discussions of exegetical and compositional practices—remains unexamined.

2.1.4. Eugene Ulrich and The Editions Theory

As a contributing editor to the DJD series and having extensively worked on the Qumran biblical scrolls,[60] Eugene Ulrich's scholarship evinces a great attention to detail, yet with explicit attempts to connect the details to larger methodological questions. Ulrich recognizes the probabilities involved in any proposal of a theory of transmission, namely, the Qumran scrolls offer a significant amount of data, yet they still comprise a limited amount of data in the larger socio-religious framework of Second Temple Judaism. Scholars must strive to synthesize the data, both with regard to previous scholarly proposals and with regard to offering new ones. It is in the context of the latter—albeit connected in some respects to the former—Ulrich proposes his Editions Theory.[61] It should go without saying that Ulrich's Editions theory is in several respects a response to

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[59] Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible,* 67.

[60] See e.g. Eugene Ulrich, ed., *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[61] Ulrich has published extensively on the 'Editions' theory. Some of the most pertinent of which are: Eugene Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," in *Sha'arei Tal-*

Tov's Non-Aligned theory.

2.1.4.1. The Central Premises of the Editions Theory

Of central importance to the Editions theory are three related issues: the disparate relations be-

tween textual witnesses, the insufficiency of methodological principles, and the stages of textual

mon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon (Michael Fishbane et al. ed.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267-291; idem, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon," In *The Madrid Qumran Congress (2Vols.): Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991 Vol. I* (Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner ed..; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 23-41; idem, "Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text," In *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judaean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78-105; idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (Leiden/Grand Rapids: Brill/Eerdmans, 1999); idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Scriptural Texts," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume 1: The Hebrew Bible and Qumran. Proceedings of the Jubilee Celebration at Princeton Theological Seminary* (James H. Charlesworth ed.; Waco, TX: BIBAL Press, 2000), 105-133; idem, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Text," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (Lawrence H. Schiffman et al. eds.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 51-59; idem, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures Found at Qumran," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape and Interpretation* (Peter W. Flint and Tae Hun Kim eds.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 51-66; idem, "The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books," in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (Hanne von Weissenberg et al. eds.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), 47-64; idem, "The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: Index of Passages in the 'Biblical Texts,'" in *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (Emanuel Tov ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 185-201; idem, "Qumran and the Canon of the Old Testament," in *The Biblical Canons* (Jean-Marie Auwers and H.J. de Jonge eds.; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2003), 57-80; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Scriptural Texts," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Volume 1: Scripture and the Scrolls* (James H. Charlesworth ed.; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 77-99; idem, "A Qualitative Assessment of the Textual Profile of 4QSama," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls Volume 1: Scripture and the Scrolls* (Anthony Hilhorst et al. eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 147-161; idem, "Identification of a Scribe Active at Qumran 1QPs[b] – 4QIsa[c] – 11QM," in דימנט לדבורה מוגשים .ה-זו יהודה מדבר נמגילות מחקרים (Moshe Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov eds.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Haifa University Press, 2007), 201-210; idem, "Qumran Witness to the Developmental Growth of the Prophetic Books," in *With Wisdom as a Robe: Qumran and Other Jewish Studies in Honour of Ida Frölich* (Daniel Károly Dobos and Miklós Köszeghy eds.; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009), 263-274; idem, "Methodological Reflections on Determining Scriptural Status in First Century Judaism," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (Maxine L. Grossman ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 145-161; idem, "The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (Sarianna Metso et al. eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 209-225; idem, "Biblical Views: Insertions in the Great Isaiah Scroll." BAR 37/4, (2011): idem, "Clearer Insight into the Development of the Bible—A Gift of the Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)* (Adolfo D. Roitman et al. eds.; 2011), 119-137; idem, "The Fundamental Importance of the Biblical Qumran Scrolls," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Nóra Dávid et al. eds.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 54-59; idem, "The Evolutionary Composition of the Hebrew Bible," in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present* (John S. Kloppenborg and Judith H. Newman eds., Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 23-40; idem, "The Evolutionary Growth of the Pentateuch in the Second Temple Period," in *Pentateuchal Traditions in the Late Second Temple Period: Proceedings of the International Workshop in Tokyo, August 28–31, 2007* (Akio Moriya and Gōhei Hata ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 39-56.

development. Each of these three issues factor into Ulrich's Editions theory. In addition, Ulrich has

recognized that the theories of Cross, Talmon, and Tov[62] offer insights into current issues of assess-

ing the transmission of the text,[63] and influence Ulrich in various ways.

Ulrich has identified several data points whose importance vary along a continuum of

compositional development. These data points are informative to the disparate relationship

among textual witnesses. The first data set, the least influential according to Ulrich, is orthography.

Ulrich does not consider orthography conclusive evidence for discerning the character of a text.[64]

Two reasons are cited for reducing the significance of orthographical data: first, *plene* orthography

is not an *ad hoc* Qumran phenomenon, but also attested in Egypt;[65] second, scribes would clarify

ambiguous forms with the use of *matres lectionis*. Another data set included within Ulrich's analy-

sis is individual variant readings. Variants of this sort are identified as "inadvertent errors or inten-

tional additions or clarifications."[66] Though individual variant readings dominated scholarly dis-

cussions prior to the Qumran discoveries, they have since become regarded as a "relatively minor

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[62] The arrangement of Cross, Talmon, Tov, and Ulrich is somewhat arbitrary. Cross is the first to develop an extensive theory utilizing Qumran evidence, and thus is the logical choice to begin the conversation. Talmon is second in the chronological line up. I have placed Tov before Ulrich seeing as that Tov shares many similarities with Talmon, and Ulrich theory of 'Editions' can be rightfully understood as a response to Tov.

[63] Ulrich claims Cross' theory of Local Texts is probably the only theory which should be considered as such. I disagree, and Ulrich's language makes it clear his 'Editions' proposal is likewise a theory. In discussing the nature of creative activity of scribes, for example, Ulrich posits, "An examination of this phenomenon will probably suffice to show heuristically what other similar creative activities of the scribes were like, and to show that the procedures of these scribes were equivalent to the procedures of those tradents we normally think of as successive composers of Scriptures" Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," 269. Other examples could be adduced, but the point is clear: Ulrich understands his 'Editions' theory as an operative set of premises which can be further elaborated upon to predict phenomena pertaining to scribal habits.

[64] Hence, Ulrich disagrees with Emanuel Tov's heuristic category of "Qumran Scribal School." See Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon," 32–33.

[65] Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon," 32–33.

[66] Ulrich, "Evolutionary Production and Transmission," 56.

category."[67] Most important of the three data points is what Ulrich terms, "isolated interpretive insertions."[68] These interpretive insertions attest to an active role of the scribes, who "occasionally inserted into the text they were copying additional material that they considered valuable."[69] These three data points provide various methodological constructs whereby they are organized under a larger framework of "redaction and new editions," which Ulrich has defined as "a general term that covers many types of new editions or formulations of an earlier text."[70] These new editions, or "new literary editions,"[71] were "faithfully retold and handed on from generation to generation, but also creatively expanded and reshaped to fit the new circumstances and new needs . . . ."[72]

Ulrich's arrangement of the data is predicated upon a methodological shift, a shift that began with Talmon.[73] The bifurcation between methods of lower and methods of higher criticism is deemed insufficient to account for the literary complexity of the text. Consequently, the interrelationship between literary criticism and textual criticism affords Ulrich the opportunity to differentiate between phases of a textual development—which Ulrich has identified as, Composition, Transmission, Translation, and Standardization.[74] The previous scholarship of Julius Wellhausen's

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[67] Ulrich, "Evolutionary Production and Transmission," 56.

[68] Ulrich, "Evolutionary Production and Transmission," 56.

[69] Ulrich, "Evolutionary Production and Transmission," 56.

[70] Ulrich, "Evolutionary Production and Transmission," 53. For the reason why Ulrich deems the redactional or new editions category predominate over the other three relates to his emphasis on the 'process of composition.' Ulrich notes, "the discernment of variant editions thus becomes an essential step in understanding and classifying certain kinds of variants" idem, "Pluriformity," 33.

[71] Ulrich, "Evolutionary Production and Transmission," 53.

[72] Ulrich, "Evolutionary Production and Transmission," 53.

[73] Ulrich cites Talmon's 1975 article "'Higher' and 'Lower' Criticism—New Perspectives" as instrumental for merging the two methodologies. idem, "Horizons of Old Testament Textual Research at the Thirtieth Anniversary of Qumran Cave 4," 631.

[74] See Ulrich, "Horizons of Old Testament Textual Research," 613–636.

'Documentary Hypothesis,' Hermann Gunkel's 'Form Criticism,' Martin Noth's 'Tradition History,'
and Norman Gottwald's 'Socio-Literary Criticism' are parallels to current methodological issues for
discerning "large-scale revised literary editions."[75] Although no direct Qumran manuscript evi-
dence is extant to attest to this phenomenon, close empirical analysis founded on literary-critical
methods is sufficient to postulate similar activities of composition at Qumran.[76] The conclusion of
such an empirical study, for Ulrich, "demonstrates that the content, wording, and orthography of
the biblical text was pluriform and dynamically growing, with variant literary editions for many of
the biblical books."[77]

Concerning the stages of textual development, Ulrich has hypothesized that the "composi-
tion of the individual books involved a sequence of revisions of traditional materials—a succes-
sion of new editions."[78] For each book and each text type,[79] the process was not the same. Ulrich
adduces examples such as 4QpaleoExod[m], the David and Goliath pericope,[80] the large-scale differ-
ences in Jeremiah and Daniel to demonstrate an articulated definition of a "literary edition" as

a literary unit—a story, pericope, narrative, poem, book, etc.—appearing in two or more

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[75] idem, "Clearer Insight into the Development of the Bible—A Gift of the Scrolls," 128.

[76] Over time, however, Ulrich has pointed to 4QReworked Pentateuch for an exemplar of this phenomenon.
See Ulrich, "Clearer Insight into the Development of the Bible—A Gift of the Scrolls," 160–161.

[77] Ulrich, "Methodological Reflections," 152.

[78] Idem, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text," 35.

[79] Ulrich makes four distinctions when it comes to how texts are analyzed within the 'Editions' theory. These
are 'Text Family,' 'Text Type,' 'Text Tradition,' and 'Text Group' (idem, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text," 38). These are
defined accordingly: a 'Text Family' is "a relatively small set of Mss which display close agreement in idiosyncratic or
unique readings which are secondary . . . ;" a 'Text Type' is "a relatively large set of Mss which display general agree-
ment despite differences in details, but where the emphasis is on affiliation . . . ;" a 'Text Tradition' is "a relatively large
set of Mss which display general agreement despite differences in details, but where the emphasis is on the develop-
ment or history of the text . . . ;" and a 'Text Group' is "a general term that covers any or all of the above when
speaking generally or when the evidence is insufficient to use the other terms." idem, "Pluriformity in the Biblical
Text," 38.

[80] See 2 Samuel 17–18.

> parallel forms . . . which one author, major redactor, or major editor completed and which a subsequent redactor or editor intentionally changed to a sufficient extent that the resultant form should be called a revision of that text . . . ."[81]

This "organic process" is the process of the ongoing development of scripture in antiquity.[82]

2.1.4.2. Assessment of the Editions Theory

Ulrich's Editions theory makes significant strides in adopting an empirically based methodology. Interspersed throughout Ulrich's writing is a call for greater clarity in terminology and the need to work from the textual data to formulate conclusions. To explain the large scale differences, Ulrich's analysis incorporates intentional scribal reworking so as to explain the processes of transmission and editorial principles.

Incorporation of syntax, however, is rarely factored into his theory of Editions. There are times when Ulrich appeals to syntax to account for textual issues, but these issues are analyzed on the realm of textual variants. In other words, Ulrich distinguishes between philological features of a text and the overall textual character.[83] The aggregate of textual variants may or may not indicate multiple Editions, and the criterion for adjudicating between these two poles of data finds preference in large-scale differences.[84] Hence, Ulrich has framed the data in a particular way, as all the re-

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[81] Ulrich, "Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text," 88.

[82] Ulrich, "Multiple Literary Editions," 88–89; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Scriptural Texts," 105. Ulrich's position on 'canon' is that it is a later conceptual development and thus not an operative concept in Second Temple Judaism: "There are three aspects of the technical use of canon that I think it will be important to note: (1) it represents a reflexive judgment, (2) it denotes a closed list, and (3) it concerns biblical books. Thus, I would argue that there is no canon as such in Judaism prior to the end of the first century c.e. or in Christianity prior to the fourth century . . . ." idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 56.

[83] "Major variants . . . could theoretically be either part of a pattern constituting a revised literary edition or simply isolated variants. If simply individual variants, they would certainly give rise to variant text families in the subsequent transmission. The individual textual variants of an entire book or section must be studied both singly and synoptically in order to determine whether they are truly 'individual' textual variants or part of the pattern constituting a variant edition." Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible,* 109–110.

[84] Of central importance to Ulrich are the easily distinguishable large-scale textual differences, such as for example, MT Jeremiah compared to OG Jeremiah, the David and Goliath pericope, and 4QpaleoExodᵐ. In his analysis

viewed theories have done. These large-scale differences do merit close analysis, but what could use additional refinement and methodological rigor is the criterion to place these large scale differences as an operative methodological starting point through which the smaller scale differences are evaluated. In other words, are the observable large-scale differences discernible on the level of textual production, or are they rather the result of ongoing scribal accretions?[85] Moreover, what criterion is to be adduced for situating these large-scale differences as representative examples of textual transmission in Second Temple Judaism? As the present study is founded on an empirical investigation, it remains to be seen whether Ulrich is correct in prioritizing large-scale differences over textual variants, especially when a strong distinction has been made—as Ulrich has done— between language and text. Syntactical analysis may grant alternative methods for viewing the differences between texts. For example, a question of concern to the present study is whether Editions might be better conceptualized as Versions. In his review of Molly Zahn's *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture,* Geza Vermeš stated

> As for the textual variations that students of the Bible encountered in those days [viz., first century], they were probably not greater than those readers in England or in America face when they look at the great variety of the current English translations of the Holy Writ.[86]

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of 1QIsaᵃ, Ulrich claims there is insufficient evidence to claim two variant literary editions. This judgment is made on the grounds that "the orthographic, or philological, stratum of a Hebrew biblical manuscript should be assessed separately from the strata of both individual variant readings and variant literary editions of the book." This seems to be a difference without distinction, in that Ulrich has somehow yet to distinguish how a text is made irrespective of constitutive parts—language.

[85] Tigchelaar raises a similar question—but also applicable to the present circumstance—in conjunction with the 'editions' reconstructions in the *Oxford/Scholars Hebrew Bible*. See Eibert Tigchelaar, "Editing the Hebrew Bible: An Overview of Some Problems," in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present* (eds. John S. Kloppenborg and Judith H. Newman; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 51. See also Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 145–155; and Ron Hendel, "Assessing the Text-Critical Theories of the Hebrew Bible," in *Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 295–297.

[86] Geza Vermeš, "Review: Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts," *JJS* 64/1 (2013): 194–196. This is one of the last writings of Vermeš before his passing. He did not have the chance to articulate this line of thought in an independent work of his own.

Hence, the issue revolves around gaining clarity in methodology, and developing scientific measures for assessing the issues in the text, specifically, how syntactical variation factors into the history of the text—and determining an associated terminology which best characterizes the data, whether it is Editions or Versions. The present study is a modest attempt at presenting methodological reasons for including syntax in the overall assessment and development of theories of textual transmission.

2.2. Summary and Assessment of the Textual Transmission Theories: A Proposal for Historical Linguistics

Ulrich's statement regarding three of the four predominate theories offers both an observation and assessment:

> Though the three views are often seen as contradicting each other, to me they rather seem simply to focus on different aspects. Briefly stated: Cross has focused on the *origins* or originating causes of the different text types—how the different types came to be or were produced. Talmon has focused on the *final stages*—how we end up with only three main texts or text-types. Tov has focused on the *complexity* of the textual witnesses the manuscript remains.[87]

In conjunction to this quote, Ron Hendel adds, "Ulrich's theory can be seen as complementary as well—he has added a focus on *editions* . . . ."[88] Ulrich and Hendel's comments are insightful because they facilitate clarity in terms of the nexus between method and data. Some of the theories directly address the need to adopt an empirical methodology, that is, studying the data from a bottom to top sort of approach. Nevertheless, one must be mindful that particular assumptions are influential in the analysis of any data; interpreters are not a *tabula rasa*. Hendel raises caution on

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[87] Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text," 82–83. See also Ron Hendel, "Assessing Text-Critical Theories of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 298.

[88] Hendel, "Assessing Text-Critical Theories of the Hebrew Bible," 298.

this particular point when he comments, "there are underlying philosophical assumptions and epistemological commitments in any text-critical theory."[89] It stands to reason that identifying the assumptions and commitments grants opportunity for methodological refinement. Such a process has been characteristic of the four transmission theories discussed above. Nevertheless, there is one particular assumption that has not received as much attention as it ought to have received, that is, whether historical linguistics in general and syntax in particular sufficiently captures an observed type of variant. If it does, further reflection on the task of philology and historical linguistics is required, especially since they are foundational to textual transmission theories.

The reigning textual theories of the Hebrew Bible have not incorporated the historical linguistic category of syntax for the purpose of assessing textual variation. Including syntactical analysis into a theory of textual transmission does not necessarily overturn or disprove the predominant theories in scholarship today. To the contrary, I argue that appending historical linguistic methodology to the philological practices of transmission theories offers a viable way forward in our study of the text. As it currently stands, we are left to wonder what benefits are available by studying textual variants not merely on philological grounds, but also syntactical, for linguistic evidence is likewise profitable for understanding textual transmission.

Both philological and linguistic evidence is crucial for understanding the history of the text. In light of incorporating historical linguistics into textual analysis, there is a need to adjust how textual differences are described. Previous philological methods often described differences as textual *variants*. Yet, we are left to wonder whether a description of such phenomena might be perhaps be articulated better by the categories of historical linguistics. For this reason, the follow-

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[89] Hendel, "Assessing Text-Critical Theories of the Hebrew Bible," 299.

ing analysis adopts the term "variance" rather than the traditional "variant." Traditionally, "variant" has been used in text-critical discourse, though not necessarily, in conjunction with a preference for 𝔐. That is, those readings which depart from 𝔐 are deemed to be a variant. Such a philological comparison and category tends to prioritize one particular text over another. To circumvent any propensity to favor one text over another, the term "variance" is preferred. One particular text is not prioritized over the other.

2.3. Conclusion: The Hypothesis for the Present Study

The discovery of the Judaean Desert manuscripts has enabled scholars to update and improve textual transmission theories in various ways. A slow and discernible paradigm shift has occurred; scholars have made necessary emendations, based on the ineluctable evidence of the scrolls, to their study of textual transmission—the data defies the categorical formulations of traditional philological methods. The character of the text has become difficult to demarcate into clear familial categories, which action has prompted scholars to hone and sharpen the methods required to explain the data. As a result, significant questions have been raised in how best to assess textual variation, especially regarding the orthographical and morphological similarities between the biblical DSS and the non-biblical DSS, notably, those texts and variants which have defied traditional categorization, e.g., 4Q158, 4Q364–367 or 4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QTorah. The need to incorporate syntax might likewise serve as an important methodological tool for texts closely related to the so-called biblical scrolls.

Without a sustained and articulated study on the potential relationships between syntactical change and scribal practices, our methodologies of the transmission history risk overlooking an important methodological refinement in terms of how to access textual variation. Eugene Ulrich

has been unrelenting in his call for developments of new methods; for example, he writes

> The present situation in scholarship is that there is a need for a revised mentality and for a paradigmatic revision in our categories and criteria. The reason that the scriptural scrolls surprise us is not the scroll texts themselves but our categories and criteria for assessing the biblical text in antiquity. The common default mentality of biblical scholars (or, our faulty mentality) is that the Masoretic text is the standard text and canon of the Hebrew Bible, and that texts (or books) which are not identical to the Masoretic Text are sectarian, or vulgar, or nonbiblical. But the problem is not the scrolls, but rather (a) the presuppositions of scholars and students, and (b) the theories regarding the history of the biblical text.[90]

An empirical study of this nature is driven by a curiosity pertaining to the relationship between Second Temple scribes, their language, their culture, and their text. The curiosity also extends beyond the present study, in the hopes that a historical linguistic methodology developed here can lead to a refined methodological approach where philological and historical linguistic tools are both utilized in a balanced textual analysis. Yet, any proposed methodological tweak or adjustment must be empirically applied to the data. Thus, the ensuing study hypothesizes a simple premise: incorporating syntactical change into textual transmission theories affords viable measures for explaining textual variance, without having to recourse to manuscript stemma.

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[90] Eugene Ulrich, "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures at the Time of Hillel and Jesus," in *Congress Volume Basel 2001* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup; Brill, 2002); 92.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS AND TRANSMISSION THEORIES: A LINGUISTIC METHODOLOGY
FOR ASSESSING TEXTUAL VARIANCE IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT ISAIAH CORPUS

3.0. The Role of Historical Linguistics in Transmission Methodologies

Of the four predominant transmissions theories of the Hebrew Bible, the Non-Aligned theory of

Emanuel Tov is arguably the most linguistically centered, with explicit attention on phonology, or-

thography, and morphology. However, Tov devotes little time to investigate the role of syntax and

its potential implications on transmission theories. Talmon, on the other hand, did utilize syntacti-

cal analysis to explain textual developments, although he never explicitly incorporated syntax—

particularly diachronic syntax—as a large scale premise in his multiple text theory.[1] Thus, the

question lingers of whether textual transmission theories can benefit by incorporating syntax into

the catalogue of differences among texts. Such is the query of the present study, but several issues

of methodological importance require a word or two.

Before I examine whether syntax can explain some of the textual variance in the Judaean

Desert biblical scrolls, it is best to articulate the methodology used here for analyzing textual varia-

tion vis-à-vis historical linguistics in general and diachronic syntax in particular.[2] As the linguist

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[1] Talmon's predominate category for textual differences were perceived as pristine texts whose differences were predominately explained by means of *style*; see e.g., Talmon, "Double Readings in the Massoretic Text," 144–184; See also Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," *QHBT*, 1–41.

[2] As stated in chapter 1, the four predominate textual theories are not mutually exclusive to another, especial-ly when one considers how each theory focuses on the data (see chapter 1, pp. 30–34). Given that Talmon's theory ap-pealed to syntax, it stands to reason this study corroborates and enhances his multiple text theory, yet also provides a caveat insofar as how data is construed. In addition, Tov's perspicacious examples, which he adduced to demonstrate the incoherency of the textual family model and the basis for his non-aligned theory, are also foundational to the

Olga Fischer warns,

> One thing must be clear from the start: in order to compare utterances from different periods one must have a sense of what is comparable. This is not an easy question because 'comparability' (or 'incomparability', for that matter) exists on a number of different levels.[3]

Thus, the present chapter is about addressing the difficulties that exist at several levels when assessing the Qumran biblical scrolls in general and the Isaiah Judaean Desert scrolls in particular.

3.1. Historical Linguistics: Introduction to Diachrony and Synchrony

"Historical Linguistics," states linguist Brian D. Joseph, "is the branch of linguistics that is concerned with language change in general and with specific changes in languages, and in particular with describing them, with cataloguing them, and ultimately, with explaining them."[4] That languages change has become a tacit premise of linguistics, and, as noted by Joseph, the historical linguist's focus is to describe the changes, categorize them, and undertake the difficult task of postulating theories to account for the changes. A case in point is a change observable from Middle English to contemporary English, as Joseph himself adduces, with an example from Shakespeare's *Othello*:

> 1.0   Tush, never tell me! I take it much unkindly that thou, Iago, who hast had my purse as if the strings were thine, shouldst know of this. (*Othello*, 1604)

In comparison with the English used by speakers of the twenty-first century,[5] several differences are apparent. Perhaps the first noticeable difference, in terms of lexical choices, is the Middle Eng-

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present analysis.

[3] Olga Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change: Functional and Formal Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 12.

[4] Brian D. Joseph, "Historical Linguistics," 107.

[5] Hereafter, I will use the adjective 'modern' or 'current' to mean a speaker of twenty-first century English.

lish "Tush." This lemma, as defined by *Oxford English Dictionary*, means "an exclamation of impatient contempt or disparagement,"[6] a word that a modern English speaker would more likely use to indicate part of the human anatomy, not as an interjection. Today, an English speaker would perhaps replace such a term with a modern equivalent, perhaps something like "bah."

Lexical changes are not the only linguistic category susceptible to diachronic change, however. As the English interjection "Tush" has, for the most part, fallen out of colloquial usage, the same can be observed with other linguistic categories such as morphology and/or syntax. Turning back to Joseph's *Othello* example, the morphosyntax of the verbal forms "hast" and "shouldst" have since undergone change and today are replaced with "have" and "should." An English speaker today would rarely[7] use these morphosyntactical forms for the third person singular verbal morpheme, yet such forms do not seemingly create non-sensical or ungrammatical utterances. The contemporary English speaker can make sense of these morphosyntactical differences, and can therefore smooth over the grammatical bumps of yesteryear so as to correctly understand the syntactical structure of the utterance.

While the morphosyntactical changes of the third person singular verb present little difficulty for a contemporary English speaker, other changes can occur which present more difficulty. An example from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (ca. 1400 CE) is apropos:

2.0a   Whan that Aprille with its shoures soote

The droght of March hath perced to the roote . . .

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[6] *OED,* s.v., "tush, *int.* and *n.3.*"

[7] I say rarely for these forms can be heard in public prayers or citations of older Bible versions (such as the KJV) in formal events. This raises an important insight regarding pragmatics, that is, extra-linguistic factors can have a bearing on the linguistic utterance. The nexus between morphology, syntax, discourse, text, and meta-text is an important issue to bear in mind in the analysis of any text transmitted in a scribal culture.

2.0b   When April with its sweet showers

         The drought of March has pierced to the root . .

Apart from the significant orthographical changes (whan = when, soote = sweet, etc.), Chaucer's

English syntax differs in the subordinate clause construction. The Middle English of Chaucer

(2.0a) attests to a subordinate construction with two head words of "Whan that;" whereas in Mod-

ern English (2.0b) the syntax of the subordinate clause takes the single word "When."[8]

     Such lexical, morphosyntactical, and syntactical changes are illustrative to some of the

fine tuned and large scale changes that a language incurs by its speakers. All languages change

throughout the course of their history, although languages do not always change the same way.

Isolating such changes are possible by means of a comparative analysis between two synchronic

stages—namely the grammatical features which are characteristic of a language at a particular

point in time.[9] Utilizing comparative measures to discern differences between the two dialects of

English enables one to locate the differences so as to assess the grammar of the language as repre-

sented in an anterior text, as produced by the grammar of its time, with a posterior grammar, ei-

ther from a textual or spoken source.[10] These two grammars are conceived in terms of two syn-

chronic stages of intra-linguistic development, i.e., a synchronic stage (see Figure 2.0).

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[8] Joseph, "Historical Linguistics," 111.

[9] Ferdinand de Saussure, the father of modern linguistics, is credited for pioneering synchronic studies of language (see, e.g., Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* [Translated by Baskin Wade. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011], 101–137). Saussure defines a synchronic stage as a language state, as compared to diachrony which is termed evolutionary (de Saussure, *Course*, 81).

[10] It extends beyond the present study to discuss whether audio recordings are a *text*, but I mention spoken source here for it is possible with technology to create large databases of audio recordings to apply the same diachronic principles.

Diachrony

time

Synchronic State 1
Synchronic State 2
Synchronic State 3
Synchronic State 4
Synchronic State 5
Synchronic State 6
Synchronic State 7
Synchronic State 8
Synchronic State 9
. . . .
Synchronic State n
Synchronic State n + 1
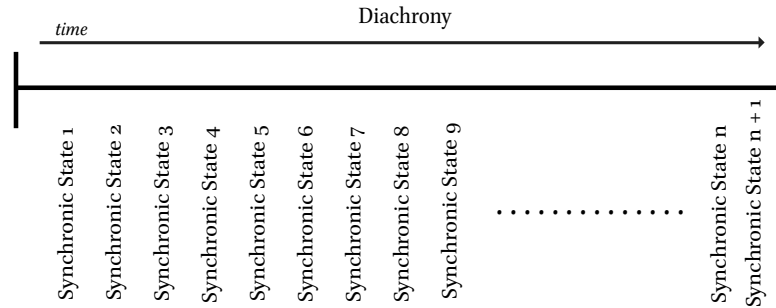
Figure 2.0 Diachornic and Synchronic Analysis

An important methodological principle is inherent in the above diachronic comparison. That is, comparison is the process whereby two synchronic stages of a language are compared to isolate (according to Joseph, "catalogue") those occasions of differences, as the grammatical features of the language change throughout its history.[11] As in example 1.0 above, comparing the English of *Othello* and *Canterbury Tales* (a synchronic stage of English) with current English usage (another synchronic stage of English) created opportunity to locate various differences by means of a diachronic comparison.[12] Consequently, the linguist is in a better position to explore the historical developments in the studied language,[13] while attempting to articulate a theoretical

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[11] Figure 2.0 is adapted from the methodology of Brian D. Joseph, "Historical Linguistics," 108–110.

[12] In a culture where the printing press is not the medium of textual production, several caveats are necessary to bear in mind in the application of this principle to the data. In other words, it does not follow that a comparison of two synchronic stages necessarily surfaces differences which are best accounted for by diachronic syntax. One must bear in mind other issues which could equally account for textual variation, e.g., issues of style and register.

[13] S. P. Harrison lists three goals of the comparative method; the second goal, "to explore the history of individual languages," is operative at this juncture of the discussion. See S. P. Harrison, "On the Limits of the Comparative Method," in *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics* (eds. Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 214.

premise which gave rise to the change.

3.1.1. Applying Diachrony and Synchrony to the Second Temple Scrolls and Fragments of Isaiah

When applying diachrony and synchrony to the Judaean Desert Isaiah scrolls,[14] several preliminary issues merit a brief discussion. To facilitate a discussion of the issues, three questions can be asked:

1) To what synchronic stage of Hebrew do the Judaean Desert Isaiah scrolls relate?

2) What criteria(on) are (is) used for determining whether textual differences are related to different synchronic stages?

3) Do the syntactical features of LBH and QH account for the textual differences observed in the Isaiah scrolls?

A word about each of these questions addresses some of the levels of difficulties for understanding how the analysis of the Isaiah scrolls (in chapter 4) will test the hypothesis regarding diachronic syntactical change.

3.1.1.1. The Synchronic Stage(s) of the Judaean Desert Isaiah Scrolls

Because the mutability of language is likewise a characteristic of Hebrew, the same method of diachronic analysis is applicable to the Judaean Desert Isaiah corpus, with its own levels of difficulties nonetheless. Unlike the above English examples, the text of Isaiah, which, developing from *ipsissima verba* to its composed form, is a transmitted text, not an authored text distributed by the printing press mechanisms of today.[15] That is, the Judaean Desert Isaiah corpus—so long as the premise of a controlled scribal freedom is operable in the phases of transmission—theoretically attests to different synchronic stages. As Michael Fishbane has eloquently framed it,

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[14] Theoretically, any of the biblical scrolls could have been used to test the hypothesis of syntax. Chapter 4 explains why the Isaiah scrolls and fragments were chosen for this study.

[15] By 'composed text,' I have in mind the modern conventions of an author, whereby a text is envisioned as the sole product of his or her intellectual aptitude. While singularity is often a closely associated category in modern perceptions of 'author,' such is not necessarily the case of a text transmitted in a scribal culture.

> [T]here is no doubt that the technical competence involved in copyist activities made biblical scribes—individually and as members of schools—more than mere passive tradents. They were, in fact, both students of and even believers in the materials which they transmitted, and so were far from simple bystanders in matters relating to their clarity, implication, or application. It is thus squarely within the function of scribes as copyists and transmitters of texts that *their annotations and exegeses take shape and are given form.*[16]

Consequently, it is plausible to think that some of the accretions are likely related to diachronic changes in the linguistic categories of phonology, morphology, and syntax. However, how can the various synchronic stages be rightfully categorized if a scribe regularly intervened in the process of transmission? An answer to this question is found in an excursus relating to two levels of difficulty: the first difficulty is determining the criteria(on) needed to establish a synchronic stage (or linguistic typology[17]) of a text and the second difficulty is identifying the potential synchronic layers in a transmitted text.

3.1.1.1.1. Excursus: Criteria for the Relative Dating of a Synchronic Stage

Avi Hurvitz is often cited as the one responsible for spending considerable effort to articulate a working methodology for dating texts by means of linguistic evidence.[18] Hurvitz's methodology

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[16] Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 37; italics JT.

[17] Typology has various meanings in linguistics. It is most frequently used in a cross-linguistic comparison for categorizing languages based on its grammatical features (e.g., SVO or VSO languages). Here I use the term intralinguistically as it relates to the grammatical features which constitute the grammatical features of each of its synchronic stages (see William Croft, *Typology and Universals* [CTL. 2 ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003], 1-4).

[18] See, e.g., Avi Hurvitz, "Linguistic Criteria for Dating Problematic Texts," *Hebrew Abstracts* 14 (1973): 74-79; Avi Hurvitz, "The Date of the Prose-Tale of Job Linguistically Reconsidered," *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974): 17-34; Avi Hurvitz, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the Biblical Period: The Problem of "Aramaisms" in Linguistic Research on the Hebrew Bible," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (ed. I. Young; JSOT; London: T&T Clark, 2003); 24–37. Hurvitz was not the first scholar to develop a diachronic methodology of dating texts linguistically. See also S.R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Meridian Books, 1956); Arno Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax des Hebräischen* (BZAW 16; Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1909); Kutscher, "Hebrew Language, the Dead Sea Scrolls," *EncJud* 8:626–635. For Kutscher, see also E.Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Leiden/Jerusalem: Brill/Magnes Press, 1982). Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward a Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, Mont.: Published by Scholars Press for the Harvard Semitic Museum, 1976). For a narrative of how each of the above developed a diachronic methodology for Hebrew, see Dong-Hyuk Kim, *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew,*

rests on four criteria. These four criteria are:[19]

(1)   A linguistic feature is distributed throughout the corpus, of which the books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles are LBH representatives.

(2)   LBH texts can and must be compared and contrasted with EBH texts.

(3)   Additional support is found in the affinities and relationships between the studied biblical text and extra-biblical sources, such as inscriptions, epigraphic data, and scrolls and fragments.

(4)   An accumulation of the marked features of the respective synchronic stage in the studied text provides objective reasons to conclude a feature is either LBH or EBH.

The concert of agreement between these four principles is sufficient to conclude, according to Hurvitz, that the linguistic features are indicative to whatever synchronic stage is under study. Furthermore, a date can be posited based on the linguistic typology of the text, particularly as it agrees with known linguistic features. While Hurvitz's criteria are often used at the level of lexis, it is also possible to use these criteria at the level of syntax, as Jan Joosten has recently propounded.

By analogy with archaeology, Joosten proposes a "linguistic stratigraphy."[20] The various grammatical features of the language at a given point in time—like various discovered artifacts of archaeological digs—constitute certain grammatical features of a synchronic stage, that is, a synchronic typology. Joosten recognizes that the process of dating a text must incorporate data from a range of disciplines, yet what is central to Joosten is syntactical change. Because writers can emulate various styles for functional and stylistic purposes, Joosten observes that lexical choices are

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and Linguistic Variability (VTSup 156; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 11–15. A comprehensive review of diachronic methodology can also be found in the two volume work of Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (2 vols.; London: Equinox, 2008).

[19] As the Hebrew data has slowly been digitized in the past twenty years, computational methods are available to create the necessary data for each of these steps. For available digital tools, see Emanuel Tov, "Computer-Assisted Tools for Textual Criticism," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 377–381.

[20] Jan Joosten, "The Distinction Between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew as Reflected in Syntax," *HS* 46 (2005):, 328.

circumstantial[21]—that is, ancient writers could have been cognizant of, for example, contemporary Aramaisms. Thus, a writer could select a different lemma, based on reasons such as archaizing tendency or perhaps other pragmatic or sociological issues.[22] Syntax, on the other hand, is said to be less perceptible to an ancient writer—and it is even more difficult for modern scholars to discern.[23] The implication therefore is that syntax is not so easily emulated or mimicked; thus, it provides a viable stratum of data for comparing diachronic features.

Applying the methodology of Hurvitz and Joosten to the text of Isaiah is met with further difficulties on account of the *compositional* layers in the book itself. For example, "[t]he Masoretic book of Isaiah" states Shalom Paul, "is composed of two distinct sections written by two different authors at different times." The two distinct sections (Isaiah 1–39 and 40–66)[24] are founded—amongst other comparative differences learned through form, genre, and literary criticism—on the various linguistic features in Deutero-Isaiah (DtIsa). These particular linguistic features of DtIsa, notes Paul, are "representative of an intermediate link between what has been termed Standard . . . Biblical Hebrew . . . that is pre-exilic Hebrew—and Late Biblical Hebrew . . . that is exilic and

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[21] Lexical choices are also intimately linked to idiolect and style. For the importance of idiolect in diachronic analysis of lexical choices and style, see Jacobus A. Naudé, "The Transitions of Biblical Hebrew in the Perspective of Language Change and Diffusion," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (ed. I. Young; JSOTSS; London: T&T Clark, 2003); See also Robert D. Holmstedt, "Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew," in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* (eds. C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit; LSAWS; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012); 97–124.

[22] Joosten cites the example of the אִגֶּרֶת, in which case an author might avoid the use of the Aramaic opting instead to use Hebrew סֵפֶר (Joosten, "The Distinction Between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew," 329).

[23] Joosten, "The Distinction Between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew," 329. Abegg likewise notes the finesse and attention to detail required in observing syntactical difference (see Martin Abegg Jr., "The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls: More Than [Initially] Meets the Eye," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* [ed. M. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010]; 63–64).

[24] As Paul mentions, the further division between DtIsa and Trito-Isaiah is superfluous from a linguistic perspective because "there is a consensus that the periods concerned are within the time frame mentioned above [namely, the transition period between pre- and post-exilic era]" Shalom M Paul, "Signs of Late Biblical Hebrew in Isaiah 40–66," in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* (eds. C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit; LSAIWS; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012); 294n3.

postexilic Hebrew . . . ."[25] Thus, the methodological premise at work in Paul's analysis of the language of DtIsa analyzes and compares LBH features in each synchronic stage (Isaiah 1–39 = synchronic stage 2[26] and Isaiah 40–66 = synchronic stage 3) so as to utilize these data for purposes of diachronic analysis, according to Hurvitz's methodology. That is, Isaiah 1–39 attests to a typology whose features are congruent with EBH, while the typology of DtIsa is congruent with LBH. According to Paul, there are at a minimum two potential synchronic stages at the level of *composition* in the book of Isaiah. Paul's use of Hurvitz and Joosten's methodology is not without its critiques, however.

In 2003, the so-called chronological dating method, as espoused by Hurvitz, came under scrutiny as a viable methodology for dating biblical texts. In an edited volume, entitled *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, Ian Young began the concluding essay of the volume by claiming that, on the basis of scribal freedom and intervention, a transmitted text is theoretically an accretion of linguistic features of each of its representative stages of transmission.[27] In a later co-authored volume with Robert Rezetko and Martin Ehrensvärd, the challenge against Hurvitz's chronological methods (amongst others) is intensified. They reason that

> [S]cholars of the language of the Hebrew Bible must take seriously the text-critical dimension in their research on chronological layers in BH and in their efforts to date biblical texts on a linguistic basis. Linguistic analysis cannot afford to ignore scholarly consensuses about the Hebrew Bible's literary complexity and textual fluidity. Assigning dates to biblical *texts* on the basis of linguistic analysis stands at odds with text-critical perspectives on those *texts*. Textual stability is a fundamental premise of the linguistic dating of biblical texts . . . , yet the extant evidence shows that ancient texts of the Bible

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[25]S.M. Paul, "Signs," 293.

[26] These numbers are heuristic devices to indicate the grammatical characteristics of the language at a given point in time. See figure 2.0 above the logic of each synchronic stage, as they relate to a diachronic comparison.

[27] Ian Young, "Concluding Reflections," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (ed. I. Young; JSOT; London: T&T Clark, 2003); 312.

were characterized by textual *instability*.[28]

Young *et al.* are not arguing against linguistic change, but are rather *utilizing linguistic change to determine the date of a still-fluid text.* LBH features are recognized, and the point Young *et al.* are making is that LBH features are extant in EBH texts. Young *et al.* conclude that linguistic dating of texts is dubious because the synchronic stages of EBH and LBH are not indicative for the era in which it can be postulated to have been composed (thus, contra the first criterion of Hurvitz's methodology). In other words, LBH features are often found in EBH texts and EBH features are often found in LBH texts.[29] At best, Young *et al.* state EBH and LBH are better thought of as matters of linguistic style.[30]

Applying his linguistic conclusions of style to 1QIsa[a], Young argues that the linguistic variation evinced therein does not find explanation by means of a systematic updating of the text.[31] Contra Kutscher, Young argues that the linguistic nature of the *Great Isaiah Scroll* is synonymous with the previous studies conducted by himself and Rezetko, which is to say that the linguistic ty-

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[28] Young *et al.*, *LDBT*, 1:359; Italics Young *et al.* Young *et al.* surface an important point, particularly how it relates to the historical linguistic practice of dating *texts*. To my mind, it seems an enthymemic principle is operative in their characterization, insofar as they do not explicate the differences between text and language. In other words, does 'textual stability' imply linguistic uniformity? Or stated conversely, does 'textual instability' imply linguistic instability? Put differently, what is a text? It extends beyond the scope of analysis to provide answers to these questions, but chapter four does reflect more in-depth on the relationship between philology, historical linguistics, and transmission theory.

[29] "So far we [Young *et al.*] have reviewed the evidence that indicates seeing EBH and LBH as two successive chronological phases of BH is incompatible with the evidence. We argue that a better model sees LBH as merely one style of Hebrew in the Second Temple and quite possibly First Temple periods. Both EBH and LBH are styles with roots in preexilic Hebrew, which continue throughout the postexilic period. 'Early' BH and 'Late' BH, therefore, do not represent different chronological periods in the history of BH, but instead represent coexisting styles of literary Hebrew throughout the biblical period" Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (2 vols.; London: Equinox, 2008), 2:96.

[30] Young *et al.*, *LDBT*, 1:361.

[31] Ian Young, ""Loose" Language in 1QIsa[a,]" in *Keter Shem Tov: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown* (eds. I. Young and S. Tzoref; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013); 89–112.

pology of the scroll is not uniform with the characteristics of LBH. Rather, the differences in the scroll attest to both EBH and LBH.[32] If Young is correct in his theory—that the observable changes in the *Great Isaiah Scroll* was caused by different styles of scribal practices as opposed to diachronic change—then the present study could perhaps fall into methodological error by arguing for diachronic syntactic change. It is unknown whether the sort of observable differences in the Isaiah scrolls were prompted by diachronic issues or stylistic—or both.

At the center of Young's argument against diachronic analysis is the evidence of textual fluidity. As argued in chapter two, the Qumran discoveries have brought about an entirely unforeseen era in the transmission theories of the Hebrew Bible, to the point that unmerited prejudice for 𝔐 cannot stand as an operative assumption in text-critical discourse.[33] I agree that a marked characteristic of the text in the Second Temple era is its fluidity, yet one must be clear on what logically follows on the basis of textual diversity.[34] That LBH features can appear in EBH texts and *vice versa* is sufficient grounds for Young to argue against diachrony in favor for other factors which could conceivably explain the mixed linguistic nature of the text. Some of those other factors are non-chronological explanations of dialect,[35] sociolect,[36] idiolect or style,[37] and scribes. While these

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[32] Kutscher had argued that "the linguistic anomalies of IQIsaᵃ reflect the Hebrew and Aramaic currently spoken in Palestine towards the end of the second Commonwealth" *LLBIS*, 3. cf. I. Young, "'Loose' Language," 106–107.

[33] See esp. Eugene Ulrich, "Methodological Reflections on Determining Scriptural Status in First Century Judaism," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: an Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M.L. Grossman; Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2010); 145–161.

[34] I would also add that one must be clear on "fluidity." Given the fuzzy nature of what "fluidity" might mean, particularly whether it relates to the ideology of the scribal culture or the sort of variants attested (which indelibly is a synthesis between the scribal culture and textual transmission), it seems that Talmon's terminology of "controlled freedom" is a better taxonomy, for it gives the impression of controlling features of the scribal process, yet also opens the methodology to include scribal intervention. See discussion in chapter 1.

[35] Defined as ". . . the speech of a particular geographical place or region" Young *et al.*, *LDBT*, 59.

[36] Defined as " . . . the speech of a particular class or group within a society" Young *et al.*, *LDBT*, 59.

[37] Defined as " . . . idiolect is the speech of 'dialect' of a particular individual" and "[s]tyle is systematic varia-

factors can conceivably and most likely do contribute to textual diversity, they do not, however, prevent diachronic analysis. In other words, it remains obscure as to how non-chronological factors are impervious to diachronic reconstruction. Robert Holmstedt reveals the inconsistency of Young and Rezetko's application of their method, for he reasons that "If they [Young and Rezetko] can identify textual differences that stand in obvious chronological relationship, then they have engaged in the very reconstruction work they seem to disallow."[38] By this logic, Holmstedt continues, "If the artifacts from which philological texts are reconstructed can be placed in sequential order, then differences between them are prime evidence for language change."[39]

To my mind, textual fluidity certainly creates a challenge. It stands to reason, at a theoretical level, that a transmitted text, under a scribal culture whose *modus operandi* is not the faithful replication of its *Vorlage*, could potentially introduce textual variation which correlated with the synchronic features of its grammar—which may even have been prompted such changes. To argue that the textual variance of the *Great Isaiah Scroll* does not show a systematic revision of its language from EBH to LBH is founded upon an ideal that diachronic changes would be entirely uniform to the point that a transmitted text, such as Isaiah, would take the grammatical form of a text composed in LBH such as Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, or Chronicles. However, such an assessment seems more driven by sociological issues in general and an ideology of scribal culture in particular.[40] That is, it would seem that an entirely revised text would be better relegated to philos-

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tion related to a type of discourse or its context . . . " Young *et al.*, *LDBT*, 59. Zevit rightly observes that style still operates on a system of parameters, which require explication for methodological reasons (see e.g., Ziony Zevit, "Linguistic Dating and Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew," in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* [eds. C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit; LSAWS; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012]; 455–489).

[38] R.D. Holmstedt, "Historical Linguistics," 101.

[39] R.D. Holmstedt, "Historical Linguistics," 101.

[40] Young states in the opening of his article that his earliest perceptions of 1QIsaᵃ were such that "1QIsaᵃ re-

ophy of the scribal culture—not an issue of diachronic change.[41]

Young *et al.* raise significant questions that call for methodological reflection and analysis. However, I do not see the arguments of Young *et al.* deleterious to the present analysis of diachronic syntactical change. Rather, I see the methodological questions regarding philology and historical linguistics as argued by Young *et al.* necessitating a study of this type, albeit at a comprehensive level on each of the biblical scrolls.[42] To swing the pendulum from diachronic change to linguistic style, however, does not seem warranted with so much of the evidence yet examined with these questions in mind. In all likelihood, both diachronic change and linguistic style are probably influential in textual diversity in manuscript cultures.

To resolve the issue which prompted this excursus, it is possible to establish the needed criteria for establishing a synchronic stage by means of two premises. The first premise, as elucidated by Paul, is that DtIsa can be understood to relate to a synchronic era of the exile. Most biblical scholars would agree on a proposed date within the post-exilic era (ca. 500 – 350 BCE) for the compositional stage of DtIsa and Trito-Isaiah (56–66).[43] Proto-Isaiah is believed to have predated

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flects systematic linguistic variants that change its linguistic profile from EBH to LBH, comparable to the core books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles" I. Young, "'Loose' Language," 94. Young concludes saying, "At the end of this study of the evidence of the texts, I end up by concluding that what I used to think about MT Isaiah and 1QIsaa was completely wrong" I. Young, "'Loose' Language," 111.

[41] A parallel example is found in analyzing current English Bible versions. On occasions a translator will not update an older English syntactical construction, despite its sounding irregular to an English reader. Memorialized passages—certain passages like Psalm 23, Matthew 5, or John 3:16—rarely deviate from the syntactical register of the English used in the KJV. Such is a philosophical premise in the translation approach—in some cases the passage could be more intelligible if the English of the KJV were updated.

[42] See email from Jarod

[43] An exact dating is unlikely, yet most scholars would date DtIsa to a post-exilic date, with a window of ~200 years. For example, "It is possible to assign the date of DtIsa to the end of the sixth century, with the beginning of Persian rule. But I [Baltzer] believe that there are good reasons for assuming a later date—to be more specific, sometime between 450 and 400 B.C.E., the presupposition being a number of general considerations and the exegesis of individual passages" (Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40–55* [Hermeneia 23C; ed. Peter Machinist; trans. Margaret Kohl; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001], 30.) For a detailed discussion on the ongoing discussions of tripartite divisions of the book and dating proposals of each, see Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55: A New*

DtIsa and Trito-Isaiah, thus pushing it back to perhaps to a pre-exilic date.[44] Thus, a working hypothesis can be established: the composition of Isaiah is, should the latest of dates be accepted, post-exilic with perhaps a generalized date of ca. 400 BCE. The item of interest now is to try to determine the dates of the *transmitted* witnesses of the Judaean Desert caves. Should dates for the transmitted scrolls and fragments be ascertainable, then one would be able to make inferences regarding the diachronic gap between the compositional stage and synchronic stage attested in the transmission of Isaiah at Qumran. To accomplish the task of establishing the diachronic gap, the philological evidence of the scrolls is invaluable.

The Qumran and refuge cave(s)[45] have yielded twenty-two scrolls and/or fragments of Isaiah.[46] The Isaiah scrolls and fragments have been published in several volumes and articles,[47] the most recent of which was the DJD 32 publication of 1QIsa[a] and 1Q8.[48] The following chart offers the

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Translation with Introduction and Commentary, (Vol. 19A; AYB; New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 69–71.

[44] Some have argued for a date as late as 727 BCE on the basis of the reign of Tiglath-Pilesar III. See Hans Wildberger, *A Continental Commentary: Isaiah 1-12* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1991), 3–6.

[45] Only one fragment has been discovered in the broader deserts of Judah, namely, Murabbaʿat (MurIsaiah); see J.T. Milik, O.P. Roland de Vaux, O.P. P. Benoit eds., *Les Grottes de Murabbaʿat* (DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 79–80.

[46] The number of scrolls and fragments are not indicative of copies at Qumran. One must be cautious to not assume the numbers so easily attest to copies; Emanuel Tov articulates this concern in Emanuel Tov, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (eds. C.C. Broyles and C.A. Evans; VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2: 491n1. For a summarized list and discussion on the scrolls and fragments, see Peter W. Flint, "The Isaiah Scrolls from the Judean Desert," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (eds. C.A. Evans and C.C. Broyles; VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2: 481–490.

[47] See Eugene Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets* (DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) for a list of the previous discussions on each of the fragments.

[48] The primary texts used in the forgoing discussions are based on the *editio princeps* in the respective DJD volumes and other related publications. See e.g. Peter Flint and Eugene Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 1: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 1: Plates and Transcriptions* (DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010); Peter Flint and Eugene Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 1: The Isaiah Scrolls. Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* (DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010); Eugene Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4,X: The Prophets* (DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). Also see D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955); M. Burrows, J.C. Trever, and W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Volume I: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950); E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew*

paleographical date of each of the available Second Temple era extant biblical scroll and fragment,

as according to the DJD editor.[49]

Biblical Scrolls/Fragments					
DJD Title		Date	DJD Title		Date
1QIsaᵃ	*Great Isaiah Scroll*	ca. 125–100 BCE	4Q63	4QIsaʲ	ca. 37 BCE
1Q8	1QIsaᵇ	ca. 37 BCE	4Q64	4QIsaᵏ	ca. 50 BCE
4Q55	4QIsaᵃ	ca. 37 BCE	4Q65	4QIsaˡ	ca. 100–50 BCE
4Q56	4QIsaᵇ	ca. 37 BCE	4Q66	4QIsaᵐ	ca. 50 BCE
4Q57	4QIsaᶜ	ca. 50 CE	4Q67	4QIsaⁿ	ca. 50 BCE
4Q58	4QIsaᵈ	ca. 75 BCE	4Q68	4QIsaᵒ	ca. 100–50 BCE
4Q59	4QIsaᵉ	ca. 30–1 BCE[50]	4Q69	4QpapIsaᵖ	ca. 50 BCE
4Q60	4QIsaᶠ	ca. 100–50 BCE	4Q69a	4QIsaᵖ	ca. 30–1 BCE[51]
4Q61	4QIsaᵍ	50–1 BCE[52]	4Q69b	4QIsaʳ	ca. 150–30 BCE[53]
4Q62	4QIsaʰ	ca. 50 BCE	Mur3	MurIsaiah	ca. 20–84 CE
4Q62a	4QIsaⁱ	ca. 50 BCE	5Q3	5QIsa	ca. 15 BCE – 70 CE

Table 1: Extant Biblical Scrolls and Fragments Discovered in the Judaean Desert

Based on the paleographical dating of the Qumran scrolls, the second premise can be established: there is a window of ca. 250–300 years of transmission of Isaiah in the Second Temple era. Of course, this gap between the dating of composition and the attested transmission does not *ipso facto* indicate that textual variation in the Judaean Desert scrolls and fragments are indicative to diachronic linguistic changes. As the father of modern linguistics had stated,

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University (Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes Press, 1955).

[49] See Appendix A for catalogue of the scrolls and fragments yielded by the caves of Qumran and beyond. The catalogue contains a brief summarized format of the characteristics of each scroll and fragment, as well as the contents of Isaiah attested in each scroll and fragment.

[50] The editors state, "The hand is early Herodian, dated to the late first century BCE." DJD 15, 90.

[51] The editors do not suggest a date other than by suggesting it is the work of an "early Herodian hand." DJD 15, 141.

[52] The editors state, "The manuscript is inscribed in a formal hand of the early Herodian, or perhaps the late Hasmonaean, period, dating from approximately the last third or latter half, of the first century BCE." DJD 15, 113.

[53] The date is described only by the era of the hand; see DJD 15, 143.

> In practice a language-state is not a point but rather a certain span of time during which the sum of the modifications that have supervened is minimal. *The span may cover ten years, a generation, a century, or even more.* It is possible for a language to change hardly at all over a long span and then to undergo *radical transformations within a few years*. Of two languages that exist side by side during a given period, one may evolve drastically and the other practically not at all; study would have to be diachronic in the former instance, synchronic in the latter.[54]

Saussure's comments provide caution in assuming that a gap of 200–350 years is sufficient to presume that the sort of variances in the Isaiah scrolls are indeed results of diachronic change. In order to determine whether an observed variation can indeed be attributed to diachronic syntactical changes, it is necessary to be clear on what criteria(on) can be used for determining whether textual differences are related to different synchronic stages.

3.1.1.2. A Criterion for Assessing the Synchronic Stage of Textual Variances

Textual variance is in all probability related to various issues, one of which is perhaps diachronic changes in the grammar of Hebrew. Issues of style, as Young *et al*. mention, are most likely another impetus for change and variation. Thus, the problem is discerning which was prompting the change. Because the transmission of the text was susceptible to ongoing compositional layers, one must have a linguistic corpus with which to cross-compare textual variance so as to disentangle the potential matrix of synchronic stages, types of changes, and scribal practices. Broad scale diffusion of the change throughout the the linguistic corpus provides the necessary grounding to affirm or deny a diachronic change. As Holmstedt and Screnock have explained it,

> . . . [T]he cogency of any explanation is directly related to the size of the data set. First, to study a change and its chronological diffusion requires a clear variant pair—an "older" form and a "newer" form. Second, both features must be well attested in the identified corpus: one, two, or even a dozen examples of a given lexical or grammatical feature are not nearly enough from which to draw statistically valid conclusions about the nature of

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[54] de Saussure, *Course*, 101; italics JT.

> the variation being studied. Dozens, preferably hundreds, of "tokens" are required to approach a statistically valid analysis . . . .[55]

Hence, the importance of the non-sectarian and sectarian texts from Qumran offer a comparable linguistic corpora. The linguistic corpora enables statistical analysis of the "older" and "newer" forms. Diffusion of one form throughout the corpora is a strong indicator to support the claim of a diachronic change, while a lower frequency grants evidence to surmise that the form is a matter of style.[56]

One additional level of difficulty requires attention as it relates to the methodology of diffusion, as discussed by Holmstedt and Screnock. Since scholars are not in agreement on the nature of QH, the proposal of including the sectarian texts from Qumran into the potential linguistic corpus requires further clarification. In other words, how one construes the nature of QH has ramifications on what is comparable and what is not comparable—which is also to question what evidence can be used. Several views of QH have been proposed. Some of which question whether QH is an antilanguage,[57] or a literary language or dialect,[58] or spoken Hebrew of the period.[59]

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[55] Robert Holmstedt, John Screnock, "Whither Esther? A Linguistic Profile of the Book of Esther" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 2013), 7.

[56] Holmstedt and Screnock, "Whither Esther?," 6–7.

[57] William M. Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," *JBL* 118/2 (1999): 235-252; See also William M. Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew: Its Origin Through the Rabbinic Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 173. Schniedewind's proposal of antilanguage is reliant upon Halliday. See, e.g., M.A.K. Halliday, "Anti-Languages," *American Anthropologist* 78/3 (1976): 570–584.

[58] Chaim Rabin, *A Short History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Jewish Agency, 1973), 37; available online at http://www.adath-shalom.ca/rabin_he.htm (date accessed May 17, 2014). Rabin places emphasis on the social matrix between the language and the people, whereas Blau stresses more of the literary characteristics of the language. See, e.g., Joshua Blau, "A Conservative View of the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Diggers and the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. T. Muraoka and J. Elwolde; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2000); 2-–25.

[59] Elisah Qimron, "The Nature of DSS Hebrew and its Relation to BH and MH," in *Diggers and the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. T. Muraoka and J. Elwolde; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2000); 232–244.

However one defines and understands QH has implications on the relationship between it and LBH and EBH. If QH is not a continuation of LBH, there is perhaps an issue of whether an inclusion of QH sectarian material can render a statistical analysis invalid or not. In other words, the data would be skewed and the results would attest to the circularity of the problem. Thus, an important question to ask is what evidence there is to ground the sectarian material in the linguistic corpus? Providing an answer to this issue is not likely in the amount of time for this study, yet it should be mentioned that the sort of variances in the biblical scrolls could indeed be the very data of diachronic changes of syntax—an even handed approach is best for interpreting the data. With that being said, a working presumption is required in order for the study to proceed.

As the issue of QH and its relationship to LBH is in some sense still under discussion and analysis, the present study relies on the research, intuition, and erudition of the semiticists and Hebrew linguists who have published on the Hebrew of the sectarian and biblical materials. However, the transmission of the biblical scrolls and the variances attested therein might actually be the more likely evidence of the changes in QH. Thus, the variance in the biblical scrolls, as Muraoka suggests, can perhaps offer clues in ascertaining the syntactical developments of QH, for he reasons

> Although not every single departure from the MT is necessarily a reflection of the speech of the copyist in question or the *état de langue* of his time and linguistic milieu, we may have gained some significant insight into the nature of QH if we could identify some clear drift by analysing such deviations.[60]

The implication inherent in Muraoka's comments is of course that some changes may indeed have been prompted by the various diachronic changes of QH, and to this I would add Joosten's com-

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[60] T. Muraoka, "An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew," in *Diggers and the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. T. Muraoka and J. Elwolde; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2000); 193; italics Muraoka.

ments that syntax is not so easily reproduced. Thus, the present study, while not denying nor affirming that QH and LBH are of the same synchronic stage, looks primarily to the data agreed upon by Semiticists and Qumran Hebrew specialists as being characteristic of QH—yet applies the above methodology of diffusion to move beyond subjectivity. Consequently, the data of particular interest are the scrolls and fragments which undoubtedly reflect the Hebrew of Second Temple era, particularly in a synchronous relationship with the copying of the Isaiah scrolls.

With sixty years of research now complete on the Judaean Desert scrolls and fragments, semiticists and Hebrew linguists have offered several lists of proposed "newer" forms. Thus, the present study can utilize these lists to facilitate a discussion relating to the the third question driving this chapter and study, namely, whether or not the syntactical features of LBH and/or QH account for the textual differences observed in the Isaiah scrolls?

3.1.1.3. Syntactic Features of LBH and QH

Before the question of whether the syntactical features of LBH and/or QH account for the textual differences can be asked, it is necessary to catalogue the various features of LBH and/or QH—in accordance with Joseph's comments above. Fortunately, the work of cataloguing the syntactical features, however, has already been done, and discussion now is venturing into the theoretical process of explaining why LBH and QH has changed the way it has.[61] The present study is interested to know whether the variances observed among the Judaean Desert Isaiah scrolls have any affinities with the proposed syntactical features of QH. Semiticists and Qumran scholars have pro-

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[61] E.g., Martin Abegg has recently called into question Qimron's second syntactical principle (*HDSS*, §200.2), entitled "Predicate Use of the Infinitive." Abegg uses "Principles and Parameters" (P&P) linguistic theory, a step-child of Noam Chomsky's Generative Theory of language (Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of The Theory of Syntax* [Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1965]). For an introduction to P&P, see Andrew Carnie, *Syntax: A Generative Introduction* (2nd ed. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007). Qimron does not inform his readers of what linguistic theory is informing his analysis of the text.

vided several lists on the believed typological features of QH, particularly as they differ from EBH.

So as to answer the query of whether the syntactical changes of LBH and QH account for textual

variances in the Judaean Desert Isaiah scrolls, I lean on the seminal works of Kutscher[62] and Qim-

ron,[63] as well as several important and influential smaller studies of Fassberg,[64] Muraoka,[65] Es-

khult,[66] Joosten,[67] and Abegg.[68] It is of particular interest is to learn whether the observed variances

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[62] Kutscher, *HHL*. E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (IQIsaᵃ) (STDJ VI; Leiden: Brill, 1974), hereafter *LLBIS*.

[63] Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008); E. Qimron, "Diggers at the Well," 232–244.

[64] Steven Fassberg, "Shifts in Word Order in the Hebrew of the Second Temple Period," in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Contemporary Sources* (eds. E. Tigchelaar and G. Brooke; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2013); 57–72; Steven E. Fassberg, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Language of Jewish Scripture," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. S. Tzoref K. De Troyer A. Lange and N. Dávid; FRLANT; Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 2011); 129–136; Steven E. Fassberg, "The Infinitive Absolute as Finite Verb and Standard Literary Hebrew of the Second Temple," in *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of a Fourth International Symposium of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira* (eds. J. Rey and J. Joosten; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2008); 47–60; Steven E. Fassberg, "The Syntax of the Biblical Documents from the Judaean Desert as Reflected in a Comparison of the Multiple Copies of Biblical Texts," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (STDJ; Leiden: 2000); 94–109.

[65] T. Muraoka, "Morphosyntax and Syntax," 193–214.

[66] Mats Eskhult, Jan Joosten, and Jean-Sébastien Rey, "Some Aspects of the Verbal System in Qumran Hebrew," in *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of a Fourth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira* (STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2008); 29–46.

[67] Joosten, "The Distinction Between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew," 327–339. Jan Joosten, "Imperative Clauses Containing a Temporal Phrase and the Study of Diachronic Syntax in Ancient Hebrew," in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Contemporary Sources* (eds. E. Tigchelaar and G. Brooke; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2013);

[68] Martin Abegg Jr., "The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Hebrew Syntax," in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection* (eds. K.S. Baek J. Duhaime and P.W. Flint; SBLEJL; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011); 163–172. Martin Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile of the Isaiah Scrolls," in *Qumran Cave 1, Volume 2: The Isaiah Scrolls: Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* (eds. P.W. Flint and E. Ulrich; DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010); 25–41. M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Analysis," 48–68. Martin Abegg Jr., *Syntax of the Qumran Non-Biblical Manuscripts,* (version 1.0.; Altamonte Springs: OakTree Software Inc., 2014) n.p.; Martin Abegg Jr., "The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1: 325–358. Martin Abegg Jr., "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Contribution to the Study of Hebrew and Aramaic," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures* (eds. E. Tov W. Weigold and A. Lange; VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1: 127–139.

in the so-called biblical scrolls of Isaiah align with the observed changes of QH.

3.2. Does Syntax Account for Observable Textual Variance in the Isaiah Scrolls?

The question of interest now is whether some of textual differences observed are related to the diachronic syntactical changes of LBH and/or QH. The mixed nature of Isaiah convolutes the methodology in terms of dating linguistic features at the level of production; nevertheless, the methodological developments of Hurvitz, Joosten, and Muraoka offer a viable method moving forward in assessing textual variance as related to *transmission*. Textual variance is identified in the comparison of extant Second Temple era Hebrew texts. Upon locating such variation, a straight forward question is posed to the data—namely, does diachronic syntax sufficiently explain some of the observed variation or textual growth? Without further delay, it is time to analyze the data to learn whether diachronic syntactical change is a category of variance in the Judaean Desert Isaiah scrolls and fragments.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT ISAIAH SCROLLS AND FRAGMENTS

4.0. Purpose of the Case Studies

Chapter 2 demonstrated a lacuna in the reigning transmission theories, particularly insofar as diachronic syntax has largely been overlooked as a methodological tool for explaining textual variances. To determine whether diachronic changes in Hebrew syntax prompted scribes to intervene in the text, chapter 3 set out the philological and historical linguistic principles on which textual variation can be ascertained, measured, and analyzed. The question of interest now is to learn whether the sort of textual variance observable in the Judaean Desert Isaiah scrolls and fragments do indeed find explanations at the level of diachronic syntactical change. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to test the hypothesis whether diachronic syntax sufficiently explains some of the observed variances in the Judaean Desert Isaiah Scrolls, but first a word about why the book of Isaiah was chosen, and why the passages of Isaiah below have been selected for the case studies.

4.1. Rationale for Choosing Isaiah and the Selected Passages of Isaiah for Case Studies

As one of the first of the so-called biblical Dead Sea Scrolls to make debut, 1QIsa[a], colloquially know as the *Great Isaiah Scroll*,[1] was and continues to be a remarkable discovery for textual scholars. The importance of the scroll was twofold. Its near completeness, to have remained intact for

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[1] Appearing in 1950, M. Burrows, J.C. Trever, and W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Volume I: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950).

two thousand years, was remarkable. In addition, the scroll demonstrated a text quite unlike the medieval Mss of 𝔐. Early scholarly assessments judged 1QIsa[a] a "vulgar" text.[2] It was even deemed "worthless," and it further "confounded" text-critical studies.[3] Early judgments on the nature of 1QIsa[a] were intricately linked to the underlying presumptions of the prevailing text-critical methodologies—particularly an unwarranted preference for 𝔐 and its associated scribal culture.[4] Recently, scholars have emended their methodologies to account for textual pluriformity evinced in the biblical scrolls, but, as demonstrated in chapter 2, syntax has not been utilized as a methodological aid to assess its textual nature. So as to test the hypothesis of syntax, it seems fitting for the present study to circle back to such an important manuscript with the presumption that 1QIsa[a] is an extant witness for understanding both the transmission of scripture in the Second Temple era and QH, particularly as its readings testify to Second Temple scribal practices.[5]

Given that a comprehensive analysis of Isaiah extends beyond the scope of this study, some passages have to be selected in order to test the hypothesis of whether diachronic syntactical change is a factor in the transmission of the text. So as to prevent selection bias,[6] a random set of

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[2] Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll, IV," *JQR* 43/4 (1953):, 339.

[3] Orlinsky, "Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll," 340.

[4] Notably the unmerited privilege of 𝔐 as the premier text type for adjudicating manuscript stemma. See e.g. Eugene Ulrich, "Methodological Reflections on Determining Scriptural Status in First Century Judaism," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M.L. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); 153; see also Michael Segal, "The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Materia Guidaica* 12 (2007): 5–20.

[5] Though it should also be borne in mind that the issues surrounding the transmission of Isaiah may not map onto other so-called biblical books. On the other hand, the issues inherent in Isaiah should also factor into textual transmissions theories, so long as an empirical methodology is at work. The conglomerate nature of all the texts should inform the theoretical premises of textual transmission.

[6] By "selection bias," I am referring to the technical term used in statistical analysis whereby an error is made when specific examples have been selected (known colloquially as "cherry picking") so as to argue those examples are representative of the entire population.

passages are analyzed.[7] It should be noted that this is a preliminary study. A preliminary study can be used to assess the validity of the hypothesis of whether diachronic syntax sufficiently explains a variance and whether the frequency of those variances are significant enough to incorporate it into transmissions theories. The next step, should diachronic syntax account for textual variance's, would be to apply the methodology at a comprehensive level.

Since the interest of the present study is syntactical change, the ensuing comments are generally restricted to only those textual differences which might be accounted for by means of diachronic syntactical change. However, the first example does make brief comments on orthographical, phonological, and morphological variances. A brief comment on the orthographical, phonological, and morphological variations enables clarity concerning which sort of textual differences are of interest to the remainder of the study.[8] It is also beneficial to recall that the present study is interested in discerning whether syntax informs textual critical theories. Should diachronic syntax prove a viable category to characterize some of the observed differences in the scrolls and fragments, I will return to address the implications it would have on textual transmission theories in the concluding chapter.

One last caveat regarding terminology is necessary before the case studies are presented. Textual variation can be measured and ascertained vis-à-vis manuscript comparisons. Such a philological approach has marked textual studies since the enlightenment with Karl Lachmann's

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[7] For this study, randomization is guided by the extant nature of the fragments. Case study 1 is randomized by the happenstance that Mur3 has 29 extant lines encompassing Isaiah 1:4–14. The remaining case studies are likewise randomized by the happenstance of the fragmentary nature of scrolls and fragments of Isaiah (e.g., Case Study 4 on account of the most extant fragments encompassing Isaiah 13:1–9).

[8] DJD 32 provides comprehensive lists of the orthographical, phonological, and morphological variants. While the category of syntax is discussed by Martin Abegg in the linguistic profile, it does not receive an accompanying syntactical variant list.

methods of collating manuscripts on the basis to discern manuscript stemma.[9] This Lachmannian

method must be recognized as an *etic* approach.[10] That is, as an external observer of the data, it is

possible to manipulate the data in various comparative ways so as to surface questions, establish

problems, and seek answers. However, one must proceed with caution when conceiving of the

data from the perspective of the scribe—an *emic* approach.[11] It seems plausible and preferred to

presume the scribe had but one *Vorlage* before him while carrying out his task.[12] Consequently, it is

of utmost precedence to bear in mind what knowledge is gained by means of an *etic* level of man-

uscript comparison and what knowledge is likely at an *emic* level.[13]

    As chapter two set out the historical linguistic methodology for assessing syntactical

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[9] See, e.g., Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method* (Translated by Most Glenn W.. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[10] Kenneth Pike is credited with coining the terms *etic* and *emic*. The terms were coined for epistemological purposes so as to delineate what can be known as an observer as compared to what can be known as an experiencer. Pike later applied these terms to his study of sociology. See Kenneth Pike, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of Structure of Human Behavior* (2nd ed. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton, 1967).

[11] As Ulrich has reported, "I have been searching, without result, for over a decade for any evidence that any group prior to the Second Revolt consciously selected a certain text type on the basis of textual comparison. There seems to be no evidence that texts were compared for text-critical purposes to select a single text that would become standard" Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 15. Nevertheless, one must not readily assume textual comparisons were not conducted in the Second Temple era, as Teeter has provided a specific caveat with regard to the fine tuned differences and perhaps a scribes awareness in the processes of production and reception particularly as it relates to texts of a rewritten nature (see, e.g., Andrew D Teeter, "The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature: Methodological Reflections," *DSD* 20/3 (2013): 355-356).

[12] Scholars have recently suggested a scribal process is partly a process of memory. See, e.g., David McLain Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: a New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 17. The dynamic between orality and text is an important component to bear in mind when considering historical linguistics, but such a treatment extends beyond the permitted space and time of this study. A few comments are made in chapter 4 below, nevertheless.

[13] The importance of this difference may seem trivial and perhaps overly technical. To my mind, the importance of this methodological difference has significant implications for textual criticism, philology, and historical linguistics. Admittedly, reconstructing the various factors at the *emic* level is plagued with difficulties. Nevertheless, syntax seems a profitable mechanism of assessing issues at an *emic* level. So long as the scribe is not a mechanical copyist, it is possible to reconstruct various syntactical issues and scenarios, although I do not claim all syntactical issues can be reconstructed.

change, the case studies empirically apply these methods to the text. Previous research on the nature of LBH and/or QH syntax is adduced when appropriate. The question before us now is to determine whether diachronic syntactical change can sufficiently capture a category of variance hitherto discussed in the transmission of the history of the text.[14]

4.2. Does Syntactical Change Account For Textual Variation? A Presentation of Random Case Studies

4.2.1. Case Study 1: Isaiah 1:4–14[15]

The first case study presents the only Isaiah evidence from Murabba'at (Mur3 or MurIsa).[16] The Isaiah Murabba'at evidence is scant, with only one fragment of 29 lines.[17] However, the Murabba'at scrolls in general reflect, what Tov has considered, a scribal practice that differs from the QSP.[18] Tov categorizes MurIsa as a *de luxe* edition, whereby one correction (often mechanical correction and not intervention) per twenty lines characterizes the *de luxe* scrolls.[19] The *de luxe* editions are thus

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[14] As Abegg cautions, " . . . one of the cardinal axioms of textual criticism is that the practitioner must know the scribe and manuscript as well as possible, in order to make reasonable decisions" (Martin Abegg Jr., "The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1: 171). It stands to reason that each manuscript should be assessed *in situ*, and thus a comprehensive study of Isaiah does not necessarily tell one about the status of Samuel or Exodus.

[15] The transcriptions are based on each respective DJD volume. The presentation of the text does not present the transcription as a digital representation of the fragment. Such a presentation has its merits and is required under certain occasions. For the present purposes, the transcriptions below are aligned according to the syntagm for ease of comparison, with 1QIsaᵃ serving as the head of each column. Lastly, to facilitate ease of reference, I have chosen the standard versification of Isaiah as represented in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (hereafter, *BHS*) and מפעל המקרא של האוניברסיטה העברית: ספר ישעיהו, (hereafter, *HUB*ⁱˢ).

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[18] Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 86. The terminology of "Qumran Scribal Practice" (QSP) remains questionable; see e.g. Martin Abegg Jr., "The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls: More Than (Initially) Meets the Eye," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010); 65–67.

[19] Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, 121.

considered, in Tov's categories, a pre-Masoretic Text, and often considered not originating from Qumran.[20] As shown below, MurIsa reads with zero variances in comparison with 𝔐. It is with caution then, on the basis of MurIsa and large scale *de luxe* affinities to a pre-Masoretic text, that 𝔐 can serve as a comparative text on a philological level, so as to gauge variances among the Isaiah scrolls and fragments. Nevertheless, as stated in chapter 1, 𝔐 is best envisioned as *a* witness to the pluriformity of *texts*.[21] Consequently, 𝔐 is used cautiously and always in conjunction with the *editio critica maior* מפעל המקרא של האוניברסיטה העברית: ספר ישעיהו.[22]

Working through each verse in this section grants occasion to test the hypothesis of whether diachronic syntactical change is a factor for explaining textual variations.[23] As a reminder, the orthographical, phonological, and morphological examples are limited to only this first case study and are identified for the sake of clarity. As stated in chapter 2, a simple question is posed to the data: does diachronic syntactical change sufficiently explain any of the textual differences observable in the Judaean Desert Isaiah scrolls?

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[21] George Brooke, for example, has cautioned that "Naive assumptions about the value of the MT for establishing what was taking place at the earliest stages of the production of any text must be abandoned" (George Brooke, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction Between Higher and Lower Criticism," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003* (eds. L. Pietersen W.J. Lyons and J.G. Campbell; LSTS; London: T&T Clark, 2005); 35). Considering 𝔐 as a monolithic witness to a particular text-family has likewise been shown to be problematic by Eugene Ulrich (see E. Ulrich, "Methodological Reflections," 145–160). While unwarranted privilege of 𝔐 is counter-productive for understanding textual transmission in the Second Temple era, it does not imply that 𝔐 cannot be used at all (see, e.g., Segal, "The Text of the Hebrew Bible," 5–20).

[22] Moshe H. Goshen Gottstein, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Isaiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995).

[23] As a reminder to the reader, Appendix A gives brief summary of the pertinent features of each scroll and fragment of Isaiah used in the case studies.

4.2.1.1. Isaiah 1:4 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q56, 4Q63, Mur3, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 1:4
1QIsaᵃ 1, 4–6	הוי גוי חוטה עם כבד עוון זרע מרעים בנים משחיתים עזבו את יהוֹה נאצו את קדוש ישראל נזרו אחור
4Q56 1, 4–5	[עם כבד] עון[²⁴] [חט]א זרע מר[עים] [אח]וֹר
4Q63 1, 6–7	[ ]ע מרעים[זר עון] [את קדוש] ישראׄ[ל]
Mur3 1, 2	אחור [ ]
𝔐ᴸ	הוֹי גּוֹי חֹטֵא²⁵ עַם כֶּבֶד עָוֹן זֶרַע מְרֵעִים בָּנִים מַשְׁחִיתִים עָזְבוּ אֶת־יְהוָה נִאֲצוּ אֶת־קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל נָזֹרוּ אָחוֹר

There are a few differences to note in terms of phonological differences.[26] The phonological difference of 1QIsaᵃ חוטה with 4Q56 חטא (= 𝔐), according to Qimron, finds explanation on account of the weakening of the gutturals.[27] The phonological differences of this sort (as well as 1QIsaᵃ עוון and 𝔐 עון) have been well annotated in the studies of Kutscher,[28] Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich.[29] Consequently, I will not focus on a full scale discussion of these differences. Unfortunately, Isaiah 1:4 does not seemingly present any textual variance by means of syntactical issues.

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[24] DJD 15, 23. DJD editors consider it to be a supralinear insertion by the original scribe.

[25] *HUB*ⁱˢ (4th Apparatus) notes Ms Reuchliniasnus (ר ed. Sperber) attests to a reading of חוטה (*wāw* marking the /o/ vowel).

[26] Since the first case study only identifies orthographical, phonological, and morphological variance, I have underlined these differences in the respective evidence. Syntax differences are marked by a grey colored font.

[27] See *HDSS* §200.11; Martin Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile of the Isaiah Scrolls," in *Qumran Cave 1, Volume 2: The Isaiah Scrolls: Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* (eds. P.W. Flint and E. Ulrich; DJD XXXII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010); 29.; cf. 1QIsaᵃ 12:1 ונלוא with 4Q57 f8 3 [ונל]וֹה.

[28] *LLBIS,* 505.

[29] DJD 32:2, 70–71.

4.2.1.2. Isaiah 1:5 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q56, 4Q63, Mur3, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 1:5
על מה תכו עוד֯ תוסיפו סרה <u>כול ראוש לחולי</u> וכול לבב <u>דוה</u>[30]	1QIsaᵃ 1 6–7
מה על תכו] [	4Q56 1, 5
[סרה כל ר]<u>אש לחל֯ל֯</u>י[	4Q63 1, 8
<u>כל ראש לח֯</u>[לי]	Mur3 1, 3
עַל מֶה תֻכּוּ עוֹד תּוֹסִיפוּ סָרָה כָּל־<u>רֹאשׁ לָחֳלִי</u> וְכָל־לֵבָב דַּוָּי	𝔐ᴸ

More examples of phonological variances (e.g., 1QIsaᵃ כול ראוש, 4Q56 ראש, and Mur3 כל ראש; as well as 1QIsaᵃ לחולי and 𝔐ᴸ לחלי) are observable in Isaiah 1:5.[31] The *plene* forms are a distinctive characteristic of the *Great Isaiah Scroll*,[32] whereas the defective spellings[33] are often a characteristic of *de luxe* editions, such as MurIsa, and other Isaiah scrolls, such as 1Q8.[34] The phenomenon of *plene* orthographical forms has been discussed extensively, especially as it relates to one of the evidentiary premises of Tov's QSP.[35] Nevertheless, these differences do not indicate any relationship with diachronic syntax.

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[30] This is perhaps a lexical variance with the infrequent lemma of 1QIsaᵃ = דוה and, should MurIsa agree, 𝔐 = דוי. Kutscher argued for a variance in lemma with 1QIsaᵃ, interpreting it to mean "faint" as opposed to "sick" (*LLBIS*, 371; cf. also "דוה," *HALOT*, 1:216; *DCH*, 2:424).

[31] See discussions in Kutscher, *LLBIS,* 166–167 and M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 27, for quiescence of the *alef* in combination with *wāw/yôd*.

[32] M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 28.

[33] I use the term "defective spelling" in accordance with its standard usage in Qumran and Hebrew Bible scholarship.

[34] In addition, a distinctive characteristic of 1Q8 is its defective orthography. See, e.g., Martin G Jr Abegg, "1QIsaa and 1QIsab: A Rematch," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (eds. E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2002); 221–228.

[35] See, e.g., M.G.J. Abegg, "1QIsaa and 1QIsab: A Rematch," 221–228. Abegg questions the "Qumran" part of Tov's QSP theory, yet agrees it reflects *a* scribal school. See, e.g., M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Analysis," 65–68.

4.2.1.3. Isaiah 1:6 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q56, 4Q63, Mur3, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 1:6
מכף רגל ועד רואש³⁶ אין בו מתם פצע וחבורה ומכה טריה לוא זרו ולוא חובשו ולוא רככה בשמן	1QIsaᵃ
[ו]חבר[ה] וֹמֹ[כה]	4Q56 1, 6
[אין בו מ]תֹם פֹצֹעֹ]	4Q63 1, 9
ראשׁ [א]יֹן בֹ[ו] טריֹ[ה] לֹא זֹ[רו] בֹשֹמֹן	Mur3 1, 4-5
מִכַּף־רֶגֶל וְעַד־רֹאשׁ אֵין־בּוֹ מְתֹם פֶּצַע וְחַבּוּרָה וּמַכָּה טְרִיָּה לֹא־זֹרוּ וְלֹא חֻבָּשׁוּ וְלֹא רֻכְּכָה בַּשָּׁמֶן	𝔐ᴸ

Further evidence between the *plene* and defective orthography (לוא/לא) is found in the extant

portions (see also 1QIsaᵃ חובשו and 𝔐ᴸ חבשו). It should be observed that the final *mem* is in medi-

al position in 1QIsaᵃ בשמן (Burrows = בשמן; Q-P בשמן).³⁷ However, the textual comparison surfaces

no immediate issues relating to diachronic syntactical change of either LBH or QH.

4.2.1.4. Isaiah 1:7 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, Mur3, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 1:7
ארצכם שממה עריכם שרופות אש אדמתכם לנגדכם זרים אוכלים אותה ושממו עליה כמפᵃכת זרים	1QIsaᵃ 1, 8
ארצ[כם] אש אדמתכם [לנגד]כֹם ושממה כמהפכת זֹר[ים]	Mur3 1, 6-7
אַרְצְכֶם שְׁמָמָה עָרֵיכֶם שְׂרֻפוֹת אֵשׁ אַדְמַתְכֶם לְנֶגְדְּכֶם זָרִים אֹכְלִים אֹתָהּ וּשְׁמָמָה כְּמַהְפֵּכַת זָרִים	𝔐ᴸ

Isaiah 1:7, on the other hand, does present a syntactical variance in the reading of 1QIsaᵃ ושממו

עליה (*Qal* Perf. 3ʳᵈ masc. pl. √שמם) as compared with Mur3 ושממה (Noun comm. fem. sing.). To ex-

plain the material characteristics of 1QIsaᵃ, a potential explanation is that the scribe copied his

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³⁶ See fn 5 above, albeit the orthography is different between the two. Nevertheless, this is not related to diachronic syntax.

³⁷ The final in medial position phenomenon occurs some 38 times (based on the transcription of DJD 32) in the *Great Isaiah Scroll*; cf. 1QIsaᵃ 1:8; 3:17; 12:23; 18:25; 21:10; 23:24, 28; 25:7; 26:26; 28:8, 10; 31:26; 34:21, 24; 37:24; 38:30; 42:1, 10, 15; 43:13, 16; 45:22; 46:20; 47:8, 22–23; 48:6–7, 13–14, 17; 50:6, 13; 51:2; 52:6–7; 53:15. Among the other Isaiah scrolls, the final form is used in the medial in 4Q68 4x (see 4Q68 61:5, 8, 9, 10).

Vorlage. Such an explanation does inform at the *emic* level, insofar the scribe merely copied the extant reading in the scroll before him. Nevertheless, the problem could be posed differently: does MurIsa attest to a scribal alteration?[38] Seeing as textual fluidity is a marked characteristic of the text in the Second Temple era, what methodology can be used to learn more of the relationships between the 1QIsaᵃ and Mur3 reading? There are three potential explanations of the variance. The first is to adduce Talmon's theory of multiple pristine texts, under which circumstance one could question whether the 1QIsaᵃ reading attests to a pristine reading or tradition. While theoretically Talmon's methodology could be adduced to explain the variance of readings, the reading invites additional analysis due to the reciprocity between the two readings.[39] Thus, two other options are more likely. The reading of 1QIsaᵃ is either a tendentious reading of the scribe, as Paulson Pulikottil has argued, or the scribe has updated his text at the syntactical level. Since Pulikottil has argued for a tendentious reading, I will survey his arguments first. After a survey of his arguments, I address the reading of 1QIsaᵃ vis-à-vis the diachronic syntactical change methodology as discussed in chapter 2.

4.2.1.4.1. The Tendentiousness Proposal of 1QIsaᵃ reading of ושממו עליה

In his monograph *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran: The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsaᵃ*, Paulson Pulikottil develops a methodology for evaluating interpretative variants, which he does along three lines of analysis. The first and second, on analogy to the scribal practices evi-

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[38] In other words, seeking to understand what reading might have been the 'original' is not the interest here. Rather, the question of interest is to learn whether any interpretive issues at the syntactical level can explain the differences between the two.

[39] Tov has argued that the text of Isaiah, based on the degree of unity among all the scrolls and fragments, indicates a single "recension;" see, e.g, Emanuel Tov, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (eds. C.C. Broyles and C.A. Evans; VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2: 491–512.

dence in the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), are scribal activity and its implications. Pulikottil propos-
es that SP is representative to the whole of Second Temple Judaism—that is, the scribal practices
of SP are motivated by ideological factors; *mutatis mutandis*, the expectation is that the scribe of
1QIsaᵃ, motivated by ideological factors, altered his *Vorlage* so as to embed exegetical develop-
ments of his own in the text.[40] The third line of analysis proposes identifying posterior and anteri-
or texts, on which occasion, if possible, one can discern whether an additional scribe made further
alterations to the text. These three lines of analysis are entitled: scribal activity, scribal traditio, and
milieu of the scribe.[41]

To explain the 1QIsaᵃ reading of ושממו עליה, Pulikottil draws a comparison between the
scroll's reading and Leviticus 26:32, where he said that "the same usage occurs."[42]

Lev. 26:32   וַהֲשִׁמֹּתִי אֲנִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְשָׁמְמוּ עָלֶיהָ אֹיְבֵיכֶם הַיֹּשְׁבִים בָּהּ

Pulikottil is likely following the suggestion of Kutscher, who postulated, "Was the scribe perhaps
influenced by the verse in Lev xxvi 32 . . . ."[43] When one adds verse 33 to Leviticus 26:32, Kutscher
and Pulikottil may be correct in their assessment, particularly with regard to the similarity of
shared vocabulary between the two passages. Notice for example Leviticus 26:33:

Lev 26:33   וְאֶתְכֶם אֱזָרֶה בַגּוֹיִם וַהֲרִיקֹתִי אַחֲרֵיכֶם חָרֶב וְהָיְתָה אַרְצְכֶם שְׁמָמָה
                 וְעָרֵיכֶם יִהְיוּ חָרְבָּה

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[40] Contra Ulrich who argues for a highly fine tuned scribal process at work in the biblical scrolls. The scribal activities witnessed in the biblical scrolls—while they indeed do reflect a still fluid text—do not include tendentious readings in the transmission process (see Eugene C Ulrich, "The Absence of 'Sectarian Variants' in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (eds. E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press in associated with The Scriptorium: Center for Christian Antiquities, 2002); 179–195).

[41] Paulson Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran: The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsaa* (JSPS 34; Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 43–44; hereafter, *TBTQ*.

[42] Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 70. The language of "same usage" requires careful analysis. In the Leviticus passage, an overt subject is apparent, when considering the entire syntactical unit of sentence. This is not the case in 1QIsaᵃ.

[43] E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIsaᵃ)* (STDJ VI; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 319–320.

Kutscher also draws attention to Isaiah 52:14, which, besides for the pronominal suffix כה- (*HDSS*

§322.12), reads as does 𝔐 (כאשר שממו עליך/עליכה).

While Kutscher acknowledges the ambivalent nature of arguing for or against a harmonis-

tic reading,[44] Pulikottil goes a step further by suggesting the reading "was prompted by the inter-

pretive interest of the scribe."[45] The interest of the scribe, as noted by Pulikottil, is theologically

motived by an explicit attempt to link the judgment of Leviticus to the scribe's present circum-

stances. Pulikottil concludes his discussion of this variant with a query: "Could it be that the scribe

is explaining that the judgment of God catalogued in Leviticus is being fulfilled in the city?"[46] To

answer the question, it remains opaque at best.[47] While several literary issues convolute matters,

the premise that the scribe has emended a text like MurIsa to what is in 1QIsaᵃ *for theological pur-*

poses requires additional evidence and analysis to be convincing. Such indeterminacy raises the

question of what insights can be ascertained at the historical linguistic level.

4.2.1.4.2. The Diachronic Syntactical Proposal of 1QIsaᵃ reading of ושממו עליה

To return to the reading of 1QIsaᵃ, several syntactical issues merit close analysis. The first relates to

the syntax of the clause, especially the relationship among its constituents.[48] For example, it is of

interest to learn, on the premise that the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ had a text like Mur3 before him, whether

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[44] See under 'Comments,' Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 320.

[45] Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 70.

[46] Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 70.

[47] For Pulikottil's argument to be convincing, it needs validation by an external Second Temple interpretative tradition. This verse is never cited or quoted in the Sectarian scrolls (see, e.g., Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions and Illusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (JAJS 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 126).

[48] By "constituent," I mean the a smaller unit in a larger syntactical construction. For example, a subject and predicate are two separate constituents under the notion of sentence. See David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6th ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 104.

the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ considered the clause ושממה כמהפכת זרים ungrammatical in any way, which is to question whether any diachronic changes render the MurIsa reading difficult for a Second Temple Hebrew speaker to understand.[49] If a speaker of Qumran Hebrew were available, an interview could be arranged. On such an occasion, he could be asked if the clause is in any way ungrammatical. However, a significant problem is encountered: there are not any Qumran Hebrew speakers to interview. Consequently, the philological evidence—namely, the scribal habits elsewhere in 1QIsaᵃ and the extant linguistic corpus of QH[50]—is of utmost importance in an attempt to learn about the nature of the reading in 1QIsaᵃ. There are two questions that can be posed to the philological evidence: Are there any other occurrences where the scribe has made a similar decision? And are there any syntactical features in the grammar of QH that might explain such a change?

When considering the philological evidence of the scribal habits exhibited elsewhere in 1QIsaᵃ one must bear in mind two related issues. The first issue is the number of scribal hands of 1QIsaᵃ and the second issue, which is interrelated to the first, is I-Language. A discussion about the latter demonstrates the issue of the former.

I-Language is an important linguistic principle to bear in mind when assessing a linguistic typology of any synchronic stage. I-Language, or idiolect, makes a distinction between the relationship of the speaker to the broader linguistic community. In other words, idiolect accounts for an individual's linguistic style, which is influenced both by the various changes in the grammar

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[49] See chapter 2 for an example of how diachronic change can result in an ungrammatical utterance. See also Alice C Harris and Lyle Campbell, *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (CSL 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 97–119.

[50] That is, data that would likely attest to the same synchronic stage as the scribe(s) of 1QIsaᵃ.

and by additional sociological factors. An implication that idiolect has for the present analysis is

its the ability to provide a fine tuned distinction between linguistic change and diffusion.[51] Thus,

widespread diffusion provides reliable evidence for a change in the grammar, yet linguistic varia-

tion could be prompted by other sociological factors—such as style. The implication therefore is

that all the linguistic variances observed between the Isaiah scrolls might not find widespread

agreement in the diachrony of Hebrew syntax—other sociological factors may need to be consid-

ered.[52] However, broad attestation of a syntagm further strengthens the view that diachronic syn-

tax is a viable means to explain the divergence of readings.

Consequently, idiolect has ramifications on whether the scroll of 1QIsaᵃ was the work one

scribe or two.[53] If it were the work of two scribes, then there are two idiolects theoretically. So long

as both scribes were of the same generation, then there is reason to believe both scribes had the

same grammar. In applying the diffusion principle above, syntactical changes should be apparent

in the work of each scribe. If 1QIsaᵃ were the work of one scribe, this is a moot point. In fact, a

comprehensive study of this sort applied to 1QIsaᵃ might provide additional insights to affirm the

single scribe premise or vice-versa. Thus, it is of interest to go undecided on how many scribes

were responsible for 1QIsaᵃ, yet remain cognizant that the philological data grants reason to pro-

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[51] Naudé has discussed the importance of the methodological distinction in his 2003 article. See Jacobus A. Naudé, "The Transitions of Biblical Hebrew in the Perspective of Language Change and Diffusion," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (ed. I. Young; JSOTSS; London: T&T Clark, 2003); 189–214.

[52] To my mind, this point in particular is what merits a comprehensive analysis of scribal schools, particularly as it may strengthen or weaken Emanuel Tov's proposed QSP. In addition, I would also argue that the sociological factors in the scribal culture are such that global updating—at least in the case of Isaiah—are not the *modus operandi* of the scribe.

[53] There is philological evidence to believe that 1QIsaᵃ was either the work of two scribes or the work of one scribe completed in two phases. The scroll consists of 54 columns of 17 skins. There is a division between plates XXVII and XXVIII, made apparent by the scribe truncating column XXVII leaving a three line *vacat* (see M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 40–41; cf. Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 564–566).

ceed with caution. That is, issues of idiolect and diachronic change must bear in mind the poten-

tial number of scribes responsible for transmitting the text. Moreover, applying the methodology

of diachronic syntax and diffusion—at least when considering texts with multiple copies—must

account for the 'controlled freedom' inherent in the scribal process. Perhaps the issue of controlled

freedom is best exemplified by scribal erasures—a clear indication that transmission was to some

degree moored to the *Vorlage*.[54] Nevertheless, scribes were not bound to their *Vorlage.* Hence, there

is a dialectic in the transmission process—a process which fluctuated between emendation and

replication. To my mind, textual analysis must be balanced in its use of the methodological tools

of philology and historical linguistics to adequately account for the variances observed.[55]

To return to the reading of 1QIsaᵃ, there are an array of questions to work through.[56] Given

that the verb categorically changes the syntax of the verbless clause to a verbal clause, the first

question of interest is to learn whether verbless clauses are on the decline or are on the decline in

QH? This can seemingly be ruled out since numerous examples can be adduced to demonstrate

that the verbless clause, leaving aside whether 'verbless clause' is the most linguistically accurate

way to categorize this syntagm,[57] constitutes part of QH grammar.[58] One example is sufficient to

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[54] See 1QIsaᵃ 1:18. DJD 32:2, 98. See also DJD 32:2, 63–64.

[55] I make this comment only with regard to the present texts of Isaiah. Each group of texts must be studied in their own right, as the scribe of each text may or may not proceed with his task in the same manner. To my mind, this is the error Ian Young has committed in his analysis of the *Great Isaiah Scroll* (Ian Young, ""Loose" Language in 1QIsaᵃ," in *Keter Shem Tov: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown* (eds. I. Young and S. Tzoref; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013); 89–122). The lack of systematic revision to LBH/QH features does not *ipso facto* validate his stylistic theory. Other sociological and linguistic issues may be contributing factors in the scribal processes.

[56] For the remaining of the case studies, I will apply these principles to the data without as much surrounding conversation. This first example is difficult on several grounds, which are discussed below. The difficultly has also proved apropos to nuancing the proposed diachronic methodology of chapter two.

[57] Cf. JM § 154; GKC § 140; IBHS § 8.

[58] See, e.g., Martin F.J. Baasten, "The Non-Verbal Clause in Qumran Hebrew," (Ph.D. Thesis; Leiden University, 2006).

demonstrate the syntagm. 1QH[a] 15:13 attests to a verbless clause with כ- as the head of the comple-

ment clause: ולשוני כלמודיך.[59] Moreover, the scribe or scribes of Isaiah did not make any other

change in this sort of syntactical construction. However, this particular occurrence merits close

analysis due to the overlap between the nominal and verbal forms of the lemma שמם/שממה.

Thus, a question can be raised in terms of diffusion, namely, is one particular form (verbal or nom-

inal) taking precedence over the other form? In other words, is the idiolect of the scribe prompting

him to update his text based on a preference for the verbal over the nominal form?

Seeing as that diachronic developments in the verbless clause do not account for the dif-

ference, perhaps an analysis on the verb (שמם) and nominal form (שממה) might shed some light

on the situation. To solve questions of diffusion, a statistical analysis plotting the frequency of the

forms over the corpus of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and Mishnah may offer insight for under-

standing the reading of 1QIsa[a].[60]

	שמם	שממה
Genesis	1	0
Exodus	0	1
Leviticus	7	1
Numbers	1	0
Joshua	0	1
1Samuel	1	0
2Samuel	1	0
1Kings	1	0
Isaiah	10	6
Jeremiah	11	15
Ezekiel	28	21
Hosea	1	0

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[59] A computational analysis on the Qumran Syntax module in Accordance Bible Software returns a count of 655 null predicate clauses on the following criteria: find every null predicate copula construction whose complement head begins with a particle among the class of prepositions. Martin Abegg Jr., *Syntax of the Qumran Non-Biblical Manuscripts,* (version 1.0.; Altamonte Springs: OakTree Software Inc., 2014) n.p.

[60] Thus applying Hurvitz's methodological principle of attestation as explained in chapter 2.

Joel	1	4
Amos	2	0
Micah	1	2
Zephaniah	1	4
Zechariah	1	0
Malachi	0	1
Psalms	4	0
Job	4	0
Ecclesiastes	1	0
Lamentations	5	0
Daniel	8	0
Ezra	2	0
2Chronicles	2	0
Qumran	40	1(2)[61]
Mishnah	3	0

Table 3: Diffusion of שממ/שממה

Table 1 attests to a declining usage of the nominal form beginning in the LBH books of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ecclesiastes, and Chronicles. The trend for the verbal form continues into the corpora of QH and MH—yet one should also bear in mind that the trauma of the exile and its associated vocabulary, e.g., such terms as שממ/שממה, was not a topic in the later writings to the degree it was in books such as Ezekiel. A statistical analysis of diffusion is of course subject to the limited corpus of data and vocabulary diffusion in specific genres. In addition, one should bear in mind Joosten's comment regarding an ancient writers ability to mimic lexical style.[62] Consequently, any conclusions based on statistical arguments are only as comprehensive to a conclusion as the cor-

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[61] Because three occurrences are reconstructed and one of which is a citation of Leviticus, I have listed these in two in parenthesis and removed one (see 4Q170 f1 2 1; 4Q249l f1 1; 4Q427 f8ii 21). 4Q249l is most likely a quote of the Leviticus 26:33 passage, hence the need for the removal.

[62] See chapter 2, pp. 10–11. In addition to Joosten's comments, it should also be observed those books with exilic themes attest to a higher frequency. Social influences have a significant influence over the linguistic register of a community. A modern example would be a transitive use of the word "hover." The advent of the computer mouse facilitated a change in using 'hover' in active constructions, so that one would "hover the cursor over the link."

pus is to its linguistic communities language.[63] In other words, a statistical analysis of diffusion is not conclusive to the issue—more evidence is required. With that being said, however, the statistics do seem to indicate a preference for the verbal form over the noun in LBH. Yet, such line of argumentation encounters an additional problem. Why is the nominal form, if the verbal form is preferred in the linguistic register of the scribe, not likewise changed in the first clause of the verse (ארצכם שממה)?

In some respects, the answer is found above. QH attests to a verbless clause within its grammar. Hence, the nominal form שממה is the complement to the subject ארצכם (thus, "your land [is] desolate"). The syntax of the first clause is straightforward; there is no ambiguity in its syntactical relationship. Nevertheless, notice the syntactical difficulty, operating on a premise that the scribe of 1QIsa[a] had before him a text like MurIsa, inasmuch as how the syntactical constituents relate in the overall sentence. There are three verbless clauses (CL)[64] in the sentence (of 1QIsa[a] 1:8–9 = Isa 1:7), marked here with brackets so as to clearly indicate the three clauses within the sentence (N).

$$[_{N} \; [_{CL^1} \; \text{ארצכם שממה} \;] \; [_{CL^2} \; \text{עריכם שרופות אש} \;] \; [_{CL^3} \; \text{אדמתכם לנגדכם זרים אוכלים אותה} \;] \;]$$

The CL[3] presents an additional issue with the use of the *casus pendens*. The deixis of the complement אותה points back to the *casus pendens* at the beginning of the clause (אדמתכם לנגדכם), thereby making the syntax of the entire sentence (N) rather complex. Finally, after the three verbless clauses, the text of MurIsa reads as another sentence (N) consisting of another verbless clause construction: ושממה כמהפכת זרים. The syntactical relationships among ושממה כמהפכת זרים is not as straightforward as CL[1].

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[63] Corpus Linguistics

[64] By "clause," I mean a syntagm consisting of a subject and predicate.

There are two potential ways the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ could have interpreted the verbless clause witnessed in the MurIsa reading. Each option is listed here:

1a
[[[כמהפכת זרים ᴄ] [NULL ᴘ] [שממה ₛ] [ו ɴ]

1b
[[[כמהפכת זרים ₐ] [שממה ᴄ] [NULL ᴘ] [NULL ₛ] [ו ɴ]

In 1a, the scribe could have interpreted the predicate phrase (P) to contain the NULL and the compliment phrase (C) כמהפכת זרים. Under this interpretation, a translation would be "and a desolation is as overthrown by foreigners." Interpreting the NULL predicate in this syntactical position is evident in the translation of the 1QHa example cited above.

1QHᵃ 15:13   ולשוני כלמודיך

DSSNT   ". . . my tongue is as one of Your disciples."

Example 1b, however, attests to an additional option for interpreting the syntax, where the subject (S) and the predicate (P) are both NULL. A sufficient translation would be "and it is a desolation as overthrown by foreigners." A majority of the English versions take this route in their translation of the passage (so, NRSV, ESV, NIV). While the semantics of the clause do not differ in either interpretation, so far as it can be discerned, between 1a or 1b, several reasons may perhaps explain why the scribe decided to intervene in the text. As discussed above, the syntax of the previous sentence and this sentence are somewhat complicated with four consecutive verbless constructions, one of which contains the *casus pendens* and the final verbless clause of 1QIsaᵃ 1:8 is separated by the ו thus making four independent clauses. In addition, the diffusion of the verb indicates, albeit slightly, a preference for the verbal form in LBH, QH, and MH. Nevertheless, lexical changes are not always conclusive reasons to affirm a change; syntactical evidence would certainly

be more compelling.[65] Considering the diffusion with the syntactical ambiguities, it is likely that the scribe emended his text so as to clarify the relationships among the clausal constituents.

Further, scholars have noted that LBH and QH show a preference for active over passive constructions.[66] While this is most frequent with the verbal root קרא (cf. 1Chr 11:7), this phenomenon could perhaps shed additional light on the differences between the readings. That is, the verbal form maintains the impersonal force of the clause, per option 1b above. Adding the עליה fills the complement position of the verbal form ושממו, thereby creating a meaningful syntactical construction. That is, the reading of 1QIsaᵃ could be translated as "And they brought devastation upon it [the land]," whereas the MurIsa reading would be translated as "It was devastated . . . ."

In sum, the occasion for the change could have been the noted issues of the nominal/verbal overlap, lexical diffusion of the verb, and the syntax of the verbless clause. While a Qumran Hebrew speaker would be required to bring conclusive evidence to the discussion, the syntax of verbless clause of 1b does not seemingly change the semantics of the verbless construction of 1a. A lingering explanation of the change, as Pulikottil noted, perhaps reflects an exegetical tendentiousness of the scribe. However, due to insights gained by a close syntactical analysis and the LBH impersonal construction, I am more inclined to believe the scribe has intervened in his text, providing an update to smooth over the potential difficulties in the verbless construction.

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[65] As discussed in chapter 2, see Jan Joosten, "The Distinction Between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew as Reflected in Syntax," *HS* 46 (2005): 327-339.

[66] *LLBIS*, 401–402. See also Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Translated by Elwolde John. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 118, 145; hereafter, *HHL*. See also M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 38–39.

4.2.1.5. Isaiah 1:8 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, Mur3, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 1:8
ונתרת֯ בת ציון כסוכה בכרם וכמלונה במקשה כעיר נצורה	1QIsaᵃ 1, 10
כסכה בכרם כ֯[מלונה] נצ[ורה]	Mur3 1, 9–10
וְנוֹתְרָה֯ בַת־צִיּוֹן כְּסֻכָּה בְכָרֶם כִּמְלוּנָה בְמִקְשָׁה כְּעִיר נְצוּרָה	𝔐ᴸ

As with the above occurrences of *plene* and defective orthography, the variance between 1QIsaᵃ reading of כסוכה and Mur3 כסכה likewise attests to this phenomenon of marking the /o/ and /u/ vowels with the *wāw*.[67] *Matres lectionis* are not the sort of differences of interest to the present study.

Two other variances merit additional analysis. The first is the reading of 1QIsaᵃ ונתרת and 𝔐ᴸ ונותרה (Ni.Pf.3fs √יתר). With respect to this variance, Kutscher noted, "In Aram. the 3ʳᵈ pers. fem. sing. is, like here, כתבת *et sim.*—i.e. with the ת, though the omission of the ו in the Scr. does raise doubts as to what the word really is."[68] A significant methodological point in Kutscher's analysis of the scroll was Aramaic borrowing.[69] Postulating an Aramaism is evident here with his proposal of the third feminine morpheme ת-, indicating a *pe'al* 3rd feminine singular with בת ציון as the subject of the predicate. However, the missing *wāw* problematizes such an explanation, especially if one were to understand יתר (= 𝔐ᴸ) as the lemma. Moreover, postulating a lemma of נתר ("to jump;" cf. Isa 58:6) does not fit the context of the verse.

Apart from appealing to Aramaic morphosyntax, another option is possible: it could be interpreted as a *nip'al* participle feminine singular.[70] Yet, the omission of the *wāw* likewise problema-

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[67] Qimron, *HDSS*, §100.2.

[68] Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 191.

[69] Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 18–19, 23–28.

[70] Six occurrences of this form are found in the Hebrew Bible: Gen 30:36; Lev 2:3, 10; 6:9; 10:12; 27:18. In consideration to this point, the scribe has elsewhere changed a perfect to a participle (see 1QIsaᵃ 5, 24; 12, 4; 14, 26; 15, 2; 22, 20; 23, 21; 37, 18; 41, 12; and 46, 27).

tizes this interpretation, for one would expect a *wāw* to mark the contraction of the vowel + semi-

vowel (נוֹתַר → נוֹתר) with the *nun* prefix.[71] While Both forms (קטלה/קטלת) in the *nipʿal* are attested

in LBH and QH,[72] there does not seem to be any proposed diachronic syntactical changes to cat-

egorize this sort of variance. Moreover, if the reading in 1QIsaᵃ is judged as a *nipʿal*, then the syntax

has not changed. Consequently, diachronic syntax does not account for this variance.

The second variance is the additional *wāw* in the reading of 1QIsaᵃ וכמלונה. Pertaining to

the *wāw* variances, Abegg notes, "More than any other feature . . . variations in the use of *wāw* give

evidence to the scribal freedom exercised in the late Second Temple period."[73] Thus the question

for this study is whether conjunctive *wāw* variances are prompted by diachronic changes of syn-

tax. While the additional *wāw* does relate to syntax in terms of sentential and clausal relationships,

there does not seem to be any particular diachronic change in the grammar prompting such a vari-

ation—excluding those occurrences related to the verbal system at the moment.[74] Jarod Jacobs

suggests it is a stylistic issue—associated with shifts in genre—which he has termed, "scribal prac-

tice of prosaization."[75] It is difficult to say whether the syntax was specifically altered to make the

parallelism more stylistically amenable to the scribe. Without a speaker of QH, an objective an-

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[71] JM §51a.

[72] In the non-biblical scrolls, the form of קטלת in the *nipʿal* occurs 15x, leaving aside reconstructions (see CD 9, 14; 1QS 4, 4; 1QHᵃ 15, 5; 26, 16; 4Q238 1, 1; 4Q267 9 v, 4; 4Q300 1a iib, 5; 5, 5; 4Q395 1, 6; 4Q401 1 4i, 5; 4Q418 11 9, 3; 4Q437 9, 3; 4Q464 3i, 5; 4Q525 8, 1; 23, 2; 11Q19 48, 17); contrasted with קטלה which occurs 63x (CD 15, 7; 1QS 4, 20, 25; 5, 9; 8, 1 3 5 12 15; 9, 13 19; 11, 1 6; 1QSb 5, 24; 1QHᵃ 5, 32; 8, 18; 9, 22 24–25; 11, 22 34 37; 14, 28; 15, 11; 18, 3; 19, 15 17; 20, 12 15; 21, 21; 3, 2; 4Q169 3 4iii, 7; 3 4 iv, 5; 4Q177 12 13i, 3; 4Q223-224 2 iv, 4; 4Q258 1, 6; 8, 4; 4Q259 2, 13; 3, 3, 8 18; 4Q265 7, 8; 4Q299 6 ii, 4; 4Q368 6, 2; 4Q369 1 i, 6; 4Q393 1 ii 2, 7; 4Q396 1 2 iv, 4; 4Q397 6 13, 12; 4Q415 11, 11; 4Q417 23, 4; 4Q419 5, 1; 4Q424 3, 6; 4Q426 9, 2; 4Q427 2, 1; 4Q428 13, 3–5; 4Q491 1 3, 11; 4Q511 2 i, 7; 96, 4; 11Q5 18, 11; 27, 4; 11Q19 46, 15).

[73] M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 36.

[74] See M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 37–38.

[75] Jarod T. Jacobs, "A Comprehensive Analysis of the Conjunction Waw in the Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls Variants and Their Implications" (MA Thesis; Trinity Western University, 2008), 83.

swer is likely to never be found.

While Jacobs may be correct, other factors could likewise be adduced to explain this *wāw*

variance. As Carr has posited,

> In both the Mesopotamian and Judean examples, the scribal system seems to have ceased making such major textual changes at a certain point, at least for documents that became central parts of the authorized literary corpus. Nevertheless, in the case of some biblical manuscripts at least, we still see minor memory variants and harmonizing/coordinating expansions well into the Second Temple period.[76]

In either case, diachronic syntactical change does not seemingly account for this variance.

4.2.1.6. Isaiah 1:9 as Extant in 1QIsa[a], Mur3, and 𝔐[L]

	Isa 1:9
לולי יהוה צבאות הותיר לנו שריד כמעט <u>כסודם</u> היינו <u>לעומרה</u> דמינו	1QIsa[a] 1, 10–11
○[ ]	Mur3 1, 10–11
לוּלֵי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת הוֹתִיר לָנוּ שָׂרִיד כִּמְעָט <u>כִּסְדֹם</u> הָיִינוּ <u>לַעֲמֹרָה</u> דָּמִינוּ	𝔐[L]

Mur3 is too fragmentary to read on this verse. Consequently, there is not enough information for a

solid assessment. A comparison between 𝔐 and 1QIsa[a], on the other hand, presents two ortho-

graphical variances. Regarding the orthographical difference of סודם, Kutscher notes, "Clearly, this

spelling indicates the form Σοδομα found in the Sept[uagint], the Gospels, . . . and Josephus."[77]

While these variances are important for understanding phonological developments and perhaps

dialects of Hebrew, they do not find explanation at the level of diachronic syntax.

4.2.1.7. Isaiah 1:10 as Extant in 1QIsa[a], 4Q60, Mur3, and 𝔐[L]

	Isa 1:10
שִׁמְעוּ דְּבַר יהוה קציני <u>סודם</u> וֹאזינו תוֹרֹת אלוהינו עם <u>עומרה</u>	1QIsa[a] 1:12
[זינו]<u>הֹאֹ</u>[ ]	4Q60 1, 1
[ ]	Mur3 1, 12
שִׁמְעוּ דְבַר־יְהוָה קְצִינֵי <u>סְדֹם</u> הַאֲזִינוּ תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֵינוּ עַם <u>עֲמֹרָה</u>	𝔐[L]

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[76] Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 100.

[77] Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 109. The same is said of עומרה (see Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 113).

The *wāw* variance is again attested in the variation between 1QIsaᵃ reading of ואזינו and 4QIsaᶠ

reading of [‏זינו‏]‏הא[ ]. Although the material evidence for 4QIsaᶠ is fragmentary, a careful analysis

affirms the variance.

Plate 324 Frag 7[78]

If the *wāw* were extant in 4QIsaᶠ, one would expect to see the lower portion of the vertical stroke

(cf. the *wāw* in יהוה). While the additional conjunctive *wāw* in 1QIsaᵃ attests to scribal freedom, it

does not seem to have been prompted by any sort of diachronic syntactical change.

The phonological difference of 1QIsaᵃ אזינו and 4Q60 האזינו (= 𝔐) presumably is explained

by the weakening of the gutturals;[79] it does not alter the syntax of the verse.[80]

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[78] Shai Halevi, "Plate 324, Frag 7 B-361576," *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* (http://www.dead-seascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-361576; Accessed May 17, 2014). Cf. DJD 15, 101. In DJD 15, this was labelled Frag. 2 (see DJD 15, Plate XVIII Frag. 1).

[79] Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 506; Qimron, *HDSS*, §200.11; See also M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 29.

[80] There are a total of six occurrences where the *ʾālep* replaces a *hê* in the imperative form (see also 1QIsaᵃ 18, 5; 30, 25; 42, 18; and 44, 24).

4.2.1.8. Isaiah 1:11 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q60, Mur3, and 𝔐ᴸ
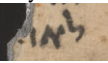
	Isa 1:11
1QIsaᵃ 1, 12–14	לֹמה לי רֹוב זבחיכם <u>יואמר</u> יהוה שבעתי עולֹות אילים וחלב מריאים ודם פרים וכבשים ועתודים <u>לוֹא</u> חפצתי
4Q60 1, 2–3	[ ] יֹהוה שֹׁ[בעתי]
	וכ]בֹשים ועתוֹ[דים לא]חֹפ[צתי]
Mur3 1, 14–16	זֹב[חיכם] וחלֹ[ב]
	לא ⁸¹חֹ[פצתי]
𝔐ᴸ	לָמָה־לִּי רֹב־זִבְחֵיכֶם <u>יֹאמַר</u> יְהוָה שָׂבַעְתִּי <u>עֹלוֹת</u> אֵילִים וְחֵלֶב מְרִיאִים וְדַם פָּרִים וּכְבָשִׂים וְעַתּוּדִים <u>לֹא</u> חָפָצְתִּי

There is no syntactical variation attested in this verse; however, there are three orthographical differences. The variance of 1QIsaᵃ יואמר and 𝔐ᴸ יאמר is likely due to the weakening of the *ʾālep*.[82]

4.2.1.9. Isaiah 1:12 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q60, Mur3, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 1:12
1QIsaᵃ 1, 14–15	<u>כיא</u> תבאו לראות פני מֹי בקש זַ^את מֹידכם לֹרמוס חצֹרי
4Q60 1, 4	[זא]ת מידכֹם רֹמֹס חֹצֹרי
Mur3 1, 16	<u>זאֹת</u>
𝔐ᴸ	<u>כִּי</u> תָבֹאוּ לֵרָאוֹת פָּנָי מִי־בִקֵּשׁ <u>זֹאת</u> מִיֶּדְכֶם רְמֹס חֲצֵרָי

Apart from the orthographical difference of 1QIsaᵃ זואת and 4QIsaᶠ זאת (= 𝔐)[83] and 1QIsaᵃ כיא and 𝔐ᴸ כי,[84] Isaiah 1:12 presents another variance which is perhaps related to diachronic syntactical change. The 4QIsaᶠ reading of רמס is at variance with the reading of לרמוס in 1QIsaᵃ. While the morphology remains an infinitive construct form in both readings, the addition of the ל- to the infinitive construct is a marked characteristic of LBH and QH syntax.[85] Regarding this variance,

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[81] The editors of DJD 2 transcribe it as: חֹ[פצתי] (DJD 2, 80). Such is a transcription error on their behalf (See e.g. the manuscript image on The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Library, which indicates the partial *ḥêt* (http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-371086; ; Date accessed March 12, 2014).

[82] Qimron, *HDSS*, §200.11.

[83] Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 166–167; *HDSS*, §200.11; M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 27.

[84] The alternation of these forms have been extensively documented by Abegg, "Linguistic Profile," 25–41. See also M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Analysis," 48–68.

[85] Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 121; Muraoka, "Morphosyntax," 194–195. See also Millar Burrows, "Orthography, Morpholo-

Kutscher notes, "The infinitive absolute is not used at all in Mishnaic Hebrew and the infinitive construct is found only when it is preceded by a ל-."[86] It stands to reason that the scribe, whether consciously or unconsciously, updated the reading in conformity with syntactical preferences of his day. Abegg notes eight occurrences of the scribe appending the proclitic *lāmed* to an infinitive construct throughout 1QIsa[a],[87] yet such practices were not global,[88] since other infinitive constructs were not likewise updated. Nevertheless, diachronic syntactical change grants sufficient means to understand the variance.

4.2.1.10. Isaiah 1:13 as Extant in 1QIsa[a], 4Q60, Mur3, and 𝔐[L]

	Isa 1:13
1QIsa[a] 1, 15–16	<u>לוֹא</u> תוסיפו לה͟בי͟א מֹנחת שוא קטרֹת תועבה היא לי <u>חודש</u> ושבת קרא מקרא <u>לוֹא</u> אוכל און <u>ועצרתה</u>
4Q60 1, 4–5	לא תוֹ[סיפו] [תועב]ה היא [ ] [וֹ]שבת קר[א]
Mur3 1, 17–18	הבי͟א [ ] לי חֹ[דש] אוֹן [ועצרה]
𝔐[L]	<u>לֹא</u> תוֹסִיפוּ הָבִיא מִנְחַת־שָׁוְא קְטֹרֶת תּוֹעֵבָה הִיא לִי <u>חֹדֶשׁ</u> וְשַׁבָּת קְרֹא מִקְרָא <u>לֹא־</u>אוּכַל אָוֶן <u>וַעֲצָרָה</u>

As with the above example, Isaiah 1:13 attests to another syntactical variance of the proclitic *lāmed* to the infinitive construct, thus 1QIsa[a] reads להביא and Mur3 הביא. The diachronic change of appending the *lāmed* to the infinitive construct has been widely recognized as a syntactical feature of LBH and/or QH.[89]

gy, and Syntax of the St Mark's Isaiah Manuscript," *JBL* 68 (1949): 210.

[86] Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 41. Cf. Qimron, *HDSS* §310.14; Muraoka, "Morphosyntax," 194–195; Abegg, DJD 32:2, 39.

[87] See M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 39; cf. Pl I 15 (Isa 1:12); Pl I 15 (Isa 1:15); Pl VII 22 (Isa 8:4); Pl XXII 14 (Isa 28:12); Pl XXIV 16 (Isa 30:9); Pl XXXVI 7 (Isa 42:24); Pl XXXIX 31 (Isa 47:11); and Pl XLVII 20 (Isa 57:20).

[88] See case study of Isaiah 5:5 below.

[89] Qimron, *HDSS*, §400.02; Sáenz-Badillos, *HHL*, 118, 126, 145; Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 121.

4.2.1.11. Isaiah 1:14 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q60, Mur3, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 1:14
1QIsaᵃ 1, 16–17	<u>חודשיכם</u> ומועדיכם שנאה נפשי היו עלי לטרח נלאיתי <u>נשוא</u>
4Q60 1, 6	[ומו]ע̇דיכם שנאה נפשי [ ]
Mur3 1, 21	נפשׁ̊[י]
𝔐ᴸ	<u>חָדְשֵׁיכֶם</u> וּמוֹעֲדֵיכֶם שָׂנְאָה נַפְשִׁי הָיוּ עָלַי לָטֹרַח נִלְאֵיתִי נְשֹׂא

Apart from the orthographical differences, Isaiah 1:14 does not present any additional variances to note.

4.2.1.12 Summary of Case Study 1

In the eleven verses analyzed in case study one, changes in orthography and phonology are predominant. Regarding the 146 extant words attested in 1QIsaᵃ 1:4–21 (= Isa 1:4–14), the frequency of orthographical and phonological differences is 29. Six of the observed variances were directly related to the linguistic category of syntax (Isa 1:7, 1:8[2x], 1:10, 1:12, and 1:13). These six variances do not find explanation at level of textual families—the readings require historical linguistic analysis to make sense of them. The variance in Isaiah 1:7 of (1QIsaᵃ ושממו עליה) puts the historical linguistic methodology to the test. Working through the various options of syntactical relationships and potential diachronic changes provided opportunity to demonstrate the advantage of the methodology. Lastly, an advantage of the historical linguistic methodology is apparent insofar as one can work through a series of questions relating to syntactical issues before postulating a tendentious reading of the scribe.

4.2.2. Case Study 2: Isaiah 5:5–18

4.2.2.1. Isaiah 5:5 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:5
1QIsaᵃ 4, 16–17	⁹⁰<u>ואתה</u> אודיע נא אתכמה את אשר אני <u>עושא</u>⁹¹ לכרמי אסיר <u>מסוכתו</u> ויהיה בער פרץ גדרו ויהיה למרמס
𝔐ᴸ	וְעַתָּה אוֹדִיעָה־נָּא אֶתְכֶם אֵת אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה לְכַרְמִי הָסֵר מְשׂוּכָּתוֹ וְהָיָה לְבָעֵר פָּרֹץ גְּדֵרוֹ וְהָיָה לְמִרְמָס

First to note is the variance in the verbal form of 1QIsaᵃ אודיע and 𝔐ᴸ אודיעה. In the scroll of 1QIsaᵃ, it is a *hipʿil* imperf. 1ˢᵗ pers. comm. sing., whereas in 𝔐ᴸ it is a cohortative. Several scholars have noted the cohortative is on the decline in LBH and/or QH.[92] Muraoka has also demonstrated that the cohortative is decreasing in usage,[93] but adds a caveat to previous proposals insofar as the forms without the proclitic conjunctive *wāw* do not always reflect diachronic changes.[94] Thus, Muraoka questions,

> Where the MT and its corresponding QH text do not agree in the choice of the form, is it semantically significant? Or is it that QH authors or copyists selected the short form because the long form was becoming obsolete and that they selected the long form because it was somehow felt to belong to the right literary register?

Muraoka's questions cut to the center of the issue of whether the change of dropping the cohortative marker was prompted by either diachronic change or interpretive issues. In consideration of

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[90] Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 507; Qimron, *HDSS*, §200.11. Cf. Isaiah 28:22 and 64:7.

[91] Phonological variance; see Qimron, *HDSS*, §200.11.

[92] For a discussion the diachronic change of this feature see, Qimron, *HDSS*, §310.122. See also Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward a Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, Mont.: Published by Scholars Press for the Harvard Semitic Museum, 1976), 54–55. Muraoka provides a caveat to Qimron's original proposal of the circumstantial issues prompting the change (see T. Muraoka, "An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew," in *Diggers and the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. T. Muraoka and J. Elwolde; STDJ; Leiden: Brill, 2000); 197–198).

[93] For a discussion the diachronic change of this feature see, Qimron, *HDSS*, §310.122. See also Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew*, 54–55. Muraoka provides a caveat to Qimron's original proposal of the circumstantial issues prompting the change (see T. Muraoka, "Morphosyntax and Syntax," 197–198).

[94] To demonstrate the speakers of QH still had a grasp on the volitional aspect of the cohortative, Muraoka cites 4Q177 ii, 8 עד אנה אשיתה (cf. 𝔐ᴸ Ps 13:3). T. Muraoka, "Morphosyntax and Syntax," 196.

any interpretive issues, one other instance of a cohortative is preceded by the particle נא in 𝔐ᴸ. In

Isaiah 5:1, 𝔐ᴸ has אָשִׁ֫ירָה נָּא, but 1QIsaᵃ has dropped the particle נא and retained the cohortative

form. In addition, the Judaean Desert and Qumran scrolls do not attest to the syntagm of a cohor-

tative with the particle נא, whereas the particle does occur with the imperfect and imperative

forms. As such, it stands to reason the scribe changed the form to the imperfect to suit the context,

in which case the disclosure of knowledge was conceived in the indicative and the particle נא

emphasizes the statement.[95]

The second variance of 1QIsaᵃ בער and 𝔐ᴸ לבער is related to the variance discussed above

in Isaiah 1:12. Scholars have noted the tendency to affix a proclitic *lāmed* to the infinitive construct

forms in LBH and/or QH.[96] As to why the scribe did not follow the trend of LBH and/or QH, there

seems to be an additional factor at work. In 𝔐ᴸ, the infinitive construct follows the perfect היה,

and it is preceded by an infinitive abs. (פרץ). This is the only occurrence of this syntagm in EBH,

LBH, QH, and MH corpora. As it stands in 𝔐ᴸ, the syntax of the sentence is rather difficult. Perhaps

removing the *lāmed* was an attempt to clarify the semantics of the clause, indicating an attempt to

remove the semantics of entering the state of "devoured."[97] In this case, the final clause והיה

למרמס was interpreted as the resulting action of the gates being torn down, that is, the vineyard

becomes trampled because its defenses are destroyed (cf. 5:12).

Another issue of variance is the difference between the inf. abs. הסר (𝔐ᴸ) to the *hipʿil* Im-

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[95] s.v., "נָא," *HALOT*, 2:656.

[96] Qimron, *HDSS*, §310.122 see also §400.2.3; Sáenz-Badillos, *HHL*, 118.

[97] See GKC §114 for a discussion on the semantics of היה ל- as meaning "become."

perf. 1st sing. √סור.[98] In several other occasions, the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ used a finite verb to clarify the syntax of the clause (e.g., see Isaiah 37:19, 37:30[99]; 42:20; 57:17; 59:13 [2x]). The scribe clarifies the subject by converting the inf. abs. to the first person verbal form. Perhaps the two inf. abs. forms (הסר/פרץ) was not clear in the literary structure of the indirect discourse, thus prompting the scribe to intervene for the purpose of interpretive clarification. Other diachronic factors could like-wise be adduced to explain this variance. Muraoka notes the infinitive absolute is on decline in LBH, yet also recognizes its occasional use in such instances where an infinitive abs. was used to replace a finite verb (cf. 4Q56 22, 3 אכול *bis* ≠ 1QIsaᵃ 𝔐ᴸ).[100] Perhaps the change here is an occasion where the syntactical difficulties in the sentence prompted to scribe to update the reading not only due to diachronic changes of his language, but also an attempt to smooth over the difficult syntax.

The final syntactical variance to note in this passage is 1QIsaᵃ ויהיה (2x) (*Qal* Imperf. 3rd Masc. Sing. √היה) in comparison with 𝔐ᴸ והיה (*Qal* Consec. Perf. 3rd pers. Masc. Sing. √היה). Devel-opments and changes in the verbal system have been observed by several scholars.[101] A compre-hensive study of the verbal system is required in order to get a keen understanding on what may have prompted these variances. Time and space prevents such a study here, but a possible expla-nation can be postulated. Isaiah 5:1-5 outlines the impending judgment on the nation of Israel,[102]

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[98] For discussion of ה/א interchange, see Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 506.

[99] *bis* √אכל in agreement with the *Qere* of 𝔐ᴸ *masorah parva*.

[100] T. Muraoka, "Morphosyntax and Syntax," 195–196.

[101] Sáenz-Badillos, *HHL*, 144. See also Martin Abegg's comment regarding the need for a careful study of the Qumran verbal system, as well as how the results may grant a nuanced understanding of the biblical scrolls verbal variations (M. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile," 37–38).

[102] Chapter 1 opens the ריב (cf. Isa 3:3) with the appeal to the שמים and ארץ (Isa 1:2; cf. Dt 4:26). Chapter 5:1–5 makes known the judgment of יהוה on his people.

which has yet to occur from the perspective of the narrative. Given that both of these variances are within the indirect discourse of what is being made known (the result of the juridical parable of Isaiah 5:1-7), the scribe most likely decided to clarify the syntax by converting the irrealis perfects to imperfects so as to communicate the conditionality of the statement, that is, the impending results on the northern tribes of Israel.

4.2.2.2. Isaiah 5:6 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:6
1QIsaᵃ 4, 18–19	ואשיתהו בתה וֹלוֹא יזמר ולוֹא יעדר ועלה שמיר ושית ועל העבים אצוה מהמטיר עליו מטר
𝔐ᴸ	וַאֲשִׁיתֵהוּ בָתָה לֹא יִזָּמֵר וְלֹא יֵעָדֵר וְעָלָה שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת וְעַל הֶעָבִים אֲצַוֶּה מֵהַמְטִיר עָלָיו מָטָר

As with the observed *wāw* variances above, another such occurrence is found in Isaiah 5:6. In this particular case, the scribe most likely harmonized the clausal relationships by making a clear parallelism with the following negative particle and verb (ולוא יעדר). Abegg has likewise noted, "A pattern that is quite evident, especially in 1QIsaᵃ, is the penchant for adding *wāw* before the particle לא. This pattern occurs on 33 occasions in the larger scroll . . . while the reverse is found only twice (XL 12 = 48:6 and XL 12 = 48:7)."[103] Regarding these occasions where clausal boundaries are made explicit, the scribe demonstrated his freedom in the process of transmission.

4.2.2.3. Isaiah 5:11 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:11
1QIsaᵃ 4, 26	ה[וי משכימי]בֹּבקר שכר ירדופו מאחזי[104] בנשף יין ידליקם
𝔐ᴸ	הוֹי מַשְׁכִּימֵי בַבֹּקֶר שֵׁכָר יִרְדֹּפוּ מְאַחֲרֵי בַנֶּשֶׁף יַיִן יַדְלִיקֵם

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[103] Abegg, "Linguistic Profile," 37.

[104] It should be recalled that an underlined word indicates a difference which is *not* syntactical. Kutscher notes this difference is likely a mechanical error (see Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 217).

There are no diachronic syntactical variances to note in Isaiah 5:11.

4.2.2.4. Isaiah 5:12 as Extant in 1QIsa^a and $\mathfrak{M}^L$

		Isa 5:12
1QIsa^a 4, 26–28	[והיה	וח[ל[ֹ֯י֯][ל[ו[ין משתיהם ואת פעלת יהוה לוא הביטו
	[ ] ומעשה	
$\mathfrak{M}^L$		וְהָיָה כִנּוֹר וָנֶבֶל תֹּף וְחָלִיל וָיַיִן מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם וְאֵת פֹּעַל יְהוָה לֹא יַבִּיטוּ
		וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו לֹא רָאוּ

The first variance to note is between 1QIsa^a פעלת (Noun Comm. Fem. Pl. Constr.) and $\mathfrak{M}^L$ פעל (Noun Comm. Fem. Sing. Constr.). Scholars have not proposed any diachronic changes in the syntax of LBH or QH to explain this variance. The syntagm occurs in Psalm 28:5, yet to argue any dependency of the Psalm in the scribe's transmission of Isaiah is highly speculative.

The variance of 1QIsa^a הביטו (hip'il Perf. 3rd Comm. Pl. √נבט) and $\mathfrak{M}^L$ יביטו (hip'il Imperf. 3rd Masc. Pl. √נבט), on other hand, merits closer analysis. Scholars have made several observations regarding changes of the verb in LBH, yet these often relate to the *wāw* + imperfect.[105] Given this particular variance does not relate to a consecutive form, any diachronic explanation is tenuous.

Pulikottil argues for historical exegesis, that is, a variance whereby the scribes historical situatedness led him to change the text.[106] A change from the imperfect to a perfect is said to be "indicative of the intentions of the scribe." Pulikottil does recognize another explanation, namely, that a harmonization of the verbs could be the potential reason for the change (i.e., it was changed to agree with ראו). While there does not seem to be any mutual exclusive characteristics to rule either of the explanations more likely in favor of the other, it stands to reason both could have influ-

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[105] Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (2 vols.; London: Equinox, 2008), 2:162–166.

[106] Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 130.

enced the scribe to make this change.

4.2.2.5. Isaiah 5:13 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:13
1QIsaᵃ 4, 28–29	[לכן]גֻֿלֹה עמי מבלי דעת וכבודֿי מתי רעב והמונו [צחה צמא]
𝔐ᴸ	לָכֵן גָּלָה עַמִּי מִבְּלִי־דָעַת וּכְבוֹדוֹ מְתֵי רָעָב וַהֲמוֹנוֹ צִחֵה צָמָא

The variance of the pronominal suffix (1QIsaᵃ וכבודי and 𝔐ᴸ וכבודו)[107] does not find any explana-

tion be means of diachronic syntactical change. Instead, it is likely the result of the scribe's clarifi-

cation of the syntax. By changing the pronominal suffix from the third pers. to the first pers., the

scribe has created a parallelism with עמי. The first pers. pronominal suffix prevents one from con-

ceiving of the leadership through their relationship to the people.[108] Perhaps the scribe sensed the

third pers. pronominal suffix of והמונו better served as a collective to both groups rather than the

third pers. pronominal suffix reading of וכבודו.

4.2.2.6. Isaiah 5:14 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:14
1QIsaᵃ 4, 29-5, 1	[לכן] הרחיבה שאול נפשה ופערה פיה לבלי חוק וירד[ ] הֿדרה והמונה ושאונה ועל[ז]בה
𝔐ᴸ	לָכֵן הִרְחִיבָה שְּׁאוֹל נַפְשָׁהּ וּפָעֲרָה פִּיהָ לִבְלִי־חֹק וְיָרַד הֲדָרָהּ וַהֲמוֹנָהּ וּשְׁאוֹנָהּ וְעָלֵז בָּהּ

There are no syntactical variances to note in Isaiah 5:14.

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[107] Burrows transcribed it as וכבודו. Given that the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ does distinguish between the *wāw* and *yôd*, Burrows transcription is questionable (see Burrows *et al.*, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, Pl IV). Both Q-P and Flint and Ulrich, transcribe with the *yôd* (cf. Donald W. Parry and Elisah Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ): A New Edition* (STDJ XXXII; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 9; Flint and Ulrich, DJD 32:1, 2:9.

[108] The third masc. sing. pronominal suffix would thus be a collective noun, referring back to the people. See s.v., "כָּבוֹד," *HALOT*, 2:457.

4.2.2.7. Isaiah 5:15 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q56, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:15
1QIsaᵃ 5, 1–2	יש̅ח̅ אדם וישפל איש ועיני גבהים תשפלנה
4Q56 3 ii, 1	[ ] [ג]ב̊ה̊ים̊[ ]
𝔐ᴸ	וַיִּשַּׁ̅ח̅ אָדָם וַיִּשְׁפַּל־אִישׁ וְעֵינֵי גְבֹהִים תִּשְׁפַּלְנָה

As noted above, Scholars have made several observations regarding changes in the verb, especially a move away from *wayyiqtol* forms.[109] As Abegg has noted, "given the fact that the use of the so-called *wāw*-consecutive or preterite (*wayyiqtol*) was declining dramatically in this period—by the time of the Mishnah it is not used at all aside from biblical quotations—it is noteworthy that only 14 variances might be explained by this influence."[110] This particular change was most likely the result of a diachronic change in the language of the scribe.

4.2.2.8. Isaiah 5:16 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q56, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:16
1QIsaᵃ 5, 2–3	ויגבה יהוה צבאות במשפט והאל הקדוש נקדש בצדקה
4Q56 3 ii, 2	[ ] [נק]דש בצדקה̊[ ]
𝔐ᴸ	וַיִּגְבַּה יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת בַּמִּשְׁפָּט וְהָאֵל הַקָּדוֹשׁ נִקְדָּשׁ בִּצְדָקָה

There are no syntactical differences to note in Isaiah 5:16.

4.2.2.9. Isaiah 5:17 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q69, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:17
1QIsaᵃ 5, 18–19	ורעו כבושים[111] כדברם וחרבות מיחים[112] גרים יאכלו
4Q56 3 ii, 2	[ ] [מ̊]ח̊י[ם̊ גרים יא̊]כלו
𝔐ᴸ	וְרָעוּ כְבָשִׂים כְּדָבְרָם וְחָרְבוֹת מֵחִים גָּרִים יֹאכֵלוּ

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[109] See E.Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Leiden/Jerusalem: Brill/Magnes Press, 1982), 45; Sáenz-Badillos, *HHL*, 123–124.

[110] Abegg, "Linguistic Profile," 37–38. Cf. Isa 6:1, Isa 41:6, Isa 49:7, and Isa 51:16.

[111] This is not an orthographical, phonological, morphological or syntactical variance. As did the translator of 𝔊 (διηρπασμένοι), the scribe probably understood it to mean "subjugate" or "enslave" (see Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 247).

[112] See Qimron, *HDSS*, §100.33.

There are no syntactical differences to note in Isaiah 5:17.

4.2.2.10. Isaiah 5:18 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q69, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 5:18
1QIsaᵃ 5, 4	הוי משכי ‏ֿעׄוׄן בחבלי <u>השי</u> וכעבות העגלה חטאה
4Q56 3 ii, 4	[ ]משכי <u>העׄן</u> בחֿבלי הש[וא]וׄכׄעבות העגׄ[לה]
𝔐ᴸ	הוֹי מֹשְׁכֵי הֶעָוֹן בְּחַבְלֵי <u>הַשָּׁוְא</u> וְכַעֲבוֹת הָעֲגָלָה חַטָּאָה

There are not syntactical differences to note in Isaiah 5:18.

4.2.2.11. Summary of Case Study 2

Of the 61 extant words in case study 3, there are ten occurrences (5:5[5x], 5:6, 5:12[2x], 5:13, and 5:15) where syntactical change accounts for the observable differences. Thus far, the trend continues in which case syntactical variances are either related to the scribe's attempt to clarify the clausal and phrasal relationships or diachronic changes.

4.2.3. Case Study 3: Isaiah 10:20–11:5

In the following case studies, I refrain from making comments on the apparent differences of orthography, phonology, and morphology (although such variances are marked with an underlined style). Should a morphological variance overlap with a syntactical difference, it is of course discussed. As with Case Study 1 above, each verse is addressed individually. Syntactical issues are marked off with a overline.

4.2.3.1. Isaiah 10:20 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:20
1QIsaᵃ 10, 7-8	והיה ביום ההוא <u>לוׄא</u> יוסיף עוד שאר ישראל ופליטת בית יעקוב להשען על מכהו ונשען א̅ל̅ יהוה קדוש ישראל באמת
𝔐ᴸ	וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא <u>לֹא־</u>יוֹסִיף עוֹד שְׁאָר יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפְלֵיטַת בֵּית־יַעֲקֹב לְהִשָּׁעֵן עַל־מַכֵּהוּ וְנִשְׁעַן עַל־יְהוָה קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל בֶּאֱמֶת

There is a variance between the prepositions of 1QIsaᵃ אל and 𝔐ᴸ על. In addition to 𝔐ᴸ, two other

medieval Mss (150 and 𝔐ᴬ) read אל.[113] It is debatable whether the prepositional interchange is evidence of syntactical change since the difference between the prepositions does not change the syntactical structure of the clause. Rather, the lexical item within the head of the complement clause is different.

When considering LBH and/or QH features, several scholars posit a change between אל and על, as a lexical diachronic change.[114] Notice, however, that the believed change is from אל to על, meaning that 𝔐ᴸ attests to the change and 1QIsaᵃ does not.[115] It stands to reason—so long as 𝔐 is not the golden rule—that a later emendation was made in the transmission of the text, thus reflected in 𝔐ᴸᴬ. That is, the reading of 𝔐ᴸᴬ reflects a change that survived in the medieval Ms tradition.

When considering the previous occurrence of על, other philological factors could be adduced to explain the difference. With the previous syntagm להשען על מ′, one could perhaps adduce Carr's argument of memory variants, in which case the scribe was influenced to write על a second time (perhaps unconsciously influenced by the diachronic change?). Regardless, the present study is more concerned with syntactical changes and not lexical changes; the relationship of the phrasal and clausal constituents do not change with either preposition.

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[113] See *HUB*ⁱˢ, 10:20.

[114] Qimrom, *HDSS*, §500.01; Sáenz-Badillos, *HHL*, 117; see also Rooker, *BHT*, 127–131;

[115] Waltke and O'Connor comment, "Futile is the tendency to emend the MT in order to eliminate some or all of these senses, although there may be cases in which the prepositions have been confused in the development of the text" *IBHS*, §11.2.3. Pulikottil argues, on occasion when 1QIsaᵃ evinces the reverse change, that the scribe is protecting against the ambiguity in semantics between the two particles (see Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 131).

4.2.3.2. Isaiah 10:21 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:21
1QIsaᵃ 10, 8	שאר ישוב שאר יעקוב אל אל גבור
𝔐ᴸ	שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב שְׁאָר יַעֲקֹב אֶל־אֵל גִּבּוֹר

There are no apparent variances of syntactical difference to note in Isaiah 10:21.

4.2.3.3. Isaiah 10:22 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:22
1QIsaᵃ 10, 8-9	כִיא אם יהיה עמך ישראל כחול הים שאר ישוב בו כליון חרוץ שוטף צדקה
𝔐ᴸ	כִּי אִם־יִהְיֶה עַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחוֹל הַיָּם שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב בּוֹ כִּלָּיוֹן חָרוּץ שׁוֹטֵף צְדָקָה

There are no apparent variances of syntactical difference to note in Isaiah 10:22.

4.2.3.4. Isaiah 10:23 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:23
1QIsaᵃ 10, 9-10	כי כלה ונחרצה אֲדוני יהוה צבאות בקרב כוֹל הארץ עושה
4Q57 3-5, 1	[עֹושה בֹּ[קרב]]
𝔐ᴸ	כִּי כָלָה וְנֶחֱרָצָה אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה צְבָאוֹת בְּקֶרֶב כָּל־הָאָרֶץ עֹשֶׂה

There are no apparent variances of syntactical difference to note in Isaiah 10:23.

4.2.3.5. Isaiah 10:24 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:24
1QIsaᵃ 10, 11-12	לכן כוֹה אמר אֲדוני יהוה צבאות אל תירא עמי יוֹשב ציון מאשור מֹשבט יככה וּמטוֹ[116] ישא עליך בדרך מצרים
4Q57 3-5, 2-3	[לכ]ֹן כו]הֹ אמר אַ[דוני] יככה ומטה]ו[
𝔐ᴸ	לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה צְבָאוֹת אַל־תִּירָא עַמִּי יֹשֵׁב צִיּוֹן מֵאַשּׁוּר בַּשֵּׁבֶט יַכֶּכָּה וּמַטֵּהוּ יִשָּׂא־עָלֶיךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרָיִם

The difference between 1QIsaᵃ reading of משבט and 𝔐ᴸ בשבט invites closer inspection. Kutscher

notes three occasions, including this one, where 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ differ on the use of ב and מן (cf. Isa

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[116] While not syntactical in nature, the variance relates to the morphological differences between 1QIsaᵃ ומטו and 4Q57 ומטה[ו]. This is the only occasion where 1QIsaᵃ differs with 𝔐 in the suffix of ו- (see Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 443).

6:13; 9:18). A noted diachronic change regarding the preposition מן may assist in understanding the variance here.

Several scholars have noted that LBH and/or QH shows an increase in the frequency of unassimilated *nun* (of מן) before anarthrous nominal forms. Regarding this feature, Qimron notes,

> The non-assimilation of מן (before nouns without the definite article *he*) should properly be described as morphophonological; there is no purely phonological basis for the non-assimilation in these cases. This phenomenon, which is also found in the biblical texts and in other contemporaneous Hebrew sources is apparently an Aramaism.[117]

The philological data of Isaiah turns up related evidence regarding a מן interchange. In 1QIsaᵃ 28:4–5 (= Isa 34:4), there is a variance involving unassimilated *nun*:

וכול צבאם יבול כנובל עלה מגופן וכנובלת מן תאנה	1QIsaᵃ
וְכָל־צְבָאָם יִבּוֹל כִּנְבֹל עָלֶה מִגֶּפֶן וּכְנֹבֶלֶת מִתְּאֵנָה	𝔐ᴸ

If the unassimilated *nun* were a marked feature of LBH and/or QH, it is odd that the scribe did not reflect such a change in Isaiah 10:24 as witnessed in 1QIsaᵃ 28:4–5. However, the corpora of LBH, QH, and MH data does not provide clear evidence to easily pinpoint whether the scribe altered his *Vorlage* in accordance with the syntactical preferences of his day.[118] As such, the comparative philological evidence does not help in understanding the interchange in Isaiah 10:24.

Given that there is no clear diachronic change to explain this variance, two options remain for understanding the difference. The first option would be a mechanical error in which case either text attests to a confusion between the characters מ/ב on the basis of graphic similarity.[119] The

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[117] Qimron, *HDSS*, §200.16.

[118] When considering the data of the Hebrew corpora, one might even contest the proposal that the unassimilated *nun* is a feature of LBH, QH, and MH. In the QH corpus, there are 918 occurrences of מן, compared with 2319 occurrences of the assimilated form -מ, and in MH corpus, there are 1270 occurrences of מן and 5082 assimilated forms. Given this data, perhaps the *nun* was assimilated in the transmission process, resulting in a text as reflected in 𝔐ᴸ. The two other occurrences of interchange between מן and ב also were not changed to the unassimilated forms (cf. Isa 6:13; 9:18).

[119] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013), 228.

second option is a difference in interpretation, that is, a difference in understanding how the ad-

junct phrase relates to the other constituents in the sentence. The reading of משבט in 1QIsaᵃ could

be an attempt to resolve syntactical ambiguities, whereby the phrasal relationships are construed

differently. For example, Pulikottil has argued that scribe of 1QIsaᵃ has interpreted the שבט as an

additional complement of the verb תירא. According to Pulikottil, the change of the preposition

makes clear the interpretive decision of the double complement structure[120] (as also translated in

DSSB Isaiah 10:24).[121] Such a reading differs from 𝔐ᴸ, in which case it was likely interpreted as an

adjunct phrase, subordinate to the verb יכבה. Interpreting בשבט as an adjunct phrase is possible

on the grounds that אשר can be covert in prophetical and poetic texts (i.e.,אשר] בשבט יכבה]).[122]

In sum, two likely explanations remain. It was either an error on the grounds of graphical

similarity, or the variance attests to two difference interpretive traditions. It is difficult to say which

is more probably, yet a graphical error is the simplest of the two.[123]

4.2.3.6. Isaiah 10:25 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:25
1QIsaᵃ 10:12	כי עוד מעט מזער וכלה זעם ואפי על תבליתם
4Q57 4, 4	[ ] וֹאֹפֹּיֹ] עַ[לֹ]
𝔐ᴸ	כִּי־עֹוד מְעַט מִזְעָר וְכָלָה זַעַם וְאַפִּי עַל־תַּבְלִיתָם

Isaiah 10:25 does not attest to any diachronic syntactical difference to note.

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[120] Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 112.

[121] "Therefore thus says my Lord, the LORD of hosts: My people living in Zion, do not be afraid of the Assyrian, *of the rod that strikes you* or the staff lifted up against you, in the fashion of Egypt" DSSNT 10:24; italics original.

[122] JM §3d; cf. Waltke and O'Connor, *IBHS*, §11.4.3. See also Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 431.

[123] Depending on one's preference for philosophical logic, the simplest explanation, called Occam's Razor, is sometimes preferred when adjudicating between competing explanations.

4.2.3.7. Isaiah 10:26 as Extant in 1QIsa[a], 4Q57, and 𝔐[L]

Isa 10:26	
1QIsa[a] 10:12-13	וייעיר עליו יהוה צבאות שוט כמכֹת מדין בצור עורב ומטהו על הים ונשאו בדרך מצרים
4Q57 3, 4	[שו]ֹט כֹּמֹ[כת]
𝔐[L]	וְעוֹרֵר עָלָיו יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שׁוֹט כְּמַכַּת מִדְיָן בְּצוּר עוֹרֵב וּמַטֵּהוּ עַל־הַיָּם וּנְשָׂאוֹ בְּדֶרֶךְ מִצְרָיִם

The *polel* form (עור√) *wāw* + perfect in 𝔐[L] reads differently than the *hipʿil wāw* + imperfect in 1QIsa[a]. Scholars have described and notated a decreased usage of a perfect consecutive in LBH and/or QH.[124] Kutscher categorized this change as a modernization on the basis of a common form.[125] The description of "more common" by Kutscher is articulated by Qimron who has argued that there was a preference of *hipʿil* against the *qal* in some verbal lemmas.[126] Of course, the form in 𝔐 is a *polel*, but several other variances can be found where the *polel* differs at a comparative level (1QIsa[a] 10:17 ינוף[127] ≠ Isa 10:32 𝔐[L] ינפף; 1QIsa[a] 13:11 ערו ≠ Isa 15:5 𝔐[L] יעערו; 1QIsa[a] 50:18 יכין ≠ Isa 62:7 𝔐[L] יכונן). The variance in 1QIsa[a] 13:11 likewise attests to a variance in verbal stem yet with the same lemma עור. However, there are other occurrences where a *polel* form remains (cf. 1QIsa[a] 12:10 = Isa 14:9).[128] As discussed in the previous chapter, however, one should not expect a wholesale updating of a particular feature, and nor does the lack of evidence for a global update of a LBH and/or QH feature abnegate the premise of diachronic syntactical changes.

When considering the larger corpus of non-biblical scrolls and sectarian scrolls, there is a

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[124] Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 43; Abegg, "Linguistic Profile," 38.

[125] "The Scroll has וייעיר in 10:26, instead of ועורר, because this form is more common" Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 43.

[126] Qimron, *HDSS*, 49.

[127] See discussion below.

[128] Col. XII was torn at some point in the history of the scroll, and it was later stitched up (see DJD 32:1, Pl. XII).

lower frequency of *polel* forms (98 occurrences[129]); however, one should bear in mind that the *polel*

forms are limited to a certain type of lemma. Both in the biblical, non-biblical, and sectarian

scrolls, the so-called bi-consonantal lemmas take this form, often where a *piʿel* is expected.[130] Ad-

ducing the lower frequency of *polel* in the non-biblical and sectarian scrolls, therefore, does not

ipso facto indicate a diachronic change. Differences in genre can affect the frequency of vocabulary

selection during compositional activities.

Since the variance most likely occurred in the process of transmission and scholars have

noted a tendency for the *hipʿil* to replace certain forms, this variance was likely prompted by di-

achronic changes. However, a full scale study of the frequency of verbal forms and genre issues is

required before a conclusive decision can be reached.

4.2.3.8. Isaiah 10:27 as Extant in 1QIsa^a, 4Q57, and 𝔐^L

	Isa 10:27
1QIsa^a 10, 14	והיה ביום ההוא יסור סבלו מעל שכמך ועֹולו מעל צוארך וחבל עול מפני שמן
4Q57 4, 5	[בֹ]י[ו]ֹם ׳סור סֹ[ובלו] [ ]
𝔐^L	וְהָיָה בַיּוֹם הַהוּא יָסוּר סֻבֳּלוֹ מֵעַל שִׁכְמֶךָ וְעֻלּוֹ מֵעַל צַוָּארֶךָ וְחֻבַּל עֹל מִפְּנֵי־שָׁמֶן

A comparison between 1QIsa^a, 4Q57, and 𝔐^L reveals that 4Q57 lacks the demonstrative pronoun.

The phrase ההוא יום is a frequent idiom occurring some 226 times in the Hebrew Bible. Skehan

and Ulrich compare 𝔐^L Isaiah 7:17 and 4Q57 9 II, 21 with the present verse, in which case the for-

mer has the anarthrous יום and the latter also has a supralinear addition. This omission of ההוא

does not find explanation on grounds of LBH or QH syntactical developments; it is most likely a

[129] Martin G. Abegg, Jr., *Qumran non-biblical Manuscripts* (version 4.0; Altamonte Springs: OakTree Software, Inc, 1999), n.p. Search arguments: "[verb polel]".

[130] Waltke and O'Conner, *IBHS*, §28.1.

mechanical error, in which case the scribe inadvertently skipped over ההוא.[131]

4.2.3.9. Isaiah 10:28 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:28
בא על עיה֯ עבר במגרון למכמש[132] יפקיד כליו	1QIsaᵃ 10, 15
[ב]א אל עיׄוׄת עׄ]בׄר[	4Q57 4, 6
בָּא עַל־עַיַּת֯ עָבַר בְּמִגְרוֹן לְמִכְמָשׂ יַפְקִיד כֵּלָיו	𝔐ᴸ

(with ת above עיה in the 1QIsaᵃ line)

Isaiah 10:20 above showed the same variance between על and אל, but 𝔐ᴸ reads in agreement with a diachronic change. In this case, 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ attests to a diachronic change. The change of אל to על does indeed seem to occur throughout BH, LBH, to MH, in which case the latter attests to a frequency of 72 occurrences of אל in comparison to a frequency of 3904 of על (out of approximately 190,000 words).[133] Nevertheless, this variance is not necessarily a diachronic syntactical change, but rather a lexical change.

Another variance is apparent when comparing 1QIsaᵃ of עיתה, 4Q57 עיות, and 𝔐ᴸ עית.[134] Qimron argued (vis-à-vis Gesenius[135]) that the directionality marker has lost its syntactical function in DSS Hebrew. Perhaps, the addition of the ת perhaps attests to a difference in morphology rather than syntax, insofar as a later scribe added it.[136] As such, this variance is most likely prompt-

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[131] Thus, I agree with Ulrich and Skehan (see DJD 15, 56). In addition, the ancient versions seemingly attest to the demonstrative (cf. 𝔊 𝔗 𝔖 𝔙).

[132] 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐 both agree, but the lemma is "מִכְמָס" DCH, 5:269. Cf. Ezra 2:27.

[133] Martin Abegg, Jr., *Kaufmann Mishna A 50 Manuscript Morphologically Tagged* (version 2.5; Altamonte Springs, Fl: OakTree Software, Inc, 2009), n.p.

[134] *HUB*ˡˢ records a reading of עות (citing Kennicott).

[135] GKC §90g.

[136] see DJD 32:2, 103. See also s.v., "עִיָּה," *HALOT*, 2:816.

ed by morphological issues and not syntactical change.

4.2.3.10. Isaiah 10:29 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:29
1QIsaᵃ 10, 15-16	עבר במעברה גבע מלון לנו חרדה הרמה גבעת שאול נסה
4Q57 4, 7	[חרד]ֿה הרמה גב[עת]
𝔐ᴸ	עָבְרוּ מַעְבָּרָה גֶּבַע מָלוֹן לָנוּ חָרְדָה הָרָמָה גִּבְעַת שָׁאוּל נָסָה

Isaiah 10:29 presents another syntactical variance with the reading of 1QIsaᵃ עבר במעברה and 𝔐ᴸ

עברו מעברה. With the discourse developing in 3ʳᵈ singular forms (see 10:24–28 above), the scribe

has maintained a consistent pattern of using the singular, whose antecedent is found in 10:24, the

Assyrian army. In addition to creating an agreement with the singular verbal forms, the scribe of

1QIsaᵃ includes the ב on the nominal form מעברה, which is of no major significance per se. Includ-

ing the ב was perhaps motived by means of 10:27 which contains the same syntagm (עבר במגרון);

whether it was a conscious decision by the scribe or not, the various changes are not erroneous,

and several occasions, such as this one, demonstrate a penchant to make the relationships be-

tween the phrasal and clausal constituents apparent. Such changes indicate an active interpretive

process so as to reduce semantic ambiguities, at least from the *emic* perspective. However, this

does not seem to have been prompted by any diachronic developments, but rather the scribe in-

tervened at the level of syntax, creating concord between the subject and verb.[137]

4.2.3.11. Isaiah 10:30 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:30
1QIsaᵃ 10, 16	צהלי קולך בת גלים הקשיבי ליֿש עניה ענתות
4Q57 4, 8	[ ] [ג]ֿלֿים[ ]
𝔐ᴸ	צַהֲלִי קוֹלֵךְ בַּת־גַּלִּים הַקְשִׁיבִי לַיְשָׁה עֲנִיָּה עֲנָתוֹת

The variance here between 1QIsaᵃ ליש and 𝔐ᴸ לישה could be a case where the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ

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137 Cf. Waltke and O'Connor, *IBHS*, §6.6b.

removed the *hê*. If the proper noun as ליש[138] was interpreted as being distinct from the proper

noun לישה,[139] then perhaps the scribe removed the *hê*.[140] However, the previous verbal form coun-

teracts such an explanation, since it is not a lemma whose semantics are related to motion. Anoth-

er option could be a confusion of place names, as either proper noun is a *hapax legomenon*. It is

difficult to say this variance is a syntactical variance.

4.2.3.12. Isaiah 10:31 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:31
1QIsaᵃ 10, 16-17	נדדה מרמנה[141] <u>יושבי</u> הגבים העיזו
4Q57 4, 8	[נדד]ה מ°ממנה [ישבי]
𝔐ᴸ	נָדְדָה מַדְמֵנָה <u>יֹשְׁבֵי</u> הַגֵּבִים הֵעִיזוּ

While the material evidence between 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ is the same, the supralinear ה raises suspicion

as to whether any diachronic changes prompted the scribe to incidentally omit the determination

marker, but later included it.[142] Joüon and Muraoka have suggested several diachronic changes that

include the syntax of the determination marker,[143] but none of their proposed changes grants suffi-

cient means to support a premise that the scribe's language prompted the change here. Conse-

quently, the supralinear ה is probably best explained by a copyist error.

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[138] This proper noun refers to the "city in extreme north of Canaan, conquered and renamed Dan by tribe of Dan." s.v., "לַיִשׁ," *DCH*, 4:545.

[139] The reference of this proper noun is stated to be "3 km NE of Jerusalem." s.v., "לַיְשָׁה," *DCH*, 4:545.

[140] Qimron, *HDSS*, 340*.

[141] The scroll is difficult to interpret on this reading. DJD 32 does not indicate a probable or likely reading with a solid or hollow circlet, but perhaps should. Q-P transcribe it as מדמנה (Parry Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll*, 21).

[142] Ulrich and Flint declare it is an emendation by the first hand (see DJD 32:2, 103).

[143] JM 68, 104, 504. See also 259.

4.2.3.13. Isaiah 10:32 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:32
1QIsaᵃ 10, 17	עוד היום בנב לעמוד ינוף ידיו הר בת[144] ציון גבעת ירושלים
4Q57 4, 9	[ ]הֿיום[ ] [ ]בת ציון גב[עת]
𝔐ᴸ	עוֹד הַיּוֹם בְּנֹב לַעֲמֹד יְנֹפֵף יָדוֹ הַר בֵּית־צִיּוֹן גִּבְעַת יְרוּשָׁלָֽם

The variance between 1QIsaᵃ ינוף (*Qal* Imperf. 3ʳᵈ Masc. Sing. √נוף) and 𝔐ᴸ ינפף (*polel* Imperf. 3ʳᵈ Masc. Sing. √נוף), as with Isaiah 10:26 above, was most likely prompted by the decline of the *polel* forms. A mechanical error is conceivable, insofar as the final ף was overlooked and the ו marks the /o/ class vowel of the imperfect stem. Additional philological evidence is lacking to support such a claim, however.[145] As such, the variance is probably best explained by the diachronic trends of the decline of the *polel* forms.

4.2.3.14. Isaiah 10:33 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:33
1QIsaᵃ 10, 18-19	הנה האדון יהוה צבאות מסעף פארה במערצה ורמי הקומה גדועים והגבהים ישפלו
4Q57 4, 10	[הקו]מֹהֿ [ ]גֿ[ועי]סֿ[ ] [ ]צֿ[ ][146] [ ]
𝔐ᴸ	הִנֵּה הָאָדוֹן יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת מְסָעֵף פֻּארָה בְּמַעֲרָצָה וְרָמֵי הַקּוֹמָה גְּדוּעִים וְהַגְּבֹהִים יִשְׁפָּלוּ

As with 10:31 above, the original scribe wrote in a supralinear ה.[147] This case does not seem related to any diachronic changes in the syntax of the determination marker.[148] To provide additional support for such a claim, the Judaean Desert or Qumran material attests to some 821 occurrences of a

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[144] Both 1QIsaᵃ and 4QIsaᶜ support the *Qere* reading בת of the *masorah parva* of the Leningrad Codex B19 A (𝔐ᴸ). This does not affect the syntax, however, and will not be discussed here.

[145] Of course, this could be a one time occurrence.

[146] The scribe of 4Q57 used the paleo-Hebrew script for the divine name and associated epithets (see DJD 32:2, 45–74).

[147] DJD 32:2, 103. Cf. Isaiah 10:34 above.

[148] The determination on the absolute form, per 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ, is broadly attested in EBH; See JM §139.

plural noun, adjective, or participle in the construct state whereby the determination of the syntagm is evident by the inclusion of the determination on *nomen rectum*.[149] The scribe perhaps was influenced by other texts such as 1QM 14, 11 and 4Q491 8-10 I, 8 where the determination was not used. However, it is difficult to say that a textual dependency was operative on such little evidence.

4.2.3.15. Isaiah 10:34 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 10:34
1QIsaᵃ 10, 19-20	ונקף סבכֿי היער בברזל והלבנון באדיר יפול
𝔐ᴸ	וְנִקַּף סִבְכֵי הַיַּער בַּבַּרְזֶל וְהַלְּבָנוֹן בְּאַדִּיר יִפּוֹל

There are no diachronic syntactical variances to note in Isaiah 10:34.

4.2.3.16 Isaiah 11:1 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 11:1
1QIsaᵃ 10, 20	ויצא חטר מגזע ישי ונצר <u>משורשיו</u> יפרה
𝔐ᴸ	וְיָצָא חֹטֶר מִגֵּזַע יִשָׁי וְנֵצֶר <u>מִשָּׁרָשָׁיו</u> יִפְרֶה

There are no diachronic syntactical variances to note in Isaiah 11:1.

4.2.3.17 Isaiah 11:2 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

|	Isa 11:2
1QIsaᵃ 10, 20-21	ונחה עליו רוח יהוה רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עצה וגבורֿה רוח דעת ויראת יהוה
𝔐ᴸ	וְנָחָה עָלָיו רוּחַ יְהוָה רוּחַ חָכְמָה וּבִינָה רוּחַ עֵצָה וּגְבוּרָה רוּחַ דַּעַת וְיִרְאַת יְהוָה

There are no diachronic syntactical variances to note in Isaiah 11:2.

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[149] Martin Abegg Jr., *Qumran non-biblical Manuscripts,* (version 4.0.; Altamonte Springs: OakTree Software Inc., 2009) n.p.

4.2.3.18. Isaiah 11:3 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 11:3
1QIsaᵃ 10, 21-22	והריחו ביראת יהוה ול̅ו̅א למראה <u>עניו</u> ישפוט ול̅ו̅א למשמע <u>אוזנו</u> יוכיח
𝔐ᴸ	<u>וַהֲרִיחוֹ בְּיִרְאַת יְהוָה וְלֹא־לְמַרְאֵה עֵינָיו יִשְׁפּוֹט וְלֹא־לְמִשְׁמַע אָזְנָיו יוֹכִיחַ</u>

There are no diachronic syntactical variances to note in Isaiah 11:3.

4.2.3.19. Isaiah 11:4 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 11:4
1QIsaᵃ 10, 22-23	ב ושפט בצדק דלים והוכיח במישור <u>לעניי</u> ה̅א̅ר̅ץ̅ והכה ה̅א̅ר̅ץ̅ בשט פיו יו̅מ̅ת רש̅ע וברוח שפתיו יומת רשע
4Q57 6, 1-2	[ ] [ ]◦[ ] [צ̅דק̅] [ ]י̅מ̅ות̅ רשע
𝔐ᴸ	וְשָׁפַט בְּצֶדֶק דַּלִּים וְהוֹכִיחַ בְּמִישׁוֹר <u>לְעַנְוֵי־אָרֶץ</u> וְהִכָּה־אֶרֶץ בְּשֵׁבֶט פִּיו <u>וּבְרוּחַ</u> שְׂפָתָיו <u>יָמִית</u> רָשָׁע

There are three variances to note in Isaiah 11:4, two of which are likely related and will discussed together. The variances of הארץ were probably attempts to clarify the sense of the passage. To further support the claim of clarifying the sense, the syntagm in 𝔐ᴸ implies a determined status on the basis of the construct relationship.[150] Thus, the 1QIsaᵃ readings are according to the plain sense of the text, and are made explicit by the inclusion of the determination.

The variance between 1QIsaᵃ and 4Q57 ימות (*hopʿal* Imperf. 3ʳᵈ masc. sing. √מות) and 𝔐ᴸ ימית (*hipʿil* Imperf. 3ʳᵈ masc. sing. √מות) shows a difference between the passive and active forms. Given that both 1QIsaᵃ and 4Q57 agree, there is a chance that 𝔐ᴸ attests to a mechanical error with a confusion of the *wāw/yôd*. It is not implausible that both the scribes of 1QIsaᵃ and 4Q57 have

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[150] This is further evident by the many translators, both ancient and contemporary, who have likewise sensed a determined status in both occurrences of ארץ (cf. 𝔊, 𝔖, NRSV, NIV, ESV). On the other hand, JPS translates the second occurrence as indeterminate ("He shall strike down a land with the rod of his mouth . . . "). By translating the second occurrence with the indeterminate, the reading gives the sense that the impending judgment is a generalization whereby any land whose leaders do not uphold justice and integrity for its people will incur such a judgment. However, this reading does not concord with the development of the pericope of 11:2–5, unless it were treated as a eschatological statement such as "He shall strike down *every land* with the rod of his mouth" as a literary prelude to Isaiah 13–22 (see JM §137i, but notice however this requires that ארץ was understood as collective noun).

emended their text according to the sense of the passage.[151] In addition, the corpora of EBH, LBH, and QH do not show any diachronic trends for a preference for passive over active.[152] It is difficult to say either way what best accounts for the variance here.

4.2.3.20. Isaiah 11:5 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 4Q57, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 11:5
1QIsaᵃ 10, 23-24	והיה צדק אזור מתניו ואמונה אזור חלציו
4Q57 6, 2	והיה צדק אֿזֿוֿרֿ [ ]◦[ ] ◦[ ] ◦[ ]ל֯ציו[ח
𝔐ᴸ	וְהָיָה צֶדֶק אֵזוֹר מָתְנָיו וְהָאֱמוּנָה אֵזוֹר חֲלָצָיו

The difference between 1QIsaᵃ ואמונה and 𝔐ᴸ והאמונה likewise attests to a variance involving the determination. As with 11:4 above, there are no diachronic changes in the syntax of the determination that can be adduced to explain the variances between the Mss. In 4Q161 f8 10:16, the DJD editors propose a reading of וֺא֯[מונה]. The reconstruction of the *wāw* and *ʾālep* seems correct when one consults the infrared images of the fragment:
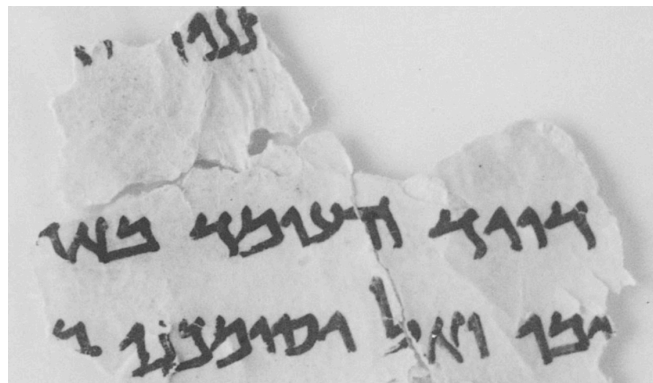
PAM M42.453[153]

The two lower strokes of the second word in line 16 are consistent with the same ligature of the second word ואל of line 18, thus granting evidence to affirm that 4Q161 reads in agreement with

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[151] On this reading, Kutscher merely notes "Reason?" (Kutscher, *LLBIS*, 403).

[152] Some have argued the reverse is true of LBH (see Sáenz-Badillos, *HHL*, 118, 145).

[153] Najib Anton Albina, "Plate 600, 585, 583 B-283941," *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* (http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-361576; Accessed May 17, 2014). Cf. DJD 5, 11–15.

1QIsaᵃ.[154] Paulson Pulikottil has noted, nevertheless,

> [A]t this point the *pesher* does not show any particular exegetical interest in dropping the article. Moreover, since the LXX also agrees with the scroll and the *pesharim*, it could well reflect a common text rather than an intentional change.[155]

Thus, there are two options. The first option is that the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ has replicated his *Vorlage*, and 4Q161 likewise attests to the *Vorlage.* However, the reading of 𝔐ᴸ convolutes the parallelism and syntax of the sentence. The sentence begins with the description that "righteousness will be the belt around his waist." "Righteousness" (צדק) here is anarthrous. The description continues with the second independent clause (marked by the *wāw*). Syntactically, one would expect אמונה to likewise be anarthrous, as the second quality used to characterize the "belt." As for the reading of 𝔐ᴸ under this option, the inclusion of the determination (= 𝔐ᴸ) is perhaps a later scribal error. The second option is that both the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ and 4Q161 both emended their text, assuming their *Vorlagen* reflects a text like 𝔐ᴸ, to solve grammatical difficultly presented by the determination marker.

4.2.3.21. Summary of Case Study 3

Among the 214 extant words in the second case study of Isaiah 10:20–11:5, eight variances find explanation by syntactical change (10:26, 10:29, 10:30, 10:32, 11:4[3x], 11:5). In addition, the case studies continue to reveal two sorts of changes. Some syntactical changes were motivated by the interpretive interests of the scribe (e.g., Isaiah 11:4 הארץ [2x]), in which case changes were made in attempts to clarify the semantics of the sentence. Other variances (e.g., 10:26) were made on account

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[154] Admittedly, the *wāw* does seem to have a slight curvature which is inconsistent with the scribal hand elsewhere in the fragment. However, the degree to which the second stroke angles back is not congruent with the palaeography of the ה.

[155] Pulikottil, *TBTQ*, 192.

of diachronic syntactical changes in the language of the scribe. Both of these changes lend additional support to buttress the claim that a scribe could participate in the formation of the text in Second Temple era. Furthermore, it demonstrates the need, as addressed in chapter 2, for methodological analysis of textual transmission to move beyond assessing variances vis-à-vis manuscript stemma.

4.2.4. Case Study 4: Isaiah 13:1–9

Given the twenty-two extant scrolls, this passage is the most widely attested. The desire to avoid selection bias is maintained, for it is by chance that this portion of Isaiah has remained extant in the various scrolls and fragments. By selecting a passage with the most extant verses of Isaiah, the hypothesis is further tested in attempts to determine whether quantity of manuscripts reveals more variances per word count. Thus far in the study, a generalization of one syntactical change occurs for every 28 words can be made.

4.2.4.1. Isaiah 13:1 as Extant in 1QIsa^a, 1Q8, 4Q55, 4Q59, and $\mathfrak{M}^L$

	Isa 13:1
1QIsa^a 11, 12	משא בבל אשר חזה <u>ישעיה</u> בן אמוץ
1Q8 5 b, 4	[ ]
4Q55 8, 4	[ ]
4Q59 19, 7	[מ]שא בבל אשרֺ] חזה]
$\mathfrak{M}^L$	מַשָּׂא בָּבֶל אֲשֶׁר חָזָה <u>יְשַׁעְיָהוּ</u> בֶּן־אָמוֹץ

The variance between the perfect ($\mathfrak{M}^L$) with the participle (1QIsa^a) is

Of the five changes of the perfect to the participle discussed above, three (Isaiah 28:16, Isaiah 44:12; Isaiah 57:1) provide additional evidence to understand the variance in Isaiah 1:13 as related to pragmatics of an ongoing or iterative action. This is, concerning the issue in Isaiah 13:1, as the incipit to the subsequent oracle, the scribe of 1QIsa^a perhaps changed the perfect to the participle

on the basis of literary developments. It clues the reader into the unfolding and ongoing judgments on the nations, the content of chapters (13–22). Whether this is sure case of diachronic change, however, requires additional research in the verbal changes of LBH and/or QH.

4.2.4.2. Isaiah 13:2 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 1Q8, 4Q55, 4Q59, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 13:2
1QIsaᵃ 11, 12–13	עַל הר נשפה שאו נס הרימו קול להם הניפו יד יבוֹא פתחי נדיבים
1Q8 5 b, 5	[שׁא]וּ נס הרימֹו קול להם הנ[פוּ]
4Q55 8, 4	עַל הר נשפה שאו נס הרימו קול להם הניפו יד יבאוֹ פתחי נדיבֹם
4Q59 19, 7	[קו]ל להם הניפו יד ויבאוֹ [ ]
𝔐ᴸ	עַל הַר־נִשְׁפֶּה שְׂאוּ־נֵס הָרִימוּ קוֹל לָהֶם הָנִיפוּ יָד וְיָבֹאוּ פִּתְחֵי נְדִיבִים

First to note is the conjunctive *wāw* variance. The *wāw* variances are a marked feature of the scribal freedom in the Second Temple era. Given that the preceding verbs lack a *wāw*, perhaps the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ removed the *wāw* to match the previous verbs, or perhaps the scribe of 4Q59 (= 𝔐ᴸ) included the *wāw* stylistic reasons. It is difficult to say.

The change in person from third (4Q55 = 4Q59 = 𝔐ᴸ) to the singular (1QIsaᵃ) most likely reflects an attempt of the scribe of 1QIsaᵃ to clarify the subject of the verb. The antecedent was most likely understood as נס (banner), whereas the antecedent for the plural form is vague.

4.2.4.3. Isaiah 13:3 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 1Q8, 4Q55, 4Q59, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 13:3
1QIsaᵃ 11, 13	אני צויתי למקדשי גַם קראתי גבורי לאפי עליזי גֿאותי
1Q8 5 b, 6	[קר]אֹתי גברי לאפי עֿליזי גא[ותי]
4Q55 8, 5	[לא]פי עליזי גאותי
4Q59 19, 8	[ ]
𝔐ᴸ	אֲנִי צִוֵּיתִי לִמְקֻדָּשָׁי גַּם קָרָאתִי גִבּוֹרַי לְאַפִּי עַלִּיזֵי גַּאֲוָתִי

There are no variances of syntactical difference to note in Isaiah 13:3.

4.2.4.4. Isaiah 13:4 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 1Q8, 4Q55, 4Q56, 4Q59, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 13:4
1QIsaᵃ 11, 13-14	קול המון בהרים דמות עמׄ רב קול שאון ממלכות גואים נספים יהוה צבאות מפקד צבא מלחמה
1Q8 5 b, 7	[גוים נׄאׄספים יהוׄה צׄבׄאׄוׄת מׄפׄ[קד]
4Q55 8, 5-6	קול המון בהרים דמ[ות עם]רב קול שאון ממלכות [ ] [מׄלחמה
4Q56 7, 1-2	קוׄל המון בהרים דׄמות עם רב קׄ[ול] [צ]בׄאות מפקיד צבא מלחמה
4Q59 19, 8	[ק]וׄל הׄמׄוׄן בׄהרים
𝔐ᴸ	קֹול הָמֹון בֶּהָרִים דְּמות עַם־רָב קֹול שְׁאֹון מַמְלְכֹות גֹּויִם נֶאֱסָפִים יְהוָה צְבָאֹות מְפַקֵּד צְבָא מִלְחָמָה

Two factors may contribute in explaining this variance. First, given that the subject of the participle is יהוה, this perhaps attests to a interpretive variance in the reading of 4Q56. The gathering of the army was likely understood as an action orchestrated by יהוה, in which case the causative stem conveyed this interest of the scribe. Second, the scribe of 4Q56 changed the *pi'el* to the *hip'il* in light of the low frequency of the lemma פקד in the *pi'el* (which occurs only once here).

It is difficult to affirm the first option in light of the data of the second, which is to say, the lemma פקד occurs most frequently in the *qal* or *hip'il*. Given the context of the verse, the scribe of 4Q56 most likely over looked the meaning פקד has in its *pi'el* form, namely, "to muster an army."[156]

4.2.4.5. Isaiah 13:5 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 1Q8, 4Q55, 4Q56, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 13:5
1QIsaᵃ 11, 15	באים מארץ מרחק מקצה השמים יהוה וכלי זעמו לחבל כל הארץ
1Q8 5 b, 8	[השמי]ֹםׄ יהוׄ]ה וכלי זעמו לחבל כֹ[ל]
4Q55 8, 6	באים מאׄרׄ[ץ] מרחק מׄקצה השמים [ ]
4Q56 7, 2-3	באים מארץ מרחק מקצֹ[ה] [כ]ל הארץ
𝔐ᴸ	בָּאִים מֵאֶרֶץ מֶרְחָק מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמָיִם יְהוָה וּכְלֵי זַעְמֹו לְחַבֵּל כָּל־הָאָרֶץ

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156 s.v., "פקד," *HALOT*, 3:957. See also "פקד," *TLOT*, 228.

There are no variances of syntactical difference to note in Isaiah 13:5.

4.2.4.6. Isaiah 13:6 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 1Q8, 4Q55, 4Q56, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 13:6
הילילו כי קרוב יום יהוה כשד משדי יבוא	1QIsaᵃ 11, 16
[י]ֹם יהוה כשד מֹשֹ[די]יבוא	4Q55 8, 7
הילילו כי קרוב יום יהוה כֹשד משדי יבֹ[א]	4Q56 7, 3
הֵילִילוּ כִּי קָרוֹב יוֹם יְהוָה כְּשֹׁד מִשַּׁדַּי יָבוֹא	𝔐ᴸ

There are no variances of syntactical difference to note in Isaiah 13:6.

4.2.4.7. Isaiah 13:7 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 1Q8, 4Q55, 4Q56, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 13:7
על כן כול ידין וכל לבב אנוש ימס	1QIsaᵃ 11, 16
[כ]לֹ[ ]יֹדים תרפינֹה וכל[ ]	1Q8 5 b, 9
על כן כל ידים תרפיניה וכֹ[ל]	4Q55 8, 7
[א]נוש ימאס	4Q56 7, 4
עַל־כֵּן כָּל־יָדַיִם תִּרְפֶּינָה וְכָל־לְבַב אֱנוֹשׁ יִמָּס	𝔐ᴸ

There are no variances of syntactical difference to note in Isaiah 13:7.

4.2.4.8. Isaiah 13:8 as Extant in 1QIsaᵃ, 1Q8, 4Q55, 4Q56, and 𝔐ᴸ

	Isa 13:8
ונבהלו צירים וחבלים יאחזון כיולדה יחילון איש אל רעהו יתמהו זֹפני להבים פניהם	1QIsaᵃ 11, 16-17
[איש]אֹל רעה[ו]	1Q8 5 b, 10
[יחי]לֹון איש אל רעהו יתמהו פני להבים פניהם	4Q55 8, 8
ונבהלֹו צירים וחבלי[ם] [ ] יתמהו פני להבים פניהם	4Q56 7, 4-5
וְנִבְהָלוּ צִירִים וַחֲבָלִים יֹאחֵזוּן כַּיּוֹלֵדָה יְחִילוּן אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ יִתְמָהוּ פְּנֵי לְהָבִים פְּנֵיהֶם	𝔐ᴸ

The final case study presents only one variance of the *wāw*. Again, this does not seemingly find explanation by means of diachronic syntactical change.

4.2.4.9. Summary of Case Study 4

Of the 101 extant words in 1QIsaᵃ, four syntactical changes were surfaced. These changes continue

to demonstrate the scribe's participation in the structure and shape of the text, particularly at the level of clarifying syntactical issues. There were no changes that explicitly related to LBH and/or QH features. Lastly, the quantity of scrolls and fragments did not necessarily turn up more variances than the previous case studies.

4.3. Summary and Conclusion of Case Studies

In this chapter, I have examined four case studies consisting of 522 words. The case studies turned up a total of 28 syntactical variances. Thus, a general description can be made with a syntactical variance occurring once in every 18 words. The syntactical differences are either prompted by the scribe's interest to clarify the clausal and phrasal relationships or by diachronic changes in the scribes language. This amount of variance seems to justify the need for a comprehensive analysis of the entire text of Isaiah. With the case studies complete, it is now time to turn to the concluding chapter of the thesis. The final chapter will return to the importance of the methodology used herein, particularly as it relates to transmission theories.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.0. Summary and Affirmation of the Hypothesis of Syntactical Change

The study began with the hypothesis of whether syntactical change has been incorporated in the four reigning transmission theories in scholarship today. In chapter 2, a survey of each of the transmission theories revealed that by and large issues of syntax have been overlooked or have not been incorporated into the theorists methodology. To determine how syntax should be incorporated, chapter 3 set out the historical linguistic methodology used to determine syntactical change. Theoretically, the syntactical change hypothesis could be applied to any of the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, yet the present study focused only on sections from the book of Isaiah. The purpose for restricting the methodology to Isaiah was two-fold. On the one hand, the *Great Isaiah Scroll* was castigated by text-critics upon its discovery; the underlying methodological presumptions and a preference for 𝔐 dominated text-critical methodologies prior to the discovery of the DSS. On the other hand, recent scholarship has affirmed that a still-fluid text is characteristic of Second Temple Judaism. Scholars have thus argued that 𝔐 is only *a* text, and it should not be treated as the defining text for scribal activities of the Second Temple era. Thus, the present study has approached the Isaiah scrolls and fragments as reliable witnesses to Second Temple scribal activity and textual transmission. Lastly, The case studies of chapter 4 tested the hypothesis of whether a particular group of changes could rightly be categorized as syntactical changes and therefore adequately explain some of the observable variances in the Isaiah scrolls. In this concluding chapter, it is time to close out

the study by revisiting the hypothesis as it pertains to textual transmission theories.

5.1. Affirmation of Hypothesis: Syntactical Change Accounts for Some Textual Variances

At the outset of the study, the question was raised whether the predominant transmission theories had incorporated historical linguistics to account for the homogeneity and disparity of readings between scrolls and manuscripts. A survey of the four reigning transmission theories demonstrated that, while the linguistic categories of orthography, phonology, and morphology had received meticulous attention by Tov, syntax has gone unexamined for the most part. Talmon's theory of Multiple Pristine texts utilized syntax on an *ad hoc* basis, but Talmon did not make historical linguistics or syntax an explicit methodological premise. Consequently, a linguistic methodology was developed to determine whether syntax accounts for some of the differences between the Judaean Desert Isaiah scrolls, fragments, and 𝔐. As a result of the case studies, the hypothesis of syntactical change can be affirmed. The randomized data presented here evinces a textual variant that is best explained by means of syntactical change of at least two sorts: diachronic and clarification.

Some variances indicate that syntactical change was the result of a scribe intervening in the text so as to clarify phrasal and clausal relationships (e.g., עבר במעברה' Isa 10:29). With regard to these syntactical clarifications, the scribal practice evinces a level of freedom whereby the scribe participated in the ongoing textual growth of Isaiah. Other variances also exhibit a level of freedom and are likewise related to syntax, yet they fall in line more with diachronic changes in the language of the scribe. While there are times when diachronic changes overlap with and even perhaps caused the clarification changes, they too attest to a level of freedom in the transmission of the text of Isaiah.

While the next step would be to comprehensively analyze the entire Isaiah corpus and

larger biblical scrolls, I would like to address two important implications of this study. The first is the need to integrate a historical linguistic methodology into existing transmission theories, and the second is the benefit that a historical linguistic approach offers textual assessment.

5.2. Integrating Historical Linguistics into Theories of Textual Transmission

The philological methodology used in any textual analysis is established by the criteria(on) used to formulate its categories. The Age of the Enlightenment has handed over a philological approach whereby textual transmission centered around the categorical title of "recensions." Within Enlightenment Philology, or Lachamannian Philology,[1] categories are founded by the result of collating texts on the basis of filial relationships. Recensions are a genetic posterior witness to the, often time, non-extant anterior archetype. Textual variation between the manuscripts then reflect the genetic makeup of each extant witness. The criteria of discerning textual families is founded on the process of discerning textual stemma, the DNA of each family, upon which additional manuscripts can be measured. Such a philological approach primes its critic to perceive textual variation in the negative, that is, the philological process is to "ferret out" inferior readings. The scribe is conceived of as the printing press of the modern era—his goal was the faithful replication of his *Vorlage*.

The influence of Lachmannian Philology, or 'lower-critical' method, is evident in the Local Text theory, whereby it was said three textual families (Egyptian [OG], Babylonian [Pre-MT], and Palestinian) were recensions to an archetype or *Urtext*. Indeed, the influence is also observable in the very categorical titles of Tov's *Non-aligned* theory, which is not to say that Tov is in agreement

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[1] See Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method* (Translated by Most Glenn W.. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005)

with the Local Text recensions proposal. Rather, the point here is that philological methods of the previous era are at odds with the data now observable in the scrolls and fragments from the Dead Sea and refuge caves—yet the influence of Lachmannian philology is patently evident. A study as conducted here demonstrates the need to include the insights of historical linguistics into transmission theories of the Hebrew Bible.

However, it should also be recognized that the Lachmannian Philological methodology offers an important comparative tool for locating textual differences—the very act of collation is the process to learn of the disparity between witnesses. At an *etic* level, as observers of the available extant data, we can compare texts to learn of the variation inherent within them. The problem, however, is when we attempt to utilize Lachmannian Philology at the *emic* level, that is, for the experiential level of the scribe. Ulrich has eloquently captured the categorical confusion when he writes,

> The present situation in scholarship is that there is a need for a revised mentality and for a paradigmatic revision in our categories and criteria. The reason that the scriptural scrolls surprise us is not the scroll texts themselves but our categories and criteria for assessing the biblical text in antiquity. The common default mentality of biblical scholars (or, our faulty mentality) is that the Masoretic text is the standard text and canon of the Hebrew Bible, and that texts (or books) which are not identical to the Masoretic Text are sectarian, or vulgar, or nonbiblical. But the problem is not the scrolls, but rather (a) the presuppositions of scholars and students, and (b) the theories regarding the history of the biblical text.[2]

For the purpose of identifying variances, the collation component of Lachmannian philology is helpful, but its limitations are apparent when attempting to explain the variances. A great deal of the variances discussed in chapter 4 evidenced neither different recensions of Isaiah nor scribal

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[2] Eugene Ulrich, "The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures at the Time of Hillel and Jesus," in *Congress Volume Basel 2001* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup; Brill, 2002); 92. Quoted in George Brooke, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction Between Higher and Lower Criticism," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003* (eds. L. Pietersen W.J. Lyons and J.G. Campbell; LSTS; London: T&T Clark, 2005); 40–41.

errors in the transmission process. Rather, the variances give insight into the some of the issues en-

countered by the scribe at the syntactical level, both in regards to diachronic and clarification rea-

sons.[3] The scribe would intervene on occasions where syntactical issues required clarification or

diachronic updating. The insights were gained through applying historical linguistic methodology,

not the traditional philological approach known as Lachmman's method.

To go about analyzing texts by means of various historical linguistic methodology

promises to be a helpful tool whereby textual variance can be rigorously assessed by the categories

of orthography, phonology, morphology, and syntax—under the larger social issues of scribal

culture, Second Temple interpretive techniques, and various other functional issues at work in the

transmission of the text. The importance of applying a historical linguistic methodology has

received comment by George Brooke, who stated,

> This [linguistic] categorization is helpful, firstly because it begins with significant and
> insignificant variants the vast majority of which cannot be described suitably on any view
> as errors. The old view of scribes as predominantly responsible for the corruption of an
> original text is neatly avoided, and within the range of variants it is possible to see room
> for deliberate exegetical improvements being introduced into the texts.[23] In addition it is
> helpful to see that at least in this case there is no necessary prioritizing of one manuscript
> or manuscript tradition over another; too often, even when text critics acknowledge the
> need for neutrality, the MT becomes the normative base text and all variants are deemed
> deviations from it. It should be noted that the understanding of the variants in the
> manuscripts of Isaiah is not as difficult as for some scriptural books for which there are
> one or more editions or recensions.[4]

The final sentence of Brooke's comment is helpful to underline the need for a comprehensive

study of this sort. Once a comprehensive study is complete, the methodology can be applied to

other more difficult texts. It stands to reason more difficult texts will further enhance the method-

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[3] See also Shemaryahu Talmon, "DSIa as a Witness to Ancient Exegesis of the Book of Isaiah," *ASTI* 1 (1962): 62-72.

[4] G. Brooke, "Demise," 32–33.

ology or lead to further emendation. Nevertheless, textual transmission theories must move beyond a mere Lachmannian philological approach and adopt a historical linguistic approach in its place. The benefits of a historical linguistic approach are intimated above by Brooke and the present study can add one more.

5.3. A Benefit of the Historical Linguistic Methodology

Perhaps the most beneficial component of the present study has been the methodological insight that historical linguistics offers in terms of assessing whether exegetical tendentiousness was a factor in particular readings. This perhaps was explicit in the analysis of 1QIsaᵃ 1, 7 reading of ושממו עליה. Pulikottil suggested a tendentious reading on behalf of the scribe 1QIsaᵃ. According to Pulikottil, the scribe was interlinking Isaiah 1:7 with Leviticus 26:32–33. Such apparent textual dependency was enough for Pulikottil to postulate that the scribe believed the judgment promised in the Leviticus passage was being enacted on the city in the time of the scribe. However, a close and careful application of the historical linguistic methodology revealed a more likely explanation, that is, the scribe was clarifying the difficult syntactical relationships in the sentence.

From this particular example, it should be noted that a comprehensive analysis of the Isaiah scrolls would do well to work through various levels of data as developed here. That is, first the variances are identified by means of textual comparisons. Once the comparison has been made and textual variances notated, each variant is then categorized according to the linguistic category it belongs. For syntactical variants, a close analysis of the text is then performed in an attempt to learn whether issues of clarification or diachronic changes account for the reading. If no such changes account for the reading at a linguistic level, then the analysis should proceed to consider pragmatic issues, such as, inter-textual development, tendentiousness, or exegetical developments.

Such a methodological pecking order ensures a cautious approach, so as to prevent reading too much into a textual variant. This is not say the same results would be produced each and every time; rather, it provides a pragmatic advantage in attempts to understand issues in the transmission of the text in Second Temple Judaism.

APPENDIX A

EXTANT JUDAEAN DESERT SCROLLS AND FRAGMENTS OF ISAIAH

The following Appendix is a catalogue of the extant scrolls and fragments of Judaean Desert

Scrolls. The critical edition of each scroll or fragment is listed, along with contents of Isaiah (listed

both according to the scroll and fragment, as well as the Hebrew Bible versification), and the date

of the scroll or fragment. The dates are according to the editor of each scroll and/or fragment per

the critical edition.

1QIsaᵃ (1QIsaiahᵃ) *"The Great Isaiah Scroll"*

Critical Editions:	Burrows, M. (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950). pls. I–LIV; Cross, F.M. et al. (eds.), *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The* Pesher *Habakkuk* (John C. Trevor photographer; Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and the Shrine of the Book, 1972) 13–123. pls I–LIV; Parry, D.W. and E. Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ): A New Edition* (STDJ 32; Leiden, Brill, 1999); Flint, Peter W. and Eugene Ulrich (eds.), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: Qumran Cave 1* (DJD XXXII; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010).
Contents:	Col. I Isa 1:1–26; Col. II Isa 1:26–2:21; Col. III Isa 2:21–3:24; Col. IV Isa 3:24–5:14; Col. V Isa 5:14–6:7; Col. VI Isa 6:7–7:15; Col. VII Isa 7:15–8:8; Col. VIII Isa

8:8–9:11; Col. IX Isa 9:11–10:14; Col. X Isa 10:14–11:12; Col. XI Isa 11:12–14:1; Col. XII Isa 14:1–29; Col. XIII Isa 14:29–16:14; Col. XIV Isa 16:14–18:7; Col. XV Isa 18:7–19:23; Col. XVI Isa 19:23–21:15; Col. XVII Isa 21:15–22:14; Col. XVIII Isa 22:24–24:4; Col. XIX Isa 24:4–35:5; Col. XX Isa 25:6–26:18; Col. XXI Isa 26:19–28:2; Col. XXII Isa 28:2–24; Col. XXIII Isa 28:24–29:21; Col. XXIV Isa 29:21–30:20; Col. XXV Isa 30:20–31:4; Col. XXVI Isa 31:5–33:1; Col. XXVII Isa 33:1–24; Col. XXVIII Isa 34:1–36:2; Col. XXIX Isa 36:3–20; Col. XXX Isa 36:20–37:24; Col. XXXI Isa 37:24–38:8; Col. XXXII Isa 40:2–28; Col. XXXIII Isa 40:2–28; Col. XXXIV Isa 40:28–41:23; Col. XXXV Isa 41:23–42:17; Col. XXXVI Isa 42:18–43:20; Col. XXXVII Isa 43:20–44:23; Col. XXXVIII Isa 44:23–45:21; Col. XXXIX Isa 45:21–47:11; Col. XXXIX Isa 45:21–47:11; Col. XLI Isa 49:50:1; Col. XLII Isa 50:1–51:13; Col. XLIII Isa 51:13–52:12; Col. XLIV Isa 52:13–54:5; Col. XLV Isa 54:4–55:8; Col. XLVI Isa 55:8–57:2; Col. XLVII Isa 57:2–58:6; Col. XLVIII Isa 58:6–59:17; Col. XLIX Isa 59:17–61:4; Col. L Isa 61:4–63:4; Col. LI Isa 63:4–65:4; Col. LII Isa 65:4–18; Col. LIII Isa 65:19–66:14; Col. LIV Isa 66:14–42).

| Date: | ca. 125–100 BCE[1] (middle Hasmonaean) |

1Q8 (1QIsa^b or 1QIsaiah^b) *"The Smaller Isaiah Scroll"*

Critical Editions: Sukenik, E.L., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, eds.; Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes Press, 1955); Flint, Peter W. and Eugene Ulrich, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (DJD XXXII; 2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010); D. Barthélemy, O.P. and J.T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: Qumran Cave I* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

Contents: Col. III 7:22–8:1; Col. IV. 8:8 or 8:10?; Col. V frg. a 10:16–19; Col. V frg. b 12:3–8; Col. VI frgs. a-b 13:16–19; Col. VI frgs. c-d 15:3–16:3; Col. VII frgs. a-b 16:5–12; Col. VII frg. c 19:7–17; Col. VIII frgs. a-b 19:20–20:1; Col. VIII c-e 22:9-20; Col.

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[1] DJD XXXII, 61.

IX frg. a 22:24–23:5; Col. IX frgs. b-f 24:18–8; Col. X 26:1–5; Col. XI frgs. a-c 28:15–21; Col. XI frgs. d-e 29:1–8; Col. XII frgs. a-b 30:10–15; Col. XII frgs. c-d 30:21–26; Col. XIII 32:17-20; Col. XIV 35:4–7; Col. XV frgs. a-f 37:7–13; Col. XVI 38:12–40:4; Col. XVII 41:3–24; Col XVIII 43:1–14, 20–27; Col. XIX 44:21–45:13; Col. XX 46:3–14; Col. XXI 48:17–15; Col. XXII 50:7–51:11; Col. XXIII 52:7–54:6; Col. XXIV 55:2–57:4; Col. XXV 57:17–8; Col. XXVI 59:20–61:2; Col. XXVII 62:2–64:11; Col. XXVIII Isa 65:17–66:24.

Date:	ca. 37 BCE

4Q55 (4QIsaᵃ or 4QIsaiahᵃ)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	frg. 1, 1:1–3; frgs. 2-3, 2:7–10; frgs. 4-5, 4:5–5:1; frg. 6, 6:4–8; frg. 7, 11:11–15; frg. 8 12:4–13:16; frg. 9 17:9-14; frg. 10, 11 col. i, 12, 13, 14, 19:24–21:16; frgs. 11 col. ii, 15 22:13–23:12; frg. 16, ?; frg. 17 33:16–17(?); frg. 18, ?
Date:	ca. 37 BCE

4Q56 (4QIsaᵇ or 4QIsaiahᵇ)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	frg. 1, 1:1–6; frg. 2, 2:3–16; frg. 3 col. i, 3:14–22; frg. 3 col. ii, 5:15–28; frg. 4, 9:10–11; frg. 5, 11:7–9; frg. 6, 12:2; frg. 7, 13:3–18; frgs. 8–9, 17:8–18:1, frg. 10–11, 5–7; frg. 11–12, 19:1–25; frg. 13, 20:1–4; frg. 14, 21:11–14; frg.15, 22:24–25; frg. 16 col i, 24:2, 4; frg. 16 col. ii, 17–20 26:1–5, 7–19; frg. 21, 35:9–10; frg. 21, 36:1–2; frgs. 22–23, 37:29–32; frgs. 24–25, 39:1–8; frgs. 24–25, 40:1–4; frg. 26, 40:22–26; frg. 27, 41:8–11; frgs. 28–30, 42:2–7, 9–12; frg. 21 col i, 43:12–15; frg. 31 col. ii, 44:19–28; frg. 32, 45:20–25; frg. 33 col. i, 46:1–3; frg. 33 col. ii, 48:6–8; frg. 34, 49:21–23; frg. 35, 51:1–2; frg. 36, 51:14–16; frg. 37, 52:2; frg. 38, 52:7; frg. 39, 53:11–12; frg. 40, 61:1–3; frg. 41, 64:5–11; frg. 41, 65:1; frg. 42, 66:24

Date: ca. 37 BCE

4Q57 (4QIsa^c or 4QIsaiah^c)

Critical Editions: Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Contents: frgs. 1–2, 49, 9:3–12; frgs. 3–5, 50, 10:23–33; frg. 6, 11:4–11; frg. 7, 11:14–21; frg. 8, 14:1–5; frg. 51, 14:13?; frg. 9 col. i, 22:10–14; frg. 10, 22:23; frgs. 9 col. ii, 12 col. i, 52, 23:8–24:15; frg. 13, 24:19–25:2; frg. 12 col. ii, 14–15, 53, 25:8–26:9; frgs. 16–17, 28:6–14; frgs. 18–20, 30:8–17; frgs. 21–22, 33:2–8; frgs. 23, 33:16–23; frg. 24, 44:3–7; frg. 54, 44:23; frgs. 25–26, 45:1–4, 6–8; frg. 27, 45:8–13; frg. 28, 48:10–11; frg. 29, 48:12–13; frg. 30, 48:14–15; frg. 31, 48:17–19; frg. 32, 49:22; frg. 33–35, 55–57, 51:8–16; frg. 36–38, 52:10–53:3; frg. 39, 53:6–8; frg. 40, 54:3–5; frgs. 41–42, 54:7–8; frg. 43, 54:9; frgs. 44–47, 54:9–55:7;

Date: ca. 50 BCE

4Q58 (4QIsa^d or 4QIsaiah^d)

Critical Editions: Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Contents: Col. I frg. 1, 45:20; Col. II frg. 2, 46:10–47:6; Col. III frgs. 3–5, 47:8–9, 48:8–17; Col. IV frgs. 6–10, 48:17–49:15; Col. VII frg. 11 col. i, 52:4–7; Col. VIII frg. 11 col. ii, 53:8–54:2; Col. IX frg. 12, 54:2–11; Col. XI frg. 13 col. i, 57:9–17; Col. XII frgs. 13 col. ii, 14, 15, 57:18–58:3, 5–7

Date: ca. 75 BCE

4Q59 (4QIsa^e or 4QIsaiah^e)

Critical Editions: Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Contents: frg. 1, 2:1–4; frgs 2–3, 7:17–20; frgs. 4–10, 8:2–14; frgs. 7 col. ii, 11–16 i, 9:17–10:10; frg. 16, 11:14–15; frgs. 17, 18 col. i, 19, 12:1–13:4; frgs. 20–22, 14:1–13; frgs 18 col. ii, 23–24, 14:20–24; frg. 25, 59:15–16

Date: ca. 30–1 BCE

4Q60 (4QIsa^f or 4QIsaiah^f)

Critical Editions: Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Contents: frgs. 1–2, 1:10–16; frgs. 3–6, 1:18–2:3; frg. 7, 5:13–14; frg. 8, 5:25; frgs. 9–10, 6:3–8; frg. 11, 6:10–13; frg. 12 col. i, 7:16–18; frg. 13, 7:23–8:1; frgs. 12 col. ii, 14, 15, 8:4–11; frg. 16, 20:4–6; frg. 17, 22:14–22; frg. 18, 22:25; frg. 19–20, 24:1–3; frg. 21, 27:1; frg. 22, 27:5–6; frg. 23–24, 27:8–10; frg. 25, 27:11–12; frg. 26, 28:6–9; frg. 27, 28:16–17?; frg. 28, 28:18; frg. 29, 28:22; frg. 30, 28:24? frg. 31, 29:8?

Date: ca. 100–50 BCE

4Q61 (4QIsa^g or 4QIsaiah^g)

Critical Editions: Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Contents: frgs. 1–8, 42:14–43:4, 16–24;

Date: ca. 50–1 BCE

4Q62 (4QIsa^h or 4QIsaiah^h)

Critical Editions: Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Contents: frgs. 1–2, 42:4–11

Date: ca. 50 BCE

4Q62a (4QIsa^i or 4QIsaiah^i)

Critical Editions: Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Contents: frg. 1 56:7–8; frg. 2 57:5–8

Date: ca. 50 BCE

4Q63 (4QIsa^j or 4QIsaiah^j)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	1:1–6
Date:	ca. 37 BCE

4Q64 (4QIsa^k or 4QIsaiah^k)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	frgs. 1–5, 28:26–29:9
Date:	ca. 50 BCE

4Q65 (4QIsa^l or 4QIsaiah^l)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	frg. 1, 7:14–15; frg. 2, 8:11–14
Date:	ca. 100–50 BCE

4Q66 (4QIsa^m or 4QIsaiah^m)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	frgs. 1–3, 60:20–61:1; frgs. 4–5, 61:3–6
Date:	ca. 50 BCE

4Q67 (4QIsa^n or 4QIsaiah^n)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	58:13–14
Date:	ca. 50 BCE

4Q68 (4QIsa^o or 4QIsaiah^o)

| Critical Editions: | Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: |

Clarendon Press, 1997.

| Contents: | frg. 1, 14:28–15:2 |
| Date: | ca. 100–50 BCE |

4Q69 (4QIsa^p or 4QIsaiah^p)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	frgs. 1–2, 5:28–30
Date:	ca. 50 BCE

4Q69a (4QIsa^q or 4QIsaiah^q)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	54:10–13
Date:	ca. 30–1 BCE

4Q69b (4QIsa^r or 4QIsaiah^r)

Critical Editions:	Ulrich, Eugene C. et al. *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*. DJD XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.
Contents:	30:23
Date:	ca. 150–30 BCE

5Q3 (5QIsa or 5QIsaiah)

Critical Editions:	Baillet, M. Milik, J.T., and R. de Vaux, O.P. *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran*. vol. 2. DJD III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
Contents:	frg. 1, 40:16, 18–19
Date:	ca. 15 BCE – 70 CE

Mur3 (MurIsa)

| Critical Editions: | P. Benoit, O.P., Milik, J.T., and R. de Vaux, O.P. *Les Grottes de Murrabba'ât.* DJD II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961. |

Contents: 1:4–14

Date: ca. 20–84 CE

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