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**HOMMAGE À JÓZEF T. MILIK**

ÉDITÉ PAR

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*4QDaniel* (4Q115):  
 A PRELIMINARY EDITION  
 WITH CRITICAL NOTES

PROVENIENCE

**P**AM Negative Nos. 40.620, 975, 985; 41.786, 867; 42.167, 635; 43.044, 084. (1)

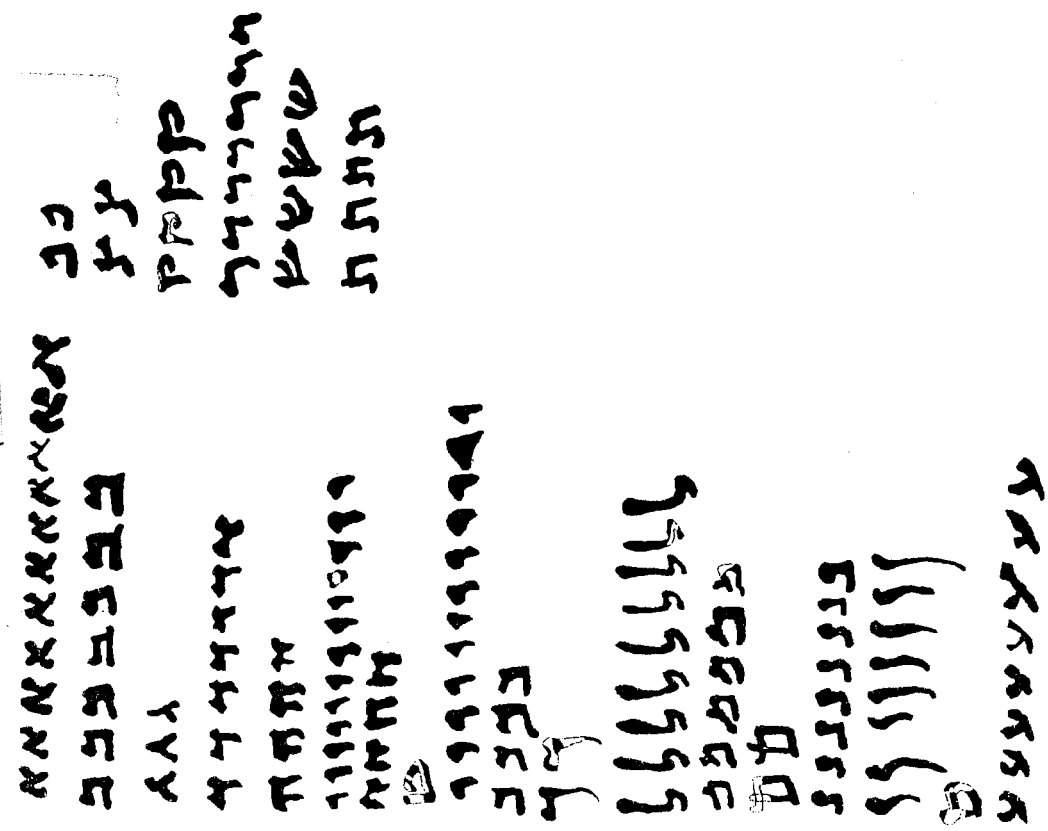
A fragment of this manuscript appears on PAM 40.620, indicating that it was among the first fragments from Qumran cave 4 to be offered for sale by the Bedouin. Fragments of this manuscript on PAM 40.975 and 40.985 (both "E" Series) indicate that part of it was present in cave 4 at the time of its excavation by the official excavation team and verify its provenience from that cave. (2)

(1) The full set of these photographic images are available in E. Tov, with the collaboration of S. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (Leiden: IDC/Brill, 1993).

(2) PAM photograph numbers 40.962-985 represent what was dubbed the "E series," which were photographs taken of the manuscript fragments obtained by official excavation of the cave in September 1952. The "G series" (PAM 40.575-637 and 40.986-992) were photographs taken of the first groups of fragments said to have derived from the earlier, clandestine excavation of cave 4 by the Bedouin and were purchased with funds provided by the Jordanian Government. Thus only the provenience of those manuscripts represented in the "E series" can be proven conclusively.

I would like to express my appreciation to Professors Frank Moore Cross and Eugene Ulrich who allowed me to work on the cave 4 manuscripts of Daniel in 1983 while I was pursuing a doctorate at Hebrew University. Three of the scrolls, *4QDani<sup>c</sup>*, have since been published. E. Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDan," *BASOR* 268 (1987) 17-37; "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 2: Preliminary Editions of 4QDan<sup>a</sup> and 4QDan<sup>b</sup>," *BASOR* 274 (1989) 3-26. I would also like to thank Prof. Ulrich for allowing me to publish this scroll, *4QDan<sup>c</sup>*, before its publication in the *Discovery in the Judaean Desert* series.

The author prepared an analysis of the language of these scrolls and other Aramaic scrolls based upon this study. S. Pfann, "The Aramaic Text and Language of Daniel and Ezra in the Light of Some Manuscripts from Qumran," *Textus* 16 (1991) 127-37.



The alphabet of 4QDan<sup>d</sup>. Scale 2:1

The best exemplar of each letter was chosen from among scanned images of all PAM photos (listed on the facing page). The reconstruction and drawing of the individual letters was made in Adobe Photoshop. (The editor reported that the contents of this plate were omitted from the original publication due to last minute space constraints.)

## STATE OF PRESERVATION

The skin is relatively thick, varying between .48 and .65 mm. It appears to be stiff and somewhat brittle. Its color varies between brown (7.5YR 5/3) (3) and dark brown (7.5YR 3/3). The grain of the surface is evident on most of the fragments but is best preserved on frag. 2 and least preserved on the darker fragments which experienced the highest degree of shrinkage.

Cracking of the scroll is most evident wherever ink has been applied to the surface of the skin. (4) In these cases the ink at first leaves a concave (instead of the more normal, slightly raised, convex) image of the letter upon the surface. As the deterioration progresses, the interior of each letter cracks, with the eventual result that the epidermis below the ink falls out, leaving a stencil-like negative impression of the letter. This type of disintegration normally arrested at this point, leaving a pitted surface (although there are a few cases where the remainder of the skin below the epidermis is missing, leaving a hole). Due to this, shrinkage of the skin along the line of writing was accelerated, decreasing the height (and to some extent the width) of the line of lettering. A buckling of the skin surface often occurs, leaving a raised ridge in the epidermis approximately one millimeter above the line of text (cf. frag. 1 ii 5 and frag. 4 1-4). This buckling also occurs in diagonal and vertical lines and seems to have been the cause of the diagonal and vertical cracking and fragmentation which has affected this scroll (cf. esp. frags. 2, 3 and 4). The increased oxidation, shrinkage and cracking along the lines of the text resulted in the eventual fragmenting of the skin along the lines of the text, often leaving the skin in small detached strips with distorted, unreadable impressions of letters at the top and bottom. The ruling lines seem to have had little or no apparent effect upon the cracking apart of this scroll. Where the rulings pass through a *vacat*, there is no apparent affect on the skin's surface other than the existence of the line itself.

At first glance, the ink does not appear to be any different than the carbon-based ink used on other scrolls. However, upon close examination under the microscope, white crystalline inclusions emerging from the ink are found in a rather high frequency. Either the carbon ink was mixed using salty water or, more likely, the carbon of the ink has absorbed salts from the skin. (In several places heavily-clustered, cubic white crystals are found deep in pockets where the skin is deteriorating and there is no sign of ink). The shape and color of these crystals are typical of halides (salts) especially NaCl (rock salt/table salt) or KCl (potassium chloride, i.e., sylvite). Since these appear to be salts, it would seem

(3) The color scale used here is that of the *Munsell Soil Color Charts*, rev. ed. (New Windsor, NY: Macbeth Division of Kollmorgen Corp., 1994).

(4) Similarly 4Q26 (Lev<sup>d</sup>), 4Q406 (ShirShabb<sup>b</sup>) and 1QapGen.

reasonable to conclude that they were a primary cause for the deterioration of this manuscript. The following scenario may thus be suggested: Some form of brine solution was utilized at some stage in the preparation of the skin. (5) This, together with the carbon ink which absorbed the salts, destabilized the surface below, creating pits and cracks. (6) As the scroll was exposed to humidity and moisture, the salts tended to crystallize. This process of crystallization also caused separations between the layers of skin below the epidermis, which may be the primary reasons for the skin's brittleness and for the skin to peel away in various places.

Evidence from insect larva damage is minimal. Larva holes appear in the margin between cols. i and ii of frag. 2 and a clearly larval-eaten edge, with the typical cupped chewing pattern, is found on frag. 5b, along its lower left edge.

The outline (7) of the bottom edge of frag. 4a can be seen distinctly on the upper surface of frag. 2 (between lines 5 and 6). This is an indication that frag. 4a succeeded frag. 2 on either the next wind of the scroll or the following (if an intervening fragment has fallen out).

## RULING

The ruling lines were drawn with very diluted ink. Three sets of lines were drawn in succession. The first line was drawn vertically in order set an array of indentis (made with a sharp point) at regular intervals (6.5 mm, e.g., to the left of col. 2 i). These marks provided a guide for the straight edge which was next used to draw the series of horizontal lines (along which the lettering of the text would later be penned by the scribe). (8) The horizontal lines can be seen to pass through these

(5) The solution would not have been a pure solution of any given salt but rather a mixture of various salts (with still yet possibly other chemicals). For example sylvite (NaCl and KCl) or "hard salt" (NaCl, KCl and MgSO<sub>4</sub> [magnesium sulfate, i.e., Epsom salts]). All of these and more are found in high concentrations in the Dead Sea.

(6) The salts may not have been the sole cause of the destabilization. Examination of 4Q26 and 4Q406 showed that, although crystals were present, there were far smaller quantities than in 4QDani. Although salts may also have had an influence on the deterioration of those manuscripts, one cannot rule out the possibility that additional factors may have been involved. I am confining these comments to 4QDani.

(7) This outline can be found along a line of dots of ink which were deposited on the surface of frag. 2 from the upper layers during the process of the scroll's deterioration. (Similar traces of displaced ink can be seen on the surface of frag. 4a)

(8) Holes were utilized for this purpose in certain medieval manuscripts, including the Aleppo Codex. Dots made with ink serve the same purpose in a number of other manuscripts, e.g., 1QapGen XXII-XXIII; 4Q1 (Gen-Exod<sup>r</sup>) 19 ii, 22 ii; 4Q7 (Gen<sup>r</sup>) 1; 4Q365 (RP<sup>c</sup>) 12b ii, 12a i-ii; 4Q367 (RP<sup>c</sup>) 3; 11Q1 (paleoLev<sup>v</sup>) III; MasSir V. In 4Q5<sup>b</sup> (frag. 2) dashes were used instead of dots. A minimum of two sets of these markings would be applied to each sheet. That is, one set each at both the leading, and final edges of the sheet would first be applied and additional sets at projected internal margins, if deemed necessary.

marks (especially in the margin between cols. 2 i and 2 ii at lines 5 and 6). The final set of lines were drawn in order to define the limits of the lines in each column. A margin (c. 8 mm) was left between the columns of written text.

A rather peculiar feature of this scroll is that there is not one but two vertical lines drawn in order to delimit the left edge of the column. The second line is darker than the first. In other manuscripts where similar double lines are used, it seems that the first line marks the minimum length of a line and the second marks the maximum. (9)

#### SCRIPT

The deterioration and shrinkage of this scroll along the line of the written text makes the drawing of an alphabet chart based upon this text difficult. In certain cases, however, the gradual erosion of the ink has aided in analyzing some of the letters. As the ink eroded away, traces from the smearing of the ink, as one stroke intersected with a previous one (e.g. as in finger painting) have become more apparent. Consequently, under magnification, the form and order of the strokes of certain examples were made easier to discern than in other manuscripts (especially important were *alef*, *beth*, *waw*, *yod*, *mem*, *ayin*, *tsade*, *shin* and *taw*). (10)

The following palaeographic profile is based upon letters which have extant exemplars in the manuscript which have features which have been sufficiently well preserved to supply diagnostic information. Several letters of the alphabet either have extant exemplars which are too damaged to be of any use (e.g. *zayin*, *tet*, *samek*) or do not have exemplars among the preserved fragments (e.g., *final pe*, *final tsade*). For easy reference, letter forms which occur infrequently are referenced.

*Alef*. At the upper left, the left leg of this letter attaches to the diagonal stroke, a precursor to the characteristic, single-stroke, inverted "v" found in the Herodian forms of this letter. The down-stroke at the upper right often flares at its top which developed into the *keratai* during the early and late Herodian periods.

*Beth*. The upper right corner of the letter is rounded and often lacks the tick characteristic of the Hasmonean period and which is much reduced in the early Herodian period. The bottom horizontal line is formed

(9) E.g., *IQIsab* V-VI; *4Q27 (Numb)* 81 i-ii; *4Q365 (RP)* 6a i-ii; (cf. also *4Q394 (MMT<sup>a</sup>)* 3-8 i-iv).

(10) Best results were obtained by checking both the original manuscript and the entire set of early photos under magnification and with a variable light source. The PAM negatives form a photographic record which reflects nearly eight years of this manuscript's gradual deterioration. The outline of each stroke is best viewed at a stage just before cracks begin to appear in the letter's interior.

as a separate stroke from left to right, from the left limit of the letter to its right vertical end, in fact, often extends beyond it to the right of it (e.g., 2 ii 5 להכבדווי)—a trait which begins its development in the early Herodian scripts (see, e.g., *4QSam<sup>e</sup>*).

*Gimel* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 1 (2x), 2 ii 3 (2x), 4 4). On all examples but one the right stroke is formed by a gentle "s"-shaped curve. The left leg is slightly curved toward the right although not to the degree as in forms belonging to the "rounded" semiformal script (see, e.g., *4QNumb<sup>b</sup>*). The top of this leg attaches anywhere from just below to midway down the top of the right stroke. These characteristics are already beginning to develop in the Hasmonean formal script (see, e.g., *4QDeur<sup>a</sup>* and *4QDeur<sup>c</sup>*) although one example (at frag. 2 ii 1, נגו עבר) has a slightly turned back and thickened head which appears for the first time in the early Herodian period (see, e.g., *IQM*).

*Dalet* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 1, 2 (2x), 5; 4 8; 5 2, 7). The intersection between the horizontal stroke and the down stroke forms a square tick. This tick projects slightly to the right of the upright. These characteristics show up as early as Early Semiformal Script (see, e.g., *4QOhol<sup>a</sup>*). However they are not incorporated into the formal traditions until the Early Herodian period (see, e.g., *4QSam<sup>a</sup>*). The tick which initiates the horizontal stroke is drawn at a particularly sharp diagonal angle (somewhat similar to those of *4QSam<sup>a</sup>* and *4QNumb<sup>b</sup>*).

*He* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 3, 5 (3x); 4 3, 8; 5 7). The final form of this letter (see especially הלה, frag. 2 ii 3) is similar to certain early Herodian forms (see e.g., *IQIsab* and *4QNumb<sup>b</sup>*) where it is drawn with a relatively thick, wavy horizontal stroke from right to left extending well past the left diagonal, rising upward and finishing by dipping at an angle to a point. The medial forms tend to exhibit a rather dull point which extends only slightly beyond the left leg (e.g., 2 ii 5 להכבדווי [2x]).

*Waw* and *Yod*. Both letters preserve characteristics which express tendencies which begin in the Hasmonean period and continue into the Herodian. The leg of both letters descends to the theoretical "base line" and appears similar. General tendencies which may be used to distinguish *waw* from *yod* are as follows: 1) the head of the *yod* tends to be broader; 2) the head of the *yod* forms to have a more triangular appearance (leaving the head of the letter with sharper points); 3) conversely, the points of the head of the *waw* are somewhat rounded (the left point in particular); 4) the *waw* tends to have a more vertical stance. There are a relatively few examples of a confusion in form between the two letters (e.g., 2 ii 5 להכבדווי; 5 מלכותא) as compared with other scribal hands of the period where the confusion is common or there is no distinction at all.

*Het* (e.g., frags. 4 2 (2x), 3, 8; 5 2). Likely made without lifting the tip of the pen. The right upstroke turns slightly to the right and then moves back down (forming the characteristic squared projection of the

Herodian era) and then continues leftward forming the horizontal stroke which almost immediately curves upward and then plunges to the base line vertically. The horizontal line droops like a short garland suspended between two poles forming a "u" shape (most similar to *IQM*).

*Kaf* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 2, 4; 5 7). At the point where upper the horizontal stroke turns to form the vertical down stroke a squared corner is formed. The upward tick formed at that point during the earlier periods is lacking in two examples but is found in one (at 5 2 resembling examples from *4QNum<sup>b</sup>*). The vertical line descends to the base line and forms a distinct corner (Herodian innovation) and then proceeds leftward and ends well to the left of the upper line. This feature aids in distinguishing between *kaf* and *bet* in this manuscript.

*Final Kaf* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 1; 3 3). *Final Kaf* has a broad shaded head (typical of the Herodian period) initiated with a slight tick at the upper left. The down-stroke begins above the cross-stroke and descends straight down, narrowing below the base line and ends with a sharp point, bending slightly leftward.

*Lamed*. The letter is drawn with one continuous serpentine stroke from top to bottom beginning, high above the ceiling-line with the thickened head (typical of the Hasmonean and Herodian periods). The stroke finishes with a well pronounced hook (Herodian period) terminating just above the base line. Its form and stance is similar to that of *4QNum<sup>b</sup>* (albeit that of *4QNum<sup>b</sup>* is somewhat more curvaceous and the thickening of its head more pronounced).

*Mem* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 2, 3, 4 (2x); 4 4; 5 2, 5, 6). Under magnification the continuity and sequence of the strokes seems clear. The major part of the letter is formed with one continuous (but angular) backwards "c" shaped stroke whose ends nearly meet near the lower left of the letter. A short downward stroke, or "tick", was then added from the upper left to intersect with the initial part of the first stroke. This method developed during the early Herodian period.

*Final Mem* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 2; 3 2; 4 2). The shape of this letter is long and slender descending well below the base line as is typical of various late Hasmonean to early Herodian formal hands. The long inverted "c" shape of the first stroke begins with a slightly upturned triangular *kerai'a* (e.g. *4QSam<sup>a</sup>*). The left downstroke is initiated above the upper cross-stroke in an oblique direction and then proceeds vertically after that until it ends at the lower cross-stroke. This method of executing these two strokes first appears in the late Hasmonean period and continues in use during the early and middle Herodian periods. The one complete exemplar (4 2 עמ) closely resembles the form as found in *4QSam<sup>a</sup>* (transitional late Hasmonean-Early Herodian).

*Nun*. The letter's height agrees with what is standard for this manuscript. The top of the letter has a slightly broadened head which tilts a little to the right (traits typical of the late Hasmonean and early

Herodian periods. However, the angular and shaded *kerai'a* which developed in the formal scripts during the early, middle and late Herodian periods is only partially apparent.

*Final Nun*. Two forms exist. One has a slightly thickened head which descends from the ceiling line straight down and narrows to a point which ends by veering slightly to the left. The second type is similar in length but forms an "s" shaped curve beginning with a head which bends noticeably to the right and ends in a pointed tail which veers noticeably leftward. The former seems similar to forms found in the semicursive and cursive traditions. The latter conforms to the general characteristics found in the formal hands during the Hasmonean and Herodian periods (however lacking the *kerai'a* which developed in certain scribal hands during the course of the Herodian period).

*Samek* (no clear diagnostic exemplars, although some details can be drawn from frag. 3 3 סמק). The bottom is fully closed forming a corner at the bottom left (a trait which begins in the early Herodian period). The corner lacks the sharpened point found in the exemplars of *4QNum<sup>b</sup>*.

*Ayin* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 1, 4; 2 (3x); 5 4, 11). Its relatively large size and the fact that in all examples the tail reaches (or nearly reaches) the base line seem to reflect the process of the Herodian period when letter size and height were normalized. The long diagonal stroke is initiated with a slight bend (e.g., 2 ii 1; 4 2; especially 5 11) and reflects the initial stage for the formation of the typical *kerai'a* of this letter in the formal script which begins in the early to middle Herodian period (e.g., *IQM*) and becomes increasingly more pronounced during the late and post Herodian periods.

*Pe* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 1; 5 3). Typical of the Hasmonean and Herodian forms with a pointed top and a straight horizontal bottom line.

*Tsade* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 2; 4 9). The right arm is bent slightly upward at its tip, typical of the Hasmonean and early Herodian scripts, showing sure signs of the development of the triangular shaped *kerai'a* of the formal scripts of the early to late Herodian hands. Under magnification, it seems that the left stroke was penned last (see especially at 2 ii 2 נכזניג).

*Qof* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 2; 4 2; 5 2, 5). The tail of the vertical stroke has a narrowing pointed tip which turns slightly to the left. This seems to imply that the vertical stroke was penned downward and that the letter was penned using two separate strokes. The head is formed with a single "s" shaped stroke beginning from the top of the vertical stroke and finishing with its tail turning leftward (a feature which was initiated during the late Hasmonean period).

*Resh*. The letter has dimensions comparable to other forms from the Herodian period with a relatively wide head.

*Shin* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 1; 3 2; 4 2; 5 13). The middle stroke, in one example, appears to curve down and to the left meeting the left arm at its mid-point (4 2). This is a common feature of Hasmonean and Herodian hands but contrasts that of *4QNum<sup>b</sup>*. However, in at least one example, the middle stroke descends to meet where the left and right strokes intersect (5 13).

*Taw* (e.g., frags. 2 ii 3 (2x); 5 5). The letter is made by two separate strokes. The left stroke often has a slight "s" shaped curve as in earlier Hasmonean exemplars but has a relatively high left foot (which is considered a typical feature of the Herodian period) (11).

The script shows little evidence of cursive influences. The letters are consistently suspended from an inscribed ceiling line. The unscripted theoretical base line which began to develop in the late Hasmonaean formal scripts and became fully developed in late Herodian formal scripts is clearly utilized by this scribe.

Although the features of several letters can be traced as far back as the Hasmonean period there is at least one letter whose features can be traced back no earlier than the Early Herodian period (i.e., *mem*). The hand shows little evidence of the angular shaded heads of the *keratai* which developed in particular in the formal hands of the middle and late Herodian periods. The logical form and date for the script of *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* is early Herodian formal script.

#### MEASUREMENTS (12)

Approximately 17 columns (or 35 columns). (13)  
Length of scroll: c. 2.2 m (or c. 4.25 m).

(11) Cross, pp. 173ff.

(12) These calculations must remain hypothetical, however, since the scroll is poorly preserved (only 2% remains) and no single column was preserved in its entirety. Any calculations presuppose that the characteristics and measurements derived from the surviving fragments would have been somewhat consistent for the remainder of the scroll. For the measurements which span columns, this study also presupposes that the textual character of these fragments would be similar in the remainder of the scroll (based upon comparisons made with measurements and word-counts from the MT). The calculations were aided by the fact that two adjacent columns (21-i) were partially preserved and that the position of frag. 4a can be established relative to frag. 21-i.

(13) The number of columns depends upon the column height (or number of lines in each column). In favor of 35 columns (17-18 lines per column) is that the distance between the recognizable recurring patterns of deterioration allows one to determine the distance between those points and the end of the scroll. If the columns were short, their appearance would be square as in *4QDan<sup>a</sup>*. This would mean that there are two turns of the scroll separating frag. 2 from frag. 3 (with one fragment missing between the two—but then the impression from frag. 3 upon frag. 2 would be possible but less likely). However, a distance between winds of approximately 13.25 cm (26.5 cm/2 winds) would leave a distance of c. 3.4 m to the end of the scroll (from frag. 3) at an approximate progression of .25 cm per wind. Seventeen-eighteen lines/column leaves room for approximately 23 columns

Height of scroll: c. 25 cm (or c. 14 cm).

34-36 lines per column (or 17-18 lines per column).

Characters per line: frags. 1-4: 58 chars.; frag. 5: 50 chars.

Column width: frags. 1-4: 10.8 cm; frag. 5: 10 cm.

Column height c. 22.4 cm (c. 11.2 cm if frag. 4a immediately follows frag. 2).

Line height: 6.5 mm

Side Margin: 1.85 cm (frag. 2)

Letter height: 2.0 mm (using certain letters from frag. 2 where the ink is preserved and the surface has remained relatively undamaged).

#### SPECIAL FEATURES

##### Paragraph and sentence division

Ever since the first biblical scrolls from cave 1 were published, scholars have recognized that there are longer spaces of varying lengths

from the beginning of frag. 2 until the end of the scroll (allowing c. 12.5 cm per column; 2.88 m of scroll surface would remain until the end of the text—if the text ended with *Dan* 12:13). This would leave 52 cm of scroll surface (normally the maximum length of one sheet) unscripted for a fairly long scroll (c. 4.25 m; or the scroll was left very loosely wound which would be very unusual). This would normally indicate that another composition followed this text (as in the case of *IQS*, etc.) but 75 cm is perhaps too short to add an entire biblical book (even *Ruth* would need 25% more room). It might, on the other hand, leave enough room for one of the apocryphal additions to the book of Daniel found in most ancient translations. The measurements of the progression of wear patterns for *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* confirm the standard length of the book for that scroll. Cf. H. Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, L. Schiffman, ed. (JSPS 8; Sheffield, 1990) 189-220, regarding this method of determining fragment locations on fragmentary scrolls.

If the columns were tall (34-36 lines per column) then the columns would appear twice as high as they are wide (as in *IQIsa<sup>b</sup>*, *4QNum<sup>b</sup>*, and *IQapGen*). *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* shares other characteristics in common with these manuscripts, including certain aspects of script and methods of ruling. Fig. 3 would immediately follow frag. 2 on the next turn of the scroll, with the length of each wind of the scroll at this point being approximately 13.75 cm. (The seeming discrepancy between the length of the wind at this point for the longer column [13.75 cm] as opposed to that of the shorter column model [13.25 cm] is due to the fact that when placing the fragments within the frame of a column [at c. 12.5 cm wide], the distance between two points in a two column model is shorter than the turn of the scroll at this point.) This would then leave 3.70 m from frag. 2 until the end of the scroll (if the scroll was wound as tightly as would be considered normal, at a progression of approximately 2.5 cm/wind.)

At 34-36 lines per column this then allows for approximately 12 columns from the beginning of frag. 2 to *Dan* 3:23 until the end of the book (if *Dan* 12:13). The remaining scroll surface (3.70 m) allows for approximately 30 columns (at 12.5 cm/col) which would leave 18 more columns of text to be accounted for. The additional material which is no longer extant might have been another of the shorter books of the *Katubim* (e.g. *Esther* plus *Ezra*, or *Neitemiah* [by itself]) or one or more of the books of the Apocrypha including the apocryphal sections associated with the book of *Daniel* (especially "Susanna", "Bel and the Dragon" or *Tobit*).

left in the biblical texts, which often correspond with the *petuchot* and the *setumot* as well as with the chapter divisions of the MT. Spacing to indicate the end of a line or a verse is rare and seemingly accidental among the biblical and non-biblical scrolls of Qumran.

This is precisely the situation reflected in most of the Qumran *Daniel* scrolls with the exception of two. In *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* and *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* a quite remarkable feature appears for the first time in the biblical scrolls. (14) In the best preserved scroll, *4QDan<sup>c</sup>*, nearly every *sof pasuq* of the MT is concurred with by a larger than usual space. These spaces are about twice the size of the normal division between words. From time to time the *athnachta* also has a corresponding space. In *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* there are also a number of cases, where words joined by *maqef* or a strong conjunctive accent in the MT have a half space or no space intervening at all. Most examples of this can be drawn from proper names and titles: להכימיבבל 2:48; הכימיבבל 2:49 (also usually written as two words in Babylonian pointed manuscripts נבוידנער 2:28). Although other examples also exist: דילה 2:19; יהבלה 2:48; הכימיבבל 2:48; and עלמשבבך 2:28 (twice).

On the other hand, in *4QDan<sup>e</sup>* this practice is by no means consistent. There are numerous examples where *maqef* exists between two words in the MT and there is no corresponding contraction of the space in the scroll. Also no conscious effort seems to have been applied to use this system of line division and word-linking in the Hebrew sections of this scroll (i.e., fragments corresponding to *Dan* 1 and *Dan* 8-12). In the face of such inconsistencies, and in light of the fact that the variations in spacing are at times subtle, a pre-Masoretic system of sentence division cannot be proven on the basis of this manuscript alone.

In *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* nearly every *sof pasuq* and *athnachta* of the MT has a corresponding space of about one-half to one and one-half centimeters (0.5-1.5 cm). The exceptions lie in broken texts where some of the verses have punctuation different from the MT or no punctuation at all. Half-spaces were employed in certain cases where *maqef* or strong conjunctive accents were employed in the MT to connect two words. Examples include: עבר נגו 3:23; נבכד נער 3:24. Unfortunately these two scrolls do not have fragments which share the same verses of the biblical text, so direct comparison of *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* and *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* cannot be made on this point.

#### Paragraph divisions

Of the four examples of the open paragraph in *4QDan<sup>d</sup>*, three correlate with some form of paragraph indicator. Only the Babylonian Ms.

(14) Summarized in S. Pfann, *Textus* 16 (1991) 136. Cf. Ulrich, *BASOR* 268 (1987) 20.

Ec 60 correlates with two equivalent *petuchot* (at 3:23 and 3:25; only one [at 3:23] has a direct correlation, i.e., a *petucha*, in  $\aleph$ ). *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* 4:15 has only a parallel in a weak paragraph mark in 5. That of 3:24 has no parallels at all. The one example of a closed paragraph (at 7:18) has a direct correlation in the Syriac versions  $\leq$ Syh and in the stronger *petucha* of Ec 64. Although there is often some correlation between the extant and reconstructed paragraph divisions of *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* there is no real consistency among the witnesses.

**The Open Paragraph** (a blank line extending to the left margin)

*Confirmed by preserved text:*

(none confirmed)

*Postulated by letter count in reconstructed text*

3:23 מכתתין open paragraph (probable)] *sof pasuq* + *petucha*  $\aleph$  Ec 60; *sof pasuq* + *setumah* Ec 20, 24; *sof pasuq* Ec 64, 66; *pasoga* 5; colon  $\Theta$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

3:24 מכתתין open paragraph (probable)] *zaqef*  $\aleph$ ; *pasoga*  $\leq$ Syh; question  $\Theta$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

3:25 מכתתין open paragraph (possible)] *sof pasuq* + *petucha* Ec 60; *sof pasuq* + *setumah*  $\aleph$  Ec 66; open paragraph Syh; *sof pasuq* Ec 64; *pasoga* 5; period  $\Theta^0$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

4:15 מכתתין open paragraph (probable)] *sof pasuq*  $\aleph$ ; paragraph (-) 5; period  $\Theta$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

**The Closed Paragraph** (a space of more than 2.5 cm)

*Confirmed by preserved text:*

7:18 מכתתין closed paragraph (27 mm)] *sof pasuq* + *petucha* Ec 64; *sof pasuq*  $\aleph$ ; paragraph  $\leq$ Syh; period  $\Theta^0$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

*Postulated by letter count in reconstructed text:*

3:6 מכתתין closed paragraph (possible)] (15) *sof pasuq*  $\aleph$ ; *pasoga*  $\leq$ Syh; period  $\Theta^0$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

#### Line divisions

There is a general correlation between the Tiberian Masoretic system, the Babylonian Masoretic system, the Syriac system and that of *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* and *4QDan<sup>d</sup>*. Paragraph divisions within these traditions are indicated in two ways. The minor paragraph division (the closed para-

(15) The reconstruction of the first lines of this column remains difficult. The extra space may have been filled by an unattested variant.

graph;  $\aleph$  *setuma*) is indicated by leaving a large space enclosed within a line of text. The major paragraph division (the open paragraph;  $\aleph$  *petucha*) is made by leaving the line open from the last word leftward until the column's edge. There tends to be a general consistency among the manuscripts of each of these traditions. However the family of Babylonian pointed manuscripts provide the highest degree of variation.

The Tiberian Masoretic system ( $\aleph$ ) is by far the most detailed, with its system of twenty-seven conjunctive and disjunctive accents; the manuscripts of that tradition also exhibit a great deal of consistency. The consistency extends also to Tiberian pointed manuscripts which lie outside the Ben Asher tradition.

The Babylonian Masoretic system (*Bab mss*, Ec 1, 20, 24, 58, 60, 64, 66, 89, 113) (16) is less consistent and less detailed. It generally agrees with the Tiberian system with respect to verse division, which is indicated in both systems by the *sof pasuq*. (17) Where a given Babylonian manuscript diverges from the Tiberian tradition it often stands alone within the Babylonian tradition itself. The Babylonian tradition also uses a system of accents. However the system is less complex and they are used only sporadically (and only in rare manuscripts; e.g. Ec 1 [Berlin Or Qu 680]).

Manuscripts of the Syriac versions (S<sup>Sy</sup>h) preserve a fairly detailed system of verse and interverse division in which sense units and cola are indicated, for the most part, by a single point known as the *pasoga*. Weaker divisions are indicated by various combinations of two points (*tachta*, *'elaya* and *shwayya*). (18)

The available editions of the Greek and Latin versions ( $\Theta$  and  $\Theta$ ) contain punctuation which are based primarily upon later traditions or the decisions of the modern editors, since the primary manuscripts were written in *scripta continua*. In some cases, it is evident that these editor-

(16) The simplified sigla initiated by P. Kahle (Biblia Hebraica: BHK) for Babylonian pointed manuscripts are used here. The sigla "Ec" represents Babylonian pointed manuscripts of the Writings (i.e., *Ketubim*) which utilize the older and simpler Babylonian system of vocalization ("E" = *Einfaucher Punktation*; "c" = the Writings).

(17) The double dots used for indicating the *sof pasuq* are actually found in at least one manuscript from Qumran: 4QigLev.

(18) The punctuation of the Syriac witnesses have been taken directly from facsimiles of manuscripts of the Peshitta (*Codex Ambrosianus*) and of the Syrohexapla (*Codex Ambrosianus Syrohexaplaris*). Besides the paragraph mark (:) there are four other main marks of punctuation. The chief one is a simple point (ܘܢܩܘܢܐ), *pasoga*, which represents the main sentence division within the paragraph. The subdivisions of the sentence and lesser divisions, which are represented by combinations of two dots (ܘܢܩܘܢܐܘܢܩܘܢܐ), *tachta*, (*'elaya*, and (ܘܢܩܘܢܐܘܢܩܘܢܐܘܢܩܘܢܐ), *shwayya*, are here understood to be 'minor' divisions. Cf. T. Nöldeke (English tr., J. Crichton), *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904) 12.

ial decisions were based upon valid, grammatically defined, sense divisions in the text. In other cases the punctuation seems arbitrary or influenced by divisions found in the Hebrew Bible or in the other versions. (19)

The great variety of means employed by the various witnesses to represent line divisions (as well as a general lack of correlation between the systems) makes it necessary to create a set of broad classifications which may help to interrelate the categories reflected in those witnesses. The terms "major" and "minor" will suffice for the present study.

### Major Line Divisions (1 to 2 cm) (20)

Confirmed by preserved text:

3:24 מלכה major (17.5 mm)] *sof pasuq*  $\aleph$ ; *pasoga* S<sup>Sy</sup>h; period  $\Theta$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

4:5 אומר major (12 mm)] *sof pasuq*  $\aleph$ ; *pasoga* S;  $\aleph$  D;  $\gt$   $\Theta$ .

4:6 לא אנום לך major or minor (3 mm +)] *athnachta*  $\aleph$ ; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

4:6 אומר major (12 mm +)] *sof pasuq*  $\aleph$ ; *pasoga* S; period  $\Theta$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

4:13 התיבה לה major (16 mm)] *athnachta*  $\aleph$ ; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta$ ;  $\aleph$  D.

(19) The punctuation of the Greek witnesses  $\Theta^o$  and  $\Theta$  are based upon those applied by the Göttingen critical edition reflecting the editorial choices of those involved in that project. The period, the colon and the question mark are understood to be major divisions while the comma is a minor division (following the system used to evaluate punctuation in the United Bible Society edition of the *Greek New Testament*, pp. xli-xlv).

The punctuation of the Latin Vulgate D relies upon the Württemberg Bible Society edition. There are no punctuation marks in that edition but rather line divisions indicated by paragraph returns ( $\P$ ). These divisions reflect the editorial decisions of modern editors.

(20) For this scroll, we consider as "major" the divisions which are at least 10 mm wide. Less than that is considered a "minor" division. Only those divisions which would be considered verifiable or discernable (in the case of reconstructed text) are included in this apparatus. Although in cases in which  $\aleph$  contains a *sof pasuq* or an *athnachta* which is not paralleled in 4QDan<sup>d</sup> (or the versions), these are also included in order to evaluate the agreement between the two texts. For the other versions ( $\Theta^o$ Sy<sup>S</sup>h $\Theta$ ) only relevant parallels in punctuation are included, so no effort has been made to provide a complete catalogue of their punctuation of the verses in question.

The terms "major" and "minor" must not be taken as exact terms. There is a tendency that what is considered minor (comma) in the Greek witnesses is represented as major (*pasoga*) in the Syriac witnesses. Likewise, where there punctuation in the Syriac minor divisions in the Greek witnesses correspond only to the stronger disjunctive accents in  $\aleph$  (*sof pasuq*, *athnachta*, *zaqef*, *zaqef magna*, *segholta*, *revia*). On the other hand the minor divisions of the Syriac witnesses may even correspond to any of the weaker disjunctive accents. The period usually ends a complete sentence in the Greek sources but the Syriac *pasoga* may signal a division at the end of any clause.



*Postulated by letter count in reconstructed text:*

- 3:5 major מלכא (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; *tachtaya* V; *pasoga* Syh; colon  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 3:7 major מלכא (probable)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; 'elaya Syh; period  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 3:9 major לנכר נצר מלכא (probable)] *athnachta* III; *shwayya* S; *pasoga* Syh; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D; >  $\Theta$ .
- 3:24 major באתכה (probable)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; *tachtaya* Syh; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 4:4 (end) major (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D; > Ec 60.
- 4:7 major שגיא (probable)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; period  $\Theta$ ; colon  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 4:8 major ארעא (probable)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; *tachtaya* Syh; colon  $\Theta$ ; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 4:14 major שאילתא (probable)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta$ ; > D.
- 4:14 major יקים עליה (probable)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; period  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:17 major תתבל (probable)] *sof pasuq* + *petucha* III Ec 60, 64, 89; *pasoga* S; period + *vacat*  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:16 major דנה (probable)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; period  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; comma  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:16 major יהודעני (probable)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; major (∴) Syh; ¶ D >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 7:17 major ארעא (probable)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* Syh; colon  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D; > S.
- 7:19 major רפסה (probable)] *sof pasuq* S; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:22 major עליוני (probable)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:23 major אבר (לי) (probable)] *segholta* III; *pasoga* S; *vacat*  $\Theta$ ; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- Minor Line Divisions** (a larger than normal space: 3-6mm)
- Confirmed by preserved text:*
- 3:23 minor ועבר נגז (3 mm)] *athnachta* III; *tachtaya* S; ¶ D; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 4:12 major ארעא (6 mm)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; period  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D.

(21) Codex Ambrosianus lacks Dan 7: 14b-20a. For those verses the Leiden edition has been used.

*Postulated by letter count in reconstructed text:*

- 3:6 minor ויסגר (possible)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; *tachtaya* Syh; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 3:8 minor כשראין (possible)] *athnachta* III; *tachtaya* S; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$  Syh¶ D.
- 3:8 minor יהודיא (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; *shwayya* S; *pasoga* Syh; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 3:10 minor חיי (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D; > Ec 60 (קמ), 64.
- 3:11 minor ויסגר (possible)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; *tachtaya* Syh; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D; > D.
- 3:11 minor יקרתא (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; colon  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 4:5 minor בה (probable)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D.
- 4:7 minor משבכי (possible)] *athnachta* III; *tachtaya* S; ¶ D; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 4:7 minor חזה הויית (possible)] *zaqef* III; 'elaya S; *tachtaya* Syh; comma  $\Theta$ ; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 4:8 minor ותקף (possible)] *athnachta* III; *tachtaya* S; comma  $\Theta$ ; > D.
- 4:8 minor לשמיה (possible)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; ¶ D; >  $\Theta$ .
- 4:12 minor די ברא (possible)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D.
- 4:13 minor עלוהי (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; period  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D.
- 4:15 minor נבכר נצר (possible)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:15 minor נונה (possible)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; *tachtaya* Syh; comma  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ .
- 7:15 minor יבהלני (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; period  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:16 minor ואמר (4 mm) לי (4 mm)] *zaqef gadol* III; *pasoga* S; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 7:18 minor עליוני (2.5 mm)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* Syh; ¶ D; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 7:18 closed paragraph (27 mm)] *sof pasuq* + *petucha* Ec 64; *sof pasuq* III; paragraph S; period  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:19 minor כלהין (possible)] *athnachta* III; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ¶ D.
- 7:19 minor יתירה (possible)] *revia* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:20 תלת (possible)] *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:20 minor חבדתה (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; major (∴) Syh; *pasoga* S; period  $\Theta^{\circ}$ ; ¶ D.
- 7:21 minor להין (possible)] *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; comma  $\Theta$ ; ¶ D; >  $\Theta^{\circ}$  Ec 60.

**No Line Division** (normal spacing marking word division)*Confirmed by preserved text:*

- 3:9 חיי none] *sof pasuq* III; *sof pasuq* + *petucha* Ec 60; *pasuqa* 5Syh; colon Θ<sup>o</sup>; ¶ D.  
 4:15 אבד none] *sof pasuq* Ec 60; *revia* III; *pasuqa* 5; comma Θ; ¶ D.

*Postulated by letter count in reconstructed text:*

- 3:25 כהין unlikely] *athnachta* III; *pasuqa* 5Syh; comma Θ<sup>o</sup>Θ; ¶ D.  
 7:17 ארבע unlikely] *athnachta* III; comma Θ; ¶ D; > 5.  
 7:21 קדישין unlikely] *athnachta* III; *tachta* 5; > Θ<sup>o</sup>SyhΘ.

**Ambiguous** (line ends at margin)*Confirmed by preserved text:*

- 3:7 זמרא (ends at margin)] *athnachta* III; *tachta* 5Syh; comma Θ<sup>o</sup>Θ; ¶ D.  
 7:22 קדישין (ends at margin)] *sof pasuq* III; major (⋮) Syh; *pasuqa* 5; period Θ<sup>o</sup>Θ; ¶ D.

*Postulated by letter count in reconstructed text:*

- 4:16 יבהלנה (ends at margin; probable)] *athnachta* III; *sof pasuq* Ec 64, 66; *pasuqa* 5; *tachta* 5Syh; period Θ; ¶ D; > Θ<sup>o</sup>.

There is a general agreement among the witnesses as to the placement of punctuation points to indicate line divisions. (22) Perhaps more significant for the present study is that there are also a number of points where the various traditions disagree (as well as witnesses within a given tradition, as in the case of Babylonian pointed manuscripts).

Based upon the study presented here and by a close comparison of the line divisions of *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* with the MT and the versions, it can be concluded that these divisions were both intentional and careful. The general agreement between this manuscript and the other witnesses confirm that its scribe, in like manner (but with enlarged spaces instead of punctuation marks), intended to instruct the reader in the proper pauses and word clusters that he should note while reading from the text. However the correlation is not exact, neither as to the placement of the spaces, nor as to the relative strength of the pause (major or minor) conveyed by variations in space size.

(22) However, the question of agreement becomes more complicated when the nuances of each of the punctuations systems are compared. In most cases these nuances convey the degree of force of a pause or a division (certain traditions being more exact than others). The more developed traditions also convey additional nuances including the question mark (Θ<sup>o</sup>Θ), marks which denote word clustering (III) or marks which represent a complex system of cantillation (III and possibly, but to a lesser degree 5Syh).

It would therefore be unreasonable to assume that there was any direct historical link between the complex system of accentuation/punctuation utilized by the Masoretes and that of *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* (or *4QDan<sup>o</sup>*). In addition, there is not any other tradition which consistently agrees with the placement of or the strength of the pauses indicated by the spaces that were preserved in either of these manuscripts.

It is more likely that the system of line divisions utilized in these manuscripts represent an unconnected (or only loosely connected) pre-Masoretic system based upon logical breaks and word clusters, used here by certain scribes (including the scribe of *4QDan<sup>o</sup>*), which was an early effort to convey to the reader stops which the Masoretes later indicated in much greater detail.

## Variants involving the consonantal text

**Grammatical and Orthographic Variants**I. *Phonology and Orthography*

In general, this manuscript lacks both the "Qumran spellings" as well as the tendency toward a full *plene* orthography which one has come to expect from most scrolls from the caves of Qumran. The following are examples of those places where *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* does not agree with the Masoretic Text. Examples from the other scrolls of the *Book of Daniel* are added for the sake of comparison.

A. Short *o* (*gamets hatuf*) or *u*.

*Dan* 4:12 חולקה (חולקה) written fully for חלקה as attested in later Galilean and Christian Palestinian Aramaic.

*Dan* 7:19 בלהין בלהין written defectively (as in *4QDan<sup>o</sup>* at 2:40, 48; 5:7) as opposed to *IQDan<sup>b</sup>* 3:29 and *4QDan<sup>b</sup>* 6:14 כול

## Defective Spelling

*Dan* 3:24 נבכר נגר (נבכר נגר) *4QDan<sup>o</sup>* 2:27 (נבכרנצור)

## B. Pleonastic Alef

*Dan* 3:24 ליגו ליגו = *IQDan<sup>b</sup>* 3:24 ליגו (ליגו)

*Dan* 4:6 בלמשער בלמשער = *4QDan<sup>o</sup>* 2:25 בלמשער (בלמשער)

II. *Pronouns*

## A. Pronominal suffixes

At first glance, the 2 masc. sing. suffix as found in *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* 4:6 לך might seem to agree with the vocalization לך in III (and thus with all examples of this suffix *-akh* in III). A similar assumption would follow for the suffix in *4QDan<sup>o</sup>* (e.g., 2:23, 26, 28, 29 (4x), 30, 31; 5:17). However, in *4QDan<sup>b</sup>* the same suffix is written as כה (*-khat*; 5:11 *מבוכה*, 5:16 *עליכה*; 6:21 *אלהכה*) which may represent either an Ara-

maic dialectal variation or a Hebraism in that manuscript. However the vocalization of the suffix only becomes apparent in manuscripts which reflect 'Qumran spellings' or 'full' spelling (e.g., *4QDan<sup>b</sup>*). (23) In other words, the pronunciation of this suffix might be the same for the other manuscripts of *Daniel* at Qumran as for *4QDan<sup>b</sup>-kthah*. The variant גביהא at *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 7:6 (for מ Ketiv reading גביה) also represents a deviation from the usual pronunciation of the 3 fem. sing. suffix in מ for Biblical Aramaic. (24) However, the 3 fem. sing. suffix יה- is well attested in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic in both the Targums and in the Jerusalem Talmud. (25) Its appearance in *4QDan<sup>a</sup>* is likely due to local influences.

### III. Nouns

#### A. Feminine morpheme -ā (הָ or נָ)

*4QDan<sup>d</sup>* 3:24 תלחה (BHS לְחָהּ)

There is some vascillation among the scribes both at Qumran as well as in מ Biblical Aramaic as to which grapheme, *he* or *alef*, should be used to represent the feminine morpheme -ā which is used to mark feminine nouns and adjectives as well as infinitives. There is a decided preference for the use of final *he*. However, this is not exclusive among the scrolls. For example *IQapGen* prefers final *alef* (12x *alef*; 3x *he*). (26) Qumran Biblical Aramaic again prefers *he* (11x; *alef* 5x). The exclusive use of *he* in the earlier dialects of Early and Official Aramaic are contrasted by the nearly exclusive use of *alef* in the later eastern dialects of Aramaic (especially Syriac, Mandaic and Babylonian Jewish Aramaic). However, later western dialects of Aramaic (including Nabatean and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic) continued, as a rule, to use *he*.

#### B. Determination: (הָ or נָ)

*4QDan<sup>d</sup>* 4:15 רָא [פּשׁ] = Ketiv פֶּשְׁרָא; Ginzb (2 mss) *Bab ms* (Ec 24); = חט; פּישרָא (Qere פֶּשְׁרָא) *Bab ms* (Ec 20); מַצְרָא.

compare:

*4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 5:5 ירדה [ירד]

(23) For example, in *4QLev<sup>b</sup>* 1:18 the form לִבָּהּ occurs while in other places the simple final *kaf* is used for the suffix (e.g., *4QLev<sup>b</sup>* 1:15 and 16 קרבוֹ; 2:10 עבדוֹ). Similarly cf. *4QLev<sup>b</sup>* 2:26 while elsewhere again simple final *kaf* is used (more than 46 times).

(24) In *4QLev<sup>b</sup>* 3:4-6 the first hand of the manuscript wrote *alef* but a later hand corrected the word to read *he*. This reflects a certain disagreement among scribes as to how this ending should be represented orthographically; cf. *DJD XXII* (in press).

(25) Cf. G. Dalman, *Aramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1905) 202-8.

(26) Cf. Pfann, *Textus* 16 (1991) 131.

*4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 5:7 כתבה [כתב]

*4QDan<sup>b</sup>* 6:21 היה [היה]

also:

*4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 2:20 שמא [שמ]

*4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 2:24 פשרה [פּשׁר]

*4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 5:17 ופשרה [וּפּשׁר]

*4QDan<sup>b</sup>* 6:11 בעליתך [בְּעִלְיָתְךָ]

*4QDan<sup>b</sup>* 6:19 היכלא [הַיְכָלָא]

The use of final *alef* to form the *status emphaticus* has been normal throughout the Aramaic dialects with few exceptions. However the use of *he* is also attested as a minority usage in some Jewish Aramaic dialects (e.g., Biblical Aramaic; 20x; Qumran Aramaic; at least 43x). However, *4QEn<sup>a</sup>* is unusual in that it accounts for nearly half of the usage of *he* (18x; *alef*: 8x) among the scrolls. (27) Otherwise, the Qumran scribes seem very conservative, using the *alef* nearly exclusively. This conforms with the usage in Early and Official Aramaic. Qumran Biblical Aramaic (including *4QDan<sup>d</sup>*) uses *alef* exclusively (124x) with one exception (*4QDan<sup>b</sup>* 6:21 היה). In view of this, הָ [פּשׁ] in *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* 4:15 was intended to be understood as a noun with its article. A *he* suffix in most cases should be taken to represent either the feminine morpheme -ā or the 3 masc. sing. or 3 fem. sing. pronominal suffix (and not the definite article).

### IV. Verbs

#### A. *Ithpeel* (*Ithpaal*) vs *Hithpeel* (*Hithpaal*) (28)

*4QDan<sup>d</sup>* 3:24 כתבה [כָּתַבְתְּהָ]

compare:

*4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 2:25 כתבה [כָּתַבְתְּהָ]

*4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 2:34 התגורר [תִּגְוֹרְתְּהָ]

*4QDan<sup>b</sup>* 6:20 כתבה [כָּתַבְתְּהָ]

*IQDan<sup>b</sup>* 3:24 כתבה [כָּתַבְתְּהָ]

*IQDan<sup>b</sup>* 3:27 כתבה [כָּתַבְתְּהָ]

A statistical evaluation of the use of the *Ithp--l* form over the *Hithp--l* in מ Biblical Aramaic rules in favor of *Hithp--l* (18x to 6x). In the Bibli-

(27) *4QEn<sup>a</sup>* is dated to the early second century BCE. Milik states: "It does not fit well into the scribal traditions of the Jewish copyists of Judaea or even Egypt; the scribe would perhaps be dependent upon the scripts and the scribal customs of Northern Syria or Mesopotamia." J. T. Milik, *Books of Enoch* (Oxford: 1976) 140. *He* is preferred in Judean tomb inscriptions.

(28) In this paragraph, for simplicity, the terms *Ithp--l* and *Hithp--l* will stand for both the simple conjugation *Ithpeel* and *Hithpeel* and emphatic conjugations *Ithpaal* and *Hithpaal*. This is since the discussion concerns only the form of the prefix.

cal Aramaic scrolls from Qumran there seems to be a decided preference for the *Ithpael*. (29) Of the five secure examples where the text of the scrolls can be compared with  $\aleph$ , in every case  $\aleph$  provides a *Hithp--l* while, with one exception (*IQDan*<sup>b</sup> 3:27), the scrolls provides an *Ithp--l* instead. In other non-biblical scrolls from Qumran there is an exclusive use of the *Ithp--l*. The list includes *IQapGen* (11x), *4QEnoch<sup>a-c</sup>* (8x), *4QEnastr<sup>b-c</sup>* (3x). There is one exception with *11Qg/Job* which prefers the *Hithp--l* (11x to 4x). The *Hithp--l* does not exist among the Aramaic dialects outside of Jewish Aramaic (being found mainly in Biblical texts). With this in mind, the *Hithp--l* should probably be understood as a Hebraism influenced by analogy to the *Hithpael*. (30)

#### B. *Alef* versus *He* in the III-*He* verbs

*Dan* 3:25 ענה (ן) [ענה (ן)] *IQDan*<sup>a</sup> 2:5  
*Dan* 4:8 רב (ן) [רב (ן)]

Concerning the perfect of the *lamedh-he* verbs, there seems to be a distinct preference among the majority of the scribes for the use of *he* as the final grapheme. However, concerning the imperfect and participle of the *lamedh-he* verbs which end in final -ê, there is vacillation between ה, א, and י, although it seems that each of the scribes has a preferred grapheme to represent the final -ê. On this point *4QDan*<sup>a</sup>, whose scribe employs *alef* (as does *4QEn<sup>a-c</sup>* and *11Qg/Job*) is at variance with the normal practice of Official Aramaic.

#### V. *Ketiv/Qere*

The Aramaic sections of the Bible make up only 1% of the text of the Hebrew Bible. There are approximately 1,350 *Ketiv/Qere* readings associated with the Biblical text. Of these, 142 are in the Aramaic sections. This means that the frequency of *Ketiv/Qere* in the Aramaic sections is ten times that of the Hebrew sections of the Bible. Twenty-one of these are found in the Aramaic fragments of *Daniel* from Qumran. Due to this, the subject deserves special treatment here. (31)

(29) Pfann, *Textus* 16 (1991) 130f.

(30) The case is somewhat different with the "*hafel/afel*." The *he* prefix is actually the earlier form and eventually gave way in both the western and the eastern dialects to the *alef* prefix (i.e., the *afel*). The exclusive use of the *hafel* among the *Daniel* fragments is contrasted by the nearly exclusive use of the *afel* in the manuscripts of the *Book of Enoch*, the *New Jerusalem* scrolls and the *Genesis apocryphon*. Cf., Pfann, *Textus* 16 (1991) 130f.

(31) R. Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere* (KTAV: 1971). Gordis has provided a detailed classified catalogue of the *Ketiv/Qere* readings of the Hebrew Bible. A slightly modified version of his classifications has been used in the present study. The readings which have survived in *4QDan*

#### A. Morphological and Orthographical Variants

1. K - plural masc. noun (or analogous preposition) + pron. suffix; Q - omits *yod* between the root and the suffix (34) (5 of the 35 occurrences in Biblical Aramaic)
  - 4QDan<sup>d</sup>* 3:10 אנתה (= K); אנתה Ec 60, 64; Kenn (sol) K (אנתה); אנתה (Q)
  - 4QDan<sup>d</sup>* 4:15 [אנתה (= K)]; (33) אנתה Ec 20, 60; Kenn (sol) K (אנתה); אנתה (Q)
  - 4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 2:29 אנת (= Q); אנתה Ec 66 (2nd hand?) Q (אנתה); אנתה Ec 1, 60; אנתה Ec 64, 113.
  - 4QDan<sup>a</sup>* 2:31 אנת (= Q) Q (אנתה); אנתה Ec 1, 60; אנתה Ec 64, 66, 113.
  - 4QDan<sup>b</sup>* 6:17 אנתה (= K); אנתה Ec 1, 20; אנתה Ec 60] K (אנתה); אנתה (Q)
  - 4QDan<sup>b</sup>* 6:21 אנתה (= K); אנתה Ec 1, 20, 60; אנתה Ec 66] K (אנתה); אנתה (Q)

$\aleph$  is the normal Aramaic form used at Qumran and is one of the 'Qumran spellings' found in the Hebrew scrolls as well.  $\aleph$  is otherwise unattested at Qumran.  $\aleph$  is not found elsewhere except in the Biblical text of Daniel and as  $\aleph$  in Nabatean Aramaic (e.g., 5/6*Hev* 36 5 and 9). The *Book of Ezra* uses the form  $\aleph$  at *Ezra* 6:25 conforming to the form used in Official Aramaic. The form  $\aleph$  was in use locally in the 4th cent BCE Samaria Papyri (1 7 (bis), 9) until the 2nd cent CE papyri of the Bar Kokhba period (*Mur* 72 ar 1 9; *XHev/Se* 7 2, 6; *XHev/Se* 13 5). The contemporary use of  $\aleph$  in official documents may have influenced the scribe of *4QDan*<sup>a</sup> to use the form  $\aleph$  instead of  $\aleph$  of the original document. The Masoretes may have preferred  $\aleph$  for quite another reason.

2. K - plural masc. noun (or analogous preposition) + pron. suffix; Q - omits *yod* between the root and the suffix (34) (5 of the 35 occurrences in Biblical Aramaic)

*Dan*<sup>a</sup> 2:29 רעיוניך (= K) K (רעיוניך); (Q = רעיוניך); רעיוניך Ec 1, 64, 66, 113.

*Dan*<sup>a</sup> 7:19 זטפריה (= K) K (זטפריה); (Q = זטפריה) Ec 60; זטפריה Ec 64; זטפריה Ec 66.

However, cf. *Dan*<sup>a</sup> 7:6 גבחה (probably pronounced *gav-ba*) where the K (גבחה); גבחה (Q = גבחה) Ec 1, 60, 66; גבחה Ec 64.

(32) Gordis' List 23. He considers the fuller form to preserve the ancient *a-* ending common to all Semitic languages. Accordingly, he says it surfaces as an archaism in the biblical text. *Ibid.*, 108.

(33) Reconstructed based upon the fact that, taking into consideration the letter count, the lacuna would be too short if  $\aleph$  were to be restored. See the transcription.

(34) Gordis' Lists 24 and 25. He posits that the early Aramaic diphthong *-ay-* before the pronominal suffixes 2ms, 3fs and 1cp1 contracted later to *-a-*. Accordingly he considers the persistence of the *yodh* to be an archaism. *Ibid.*, 108-9.

This may reflect a different dialect or a possibly a Hebraism as in:

*Dan* 5:16 עליבֹהַ עֲלִיבֹהַ (probably pronounced [עֲלִיבֹהַ] ≠ וְזוּ where the K (עֲלִיבֹהַ) = עֲלִיבֹהַ) זוּ

However, cf. *Dan* 2:26 הַאֲתִיךָ (= K) K (הַאֲתִיךָ); Q = הַאֲתִיךָ זוּ

The phonetic elision of *yod* when the suffix closes the syllable was widespread among the later Aramaic dialects. This elision may be reflected graphically by eliminating the *yod* (cf. *XHev/Se* 7 6 קדמִיךָ instead of קדמִיךָ). However, the *yod* was often left as an archaic spelling (including in Syriac). Overall, the usage is rather mixed where both forms may show up in different copies of the same composition or even mixed within the same manuscript (including compositions in both Babylonian Jewish Aramaic and Palestinian Jewish Aramaic). In most cases, Babylonian pointed copies of Daniel lack the *Ketiv* and boldly bear the Qere reading in the text with no comment.

#### B. Phonetic variants

1. K - *Yod*; Q - *Alef* between vowels (35) (4 of 30 occurrences in Biblical Aramaic)

*Dan* 3:8 יְהוּדִיָּם (= K); יְהוּדִיָּם Ec 60] K (יְהוּדִיָּם); יְהוּדִיָּם (יְהוּדִיָּם) Strack (2 mss); יְהוּדִיָּם Ec 64, 66, D.

*Dan* 4:14 עֲלִיָּא (= K); עֲלִיָּא Ec 60] K (עֲלִיָּא); עֲלִיָּא זוּ (עֲלִיָּא) Ec 20; עֲלִיָּא Ec 66; Q אַחַח - Ec 20, 66; עֲלִיָּא Ec 24.

*Dan* 5:18 עֲלִיָּא (= K); עֲלִיָּא Ec 60] K (עֲלִיָּא); עֲלִיָּא זוּ (עֲלִיָּא) Ec 66; עֲלִיָּא Ec 64; עֲלִיָּא Ec 58.

*Dan* 5:21 עֲלִיָּא (= K); עֲלִיָּא Ec 58, 60] K (עֲלִיָּא); עֲלִיָּא זוּ (עֲלִיָּא) Ec 66; עֲלִיָּא Ec 64.

The substitution *alef* for *yod* on the endings of ordinals and genitives is a unique feature of certain Eastern Aramaic dialects. These include Babylonian Jewish Aramaic, Eastern Syriac and the language of Targum Onkelos. (This is perhaps the most telling feature which links the Qere readings with Babylonian Jewish Aramaic tradition.) (36)

2. K - *Alef*; Q - *Yod* between vowels (the participle of "Middle Weak Verbs") (37) (0 of 11 occurrences in Biblical Aramaic)

*Dan* 7:16 קְאָמִיָּא זוּ (קְאָמִיָּא זוּ) קְאָמִיָּא Ec 66 (2nd hand); קְאָמִיָּא Ec 60; קְאָמִיָּא Ec 64, 66 (1st hand), 89.

In most occasions where the pl. masc. participle occurs, a Qere reading is attached to suggest a *yod* instead of *alef*. However this conforms

(35) Gordis' List 26. *Ibid.*, 110-12.

(36) See 1. Jerusalem, *The Aramaic Sections of Ezra and Daniel* (Cincinnati, 1982)

(37) Gordis' List 27. *Ibid.*, 112-13.

with similar forms of this verb in the pl. masc. participle in the absolute *Giantis<sup>d</sup>* [4Q206 [Ere] 4 i 19; 4Q530 [Bk of Giantis<sup>b</sup> ar] 6 7; 4Q532 [Bk of Giantis<sup>d</sup> ar] 2 4; 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms<sup>a</sup>] 1 9) as well as sing. masc. participle absolute קָמַם [2Q24 [JN] 4 16; 4Q535 [Aramaic N] 1 4; 4Q542 [TQahal] 1 ii 4; 4Q550 [PrEsther ar] 4 3, 5 (bis), 6; 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms<sup>a</sup>] 2 ii 1, 2) or קָמַם (CLev<sup>b</sup> III 1; CLev<sup>c</sup> V 12). (38)

#### C. Morphology of nouns

##### Miscellaneous Variations in Nouns (39)

*Dan* 3:10 וְזִמְּנִיָּה (= K) K (וְזִמְּנִיָּה); וְזִמְּנִיָּה (Q) וְזִמְּנִיָּה זוּ (וְזִמְּנִיָּה) Ec 64; וְזִמְּנִיָּה זוּ (וְזִמְּנִיָּה) Ec 60.

#### D. Unclassified KO

Q equal in value to K (40)

*Dan* 4:15 פְּשָׂרָא (= K) K (פְּשָׂרָא); פְּשָׂרָא Ginzb (2 mss) Ec 24, 60; = פְּשָׂרָא Kenn 93; פְּשָׂרָא (Q פְּשָׂרָא) זוּ Ec 20, 66; פְּשָׂרָא פְּשָׂרָא פְּשָׂרָא.

#### The dialect of the Qere

Many of the *Ketiv*/*Qere* readings can be grouped in set categories which reflect scribal or Masoretic preferences for forms which are associated with a certain Aramaic dialect. Babylonian Jewish Aramaic is the only dialect which contains all of the categories described. Only a few examples related to each of these categories have remained unaffected in the vocalized text.

The actual source of these Qere readings still remains a scholarly puzzle. Two possibilities may be suggested: (1) These readings may merely reflect the dialectal preferences of the Masoretes. (However, the readings reflect such issues as only affect the consonantal text. If the variants originated during the Masoretic period, then issues concerning vocalization might also be expected to be found in the margins. Also, many morphological and orthographical dialectal differences which came to exist in Babylonian Aramaic during the Masoretic period are not reflected in the *Ketiv*/*Qere* readings. Thus the readings seem to reflect an earlier stage in the history of the language.) (2) These readings may have been culled from actual manuscripts (perhaps of Babylonian origin) whose predecessors predate the Masoretic period and which contained the Qere readings in the text instead of the *Ketiv* (as is often the case in certain extant medieval, Babylonian pointed manuscripts; e.g., Ec 1, 24,

(38) Both קָמַם (י) and קָמַם (י) are standard forms in BJA. See Jerusalem, 93.

(39) Gordis' List 42. *Ibid.*, 124-26.

(40) Gordis' List 81. *Ibid.*, 150-52.

58, 60, 64, 66, 89, 113). (41) The following stages may help to explain this process: *a*) At some point in the early centuries, the variant readings would have at first been inserted in the columns or between the lines as suggested readings in the authoritative received text (traditionally held to derive from Yavneh). *b*) At some point before or during the Masoretic period these marginal or interlinear readings became the accepted form to be read with the text and would have been indicated by a special scribal mark (for instance: the circlet) over the word in the text with instructions to read the alternative reading instead. *c*) During the Masoretic period, when vowel pointing first began to be added to study editions of the Biblical books, the pointing of the text was made to reflect the marginal reading and not the actual text.

#### Summary and conclusions

1. In *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* we have the meager remains of a manuscript penned in Early Herodian Formal Script written on skin which was ruled in the style found in certain other contemporary Biblical scrolls (*4QNum<sup>b</sup>* and *1QIsab<sup>b</sup>*).
2. Based upon the calculations of the winds to the end of the scroll, the manuscript originally contained 17 (or alternatively 35) columns of the *Book of Daniel* as well as some other text, or texts, (likely biblical) which followed at the end of the scroll.
3. The consonantal text does not reflect typical Qumran spellings (with the exception of אנתה).
4. The extant portions of the text agree consistently with the *Ketiv* readings of the Masoretic text as opposed to the *Qere*.
5. The text is relatively close to that of the Masoretic Text. Most of its textual variants (when compared with the Masoretic Text) are untranslatable and reflect differences in the spelling of individual words (determined by local grammatical or scribal rules or local pronunciation). Those translatable variants which do exist are, in almost every case, mirrored by one or more of the versions.
6. A special feature: the scribe has employed a system of enlarged spaces of varying size (i.e., *vacats*) to denote clause and sentence division (a practice which is normally confined in other manuscripts to paragraph division). A careful comparison of these divisions was made with those found in later manuscripts (the Masoretic Text in particular) as well as in the versions. Although there is a general agreement between

(41) The character of such manuscripts seems similar to that of Targum Onkelos to the Pentateuch which, in general, has a western character for its base text but has adopted certain eastern Aramaic grammatical forms within the text itself.

the later witnesses and the assigned sentence divisions of *4QDan<sup>d</sup>*, no direct historical link can be proven. The correlation is not exact, neither as to the placement of the spaces, nor as to the relative strength of the pause (major or minor) conveyed by variations in space size. It is more likely that the system of line divisions utilized in *4QDan<sup>d</sup>* (as well as *4QDane<sup>e</sup>*) represents an unconnected (or only loosely connected) tradition (thus pre-Masoretic) based upon logical breaks and word clusters which should be observed when reading from the scroll.

#### TRANSCRIPTIONS AND NOTES (42)

Col. V (43) (Plate 6)

- Frag. 1 (44) (no. 13) (PAM 42.167, 42.635, 43.044, 43.084); *Dan* 3:8-10.  
 Frag. 2i (no. 31) (PAM 40.620, 41.786, 42.167, 42.635, 43.044, 43.084); *Dan* 3:5-7.

#### top margin

- 1 [סופניה וכל זני זמרא תפלון ותסודון לעלם דהבא די הקים נבוכדנצר]
- 2 מלכא 6 וזמן די לא יפל ויסוד בה שעתא יתרמא לנו אתון נורא
- 3 [יקרתא 7 כל קבל דנה בה זמנא כדי שמעון כל עממין]
- 4 קול קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרם שכבא פנסטרין וסופוניא וכל זני זמרא
- 5 [נפלין כל עממא אמיא ולשניא סגריא ון אלא די הקים נבוכדנצר]
- 6 [מלכא 8] בבה זמנא קרבו גברין כשראין ון אלא קרעוהו די יהודיא
- 7 [וואמרין לנבכד נצר מלכא לעלמין] הוי סאנתה מללא שמת שעת
- 8 [די כל אנש די ישמע קול קרנא משרוקיתא קיתרם] ששבא פנתהין וסופניה

#### Notes on readings

3:5 (1) [נבכד] דנצר This reading is best checked on PAM 40.620 where a piece of the text, missing in later photographs, is still intact.

(42) The following transcriptions have been made by conferring with all the PAM photographs as well as the fragments which are stored at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The use of a binocular microscope on loan from the Center for the Study of Early Christianity was helpful. A high power Olympus binocular microscope with a variable light source was utilized to check readings which were particularly difficult. The latter was made available by the conservators of the IAA. Notes on readings are here confined to those which involved variants. The underlined words are variant readings, or proposed readings, which are dealt with in the notes. "No." refers to the position of the fig. on PAM 43.084.

(43) The column numbers ascribed here are based upon the calculations for a theoretical 17 column scroll described in the paragraph *Measurements* of this paper.

(44) The combination of frags. 1 and 2 i must remain tentative. The identification of frag. 1 is secure (*Dan* 3:8-10). However, 2 i has only one word that can be identified with any certainty (נצר) which occurs no less than 12 times preceding v. 23 in the same chapter.

3:6 (2) נַרְאָ [נַרְאָ] This reading is possible but is only conjecture. It is also best checked on PAM 40.620.  
 3:7 (5) נַבְרָ [נַבְרָ] See the lighter exposure in PAM 40.620 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (Fiche No. 14). The final letter could be a *resh* or a *dalet*. The former seems more likely.

*Reconstructed variants (45)*

- 3:7 (4) Kenn (ml) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין
  - 3:8 (6) Kenn (ml) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין
  - 3:9 (7) Kenn (sol) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין
- Ketiv/Qere agreement*
- 3:8 (6) Kenn (ml) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין = Ketiv (יהוראי); Qere (יהוראי) Strack (2 mss); יְהוֹרָאִין (in text); Bab mss Kenn (ml) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין (Ec 66)
  - 3:10 (7) Kenn (sol) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין = Ketiv (יהוראי); Qere (יהוראי) Strack (2 mss); יְהוֹרָאִין (in text); Bab mss Kenn (ml) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין (Ec 66)
  - 3:10 (8) Kenn (sol) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין = Ketiv (יהוראי); Qere (יהוראי) Strack (2 mss); יְהוֹרָאִין (in text); Bab mss Kenn (ml) וְסוֹפְרִיָא יְהוֹרָאִין (Ec 66)

(45) Suggested on the basis of letter count and the following witnesses. Key:

- ⲓⲗ Masoretic text (in general acc. to BHS, BR<sup>2</sup> and various manuscripts representing the Ben Asher family of mss.)
- Ⲫ Septuagint (acc. to pap967, 2nd-4th c. A.D.)
- ⲪⲀ Septuagint (hexaplaric; acc. to the text of pap88 edited by J. Ziegler, Göttingen, 1954)
- ⲪⲀⲮ Syriac Peshitta (acc. to Codex Ambrosianus, 6th-7th c. A.D.)
- ⲪⲀⲮⲀ Theodotian (acc. to the text of J. Ziegler, ed., Göttingen, 1954)
- ⲪⲀⲮⲀⲮ Latin Vulgate (acc. to the Württemberg Bible Society edition; based mainly upon the Clementine edition of 1598)
- SyH Syrohexapla (acc. to Codex Ambrosianus Syrohexaplaris, 9th c. A.D.)
- BHS Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, (the text is based upon ms. Leningrad 19a, A.D. 1009).
- Ginzb C. Ginzberg, *The Old Testament, Diligently Revised According to the Masorah and the Early Editions with the Various Readings from MSS and the Ancient Versions* (London, 1926)
- Kenn B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 2 vol. (Oxford, 1776-83)
- Strack H. Strack, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Munich, 1911).
- BR<sup>2</sup> *Biblia Rabbinica, 2d Rabbinic Bible of Jacob ben Chayyim* (Venice, 1524/25)
- Sassoon MS Sassoon 1053, a significant early witness to Tiberian pointed mss. 10th c. A.D.
- Bab mss Babylonian pointed manuscripts (including Ec 1, 20, 24, 58, 60, 64, 89, which contain the book of Daniel)
- Codex Sanaa Babylonian pointed text (Ec 64) with Saadya Gaon's Judeo-Arabic translation; facsimile in S. Morag, *The Book of Daniel: A Babylonian-Yemenite Manuscript* (Jerusalem, 1973)
- yShab Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate Shabbat
- pm original scribal hand
- ml many manuscripts
- sol one manuscript

*Line and paragraph division (46)*

- 3:5 major [possible] sof pasuq ⲓⲗ; tachaya Ⲥ; pasoqa Syh; colon ⲪⲀⲮ; ⲪⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:6 minor [possible] athnachta ⲓⲗ; pasoqa Ⲥ; tachaya Syh; comma ⲪⲀⲮ; ⲪⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:6 major [probable] sof pasuq ⲓⲗ; pasoqa ⲤSyh; period ⲪⲀⲮⲀ; ⲪⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:7 ends at margin [probable] athnachta ⲓⲗ; tachaya ⲤSyh; comma ⲪⲀⲮ; ⲪⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:7 major [probable] sof pasuq ⲓⲗ; pasoqa Ⲥ; elaya Syh; period ⲪⲀⲮ; ⲪⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:8 minor [possible] athnachta ⲓⲗ; tachaya Ⲥ; > ⲪⲀⲮⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:8 minor [possible] sof pasuq ⲓⲗ; shwayya Ⲥ; pasoqa Syh; > ⲪⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:9 major [probable] athnachta ⲓⲗ; tachaya Ⲥ; shwayya Ⲥ; pasoqa Syh; comma ⲪⲀⲮ; ⲪⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:9 ends at margin (2.5 mm) sof pasuq ⲓⲗ; sof pasuq + petucha Ec 60; pasoqa ⲤSyh; colon ⲪⲀⲮⲀ; ⲪⲀⲮⲀ
- 3:10 ends at margin [probable] athnachta ⲓⲗ; tachaya ⲤSyh; comma ⲪⲀⲮ; ⲪⲀⲮⲀ

Col. VI (top) (Plate 6)

Frag. 2ii (no. 1) (PAM 40.620, 41.786, 42.167, 42.635, 43.044, 43.084); Dan 3:23-25

*top margin*

מישך ועבד נגו נפלו נגון [אתון] נורא יקרתא מכפתין vacat [ ]  
 24אדרין נבכר נצר מלכא תוה וקם כַּאֲתַבְהִילָה ענה ואמר להדרוהי] 2  
 3 הלא וברין תלתה מינא לגו נורא מכפתין vacat [ ]  
 4 ענין ואמרין לסלכא יעיבא מלכא 25 ענה נבכר נצר מלכא ואמר  
 5 להדרוהי הא אנה הוה נבכר ארבעה [שרון] מהל כין כנו נורא וחכל לא  
 6 איתני כהין] ודה די [כביעניא דמה לכר אלהין vacat [ ]

*Notes on readings*

- 3:23 (1) [לין] Read without pleonastic alef following in 3:24.
- 3:24 (2) [כַּאֲתַבְהִילָה] The alef is uncertain. Read as *Ithpaal* with *IQDan<sup>b</sup>*.

*Variants*

- 3:24 (2) נבוכדנצר Bab mss; נבוכדנצר Kenn 118 (47)
- 3:24 (2) כַּאֲתַבְהִילָה [כַּאֲתַבְהִילָה] IQDan<sup>b</sup>; (48)

(46) For the definition of "major" and "minor" see above.

(47) The close spacing here between the two words is actually a half-space which is used between two separate words which are intended to be spoken as a single unit. This is also the case with נגו עבד נגו which can be compared in the line above. This is usually reflected in the MT by *maqef* or strong conjunctive accents joining the two words. In the case of Ec. Textus 16 (1991) 136.

(48) A statistical evaluation of the use of the *Ithpeel* form instead of the *Ithpeel* in the Aramaic scrolls of Qumran is overwhelming. Cf. Textus 16 (1991) 130f.

- 3:24 (3) תלחה BR<sup>2</sup>, Sassoon, Bab mss] (49) תלחה BHS.  
 3:24 (3) לוגו IQDan<sup>b</sup>, Bab mss, Kenn (mit) (50) לוגו BHS.  
 3:25 (4) ענה (51) לוגו ענה (51)  
 3:25 (4) מלכא yShab § end of 6, Judaeo-Arabic  
 Codex Sanaa; Bab ms (Ec 64) S<sup>o</sup>Syh; >  
 3:25 (5) להדבורה >  
 3:25 (4-5) ענה נב[בד] נב[ך מלכא ואמר] להדבורה (4-5) (52)

#### Reconstructed variants

3:23 (1) לוגו Bab mss, Kenn (mit) (53) לוגו BHS.

#### Line and paragraph division

- 3:23 יעבר נוגו (3 mm) athnachta III; tachuya S<sup>o</sup>Syh; ¶ D; > S<sup>o</sup>Θ.  
 3:23 open paragraph (probable) sof pasuq + petucha III Ec 60; sof pasuq + setumah Ec 20, 24; sof pasuq Ec 64, 66; pasoga S; colon Θ; ¶ D.  
 3:24 באתרהלה major (probable) athnachta III; pasoga S; tachitaya Syh; > S<sup>o</sup>Θ.  
 3:24 open paragraph (probable) zaqef III; pasoga S<sup>o</sup>Syh; question Θ; ¶ D.  
 3:24 major (17.5 mm) sof pasuq III; pasoga S<sup>o</sup>Syh; period Θ; ¶ D.  
 3:25 minor (unlikely) athnachta III; pasoga S<sup>o</sup>Syh; comma S<sup>o</sup>Θ; ¶ D.  
 3:25 open paragraph (possible) sof pasuq + petucha Ec 60; sof pasuq + setumah III Ec 66; open paragraph Syh; sof pasuq Ec 64; pasoga S; period S<sup>o</sup>Θ; ¶ D.

(49) There is a decided preference for the use of final *he* to represent the feminine morpheme *-ā*. However, this is not exclusive among the scrolls. For example /QapGen prefers final *alef*. Cf. *Textus* 16 (1991) 131.

(50) The pleomorphic *alef* is avoided here as elsewhere in the scrolls of *Daniel* from Qumran.

(51) Although this word is vocalized as a participle in the MT, the use of *he* for the last radical for this *lamed-he* verb here probably reflects the perfect tense. This formulaic expression is often used to introduce a public announcement, a solemn statement or an official response. (For the use of this formula in the Hebrew scrolls see S. Pfann, "4Q298: The Maskil's Address to the Sons of Dawn," *JQR* 85 (1994) 234-35; cf. also *Deut.* 27:15f.) In the Aramaic scrolls the full formula is: "s. o. - וְאָמַר לִי. s. o. עֲנֵה" is normally found in the perfect tense with *אמר* as a participle. (This is best illustrated by the plural form of the expression "s. o. - וְאָמַרְיָן s. o. עֲנֵה" where the tenses of the verbs are unambiguous. Cf. *Dan* 2:7, 10; 3:9, 16; 6:14.) The expression is less often found with two participles *עֲנֵה וְאָמַרְיָן* (see *Dan* 3:24), or with two verbs in the perfect tense (*עֲנֵה וְאָמַרְיָן* in *Dan* 5:1). The masc. sing. expression seems ambiguous in the consonantal text and is normally vocalized in later manuscripts to be two participles. However, in 4QDan<sup>a</sup> there is a clear distinction between the participle and the perfect masc. sing. of *lamed-he* verbs. Forms ending in *-ē* (e. g., the masc. sing. participle and the imperfect masc. singular) end in *alef*. Forms ending in *-ā* (perfect masc. sing.) end in *he*. In that manuscript, in the masc. sing. form of this expression, *ענה* consistently ends in *he*. It seems likely, therefore, that the formula in the singular should follow the pattern of tenses as is commonly found in the plural form of the expression: *ענה perf. masc. sing.* and *אמר participle masc. sing.*, and therefore would more correctly be pointed as *עֲנֵה וְאָמַרְיָן*. (52) This reading reflects the full formula "s. o. - וְאָמַר לִי. s. o. עֲנֵה".

(53) This spelling is probable and is based upon the spelling of the same word in line 3.

#### Col. VI (bottom) (Plate 6)

Frag. 3 (no. 2) (PAM 42.167, 42.635, 43.044, 43.084); *Dan* 4:5-9.

- 1 [עֲנֵה אַחֲרַי עַל קִדְמֵי דְנִימַל דִּי שְׂמַה בְּלִטְאַשְׁעֲנָךְ בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי דְרוּי רוּחֵי אֱלֹהֵי] 1  
 2 [קְדִישֵׁינָּךְ בְּהַ וְחִלְמָא קְדִמָּהי אֲמַרְתָּ 6 בְּלִטְאַשְׁעֲנָךְ רַב חֲרַטְמֵיהֵּ דִּי אֲנִיחָ] 2  
 3 [יִרְעֵת דִּי רוּחֵי אֱלֹהֵי קְדִישֵׁינָּךְ כִּךְ וְכִי] 3 [רַחֵם לָךְ לָא אֲנִים 6 v] 3  
 4 [חֲזוּי חֲלֵמֵי דִּי חֲזִית חֲזוּי דְאַשֵׁי וּפְשַׁרְהֵּ לִי אֲמַרְךָ 7 עַל מִשְׁכְּבֵי חֲזֵה 4] 4  
 5 [חֲזִית וְאֵלֵּי אֲחִילְנָא וְתַקֵּי וְדוּמָה] 5 [עַפְּיָה שְׁפִירָא וְאַנְכֵּה שְׂגִיָּא] 5  
 6 [דְּרֻמָּה נִסְטָא לְשִׁמְיָא וְחֲזִיתָה לְסוּף כִּל אֲרַעָא 9] 6

#### Notes on readings

4:8 (5) אֵלֵּי [בְּ] אֵלֵּי is preferred to *he* since the line of the letter on the left forms a diagonal typical of *alef* and lacks the extended tip at the upper left which would be expected from the horizontal stroke of a *he* (particularly one which is in final position).

#### Variants

- 4:6 (2) בְּלִטְאַשְׁעֲנָךְ Kenn (2 mss) בְּלִטְאַשְׁעֲנָךְ.  
 4:6 (3) אֲמַרְךָ לִי לָא אֲנִים.  
 4:7 (4) עַל מִשְׁכְּבֵי [עַל מִשְׁכְּבֵי] S<sup>o</sup>Syh.  
 4:8 (5) רַחֵם [רַחֵם] Kenn (mit) רַחֵם.

#### Reconstructed variants

- 4:6 (4) חֲזוּי רֵאשִׁי S (54) > III S<sup>o</sup>Θ.  
 4:6 (4) לִי S Θ > III S<sup>o</sup>Θ.

#### Line and paragraph division

- 4:4 end (possible) sof pasuq III; pasoga S; comma Θ; ¶ D; > Ec 60.  
 4:5 minor (probable) athnachta III; pasoga S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:5 major (12 mm) sof pasuq III; pasoga S; ¶ D; > Θ.  
 4:6 major or minor (3 mm +) athnachta III; pasoga S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:6 major (12 mm +) sof pasuq III; pasoga S; period Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:7 minor (possible) athnachta III; tachitaya S; ¶ D; > S<sup>o</sup>Syh.  
 4:7 minor (possible) zaqef III; elaya S; tachitaya Syh; comma Θ; > S<sup>o</sup>Θ.  
 4:7 major (probable) sof pasuq III; pasoga S<sup>o</sup>Syh; period Θ; colon S<sup>o</sup>; ¶ D.  
 4:8 minor (possible) athnachta III; tachitaya S; comma Θ; > D.  
 4:8 minor (possible) athnachta III; pasoga S; ¶ D; > Θ.  
 4:8 major (probable) sof pasuq III; pasoga S; minor (:) Syh; colon Θ; comma S<sup>o</sup>; ¶ D.

(54) Suggested on the basis of letter count and this witness.



Col. VII (Plate 7)

Frag. 4a (no. 4, 7, 10) (PAM 42.167, 42.635, 43.044, 43.084; 40.985 [frag. 4], 41.867 [frag. 4]; 40.975 [frag. 7]); *Dan* 4:12-14.  
 Frag. 4b (no. 5) (PAM 40.975, 41.786, 42.167, 42.635, 43.044, 43.084); *Dan* 4:15-16.

[אָס] מִן עֵקֶד שְׂרָפוֹתַי בְּאַדְרָעָא שְׂבָקוּ וּבְחָסְדוֹ דְּפִדְוֹל נִזְהַשׁוּ בְּרִתְמָא  
 [דִּי בְרַח] וּבְטַל שְׂמַיָּא עֲטִבְעוּ וְגַם חוּתָא חוּלְקָה בְּעֵשֶׂב וּדְרַעָא 13 לְבַבְ[הָ]  
 [מִן] אֲנוּשָׁא יִשְׁנִין וּלְבַב חֵינְתָא יִתְיַהֵב לָהּ וְשִׁבְעָה עֲדִינִי [וְ] יִחַל [מִן]  
 [עֲלוּהָ] 14 בְּגוּדָתִי עֲיָרִין פְּתִנְמָא וּמְאֹרְ קוּדִישׁוֹ שְׂאִילָתִי [וְ] יִחַל [דְּ] רִבְתָּנִי  
 [דִּי יִנְרַעוּ חֵינְי דִּי] שְׁלִיטָה עֲלֵיָא בְּ[מַלְכוּתִי אֲנוּשָׁא וְלִמְן דִּי יַעֲבֵא יִתְנַתְּנִי  
 [וְשַׁפְלֵ אֲנוּשִׁים יָקִים עֲלֵיהּ 15 vacat רְנֵה חִלְמָא חוּתָא אֲנָה מַלְכָּא נִבְכָּר]  
 [נִעְרַד וְאִנְתָּה בְּלִטְאֲשַׁעַר פִּשְׁרָא אֲמֹר כֹּל קִלְכָּל דִּי] כָּל חִימֵי מַלְכוּתִי לֹאן  
 [יִכְלִין לְהוֹדְעָתִי וְאִנְתָּה כְּהָלָה דִּי רוּחַ אֱלֹהִין קִרְשִׁין בְּךָ vacat  
 [וְ] אֲדִירִין דְּנִיחָל דִּי שְׂמָה בְּלִטְאָן שְׁעֵר אֲשֶׁתְּמַם לְשִׁנְעָה חֲדָה וְרַעֲיִנְיָה יִבְהַלְנָה] 9

Notes on readings

4:12 (1) אָפֶךְ The location of עֵקֶד in this line is certain. The word before clearly does not end in final mem (as in III: ברם) but has a medium length down stroke resembling that of a *daleth*, *waw*, *yod*, or *resh*. This restoration is based in part upon evidence from the versions.  
 4:14 (4) שְׂאִילָתִי A trace of the ascender of the *lamed* is visible on PAM 43.044 and 43.084. There appears to be an extra point of ink which could suggest the top of a *yod*.  
 4:14 (5) עֲלֵיָא The only certain letter is the *lamed*. After this three upward directed points follow. These would better conform to the outline of *alef* (Ketiv) than *alef* (Qere).  
 4:15 (7) פִּשְׁרָא The diagonal orientation of the left stroke of the *alef* is clear on PAM 40.975.  
 4:16 (9) בְּלִטְאֲשַׁעַר There is the beginning of a stroke preserved immediately before the *isade*. There is no trace of ink immediately to its lower left (cf. PAM 40.975). This suggests a *shin* in this context rather than *alef*.

Variants

4:12 (1) אָפֶךְ [אָפֶכְ] > S; ספוט ברם; ספוט  
 4:12 (2) חוּתָא (4 mss) חוּתָא  
 4:12 (2) חוּלְקָה Kenn 93, חוּלְקָה הַלְלִיָּהּ *Bab ms* (Ec 24); חוּלְקָה  
 4:13 (3) חוּתָא Kenn 92, 93 חוּתָא  
 4:14 (4) שְׂאִילָתִי Kenn 93, 224, 245 חוּתָא  
 4:16 (9) בְּלִטְאֲשַׁעַר Kenn (3 mss) בְּלִטְאֲשַׁעַר

Reconstructed variants

4:15 (7-8) חוּתָא וְכִלְיִן לְהוֹדְעָתִי [S לא יכלין להודעתני (7-8) ספוט].

Ketiv/Qere agreement

4:14 (5) עֲלֵיָא = Ketiv (עֲלֵיָא); עֲלֵיָא (Qere) עֲלֵיָא  
 4:15 (7) פִּשְׁרָא = K [פִּשְׁרָא] = Ketiv (פִּשְׁרָא); פִּשְׁרָא (Qere) פִּשְׁרָא; פִּשְׁרָא Kenn 93; פִּשְׁרָא Ec 20, 66; פִּשְׁרָא S.  
 4:15 (8) וְאִנְתָּה הַ = Ketiv (וְאִנְתָּה); וְאִנְתָּה הַ (55) וְאִנְתָּה הַ

Line and paragraph division

4:12 אֲדִירִין (possible) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:12 אֲדִירִין (6 mm) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; period Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:13 אֲדִירִין (16 mm) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:13 אֲדִירִין (possible) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:13 אֲדִירִין (possible) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:14 אֲדִירִין (possible) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:14 אֲדִירִין (possible) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:15 אֲדִירִין (possible) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:15 אֲדִירִין (possible) *sof pasuq* Ec 60; *revia* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:15 אֲדִירִין (possible) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; comma Θ; ¶ D.  
 4:16 אֲדִירִין (possible) *athnachta* III; *sof pasuq* Ec 64, 66; *pasoga* S; *tacharya* Syh; period Θ; ¶ D; > Θ<sup>o</sup>.

Col. XII (Plate 7)

Frag. 5a (no. 3) (PAM 41.786, 42.167, 42.635, 43.044, 43.084); *Dan* 7:15-20.  
 Frag. 5b (no. 6) (PAM 42.167, 42.635, 43.044, 43.084); *Dan* 7:20-23.

1 [דִּי לֹא תִתְחַבֵּל 15 אֲתַכְוִיָּהּ דְּוִן] [אֲנִי] הִנֵּה הִנֵּה בְּנֵי נִרְנָה  
 2 [וְחַוִּי דְּאִשִּׁי יִבְהַלְנִי 16 וְקֹדֶבֶת] עַל חֲדָה מִן קְאֻמֵּיָא וְיַעֲבֵא אֲבַעָא  
 3 [מִנָּה עַל כָּל נְהָה 17] אֲמַר לִי וּפְשֵׁר מְלִיָּהּ יְהוֹדְעֵנִי אֲבַעָא  
 4 [וְאֲלֵיךְ הַיּוֹתָה דְּרִבְכָּתָא 18] וְיִנְיִין וְיִחְסִין מְלִיָּהּ יְהוֹדְעֵנִי עַד  
 5 [אֲדַעָא 19] וְיִקְבְּלוּן מְלִיָּהּ קְדִישִׁי עַל יְמִינִי וְיִחְסִין מְלִיָּהּ יְהוֹדְעֵנִי עַד  
 6 [עֲלֵמָא וְעַד עַלְמָא עַל 20] אֲרִיָּן אֲרִיָּן עֲבִית לִיעֲבֵא עַל  
 7 [חַיּוֹתָה דְּבִיעִיתָא 21] דִּי הוּתָּה שְׁנִיָּהּ מִן בְּלִחְוִן רַחֲלֵהּ וְאִמְתַּנְּן  
 8 [יִתִּירָה שְׁנִיָּהּ וְפְפִירָה 22] וְיִפְּרֹל אֲכַלָּה מִקְדָּה וְשִׂאָה בְּרַחֲלֵהּ  
 9 [דְּפַסָּה 20] קְדִישִׁי עֲשֵׂר דִּי בְּרַאשָׁה וְאַחֲרֵי דִּי סִלְקַת וְנִפְלָה  
 10 [מִן קְדָמָה תְּלַת 23] וְקָרָא דְכָן וְעִינֵי לָהּ וְפַס מִמֶּלֶךְ דְּבַכְדָּן  
 11 [וְחַוִּי רַב מִן חֲבֵרְתָּה 21] חוּזָה הוּתָּה וְקָרָא דְכָן עֲבָרָה [קָרַב עַם  
 12 [קְדִישִׁין וְיִכְלָה לְהוֹן 22] עַד דִּי אַתָּה יוֹמִיָּא וְרִנְיָא יְהֵא יְהֵב  
 13 [לְקִדְוִישִׁי עֲלוּיָוִין 23] וּזְמַנָּה מִסָּה מְלִיָּהּ יְהוֹדְעֵנִי חֲסִין קְדִישִׁין  
 14 [כִּי אֲמַר לִי 23] חַיּוֹתָה דְּבִיעִיתָא מְלִיָּהּ רַבִּיעִיתָא תְּהֵא בְּאַרְעָא

bottom margin

Note on readings

7:17 (4) אֲנוּן Cf. *Palaeography* concerning this scribe's tendency to distinguish *waw* from *yod*.  
 7:19 (8) פְּפִירָה וְיִפְּרֹל If the text of M were to be read, the ascender of the *lamed* in *פְּפִירָה* should appear in the space between lines 7 and 8. The peak of the *pe* in *פְּפִירָה* is clear.

(55) Reconstruction based upon letter count.

7:19 (7-8) [בלהן דחילה ואימתי יתרה (7-8)] The letter count of this line suggests that the text here is several letters longer than that of the MT. Although the other witnesses overwhelmingly are unified against this reading, no other witness supplies us with an alternative which would help fill out the several lacking letters. Another option is that the text may also have contained a variant for which no witness is extant.

#### Variants

7:17 (4) Kenn אנון (ml) אנון *Bab mss.*

7:19 (8) [שני]ה וטפריה די פרוזן] ו - [שני]ה וטפריה די פרוזן] *denites et ungues eius ferrei*; שניה די אנון פרוז וטפריה די נחש

#### Reconstructed variants

7:19 (7-8) [בלהן דחילה ואימתי יתרה (7-8)] *Bab ms (Ec 24) = דהילא ואימתי - דהילא ואימתי סטאטס* כלהון דחילה יתרה (56); (יתיה) *סטאטס* כן אמר לי (57) *[56סטאטס]*

7:23 (14) *סטאטס* כן אמר לי (57)

#### Ketiv/Qere agreement

7:19 (8) [טפריה (קט) = טפריה (קט) = *Ketiv* (קט) = *Qere* (קט) = *Ec 64*; וטפריה *Ec 66*]

#### Line and paragraph division

7:14 [בלהן דחילה ואימתי יתרה] *sof pasuq+petucha* III *Ec 60, 64, 89; pasoga* SSyh; (58) *period + vacat* טפ; ט.

7:15 minor (possible) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* S; *tachaya* Syh; comma ט; ט > ט.

7:15 minor (possible) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* SSyh; *period* ט; ט.

7:16 major (probable) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* SSyh; *period* ט<sup>0</sup>; comma ט, ט.

7:16 minor (4 mm) *zaqef gadol* III; *pasoga* SSyh; > טפ.

7:16 major (probable) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* S; major (:) Syh; טפ > ט.

7:17 none (doubtful) *athnachta* III; comma ט; ט > S.

7:17 major (probable) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* Syh; colon ט<sup>0</sup>ט; ט > S.

7:18 none (2.5 mm) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* Syh; ט > ט<sup>0</sup>ט.

7:18 closed paragraph (27 mm) *sof pasuq+petucha* *Ec 64; sof pasuq* III; *paragraph* SSyh; *period* ט<sup>0</sup>ט; ט.

7:19 minor (possible) *athnachta* III; > טפ.

7:19 minor (possible) *revia* III; *pasoga* SSyh; comma ט<sup>0</sup>ט; ט.

7:19 major (probable) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* SSyh; comma ט<sup>0</sup>ט; ט.

7:20 minor (possible) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* SSyh; comma ט<sup>0</sup>ט; ט.

7:20 minor (possible) *sof pasuq* III; major (:) Syh; *pasoga* S; *period* ט<sup>0</sup>ט; ט.

7:21 unlikely] *athnachta* III; minor (:); S; > ט<sup>0</sup>Syh<sup>0</sup>ט.

7:21 minor (possible) *sof pasuq* III; *pasoga* SSyh; comma ט; ט > ט<sup>0</sup> *Ec 60*.

7:22 major (probable) *athnachta* III; *pasoga* SSyh; comma ט<sup>0</sup>ט; ט.

7:22 (ends at margin) *sof pasuq* III; major (:) Syh; *pasoga* S; *period* ט<sup>0</sup>ט; ט.

7:23 major (probable) *segholta* III; *pasoga* S; *vacat* ט<sup>0</sup>ט; > ט<sup>0</sup>Syh.

For summary and conclusions, see the paragraphs preceding "Transcriptions and Notes".

Stephen J. PFANN.

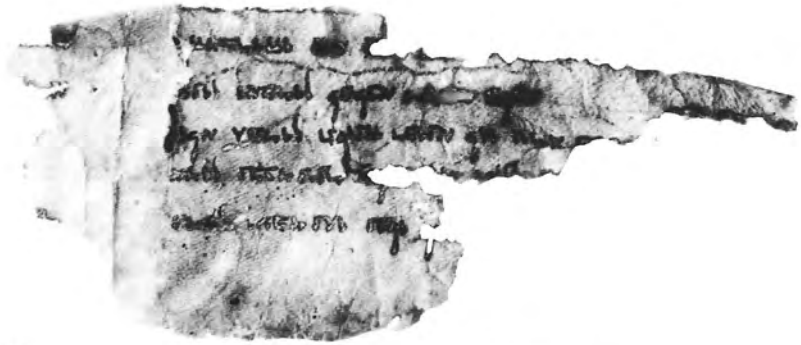
(56) See Notes on readings.

(57) Suggested on the basis of letter count and with the support of these witnesses.

(58) Codex Ambrosianus lacks *Dan 7: 14b-20a*. For those verses the Leiden edition has been used.



Frag. 1



col. vi (top)

Frag. 2ii



Frag. 3

col. vi (bottom)

Plate 6. — Stephen J. Pfann, 4Q115 (4QDane), Figs 1-3.

col. vii



Frag. 4a



Frag. 4b

col. xii

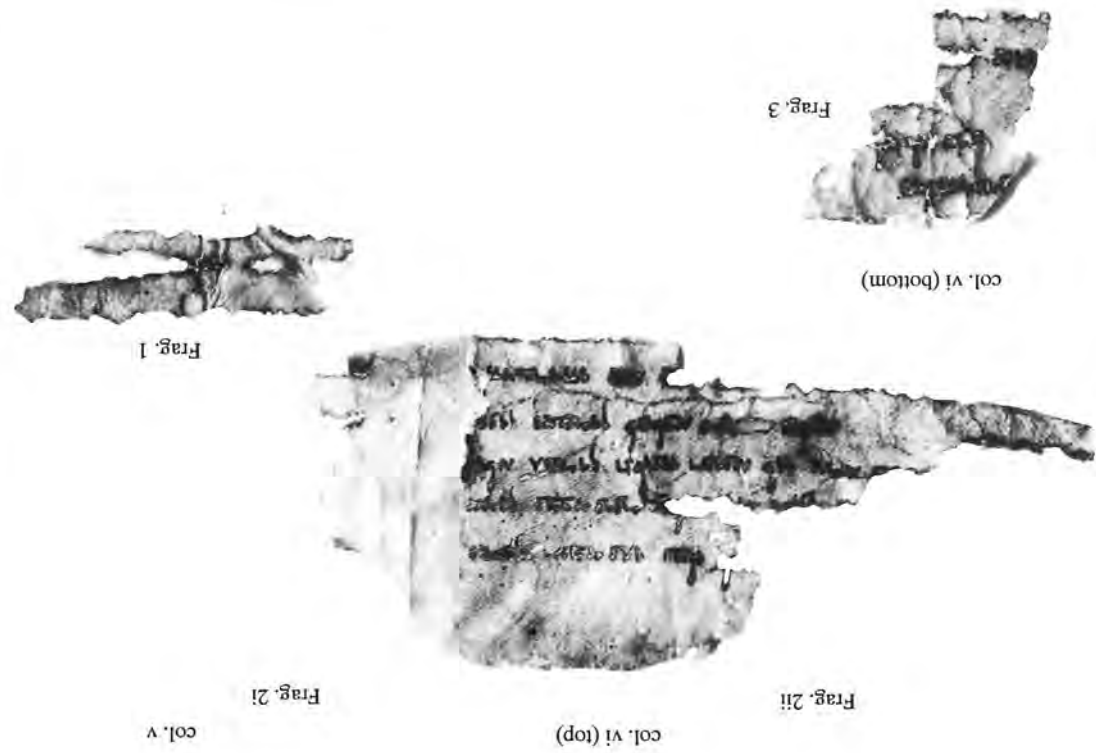


Frag. 5a



Frag. 5b

Plate 7. — Stephen J. Pfann, 4Q115 (4QDane), Figs 4-5.



col. v  
Frag. 2i

col. vi (top)  
Frag. 2ii

col. vi (bottom)

Frag. 3

Frag. 1

Plate 6. — Stephen J. Pfann, 4Q115 (4QDara), Figs 1-3.

col. vii



Frag. 4a



Frag. 4b

col. xii



Frag. 5a



Frag. 5b

Plate 7. — Stephen J. Pfann, 4Q115 (4QDara), Figs 4-5.