

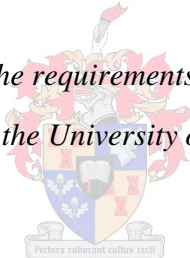
A Text-critical Analysis of the Lamentations Manuscripts from Qumran (3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b)

Establishing the content of an Old Testament book according to its
textual witnesses among the Dead Sea scrolls

by

Gideon R. Kotzé

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Promoters:

Prof. Louis Jonker

Faculty of Theology

Discipline Group Old and New Testament

Prof. Johann Cook

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Dept of Ancient Studies

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Declaration

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Summary

This study takes as its point of departure the contributions of the Dead Sea scrolls to the discipline of Old Testament textual criticism. It deals with a particular approach to this discipline and its application to the four Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran (3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b). The approach to Old Testament textual criticism followed in the study treats the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations, the Masoretic text and the ancient translations as witnesses to the content of the book and not merely as witnesses to earlier forms of its Hebrew wording. The unique readings in 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b and their difficult or ambiguous readings are subjected to a comparative text-critical analysis. This analysis focuses on how the variant readings in the Qumran manuscripts were created by scribes during the process of copying. It therefore examines the influence that the scribal transmission exercised on the wordings of the passages from Lamentations that are preserved in 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b. The analysis also considers whether comparative philology and/or the ancient Greek, Syriac, Latin and Aramaic translations can shed light on the textual problems which the Hebrew wordings of the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran share with the Masoretic text. The aims of this study are to establish, by means of this text-critical analysis, how the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran present the content of the book and thereby gain a better understanding of these manuscripts as textual witnesses.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie neem die bydraes van die Dooie See rolle tot die dissipline van Ou Testament tekstekritiek as uitgangspunt. Dit handel oor 'n bepaalde benadering tot die dissipline en die toepassing daarvan op die vier Klaagliederemanuskripte wat by Qumran gevind is (3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a en 5QLam^b). Die benadering tot Ou Testament tekstekritiek wat in die studie toegepas word, hanteer die Qumranmanuskripte van Klaagliedere, die Masoretiese teks en die antieke vertalings as getuies van die boek se inhoud en nie slegs as getuies van vroeëre vorms van die boek se Hebreeuse bewoording nie. Die unieke lesings in 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a en 5QLam^b en die moeilike of dubbelsinnige lesings word onderwerp aan 'n vergelykende tekstekritiese analise. Die analise fokus op die wyses waarop die wisselvorme in die manuskripte geskep is gedurende die proses van kopiëring. Die analise ondersoek dus die invloed wat die oorleweringsproses uitgeoefen het op die bewoording van die gedeeltes uit Klaagliedere wat in 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a en 5QLam^b behoue gebly het. Die analise stel ook vas tot hoe 'n mate vergelykende filologie en/of antieke Griekse, Siriese, Latynse en Aramese vertalings lig kan werp op die tekstuele probleme wat die Hebreeuse bewoording van die Klaagliederemanuskripte van Qumran met die Masoretiese teks in gemeen het. Die doel van die studie is om deur middel van 'n tekstekritiese analise vas te stel hoe die Klaagliederemanuskripte van Qumran die inhoud van die boek weergee en sodoende 'n beter verstaan van hierdie manuskripte as teksgetuies te bekom.

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For Manitza

כלך יפה רעיתי ומום אין בך

Table of Contents

Title	i
Declaration	ii
Summary	iii
Opsomming	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Dedication	vii
Table of Contents	viii
Abbreviations and Sigla	xiii
 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	 1
 RESEARCH TOPIC: OLD TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND THE LAMENTATIONS MANUSCRIPTS FROM QUMRAN	 20
 THE AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	 22
 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY	 24
 CHAPTER 2: AN OVERVIEW OF THE QUMRAN LAMENTATIONS MANUSCRIPTS AND A LIST OF VARIANT READINGS COMPARED TO THE MT AND THE ANCIENT VERSIONS	 25
 3QLAM (3Q3)	 26
Fragment 1: Lamentations 1:10-12	27
Fragment 2: Lamentations 3:53-62	28
Variants	28

4QLAM (4Q111)	28
Fragment 1 Column I: Lamentations 1:1-6	32
Variants	33
Fragment 2 Column II: Lamentations 1:6-10	33
Variants	34
Fragment 3 Column III: Lamentations 1:10-18	34
Variants	35
Fragment 4: Lamentations 2:5	37
Variants	37
 5QLAM ^a (5Q6)	 37
Fragment 1 Column I: Lamentations 4:5-8	39
Variants	40
Fragment 1 Column II: Lamentations 4:11-15	40
Variants	40
Fragment 1 Column III: Lamentations 4:15-20	41
Variants	41
Fragment 1 Column IV: Lamentations 4:20-5:3	41
Variants	42
Fragment 1 Column V: Lamentations 5:4-12	42
Variants	42
Fragment 1 Column VI: Lamentations 5:12-17	43
Variants	43
Fragments 2-14	43
 5QLAM ^b (5Q7)	 44
Fragment 1: Lamentations 4:17-20	44

Variants	45
CLOSING REMARKS	45
CHAPTER 3: A TEXT-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WORDING OF LAMENTATIONS 1 AS WITNESSED TO BY 3QLAM AND 4QLAM	46
VERSE 1	47
Excursus: The supposed quotation or allusion to Lamentations 1:1 in 4Q179	51
VERSE 6	55
Excursus: מן בת/מבת in Lamentations 1:6 and the origin of the <i>K^ethîbh/Q^erê</i> variations in the MT	57
VERSE 7	61
VERSE 8	73
VERSE 9	78
VERSES 10 AND 11	83
VERSE 12	90
VERSE 13	102
VERSE 14	109

VERSE 15	117
VERSES 16 AND 17	123
SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENT OF THE IDENTIFIED VERSES IN LAMENTATIONS 1 AS THEY APPEAR IN 4QLAM	142
CHAPTER 4: A TEXT-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WORDING OF LAMENTATIONS 4 AS WITNESSED TO BY 5QLAM^a AND 5QLAM^b	148
VERSE 7	152
VERSE 14	156
VERSE 15	164
Excursus: The scribal marking in the bottom margin of Column II of 5QLam ^a	169
SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENT OF THE IDENTIFIED VERSES IN LAMENTATIONS 4 AS THEY APPEAR IN 5QLAM ^a	176
CHAPTER 5: A TEXT-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WORDING OF LAMENTATIONS 5 AS WITNESSED TO BY 5QLAM^a	179
VERSE 1	180
VERSE 2	182
VERSE 3	185

VERSE 9	190
VERSE 10	194
Excursus: The allusions to verses from Lamentations 5 in 4Q501	201
VERSES 11-13	206
Excursus: The space after כשלו in verse 13 of 5QLam ^a	211
SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENT OF THE IDENTIFIED VERSES IN LAMENTATIONS 5 AS THEY APPEAR IN 5QLAM ^a	213
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS	216
BIBLIOGRAPHY	227

Abbreviations and Sigla

General Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BdA	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BDAG	Bauer, W, Arndt, W F, Gingrich, W and Danker, F W 2000. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. Third Edition.</i> Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
BDB	Brown, F, Driver, S R and Briggs, C A 2001. <i>The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon.</i> Peabody: Hendrickson.
BDF	Blass, F, Debrunner, A and Funk, R W 1961. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.</i> Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
BH	Biblical Hebrew
<i>BHK</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i>
<i>BHQ</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Quinta</i>
BHRG	Van der Merwe, C H J, Naudé, J A and Kroeze, J H 1999. <i>A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar.</i> Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>

CAD	Gelb, I J et al. 1956-. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CC	Continental Commentary
COT	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
CTA	Herdner, A 1963. <i>Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques: Découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i> . Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
DCH	Clines, D J A (ed.) 1993-2007. <i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . 6 Volumes. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSMM	Burrows, M 1950. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery</i> . New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
DSSR	The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
GELS	Muraoka, T 2009. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Setuagint</i> . Louvain / Paris / Walpole: Peeters.
GKC	Gesenius, W, Kautzsch, E and Cowley, A 1910. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar. Second Edition</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press.
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HThK(AT)	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
IBHS	Waltke, B K and O'Connor, M 1990. <i>Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i> . Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
Interpretation	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
IEJ	<i>Israelite Exploration Journal</i>

JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
Jastrow	Jastrow, M 2005. <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> . Peabody: Hendrickson.
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
Joüon/Muraoka	Joüon, P and Muraoka, T 1991. <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> . 2 Volumes. Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico.
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KBL	Koehler, L and Baumgartner, W 1985. <i>Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros</i> . Leiden: Brill.
KV	Korte Verklaring van de Heilige Schrift
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LEH	Lust, J, Eynikel, E and Hauspie, K 1992, 1996. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> . 2 Volumes. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
LSJ	Liddell, H G, Scott, R and Jones, H S 1995. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon. Ninth Edition with a Revised Supplement</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.
LXX.D	Septuaginta Deutsch
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	<i>Old Testament Studies</i>
QH	Qumran Hebrew

<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RivBib</i>	<i>Rivista Biblica</i>
SBH	Standard Biblical Hebrew
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal for the Old Testament</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
<i>TT</i>	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
<i>UT</i>	Gordon, C H 1965. <i>Ugaritic Textbook. Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Indices</i> . Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Ancient Texts and Versions

3QLam	The Lamentations manuscript from Qumran cave 3
4QLam	The Lamentations manuscript from Qumran cave 4
5QLam ^a	The first copy of Lamentations from Qumran cave 5
5QLam ^b	The second copy of Lamentations from Qumran cave 5
α'	Aquila's version
B19 ^A	Codex Leningradensis
<i>L</i>	Lucianic version
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic text
MT ^{mss}	Medieval manuscripts of the Masoretic text
OL	Old Latin
<i>O</i>	Origen's Hexaplaric recension of the Septuagint

P	Peshitta
Sa	Sahidic Coptic version
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
σ'	Symmachus' version
T	Targum
T ^W	Western recension of the Targum of Lamentations
T ^Y	Yemenite recension of the Targum of Lamentations
θ'	Theodotion's version
V	Vulgate

Text-Critical and Other Signs

⋈	a dot above a Hebrew letter shows that its identification is probable
⊘	a circlet above a Hebrew letter shows that its identification is possible
> 4QLam	indicates that wording is omitted from 4QLam
[]	indicates a missing part of a manuscript
]°[	traces of a letter
כא[למנה	the bracketed part of the word has been restored
(?)	indicates that a reading is uncertain
//	erasure

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

More than sixty years after the discovery of the first group of seven manuscripts, the Dead Sea scrolls¹ continue to arrest the attention of scholars in various fields of biblical research. The thousands of fragments found between 1947 and 1956 in the eleven caves near Khirbet Qumran comprise in the excess of 850 manuscripts; these biblical and non-biblical manuscripts have left an indelible impact on the study of the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism and the historical context in which Christianity and the New Testament came into being.² They also present new data regarding the development of Hebrew and Aramaic dialects,³ the nature of biblical interpretation in Second Temple Judaism,⁴ especially halakhah,⁵ and shed light on various aspects relevant to the study of the Septuagint.⁶ Moreover, the textual finds from the Qumran

¹ In a broad sense the designation “Dead Sea scrolls” refers not only to the scrolls that were found in the eleven Qumran caves, but also to those from Masada, the caves of Wadi Murabba‘at, Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Şe‘elim (Wadi Seiyal) and Naḥal Mišmar (Wadi Mahras), as well as to those recovered from the Greek monastery at Khirbet Mird, the Cairo Genizah and even to the papyri from the cave of Wadi ed-Daliyeh (Fitzmyer 2000:2).

² See Charlesworth (2006:1-23) and Van der Woude (1998:1-45).

³ Regarding the nature of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea scrolls, see the studies of Abegg (1998:325-358) and Qimron (1986). Blau (2000:20-25), Hurvitz (2000:110-114) and Qimron (2000:232-244; 1992:349-361) address important issues, such as the relation of Qumran Hebrew (QH) to both Biblical Hebrew (BH) and Mishnaic Hebrew (MH), and whether it was a spoken or merely a literary form of Hebrew. Cook (1998:59-378) gives a survey of the Aramaic in which over a hundred of the Qumran documents were written.

⁴ See, for example, the articles edited by Henze (2005), as well as the studies by Brooke (2006:287-319), Fishbane (2004:339-377) and Davies (2003:144-166).

⁵ Concerning the impact of the Dead Sea scrolls on the study of Jewish law, see Schiffman (2010a:63-78).

⁶ The Qumran scrolls do not only include Hebrew manuscripts that are close to the purported wording of the *Vorlagen* of some Septuagint books but they also contribute to the credibility of the practice of retroversion (Tov

caves have reopened debates concerning the canonical process and the closing of the tripartite canon of the Hebrew Bible.⁷ One of the areas of biblical research that have arguably benefited the most from the discoveries in the Judean Desert is Old Testament textual criticism.

Old Testament textual criticism is a discipline in which all the available textual representatives of Old Testament books are analysed.⁸ The main textual representatives include

1992a:11-47). Furthermore, the Septuagint manuscripts from Qumran and the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIIgr) have had a marked influence on views regarding the origins of the Septuagint and its textual history (cf. Faulkenberry Miller 2007:1-28; Fabry 2001:131-153; Greenspoon 1998:101-127; Ulrich 1992:49-80).

⁷ The textual finds from the Qumran caves have reopened debates concerning the history of the tripartite canon of the Hebrew Bible. The issue revolves around the scope of the authoritative scriptures at Qumran. The question as to which books were regarded as authoritative by the Qumran community can be answered with some degree of certainty by looking at the way in which books are quoted in the writings of the Qumran community, how certain books present themselves as divine revelations, the books that became subject of the *peshet* and other commentaries of the community and the quantity of manuscripts of books found in the caves (VanderKam 1994:149-157). On the strength of evidence of this nature VanderKam and Flint (2002:178-180) determine that, apart from many of the books later included in the Hebrew Bible, *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch*, the *Temple scroll* (4Q524, 11Q19-20) and the writing known as *Reworked Pentateuch* (4Q158, 4Q364-367) were in all probability also considered as authoritative by the Qumran community. This implies that a closed tripartite canon did not yet exist in the Second Temple period and that one can at most speak of authoritative writings during this period. For discussions on these and other issues relating to the development of a tripartite canon in Judaism, see McDonald (2007), Sanders (2003:225-252; 2002:252-263), Ulrich (2003:57-80), Trebelle Barrera (2002:128-145) and VanderKam (2002:1-30). For views regarding the closing of the canon in earlier periods, see Dempster (2008:87-127), Davies (1998:177-182) and Van der Kooij (2003b:27-38; 1998:17-40).

⁸ On the aims and procedures of Old Testament textual criticism, see Van der Kooij (2008: 579-590; 2003a:729-739; 2002:148-155), Tov (2001), Würthwein (1995), Goshen-Gottstein (1992:204-213), Deist (1988; 1978) and McCarter (1986).

the Hebrew manuscripts and the ancient translations that were based on Hebrew *Vorlagen*, namely the Septuagint (LXX), Peshitta (P), Vulgate (V) and the Targums (T), but the quotations of Old Testament passages in other writings, such as the Qumran documents and the rabbinic literature, also qualify as textual representatives (Van der Kooij 2008:581). The focus in text-critical analyses centres on the transmission of the Old Testament books through copying and translation, since the intricate web of agreements and disagreements in the wording between the textual representatives are the result of the process of scribal transmission. The discipline therefore deals with scribal activities in antiquity, especially the practical aspects involved in the creation of readings through the processes of copying and translation. The traditional goal of the discipline is to collate and compare the textual representatives, ferret out the different kinds of scribal errors that survived in them and then reconstruct the “original text” (or *Urtext*) of the biblical writings⁹ (or, more realistically, the earliest attainable form of their wordings).¹⁰ If the text-critic is of the opinion that none of the extant textual representatives preserves the original reading, it can be restored by means of conjectural emendation. In cases where there appears to be a textual problem or corrupt reading in the Hebrew manuscripts, the text-critic can make use of comparative philology in order to find a solution to the perceived difficulty. Instead of emending the wording of a difficult passage, the text-critic searches the cognate Semitic languages (especially Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic) for suitable meanings for the Hebrew words in question (Barr 1968:1-13). Although more original readings, accidental scribal errors and difficulties in the textual representatives are important focal points in text-critical analyses, Old Testament text-critics are also interested in readings that were intentionally created by scribes during the process of transmission. Examples of such deliberate scribal modifications are linguistic and stylistic changes, harmonisations, exegetical changes and additions to the wording of passages. These intentional changes show that some scribes took the liberty of altering the

⁹ Cf. Goshen-Gottstein (1983:365-399).

¹⁰ The earliest attainable form of an Old Testament writing refers to the wording which lay at the root of all the attested differences between the available textual witnesses (Van der Kooij 2003a:731).

content of the writings which they copied. Accordingly, “textual critics are not merely interested in readings that were presumably contained in *the* or *an* original text; the study of ancient manuscripts also tells us the story of the history of the Hebrew language, of ancient exegesis, and of the history of ideas, how new ideas were developed and how earlier ideas were changed” (Tov 2001:258-259 – italics in the original).

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls, knowledge regarding the ways in which scribes transmitted the texts of the Old Testament books was based on the medieval manuscripts of the Masoretic text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) (in the case of the Torah), the LXX and (to a lesser extent) other ancient translations, such as P, V and T.¹¹ The biblical scrolls that have emerged from the eleven caves near Qumran and other sites, such as Masada, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabba‘at, afford the text-critic with a wealth of new textual data.¹² Over 200 biblical scrolls have been recovered from the Qumran caves alone. With the exception of Esther, copies of all the books of the Old Testament were found in the library¹³ stored in the caves by the

¹¹ The histories of the ancient translations’ texts are just as interesting as the history of the Hebrew texts and equally convoluted. See, for example, the discussions by Jobes and Silva (2000:29-68) and Fernández Marcos (2000:35-301) concerning the origins and history of the LXX. Dirksen (2004:261-296), Brock (2006:45-46) and Weitzman (1999:300-306) give overviews of the history of P, while Kedar (2004:299-338) and Alexander (2004:217-253) discuss V and T respectively.

¹² See the discussions of Ulrich (2006:77-100; 1998:79-100) regarding the impact of the Qumran manuscripts on the study of the texts of the Old Testament books.

¹³ Opinions are divided over the nature of the collection of texts found in the caves at Qumran and whether it may legitimately be called a library or not. On the basis of resemblances between the contents of the Qumran collection of texts and libraries of the Ancient Near East and Greco-Roman libraries of the eastern Mediterranean, Lange (2006:177-193) argues that the Qumran textual finds are indeed the remnant of the library of the community who occupied the settlement. In its mixture of documentary, literary, liturgical, ritual and other texts of priestly interest, the Qumran collection closely resembles Ancient Near Eastern temple libraries. This parallel with temple libraries

Qumran community.¹⁴ These biblical manuscripts from Qumran represent the earliest copies of the Old Testament books in the original languages. They can confidently be dated on palaeographical grounds between the middle of the third century BCE and the middle of the first century CE.¹⁵ The earliest copies of the biblical writings among the Dead Sea scrolls therefore predate the medieval Hebrew manuscripts by more than a thousand years. Unfortunately, the majority of these copies consist of very fragmentary manuscripts. Notwithstanding their fragmentary nature, a comparison of the Qumran manuscripts with the textual witnesses which were available before the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls reveals a multitude of major and minor textual variations pertaining to orthography, individual words, clauses, paragraphs and even whole chapters.¹⁶ The assorted *variae lectiones* in the copies of biblical manuscripts recovered from the Qumran caves demonstrate that between the third century BCE and the first century CE, the texts of Old Testament books were still in a stage of development and that scribes could introduce all sorts of changes into the wording of these writings. This large amount of new and varied textual data in the biblical manuscripts from Qumran, which have the twin

is significant, because the Qumran community thought of itself as a purified temple in opposition to the “contaminated” temple in Jerusalem.

¹⁴ Not all scholars are equally convinced that the caves (and the scrolls deposited there) and the site of Khirbet Qumran are related. Magness (1998:47-77) discusses the different interpretations of the ruins of the site as either that of a villa, a fortress or a commercial entrepôt and comes to the conclusion that the majority view, according to which the buildings at Qumran were occupied by the community to whom the scrolls in the nearby caves belonged, remains the most plausible explanation of the archaeological evidence. The close proximity of the caves to the site, as well as the similarity in the types of pottery uncovered at both the site and the caves, proves important in this regard (Magness 2002:43-44).

¹⁵ On the use of paleography and the dating of the Dead Sea scrolls, see Cross (1998c:379-402).

¹⁶ It is also remarkable that many of the Qumran manuscripts of Old Testament books exhibit the same textual tradition as was transmitted by the MT. These copies from Qumran therefore confirm the antiquity of the particular wordings of the individual books in the textual tradition represented by the MT.

benefits of being of an early date and in the original languages, opened new vistas on the scribal practices in transmitting the Old Testament books. It also obliged scholars to reassess existing views regarding the textual history of the Old Testament books and brought about fresh theories in this field. The contributions of Frank Moore Cross, Shemaryahu Talmon, Emanuel Tov and Eugene Ulrich are especially noteworthy.

Building on views formulated by W F Albright,¹⁷ Cross developed what came to be known as the “local text” theory. This theory attempts to account especially for the limited number of distinct textual families in the period before the first century CE,¹⁸ as well as the homogeneity of these families of texts over an extended stretch of time. This situation compelled Cross to assume the existence of local texts that were nurtured and developed by major Jewish communities in isolation from one another in three main regions, namely Palestine, Egypt and Babylon, during the Persian and Hellenistic eras. The following quotation from one of Cross’ earlier formulations of the theory aptly captures its broad strokes (Cross 1966:86):¹⁹

¹⁷ Cf. Albright (1955:27-33).

¹⁸ In Cross’ parlance, a textual family seems to refer to a group of manuscripts and ancient translations whose wordings share distinctive affiliated readings in spite of smaller differences between them. “The textual types in question appear to be the product of natural growth or development in isolation in the process of scribal transmission, not of controlled or systematic *recensio*, revision or collation, at a given place or time. At the same time, in the differing textual families we know from Qumrân, from the text types standing behind the Rabbinic Recension, the Samaritan Recension, and the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek translation, we can discern traits, some more or less systematic, of each of the textual families. These traits held in common by a given family, include, of course, their ‘bad genes,’ an inherited group of mistakes or secondary readings. But they include also such features as orthographic style, reworked chronologies, script, and ‘modernized’ grammar and lexicon” (Cross 1998a:210-211).

¹⁹ See also Cross (1975:306-320; 1964:281-299). In these contributions, Cross argues that the history of the Hebrew text parallels the history of the original LXX translation (the so-called “Old Greek”) and its recensions (especially the proto-Lucianic and the proto-Theodotion [or καὶ γὰρ] recensions).

Three textual families appear to have developed slowly between the fifth and first centuries B.C., in Palestine, in Egypt, and in a third locality, presumably Babylon. The Palestinian family is characterized by conflation, glosses, synoptic additions and other evidences of intense scribal activity, and can be defined as “expansionistic”. The Egyptian text-type is often but not always a full text. In the Pentateuch, for example, it has not suffered the extensive synoptic additions which mark the late Palestinian text, but is not so short or pristine as the third or Babylonian family. The Egyptian and Palestinian families are closely related. Early exemplars of the Palestinian text in the Former Prophets, and the Pentateuchal texts which reflect an early stage of the Palestinian tradition, so nearly merge with the Egyptian, that we are warranted in describing the Egyptian text-type as a branch of the Old Palestinian family. The Babylonian text-type when extant is a short text. Thus far it is known only in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets. In the Pentateuch it is a conservative, often pristine text, which shows relatively little expansion, and a few traces of revision and modernizing. In the books of Samuel, on the contrary, it is a poor text, marked by extensive haplography and corruption.

Cross’ theory also addresses the issue of the establishment of an official, standard text by the first century CE. The idea that a particular Hebrew form of the Old Testament books was deliberately “standardised” arose when scholars found that, in contrast to the textual plurality observed at Qumran, the wordings of the biblical manuscripts from sites in the Judean desert other than Qumran (Masada, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabba‘at) are almost identical to the consonantal base of the medieval MT and that the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever exhibits a pre-Christian revision of the Old Greek text that aimed to bring the original Greek translation in line with a Hebrew textual form very similar to the proto-MT.²⁰ While some

²⁰ Barthélemy’s groundbreaking study (1963) on this revision demonstrated that other LXX books also exhibit these characteristics. The documents that share these characteristics are referred to as the *καίγε*-group of revisions and translations, because the particle *גם* / *וגם* is rendered by *καίγε*. Barthélemy (1963:48-80) identified eight other common features of the *καίγε*-group: (1) the consistent rendering of *שׂא* by *ἀνήρ*, even in cases where the former

scholars portray the “standardisation” of an official form of the texts of Old Testament books as a purposeful procedure whereby available manuscripts were compared and decisions made regarding the “better” readings,²¹ Cross (1964:288-292) is of the opinion that the rabbinic scholars and scribes did not resort to wholesale revision and emendation, nor did they apply eclectic or conflating recensional procedures. They selected different texts from the available textual families as the official, standard ones for the Torah and the Prophets. For the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets, the decision fell on texts from the Babylonian family, while for the Latter Prophets texts from the Palestinian family were chosen. He refers to these texts as a single textual tradition and calls it the “proto-Rabbinic” text. It is this “proto-Rabbinic” text on which the “Rabbinic recension” was based. The fact that the biblical manuscripts from Masada, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Murabbaʿat reflect the fixed “Rabbinic recension” implies that the rabbis must have promulgated their recension of the Hebrew text before the end of the first century CE and that it rose to prominence between the two revolts against Rome when the Pharisees were the dominant party within the Jewish community (Cross 1998a:216). The *καίγε* “recension” of the Old Greek translation provides additional support for the date of the fixing of the “Rabbinic

has the meaning of “each”; (2) the translation of *מעל* with *ἐπάνωθεν* / *ἀπάνωθεν* + genitive; (3) *נצב* / *יצב* with *στηλόω*; (4) *חצרה* with *σάλπιγξ* and *שופר* with *κερατίνη*; (5) the elimination of historical presents; (6) the translation of *אין* with *οὐκ ἔστιν*; (7) the curious rendering of *אנכי* with *ἐγώ εἰμι*; and (8) the translation of *לקראת* with *ἕως συνάντησιν*. For an overview of the impact that Barthelemy’s study has had on various fields of research, see Kraft (2004:1-28).

²¹ Armin Lange (2007:105-126) argues that in Judah the priestly elites were responsible for the efforts of standardising the text of the Jewish scriptures. These educated priests were supposedly influenced by Greek ideas regarding a standard text after the conquest of Judah by Pompey in 63 BCE and the “Romanisation” of the local elites set in. According to Lange (2007:116-117), the view idea that priests at the Jerusalem temple developed textual standardisation on the principle of comparing variants and choosing the majority reading gains support from the well-known tradition about the three scrolls of the Torah that were found in the temple court recorded in the tractate *Taʿanit* of Talmud Yerushalmi (y. *Taʿan* 4:68a). On this tradition, see Talmon (1962:14-27).

recension". This "recension" was implemented from the end of the first century BCE or the beginning of the first century CE and, according to Cross, the "proto-Rabbinic" text was used for it.²² Taken together, these pieces of evidence suggest that the recensional activity that gave rise to the fixed "Rabbinic recension" of the Hebrew text was initiated in the time of Hillel (the early first century CE).²³ The circumstances that occasioned the rabbis' recensional activities and the fixing of the Hebrew text include the textual diversity in Palestine exemplified by the Qumran finds, the strife and disputes among Jewish parties and the systematisation of hermeneutical principles attributed to Hillel. In order to buttress his thesis that the same circumstances brought about a "canonical crisis", Cross (1998b:222) cites the *καίγε* "recension" as a *terminus post quem* for the closing of a Pharisaic canon. This recension extended to the book of Baruch and the longer version of the book of Daniel. It is clear to Cross that the Pharisees had not as yet finalised their canonical list of books at the time when this recension of the Old Greek translation was realised on the basis of the "proto-Rabbinic" text. He also mentions Josephus' statements in

²² Although Cross refers to it as a "recension", recent studies by Gentry (2008:301-327; 1998:141-156), Greenspoon (2006:5-16) and McLay (1998:141-156) have dismissed the idea that the *καίγε*-group represents a homogenous recension made by a single group or individual.

²³ Van der Woude (1992:151-169) expresses a different view on the basis of much of the same evidence. He suggests that the textual material from Masada and Wadi Murabba'at, on the one hand, and the adaption of Old Greek translations to the proto-MT, on the other hand, should not be understood in terms of a transition from textual pluriformity to textual uniformity. Van der Woude argues that the religious circles around the Temple in Jerusalem already maintained a uniform textual tradition before 70 CE. This standardisation of the biblical texts (which included the elimination of erroneous readings, sporadic changes made for theological reasons, and the removal of manuscripts which did not meet the requirements of the standardised text) was motivated by the Pharisaic belief that divinely inspired prophecy had come to an end since the days of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. In turn, this entailed a shift from the view of the locus of inspiration and authority outside of Scripture to a view of the inspired and authoritative nature of Scripture alone, which led both to the canonisation of the biblical books and the disallowance of diverging textual traditions.

Contra Apion 1:37-42 to the effect that Jews adhere to a fixed number of books written by the divinely inspired prophets and that the texts of these works were fixed to the syllable. Cross (1998b:221) remarks that “concealed behind Josephus’s Greek apologetics is a clear and coherent theological doctrine of canon. There can be little doubt that he echoes his own Pharisaic tradition and specifically the canonical doctrine of Hillel and his school”. As a result, Cross portrays the fixation of the “Rabbinic recension” and the establishment of a Pharisaic canon as two sides of the same complex enterprise.

According to Talmon (1975:325), Cross’ theory is unable to explain the textual diversity within Judaism at the beginning of the first century CE. The relatively restricted number of textual families in existence at this time was all that remained of a greater diversity of textual forms that were transmitted throughout the previous centuries. He emphasises the importance of sociological factors in the preservation of literary writings and ascribes the limited number of textual families at the end of the first century CE to two factors; namely, the historical vicissitudes which caused other textual families to disappear and the acceptance of the textual families represented by the proto-MT, SP and LXX by socially integrated and definable groups (Talmon 1970:198). The rabbis opted for the proto-MT versions of the Hebrew Bible books as the official, standard text for Judaism, whereas the SP gained authoritative status in the Samaritan community and the Christian church retained the LXX (together with the New Testament) as its Bible.²⁴

With regard to the issue of the “standardisation” of the proto-MT, Talmon (1970:185) notes that the coexistence of a diversity of texts in one geographical location, such as the Qumran settlement, the plausible assumption that at least some of the manuscripts were copied by the scribes who belonged to the Qumran community and the absence of any evidence that variant readings were suppressed prove that the notion of an official, standard text had not yet taken root at Qumran. According to him, there is no reason to doubt that the textual diversity at Qumran

²⁴ On the difficult subject of the Christian church’s acceptance of the LXX as its authoritative scriptures, see Hengel (2002) and Müller (1996).

reflects the wider situation of scribal transmission in Palestine in the period stretching from the third century BCE to the first century CE. Talmon (1964:95-132) has done much to shed light on the activities of scribes in transmitting the books of the Old Testament during this time. One of the important conclusions he draws is that ancient scribes enjoyed controlled freedom to introduce variations into the texts they transmitted. This means that “in ancient Israel, and probably also in other ancient Near Eastern cultures, especially in Mesopotamia, the professional scribe seldom if ever was merely a slavish copyist of the material which he handled. He rather should be considered a minor partner in the creative literary process” (Talmon 1975:381).

Emanuel Tov (2004) makes a similar point in his detailed account of the scribal practices and procedures reflected by the Dead Sea scrolls. Tov discusses the scribal practices and conventions related to the writing of scrolls, as well as scribal approaches to the content of the document which they copied. The first topic deals with the technical aspects of a scroll, such as the arrangement and length of columns on sheets of leather and papyrus, the measurements of top, bottom and intercolumnar margins, ruling and the use of guide dots/strokes, conventions used at the beginning and end of scrolls (handle sheets, for example), the reparation of damages to sheets (stitching, patching, re-inking), the spaces between words and section units, the layout of poetical units, the use of various scribal marks and correction procedures (cancellation dots, crossing out of letters and words, parenthesis signs, box-like shapes around cancelled elements) and the writing of divine names.²⁵ Tov (2004:251) comes to the conclusion that the scribes who were responsible for the copying of the Dead Sea scrolls employed identical procedures in copying authoritative and non-authoritative writings. The same lack of distinction between authoritative and non-authoritative writings can be observed in the attitude with which scribes approached the content of the manuscripts that they copied. As is to be expected, some scribes were more careless than others in the copying of texts. Scribal mistakes such as haplography, parablepsis (homoioteleuton and homoioarcton), dittography and the interchange of similar

²⁵ Some of these scribal procedures agree with the regulations for the copying of biblical scrolls in rabbinic literature. Tov (2004:214-217) provides a list of the agreements and disagreements.

looking and sounding letters, are common to all scribes. In this regard, Tov (2004:252) draws attention to the fact that neither the manuscripts of the Torah (the most authoritative part of the Jewish scriptures) nor the manuscripts of other authoritative writings give evidence of a more careful copying or fewer scribal corrections and interventions into the texts (supralinear corrections, deletions, erasures, reshaping of letters, linear and supralinear scribal signs) than non-authoritative writings.²⁶ As a result, there does not seem to be a correlation between the authoritative content of writings and the accuracy or inaccuracy with which the scribes copied the various texts. Similarly, the multiple copies of some of the literary writings belonging to the Qumran community, as well as writings which were, at a later stage, included in the Old Testament, exhibit quantitative and/or qualitative differences between the various copies. It would appear that certain scribes felt free to deliberately add, omit and change details in the content of the writings which they were copying. In view of the scribal practices and conventions in the writing of scrolls, especially the writing in columns, the measurements of the margins and the various correction procedures, it was not possible for the scribes either to insert or delete large amounts of text into the scrolls or make large-scale changes after the copy of the text was completed. There was, for instance, not enough space between the lines in a column or in the margins to add more than one or two lines of writing. This means that in those cases where the scribes were obliged to alter the content of the composition by inserting, omitting or changing lines of writing, they had to do so by making a new copy of the text (Tov 2006a:339-347). It follows from this that the ancient scribes did not passively and mechanically copy manuscripts as

²⁶ If the degree of scribal intervention is taken as criterion for the attitude of scribes to the copying of texts, the paleo-Hebrew texts, which show very little scribal intervention, constitutes an exception to the rule. It may be suggested that scribes set out to copy these texts with more precision than texts written in the square script. That this precision in copying reflects a degree of respect for the special script and not an attitude towards a particular textual tradition of the biblical texts can be deduced from the fact that more than one textual tradition was written in the paleo-Hebrew script. It should, however, also be noticed that almost all of the representatives of the proto-MT found at sites in the Judean Desert other than Qumran were carefully copied.

accurately as possible at all times, but sometimes actively and creatively contributed to the shaping of the content of writings when they made new copies thereof (Tov 2004:24-25):

The approach of scribes to literary texts changed over the course of the centuries; with regard to the biblical text it also differed from one milieu to another, and above all from person to person ... The function of the scribe was less technical and subordinate than is implied by the medieval and modern understanding of the word. The earlier scribes were involved not only in the copying of texts, but to a limited extent also in the creative shaping of the last stage of their content. Expressed differently, at one time scribes often took the liberty of changing the content, adding and omitting elements, sometimes on a small scale, but often substantially ... The nature of this creative scribal activity requires us to conceive of the persons involved as scribes-editors, who were not only active in the transmission of texts, but also in the final stage of their creative edition.

This latter point is important for Tov's views regarding the development of the texts of the Old Testament books, which have far-reaching implications for other focus areas of Old Testament textual criticism.

In his description of the development of the biblical texts, Tov draws the distinction between two main stages in the process of development, namely a stage of composition and a stage of transmission. The first stage encompasses the literary growth of the Old Testament books up to the form that was considered final with regard to content, while the second stage refers to the copying of the completed compositions (Tov 2001:315). He fixes the lower limit for the period of textual development at the end of the first century CE, because the texts did not undergo great changes beyond this point in time. In his opinion, the stability of the Hebrew text in this period was not the outcome of scribal transmission, but the result of political and socio-religious factors. Like Albrektson, Tov posits that the proto-MT was not deliberately standardised or created artificially by scribes. Rather, those who fostered the proto-MT, the Pharisees, were the only group within Judaism which survived the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in 70

CE (Tov 2001:194-195).²⁷ Concerning the upper limit of the textual development through transmission, Tov notes that it is difficult to pinpoint, since the composition of many Old Testament books involved the use of material that already existed in writing. The incorporation of existing written material implies that the scribes who were responsible for the composition of the Old Testament books acted both as authors and copyists. Moreover, the Qumran manuscripts and the Greek translations of some Old Testament books show evidence of large-scale variant readings that display such coherence that they can be assigned to the stage of literary growth, rather than the stage of transmission.²⁸ This means that different versions (or “editions”) of Old

²⁷ Albrektson (1978:49-65) has shown how the evidence usually mustered in support of the idea that the emergence of a standard text in the first century CE was the result of a conscious and deliberate text-critical activity is problematic. He discusses the question whether the Jewish scribes were influenced by the text-critical principles and practices of the Greek grammarians at the Museum of Alexandria, the supposed influence of Rabbi Akiba’s method of exegesis, the tradition of the three scrolls in the Temple, the rabbinic traditions about certain persons who were responsible for checking newly written manuscripts and the textual evidence from Wadi Murabba‘at. After challenging the position that the rabbis created a standard text with the methods of textual criticism, Albrektson goes on to conclude that certain characteristics of the MT are hard to reconcile with such a theory. In his opinion the emergence of a single text can be attributed to historical coincidences: “The two revolts against the Romans led to a radical change in the conditions of life of the Jewish community. Before the downfall we have a broad spectrum of different religious movements and groups, but only the Pharisees survive the disasters and have the strength to reorganize in new and changed conditions. Religious diversity is replaced by unity: the Pharisees alone dominate the development. Similarly before the revolts there is a diversified textual tradition, but afterwards one single text-type gradually becomes predominant. It is tempting to connect these parallel developments and to suggest that the victorious text was one which had been used by Pharisaic scribes and that it came to supplant other texts because the Pharisees supplanted other religious groups” (Albrektson 1978:63).

²⁸ Tov (2001:314) employs a quantitative criterion to separate between the two types of variant readings, namely those created during the composition and those that came into being during the transmission of the Old Testament books.

Testament books were transmitted and circulated before their literary growth was completed and the final form of their content was established. Tov is well aware of the problems that this poses to a clear-cut division between the stages of composition and transmission in the development of the Old Testament texts. For him, this issue is not merely of theoretical import. It has a marked impact on the practice of textual criticism, seeing as Tov initially associated the concept of the “original text” with the textual form that stood at the end of the composition stage of the textual development. In the first edition of his influential monograph *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Tov (1992b:177) defines the original text in the following terms:

At the end of the process of the composition of a biblical book stood one textual entity (a single copy or tradition) which was considered finished at the literary level, even if only by a limited group of people, and which at the same time stood at the beginning of a process of copying and textual transmission. During the textual transmission many complicated changes occurred, making it now almost impossible for us to reconstruct the original form of the text. These difficulties, however, do not refute the correctness of the assumption. All the textual witnesses – except those that are based on an earlier literary stage of the book (see remark 1 below)²⁹ – developed from that textual entity (single copy or tradition) which it is the object of textual criticism to reconstruct, even if only in isolated details.

Tov (1992b:177) went on to identify the original text with the shape of the Hebrew text that is found in the MT, since this is the literary composition which has been accepted as authoritative by Jewish tradition. In this argument, the concept of an original text, which forms the purported

²⁹ “The preceding description is based on the assumption that the copying and textual transmission did not begin with the completion of the process of the literary composition of the biblical books, but rather, that at an even earlier stage parts of books and earlier editions were copied, and that some of them have been preserved. However, such textual evidence, which is mainly from 6 (such as the short text of Jeremiah), is not taken into consideration in the reconstruction of elements of the original text, since it belongs to the layers of literary growth preceding the final composition” (Tov 1992b:178).

goal of Old Testament textual criticism, is inextricably linked to notions of authority and canon. Tov therefore used an extra-textual criterion to distinguish between the composition and transmission stages in the development of the Old Testament books. If the textual form represented by the MT constitutes the original text, then the variant versions that precede the form of the MT, such as the shorter “edition” of Jeremiah reflected by 4QJer^{b, d} and the LXX, as well as the shorter versions of Joshua and Ezekiel, can only be seen as early drafts of these writings. These earlier versions are relevant to historical criticism, but not to textual criticism. At the same time, the longer versions of Esther and Daniel in the LXX (insofar as they are based on variant *Vorlagen* and not the work of the Greek translators) are not appropriate to historical-critical analysis, because they postdate the final forms of these books as they are embodied in their original text, namely the form contained in the MT (Tov 1992b:316-317).

In more recent contributions, Tov still retains the distinction between composition and transmission stages, but abandons the link between the original text and canon. He argues that the Old Testament books underwent a process of linear development in which forms of the texts in different stages of development were considered authoritative by communities separated by time and space.

Because of our focus on the canonical status of the MT, I used to defend the assumption of a single *Urtext*, and expanded this definition by referring to the major differences between the textual sources at the literary level. In this analysis I linked the definition of the original text with the canonical status of the MT. I now have second thoughts on this linkage ... The longer texts of Joshua, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel developed from the shorter ones in a more or less linear way. In other books scribes likewise added and sometimes deleted sections, and only rarely should we assume large scale replacements of texts. In most cases we can thus point to a linear development and only rarely early parallel texts are recognized. By dissolving the linkage between the assumption of an *Urtext* and the canon of Jewish scripture, we thus assume a sequence of authoritative literary strata of a biblical book. We suggest that we should single out no stage as the presumed *Urtext*. As far as we can ascertain, all these early stages were equally authoritative, probably in different centers and at different times (Tov 2002:247-248).

Tov therefore discards the notion of a single original text, or stated positively, he emphasises that some books of the Old Testament reached a final, authoritative status more than once (Tov 2001:177-178). When each literary stratum was completed it was distributed and became authoritative. After the next stratum came into being and was circulated, it could not replace or eradicate the previous one. This is the reason why the Greek translations of some Old Testament books could be based on Hebrew *Vorlagen* that reflect a different literary “edition” than the one in the MT³⁰ and why the Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran exhibit such a diversity of textual forms, including literary “editions” of books that differ from both the MT and the LXX. By abandoning the search for a single original text and evaluating the literary “editions” other than the MT more positively, Tov’s views to some extent resemble those propounded by Eugene Ulrich.

Ulrich proposes a theory of multiple literary editions as a model for classifying both the textual plurality presented by the Qumran manuscripts and the development of the texts of the Old Testament books. He argues that if one brackets orthographical differences and the individual variants between the textual representatives of the biblical books, the main lines of their *Textgeschichte* can be delineated in terms of multiple literary editions. He goes on to define a variant literary edition as

a literary unit – a story, pericope, narrative, poem, book, and so forth – appearing in two (or more) parallel forms in our principle textual witnesses, 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 revised edition of that text (Ulrich 1999b:35).

³⁰ Tov (2008:31-56; 2003:121-144) has convincingly shown that, apart from the MT, the LXX is the most important source of “redactionally different material relevant to the literary analysis of the Bible”.

The evidence for variant literary editions implies that the composition of the Old Testament books involved a long, complicated series of editorial stages in which important traditions were faithfully handed down and at times creatively reshaped. The composition of the Old Testament books was therefore a dynamic, evolutionary process “insofar as the traditions remained static for a period and then in a burst of creativity leaped to a new form, a new literary edition, due to the creative adaptation effected by some religious leaders, usually in response to a new situation” (Ulrich 1999a:8). Ulrich points out that this dynamic process which characterised the composition of the Old Testament books has become visible and documented in the Qumran manuscripts. The textual diversity in these manuscripts, which represents the textual situation for all of Second Temple Judaism (Ulrich 2000:67-87), suggests that the scribes who transmitted the writings often copied individual books as accurately as possible, but sometimes they intentionally adapted the wording in a creative way so that it would remain relevant to communities in new circumstances. Seeing as they maintained a measure of stability in the wordings, but also incorporated deliberate adaptations, the scribes who transmitted the Old Testament books became part of the canonical process (Ulrich 1999c:51-78). Accordingly, in Ulrich’s opinion, the key to understanding the history of the Old Testament texts is the variant literary editions and the creative activity of scribes that these editions point to. This history and scribal activity should, however, not be conceived of apart from the canonical process.

One of the upshots of such an approach to the study of *Textgeschichte* is that the MT, SP and the LXX should not be treated as the three principle lines according to which the development of the texts of the Old Testament books must be organised.

Neither \aleph , nor μ , nor Θ is properly “a text” in the sense that the nature of their text has any consistency or related character from book to book. Nor are they “text types” or “recensions” in the sense that they were planned and designated or carefully edited according to textual principles or textual criteria. They are rather *collections* of individual scrolls the nature of whose text varies from scroll to scroll, apparently quite without regard to any criterion (Ulrich 1999e:113 emphasis in the original).

Since the MT does not constitute a uniform type of text, but rather denotes a collection of varied textual forms, it follows that its predominance at the end of the first century CE was not the result of conscious text-critical procedures, nor was it due to a deliberate decision on the part of the rabbis. Ulrich (1999a:12) attributes the “freezing” of the process of textual development to conditions in the first half of the second century CE, the threat to the continuing life of Judaism posed by Rome and the growing tension between Judaism and the Jewish Christians. From these perspectives and the theory of multiple literary editions, Ulrich concludes that the object of Old Testament textual criticism should not be a single, “original” Hebrew textual form and certainly not the textual forms represented by the MT. The function of the discipline must rather be to study the history of the Hebrew texts of the Old Testament books in both its literary growth and scribal transmission (Ulrich 1999e:114-115).

In light of the discussions by Cross, Talmon, Tov and Ulrich, and the opening remarks regarding the new data contained in the more than two hundred biblical manuscripts from Qumran, it should be sufficiently clear that these textual finds hold great importance for the discipline of Old Testament textual criticism. The significance of the Qumran biblical manuscripts to Old Testament textual criticism pertains to a number of related areas. Firstly, these manuscripts furnish the oldest available copies of the books of the Old Testament written in the original languages. They represent the textual situation in Palestine during the period stretching from the third century BCE to the first century CE. This situation can most aptly be described as one of textual diversity. Moreover, the wordings of the Old Testament books in the Qumran manuscripts exhibit an intricate web of agreements and disagreements with the versions in the textual witnesses known before the discovery of the first Dead Sea scrolls in 1947 (the MT, the SP, the LXX and other ancient translations). Secondly, the early date of the manuscripts and the textual plurality which they reveal give a glimpse into the development of individual books of the Old Testament through scribal activity and, in so doing, compel scholars to formulate new theories regarding the history of these texts and the active role of scribes therein. Finally, reconsiderations of the textual history of a number of books of the Old Testament have led some scholars to give new definitions to the concept of an “original text” or even to re-

evaluate the search for a single “original text” as the primary goal of Old Testament textual criticism.

RESEARCH TOPIC: OLD TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND THE LAMENTATIONS MANUSCRIPTS FROM QUMRAN

Against the background of the reassessment of the textual history of Old Testament books brought about by the new data from the Qumran biblical manuscripts, the knowledge of scribal practices and procedures provided by the Dead Sea scrolls, which fosters a greater appreciation for the active role that scribes played in transmitting literary writings, and the abandonment of a single *Urtext* as the primary goal of text-critical analyses propagated by Tov and Ulrich, this study deals with an approach to textual criticism that treats the extant textual representatives of an Old Testament book as witnesses to the content³¹ of the book and not merely as witnesses to early Hebrew readings.³² Whereas an approach to textual criticism that seeks to reconstruct the earliest attainable form of the Hebrew wording of an Old Testament book “criticise” a Hebrew manuscript or ancient translation by evaluating its readings and judging its worth as an accurate representative of the original text (Deist 1978:11), this study focuses on the ways in which

³¹ By “content” I mean the material found in an Old Testament book as it is communicated by its wording.

³² The decision not to pursue the earliest attainable Hebrew text in this study is not a veiled attempt to denigrate this approach to Old Testament textual criticism. Such an approach constitutes the point of departure of two of the critical editions of the Hebrew Bible that are currently in the making, namely the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (*BHQ*) and the *Oxford Hebrew Bible* (*OHB*). For the principles of the former, see Tov (2005:1-22), Weis (2002), Sanders (1999:518-526) and Schenker (2004:vii-xxvi; 1996:58-61). *OHB* will be the first eclectic edition of the Hebrew Bible. Cross (2006:67-75) and Hendel (2006:149-165) point out that the new textual data from Qumran make it possible to create an eclectic text, while Tov (2006b:281-312) has expressed reservations in this regard. On the benefits and challenges surrounding the making of an eclectic edition such as *OHB*, see Hendel (2008:324-351), Fox (2006:1-22) and Van Rooy (2004:157-168). Williamson (2009:153-175) has, however, raised a number of criticisms against this project.

readings in the textual representatives were created by scribes during the process of transmission and how these readings affect the content of a particular Old Testament book. It therefore emphasises the discipline's analytical rather than its evaluative functions.³³

Since the biblical manuscripts from Qumran have undoubtedly revitalised Old Testament textual criticism (Hendel 2006:150), and since Dobbs-Allsopp (2008:23-24) has identified textual criticism on the book of Lamentations as an area of research that deserve much more attention from scholars, this study will apply the suggested text-critical approach to the four manuscripts of Lamentations that were recovered from three of the eleven caves near Khirbet Qumran (3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b). These manuscripts are the oldest extant copies of the Hebrew wording of the book. The catalogue of variants recorded in the official DJD editions of these manuscripts and in other publications³⁴ indicate that they exhibit a number of interesting agreements and differences when compared to the MT version of the book and the

³³ Regarding this focus on the analytical side of the text-critical procedure and the attempt to establish how readings were created by scribes during the transmission process, cf. Greenspoon's approach to the study of the Qumran fragments of Joshua: "I tend to avoid theoretical constructs, at least in the initial stages of inquiry, preferring to listen as the 'material speaks for itself.' I attempt to figure out, in concrete terms, what ancient scribes or translators did, what this tells us about their apparent goals, and how and why they proceeded in one direction (or several related directions) rather than in others ... I want to uncover or recover as fully as possible the *modus operandi* of the scribe(s) responsible for the manuscript(s) of Joshua that I am studying. In so doing, I make it a practice to avoid value judgments, even those of the type still common in textual criticism today ... It is also regular text critical practice to delineate readings in terms of their alleged 'superiority' or 'inferiority.' The problem with these designations is that, left un- or badly defined, such terms are susceptible to any number of possible meanings. Generally, they represent modern value judgments based on closeness to or distance from a hypothetical 'original.' Considerations of this sort were probably far from the mind of any ancient scribe" (Greenspoon 1992:161-163).

³⁴ Baillet (1962:95), Milik (1962a:174-177; 1962b:177-178), Cross (2000:229-237; 1983:129-155) and Ulrich (2010:749-754).

ancient translations. Consequently, a text-critical analysis that is devoted to Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations requires little justification.

THE AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The aims of this study is to establish, by means of a text-critical analysis, how the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran present the content of the book and, in doing so, to gain a better understanding of these manuscripts as textual witnesses. For the purposes of the analysis, the study will single out passages in which the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran evince variations in wording compared to other textual witnesses, as well as passages where the wordings in the Qumran manuscripts show signs of textual problems or ambiguities. Unique readings and textual difficulties in the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran will therefore make up the material subjected to text-critical scrutiny in order to establish how these manuscripts present the content of the book. This study posits that an analysis of these unique readings and textual difficulties will provide sufficient relevant data to accomplish the stated goal. On the one hand, these readings demand of the text-critic to investigate how the wording in the Qumran manuscripts took on their present shapes through the process of copying. On the other hand, they allow the text-critic to compare the formulation of the content of Lamentations in the Qumran manuscripts to their counterparts in other textual witnesses and to make use of comparative philology. Where the manuscripts contain variant readings, these variants can be attributed to a number of potential factors. One of the variant readings might be the result of a scribal error, such as dittography, haplography, parablepsis (homoiooteleuton/homoioarcton) and a confusion of similar-looking Hebrew letters or incorrect word division. Another possibility is that a reading differs from those texts used for comparison, because a creative scribe was responsible for it.³⁵ A third plausible explanation for two different readings is that both of them

³⁵ One must be careful not to straight away attribute all the variants in a Qumran manuscript to the scribe who was responsible for the copying of that particular manuscript. That scribe may have faithfully or mechanically copied what he found in the manuscript from which he was making his copy. In other words, one must contend with the

developed from a common ancestor that is no longer preserved in the extant textual witnesses. In such a case, one must infer the existence of a hypothetical earlier reading that could have given rise to the readings in question. Where the Hebrew textual witnesses have the same wording, but the passage exhibits some form of textual difficulty or ambiguity, one has recourse to information from Hebrew grammar and comparative philology to wrest sense from the passage. A comparison with the ancient Greek, Syriac, Latin and Aramaic translations might also prove to be helpful in this regard. These versions might be based on Hebrew *Vorlagen* that contained variants that do not appear in the available Hebrew manuscripts, or they might bear witness to felicitous and helpful interpretations of difficult or ambiguous passages by the ancient translators. The employment of the comparative evidence from the ancient translations for the analysis of the wordings in the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations must make use of the original translations of the LXX, P, V and T and investigate the ways in which the translators went about rendering their Hebrew *Vorlagen*.³⁶ The focus here falls on how the readings in the ancient translations were created during the process of translation.

It follows that the procedures of this study's approach to Old Testament textual criticism, as it will be applied in the analysis of the wordings in the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations, involve (1) a comparison of these manuscripts with other available textual witnesses, (2) an examination of variant readings and textual difficulties, (3) an investigation into the most plausible ways in which these readings in the witnesses can be explained with reference to the process of transmission or philological information, and (4) a summation how these readings

possibility that the variants in the Qumran manuscripts were created at different stages of the transmission process. Nevertheless, in cases where the variants seem to form a pattern, one may assume with some confidence that the same scribe was responsible for them. This is not to say that this scribe was the one who copied the manuscripts that were found in the Qumran caves.

³⁶ On the use of the ancient translations, especially the LXX, in text-critical research, see Adair (1994:111-142), Gelston (2001:148-164) and Tov (1997).

affect the *Wortlaut* of the passages in question, and by implication, the presentation of its content.

OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

These remarks regarding the background, research topic, aims and methodology of the study serve as an introduction to the text-critical analysis of the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations. The next chapter presents transcriptions of 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b, as well as an overview of the formal features of these manuscripts as they are discussed in scholarly editions and other studies. The transcriptions will be accompanied by lists of the variant readings contained in the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran compared to the MT. Where the ancient translations give support to either the readings in the Qumran manuscripts or to the MT, these occurrences will be noted.

Detailed text-critical analyses of the Qumran manuscripts that witness to the first, fourth and fifth chapters of the book of Lamentations will follow in chapters 3, 4 and 5 of the study. These analyses will focus on the variant readings identified in chapter 2, but also on cases where the Hebrew textual witnesses present textual problems or ambiguous readings. In these cases, scholarly attempts at emendation and/or interpretation, with the help of comparative philology, will be considered in order to explain how the difficult readings shared by the Qumran manuscripts and the MT might have come into being or could be understood, while renderings in the ancient translations will also be used for comparative purposes.

The closing chapter will summarise some of the more salient conclusions that can be drawn concerning the contribution of text-critical analyses to a better understanding of how the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations present the content of the book.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF THE QUMRAN LAMENTATIONS MANUSCRIPTS AND A LIST OF VARIANT READINGS COMPARED TO THE MT AND THE ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS

In this chapter, the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran, namely 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b, are transcribed and a short overview given of their formal characteristics. In each case, the overview of the individual manuscripts' formal characteristics and the transcription are followed by a list of the variants exhibited by these manuscripts compared to the MT.³⁷ The evidence from the ancient translations that support either the readings in the Qumran manuscripts or the MT are also presented. This chapter mainly assembles evidence from the LXX,³⁸ P³⁹ and

³⁷ For the MT, the study primarily makes use of the *BHQ* fascicle edition of the Megilloth (Schenker et al. 2004). This diplomatic edition is based on the eleventh century Codex Leningradensis (B19^A), with the exception of the stichographic layout, which is the work of the editor. The study also consults the edition of this manuscript prepared by Dotan (2001) and the facsimile edition of B19^A edited by Freedman et al. (1998). The designation MT^{mss} refers to the variant readings in the medieval Masoretic manuscripts that were collated by Kennicot and de Rossi.

³⁸ The readings for the LXX are drawn from the Göttingen edition of the Old Greek text established by Ziegler (1976) and the revised edition of Rahlfs' *Handausgabe* of the LXX edited by Robert Hanhart (2006). I am aware of the problems involved in designations such as "Septuagint" and its abbreviation LXX (cf. Greenspoon 1987). By LXX or LXX Lamentations this study means what scholars consider to be the earliest attainable form of the Greek translation of the book of Lamentations. The text of the fifth column in Origen's Hexapla will be referred to by the siglum *O*, while *L* denotes the evidence for the Lucianic version (for the members of textual witnesses to *L*, see Ziegler 1976:79-92). The Greek versions of Symmachus and Aquila are referred to by means of the sigla σ' and α'

V,⁴⁰ but also notes readings in T,⁴¹ σ' and *L* where these have a direct bearing on the variant in question. In the lists of variants, the evidence from the translations are given in their respective languages. A closer look at some cases will reveal instances in which the versions witness to the consonantal text of the MT, but their readings nevertheless present sundry differences compared to the vocalised Hebrew text. These include syntactical differences, deviations in number and derivations from a different root. The study draws attention to these instances and discusses them in the detailed text-critical analyses of the following chapters.

The purpose of the introductory remarks concerning 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b offered in this chapter, as well as the outline of their textual differences compared to the MT, is to set the stage for a text-critical investigation into the wording of these four Lamentations manuscripts from the Qumran caves.

3QLAM (3Q3)

Two small flakes of leather are all that is left of the Lamentations manuscript that was found in cave 3. The two fragments of 3QLam preserve individual words from Lamentations 1:10-12 and Lamentations 3:53-62. The manuscript seems to have been unruléd and written in a Herodian script that allows it to be dated between 30 BCE and 68 CE (Webster 2002:421). The editor of 3QLam in the DJD edition, Baillet (1962:95), remarks that the text of this manuscript is close to the MT. Despite its extremely fragmentary nature, 3QLam exhibits two interesting features. The divine name was written in paleo-Hebrew characters and the empty spaces before the words

respectively. The evidence for *O*, *L*, σ' and α' are culled from the critical apparatus in Ziegler's edition, as well as the work of Field (1875).

³⁹ Since an edition of Lamentations has yet to appear in the Leiden Peshitta series, this analysis of P is based on the critical edition of Albrektson (1963).

⁴⁰ For the wording of V, this study utilises the fifth edition of Robert Weber prepared by Roger Gryson (2007).

⁴¹ In the case of the Western recension of T (T^w), this study makes use of the work of Levine (1976) and for the Yemenite recension (T^y), it employs Van der Heide's edition (1981).

צמתו, קולי and ראִתָּה in fragment 2 suggest that the lines of writing in this column were arranged stichographically.⁴²

The words on the second fragment of 3QLam are from the third chapter of Lamentations. Lamentations 3 comprises twenty-two sections, each consisting of three smaller units. The smaller units are made up of two cola and begin with the same letter of the alphabet in an acrostic structure.⁴³ In the versification of the modern critical editions, each verse is the equivalent of a smaller unit (i.e. a bicolon). The words צמתו, קולי, ראִתָּה and שִׁפְ[פ]תִּי introduce verses 53, 56, 59 and 62 respectively. In other words, they are the opening words of the second of the three smaller units of the *šādê*, *qôf*, *rêš* and *šîn/šîn* sections.⁴⁴ It can therefore be assumed that the three smaller units of a section were written on one line of this column.⁴⁵ Moreover, the empty spaces before צמתו, קולי and ראִתָּה appear to separate the cola of a smaller unit from one another.⁴⁶

⁴² Tov's survey of the scribal practices exhibited by the Dead Sea scrolls indicate that not all poetic texts were arranged stichographically: "The fact that for almost every occurrence of a stichographic arrangement there are scrolls displaying the same composition in prose shows that the tradition of stichographic writing was not fixed or that different traditions were in vogue during different periods" (Tov 2004:167). Tov (2004:169) goes on to note that it is difficult to ascertain whether the textual character, chronology (when the scroll was copied) or the personal preference of scribes played a role in the use or non-use of a stichographic layout. He suggests that some scribal traditions may have favoured the use of a special arrangement for poetic units, while others did not.

⁴³ In B19^A, the smaller units are delimited with a *sôph pāsûq* at the end of each unit. The larger sections are divided by means of spaces within a line. These spaces denote "closed sections" in the Masoretic tradition (indicated by *setumot* in *BHK*, *BHS* and *BHQ*).

⁴⁴ Verses 52-54 equals the *šādê* section, verses 55-57 equals the *qôf* section, verses 58-60 equals the *rêš* section and verses 61-63 equals the *šîn/šîn* section.

⁴⁵ Baillet (1962:95) hazards the guess that the inscribed columns of 3QLam's manuscript were 9 to 10 cm wide.

⁴⁶ Baillet (1962:95) also mentions the possibility that the spaces are the result of wear and tear at the edges of the fragment.

Fragment 1: Lamentations 1:10-12

ב[קהל []]
[] אאאא []
[הוג[ה []

Fragment 2: Lamentations 3:53-62

צמתו ב []
קולי שמע[ת []
ראי' []
ש[פ[ת[י []

Variants

There are no variants in 3QLam compared to the MT, with only one possible exception. According to Baillet (1962:95), the spacing in the first fragment might suppose that the wording of the clause in which the divine name occurs could be restored to read אאאא ראה והביטה. On this reconstruction, the reading in 3QLam would be at variance with that in the MT: ראה יהוה.⁴⁷ The question mark Baillet puts after this note on אאאא ראה והביטה throws the variant into doubt. Too little of the text has survived for it to be confidently recorded as a variant.

4QLAM (4Q111)

Four fragments of the manuscript designated as 4QLam were recovered from cave 4. Three unrul'd columns of writing are preserved on three of the fragments. Together these three

⁴⁷ Interestingly, one medieval Masoretic manuscript collected by Kennicot, as well as the LXX manuscript Codex Alexandrinus (ἰδε καὶ ἐπιβλεψον) omit יהוה and therefore have the reading ראה והביטה.

columns present portions of Lamentations 1:1-18. A few words of Lamentations 2:5 appear on the fourth small fragment from a later part of the same scroll. The fragments still have the top and bottom margin of the sheet on which Column I and Column II were written (although the fragment with the bottom margin is not shown on the plate of the DJD edition). The second fragment also has the left margin of the sheet intact with the stitching still visible. Each of the first two columns contains eleven lines of writing. The top, bottom, left and right margins of the third fragment have been preserved and its height measures about 11,8 cm. Stitching is also visible on the right edge of the fragment. Column III is therefore almost double the size of Columns I and II. However, this third column only has ten lines of script.

4QLam was written as prose in a running text, using a semi-formal Herodian script (30 BCE – 1 CE)⁴⁸ and a full orthography. According to the editor of 4QLam in the official DJD edition, Frank Moore Cross (2000:229), the orthography of 4QLam is of a “late ‘full’ Palestinian type that began to develop in Maccabaeen times and continued in use into the Herodian era”.⁴⁹ This description of the orthography of 4QLam implies that the manuscript could have been copied anywhere in Palestine and then brought to Qumran.⁵⁰ However, Emanuel Tov notes that 4QLam shares the morphological and orthographic peculiarities that are characteristic of what he labels the “Qumran scribal practice”. Tov (2004:263-268) argues that some 167 biblical and non-

⁴⁸ Cf. Webster (2002:412).

⁴⁹ See also Cross’ detailed discussion of the several types of orthography of the biblical and non-biblical scrolls in his book *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Cross 1995:174-177).

⁵⁰ Scholars debate how many (if any) of the manuscripts found in the nearby caves were actually written and copied at Qumran itself. Two factors suggest that a number of these manuscripts were brought to the site from elsewhere in Palestine. Firstly, some of the manuscripts predate the community’s settlement at Qumran. Secondly, the manuscripts reflect different scribal conventions and, according to Bar-Ilan (2000:997), it is doubtful whether the Qumran community housed more than one school of scribes. The various characteristics exhibited by the manuscripts therefore point to different scribal practices and conventions which scribes in Palestine employed in the copying of writings during the Second Temple period.

biblical scrolls were written in a scribal practice that is unique to the Qumran community, displaying a distinctive orthography, morphology and other scribal features. According to Tov (2004:261-262), this group of scrolls is closely connected to the Qumran community, since virtually all of the writings directly related to or conforming to the views and beliefs of the Qumran community (with the exception of seven or eight of these acknowledged sectarian writings) exhibit this particular scribal practice. 4QLam exhibits features that would justify its inclusion in this group of manuscripts written in the “Qumran scribal practice”. The morphological feature characteristic of this scribal practice is a tendency towards lengthened pronominal, verbal and adverbial forms.⁵¹ 4QLam (Fragment 1 Column I line 5 [Lamentations 1:3]) has one example of a lengthened independent pronoun (היא instead of היא) and one of a lengthened pronominal suffix of third-person plural in a noun (Fragment 3 Column III line 9 [Lamentations 1:17]: בניהם instead of בניהם). The orthographic feature of the “Qumran scribal practice” is the abundant use of *matres lectionis*.⁵² The examples in 4QLam that correlate with Tov’s list of orthographic characteristics for this scribal practice include the writing of לא as לוא (three times), כל as כול (three times) and כי as ביא (three times).⁵³ Despite the criticisms levelled at Tov’s designation of these features as a distinct scribal practice employed by the Qumran

⁵¹ These morphological features include (1) lengthened forms of the independent pronouns אתמה / היא / הוא; (2) lengthened pronominal suffixes of the second- and third-persons plural in nouns and prepositions: מלכמה / בהמה; (3) forms of the Qal imperfect, e.g. יקטולו (1) and תקטולו (1), which serve as pausal forms in the MT; (4) forms of the Qal imperfect with pronominal suffixes construed as יקוטלנו; (5) the form קטלתמה (1) for the second-person plural in all conjugations and (6) lengthened forms of מודה / מאודה / מאודה: מאד.

⁵² Tov (2004:338-339) lists the following spellings as characteristic of the “Qumran scribal practice”: (1) Forms of the demonstrative pronoun זאת / זאות / זאות / זות (ה); (2) כוה as opposed to כה; (3) מושה as opposed to משה; (4) לוא as opposed to לא; (5) כול (without suffixes) as opposed to כל; (6) ביא as opposed to כי; (7) the verbal form קטלתה as opposed to קטלת and (8) the suffix -כה as opposed to -ך in nouns and prepositions.

⁵³ These figures are based only on what can be recognised from the photographs used for the plate in the DJD edition and not on the reconstructed text printed in the edition.

community,⁵⁴ other Qumran specialists concur that at least some scrolls were produced, written and copied at Qumran.⁵⁵ The possibility that 4QLam was copied by the scribes of the Qumran community therefore cannot be rejected out of hand.

Scholars agree that the scribe who copied 4QLam was careless at times, resulting in a number of scribal errors.⁵⁶ There are two omissions (Fragment 2 Column II line 4 [Lamentations 1:7] and Fragment 3 Column III line 1 [Lamentations 1:10-11]),⁵⁷ one case of dittography (Fragment 2 Column II line 1 [Lamentations 1:6])⁵⁸ and one of a wrong division of words (Fragment 2 Column II line 1 [Lamentations 1:6]).⁵⁹

Scholarly opinions are divided on the issue concerning the textual tradition represented by the fragments of the manuscript. Cross (2000:230) remarks that despite the occasional agreement

⁵⁴ Cf. the arguments of Ulrich (1999d:86-88). He thinks that the principles and practices of the Qumran scribes regarding orthography did not differ significantly from those employed by other Jewish scribes of the same period. Consequently, he does not share Tov's idea of a distinctive "Qumran scribal practice".

⁵⁵ Three inkwells were found by archaeologists in room 30 and 31 of the site and the remains of a structure that fell from the upper floor of the buildings are reconstructed as a table where scribes could work on texts. Room 30 was identified as a *scriptorium* by De Vaux, the initial excavator of the site. Broshi (2000:831) notes that De Vaux's suggestion still remains highly probable, despite recent attempts to interpret the evidence differently. Stegemann (1998:51-55) even argues that the facilities at the Qumran settlement and nearby Ain Feshka were employed primarily for the production of scrolls, together with preliminary stages of obtaining and working the leather for the scrolls. The study of the scrolls as a part of the religious life of those who occupied the settlement was a secondary concern.

⁵⁶ A number of other possible scribal errors not listed here, such as the confusion of letters and pluses will be discussed in the text-critical analysis of the next chapter.

⁵⁷ At Lamentations 1:7, 4QLam omits **לֹא רָאוּהוּ** through parablepsis. Homoioteleuton could also have triggered the long omission of **נָתַנוּ לֶחֶם מִבְּקָשִׁים** in Lamentations 1:10-11.

⁵⁸ The negative particle **לֹא** is written twice at Lamentations 1:6 in 4QLam.

⁵⁹ 4QLam reads **מִצָּא מֵרָעָה** instead of **מִצָּא מֵרָעָה**.

between 4QLam and the LXX and/or P, its textual tradition, like that of the LXX, P and V, is not far removed from the MT (the “Proto-Rabbinic text” in Cross’s parlance). However, a look at the table below reveals that in those cases where Cross thinks that both 4QLam and the MT are corrupt, the two Hebrew witnesses do not share the same erroneous readings. By Cross’s own admission (1995:179), the grouping of textual witnesses into textual families are based on shared corrupt readings⁶⁰ and therefore his description of 4QLam as part of the MT family of texts is debatable.

Fragment	Lamentations	4QLam	MT
Frg.3 Col. II line 3	1:7	ל[] מכאובנו	ימי עניה ומרודיה כל מחמדיה
Frg.3 Col. III line 2	1:12	לוא אליכ[י]	לוא אליכם
Frg.3 Col. III line 5	1:14	נקשרה	נשקד
Frg.3 Col. III line 9	1:16	בכו עיני	אני בוכיה עיני עיני

Hillers (1992:47) argues that 4QLam does not conform to either the MT or the LXX, while Tov (2004:335) classifies this Lamentations manuscript from Qumran as a so-called non-aligned text. This means that the text, in his view, disagrees to such an extent with MT and the text underlying the LXX that it can be considered as an independent textual witness.

Fragment 1 Column I: Lamentations 1:1-6

⁶⁰ When referring to a “textual family” this study uses the term in the way that Ulrich (1999d:95) defines it. He describes a textual family as a group of manuscripts that “display close agreement in idiosyncratic or unique readings that are secondary (e.g., errors, distinctive additions, etc.)”. Similarly, Tov (2001:163) points out that Hebrew textual witnesses are generally grouped into textual families which are distinguished from one another by significant agreements among the witnesses, especially common errors. Moreover, Chiesa (1992:267) argues that a “monogenetic and disjunctive error” is more important for determining the (familial) relationship between textual forms of a biblical book than the number of agreements and disagreements between them.

top margin

[	כא[למנה רבתי בגוים שר[תי]
[	ת[בכה בלילה וד]]
[	מכול אוהביה]]
[	לאיבים גלתה]]
[	ה[י[ש]בה בג]]
[	בין]]
[	י מ]]
[	חיים]]
[	צר[יה לראוש]]
[	רו[ב פשע[יה]
[	א מבת]]

bottom margin

Variants

1:6 MT (*K^ethibh*) מן בת] 4QLam MT (*Q^erê*) מבת

Fragment 2 Column II: Lamentations 1:6-10

top margin

[ה]יו שריה כאילים לוא לוא מצא ומרעה
[ו]ילכו בלי כוח לפני רודף זכורה יהוה
[] ל מכאובנו אשר היו מימי קדם בנפל
[] ה ביד צר ואין עוזר צריה שחקו על
[] ל משבריה חטוא חטאה ירושלם על
[] לנוד היתה[] ל [] דיה הזילו כיא ראו
[ע]רותה גם[] אחור

טמאתה בש] [

[פ]לאות ואין] [

[הגדיל] [

[ד] [

Variants

- 1:6 MT לא] 4QLam לוא לוא
- 1:6 MT LXX (εὐρίσκοντες νομήν) P (أشعثوا في الحقل) V (*invenientes pascuam*)
- 1:6 MT LXX (ἐν οὐκ ἰσχύι) P (ولاء سلا)] 4QLam בלי כוח
- 1:7 MT LXX (ἐμνήσθη Ιερουσαλημ) P (الذكر) V (*recordata est Hierusalem*) T^{W, Y} (הות דכירא ירושלם)
- 1:7 MT LXX P V] > 4QLam MT LXX P V] > 4QLam
- 1:7 MT LXX (πάντα τὰ ἐπιθυμήματα αὐτῆς) P (وكل رغوة) T^Y (וכל רגוגה) V (*omnium desirabillium suorum*) T^W (וכל רגוגה)
- 1:7 MT LXX P T^{W, Y}] > 4QLam
- 1:7 MT V (*hostes*) T^{W, Y}] 4QLam LXX (οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῆς) P (أعداء) (מעיקיא)
- 1:7] 4QLam] > MT LXX P V
- 1:7 MT LXX (μετοικεσία αὐτῆς) V (*sabbata eius*)] 4QLam P (سبوتها) משבתה
- 1:8 MT LXX (ἁμαρτίαν ἥμαρτεν) P (سوء فعل) V (*peccatum peccavit*) T^Y (חובא חבת)
- 1:8 MT P (ἀνσταθὺς) V (*instabilis*) T^{W, Y} (לסטול הות)] 4QLam LXX (εἰς σάλον) V (לנודה)
- 1:8 MT LXX (ἐταπείνωσαν αὐτήν) P (سحقوا) V (*spreverunt illam*) T^{W, Y} (נהגו בה זילותא)
- 1:9 MT פלאים] 4QLam]פ]לאות

Fragment 3 Column III: Lamentations 1:10-18

top margin

אשר צויתה לוא יבואו מחמדיה באוכל להשיב נפשה ראה יהוה והב'טה
כיא הייתי זולל לוא אליכי]הכל עברי ד[]אז אם יש מכאוב
כמכאובי אשר עוללו לי אשר הוגירני י[]ס[חרו]נו ממרום שלח א[ש]
בעצמותי ויורידני פרש רשת לרגלי חשיבני] [ר נתנני שומם כול
היום וד[ו]י נקשרה על פשעי בידו וישתרג עולו על צ[וארי]הכשיל כוחי נתנני
יהוה ביד לוא אוכל לקום סלה כול אבידי אדוני בקרבי קרא עלי מו[עד]
לשבור בחורי גת דרך יהוה לכתולת בת יהודה פרשה // ציון בי[]
מנחם לה מכול אוהביה צדיק אתה יהוה צפה אדוני ליעקוב סביב[יו]
היתה ציון לנדוח ביניהמה על אלה בכו עיני ירדה דמעתי כיא רחק[]
מ[]נפש היו בני שוממים] [גבר אויב צדיק הוא א[דוני]

bottom margin

Variants

- 1:10-11 MT P V] > 4QLam בקהל לך כל עמה נאנחים מבקשים לחם נתנו מחמדיהם
- 1:11 MT P (ܐܡܠܬܐ) T^W מחמודיהם] (τὰ ἐπιθυμήματα αὐτῆς) LXX 4QLam מחמדיה
(ריגוגהון) T^Y (ריגוגהון)
- 1:11 MT LXX (ψυχῆν) P (ܐܢܝܡܐ) V (animam) 4QLam נפשה
- 1:11 MT LXX (ἡτιμωμένη) P (ܐܠܠܐ) V (vilis) 4QLam זולל
- 1:12 MT P (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ); LXX (οἱ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντες) V (o
vos omnes) 4QLam לוא אליכם] 4QLam לוא אליכי[]
- 1:12 MT P (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ) T^{W, Y} (דאסתקף לי); V (vindemiavit me) 4QLam עוללו לי
- 1:12 MT; LXX (ἐταπείνωσέν με) P (ܐܡܠܬܐ); σ' (ἀνεκάλεσε) V (locutus est) 4QLam הוגה] 4QLam הוגירני
- 1:12 MT LXX (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ) P (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ) V (in die irae furoris sui) T^{W, Y} 4QLam ביום חרון אפו] 4QLam ביום חרו]נו
- 1:13 MT; LXX (κατήγαγεν αὐτό); σ' 4QLam ויורידני] (ܐܠܠܐ) P 4QLam ויורידני

- (καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν με) V (*et erudit me*)
- 1:13 4QLam J השיבני MT LXX (ἀπέστρεψέν με) P (محو) V (*convertit me*) T^W (אותבני) T^Y (ארתעני)
- 1:13 4QLam J שוממה MT LXX (ἡφανισμένην) P (لست) V (*desolatam*) T^{W, Y} (צדיא)
- 1:13 4QLam J דוה MT LXX (ὀδυνημένην) P (ماور) V (*maerore confectam*) T^{W, Y} (מרחקא)
- 1:14 4QLam J נשקד MT; B19^A נשקד MT^{mss} LXX (ἐγρηγορήθη) P (حيث) V (*vigilavit*)
- 1:14 4QLam MT (על) V (*iugum*) T^W (ניר) T^Y (נור) J LXX (ἐπί) P (على)
- 1:14 4QLam J וישתרג MT LXX (συνεπλάκησαν) P (تلت) V (*convolutae sunt*) T^W (ואשתבשו) T^Y (אשתבשו)
- 1:14 4QLam L (τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ) P (توا) J MT LXX (ἀνέβησαν) V (*inpositae [sunt]*) T^W (סליקו) T^Y (סליקו)
- 1:14 4QLam MT^{mss} J אדני MT B19^A
- 1:14 4QLam P (כמה) V (*in manu*) T^W (בידא) T^Y (ביד) J MT LXX (ἐν χειρὶν μου) P^{mss} (كده)
- 1:14 4QLam J לקום MT קום
- 1:15 4QLam J אבירי MT LXX (τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς μου) P (عظم) V (*magnificos meos*) T^W (תקיפי) T^Y (תקיפי)
- 1:15 4QLam J יהוה MT אדני
- 1:16-17 Different acrostic sequences: *pê/áyîn* 4QLam – *áyîn/pê* MT
- 1:17 4QLam J > MT LXX P V מכול אוהביה צדיק אתה יהוה
- 1:17 4QLam J צוה MT LXX (ἐνετείλατο) P (فهم) V (*mandavit*) T^W (פקד) T^Y (פקיד)
- 1:17 4QLam J לנדה MT LXX (εἰς ἀποκαθημένην) P (تلا) V (*quasi polluta menstruis*) T^{W, Y} (דמיא לאתתא מרחקא)
- 1:16 4QLam J בכי עיני ירדה MT P (حسرت مني حزني حزني حزني) T^{W, Y} LXX (ἐγὼ κλαίω ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου בכיא וותרתין עיני זלגן אנא); (בכיא וותרתין עיני זלגן אנא)

κατήγαγεν) V (*ego plorans et oculus meus deducens*)

1:16 דמעתי 4QLam σ' (δάκρυα)] מים MT LXX (ὕδωρ) P (ماء) V (*aquam*) T^Y (מיא)

1:16 נפש 4QLam] נפשי MT LXX (ψυχή μου) P (نفس) V (*animam meam*) T^{W, Y} (נפשי)

1:18 א]דוני 4QLam] יהוה MT

Fragment 4: Lamentations 2:5

[בלע כל ארמנת]

bottom margin

Variants

2:5 ארמנותיה 4QLam] ארמנת

5QLAM^a (5Q6)

Several fragments presenting portions of the fourth and fifth chapters of the book of Lamentations are all that remain of the small leather scroll designated 5QLam^a. This fragmentary scroll is the first of two Lamentations manuscripts recovered from cave 5 near Khirbet Qumran. Six columns of writing have been preserved on the larger fragments. In addition, thirteen other scraps of leather from the same scroll containing the parts of individual words or letters have survived. Both the top and bottom margins of the manuscript are visible at Column III and Column IV, as well as at Column V. At Columns I and VI only the top margin can be seen on the plate of the DJD edition. The same holds for the bottom margin at Column II. The left margins of the sheets on which Columns IV and V were written are also preserved, while the margin separating Columns III and IV is still partially intact.

To judge from Columns III, IV and V, where both the top and bottom margins have survived, the columns of the manuscript seem to have originally consisted of seven lines of writing. The columns were not ruled and, like 4QLam, the text was not arranged stichographically. There is a major section division at Column IV line 4 and line 5. A space extending from the last word of

line 4 to the end of the line, followed by an indentation at the beginning of the next line, marks the end of chapter 4 and the start of chapter 5. Another space inexplicably appears in Column VI after כשלו, the last word of Lamentations 5:13.

According to the editor of this manuscript in the DJD edition, Milik (1962a:175), the scroll was written in “écriture ornementale du milieu du I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.”. The Late Herodian script of the manuscript allows Webster (2002:432) to date it as 50 CE. Concerning orthography, *matres lectionis* are used regularly, albeit not in a systematic way. Where the same word occurs more than once, it is written in *scriptio plene* at one place and in *scriptio defectiva* at another. For example, עוֹן (Column I line 2), עוֹנוֹת (Column II line 5) and עוֹנָה (Column IV line 4) have a full orthography, whereas עוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם (Column V line 4) does not. Similarly, לֹא (Column IV line 3) was written with the *wāw* as a vowel indicator, but at Column I lines 3 and 5, as well as at line 1 of one of the small additional fragments from the scroll (fragment 2 in the DJD edition), לֹא is spelled without the *wāw*.

The manuscript exhibits two instances of scribal corrections. At Column IV line 6, the scribe who copied the manuscript, or a later one, inserted a *ālēph* in the interlinear space above the word לִנְזָכְרִים. This addition changes the spelling of the word to לִנְזָכְרִיאם. Although there is a lacuna in the manuscript at the beginning of line 6 of Column V, Milik (1962a:177) indicates in his transcription of the text that a *yôd* was placed above the *rēš* of the first word in the line, עוֹרִינֹ. A scribe, therefore, seems to have adjusted the spelling of the word in order to read עוֹרִינוּ.

Another interesting scribal intervention is found in the bottom margin at Column II where someone inserted the sign 𐤁 after the scroll was copied. Tov (2004:207) is of the opinion that this scribal marking in the bottom margin of 5QLam^a's second column resembles a truncated paleo-Hebrew *wāw* (𐤁) or a *wāw* in the square Aramaic script dating from the sixth century BCE. In his detailed investigation of the scribal practices reflected in the Dead Sea scrolls, Tov found that signs, such as paleo-Hebrew letters and letters of the Cryptic A script (a script that developed from late Phoenician scripts), are written in the interlinear spaces or in the margins of some manuscripts. Tov (2004:206-207) notes that the function of these signs is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty:

Although the scribal marks written in the margins of some manuscripts have been known for some time, no satisfactory solution for their occurrence has been suggested, and some of them remain enigmatic. These signs probably direct attention to certain details in the text or to certain pericopes, but they may also refer to the reading by the Qumran covenanters of certain passages, especially in the case of 1QIsa^a. The function of the letters in 4QCant^b differs from that in the other texts. They may have served as a special type of line-filler or they may have been used for a very specific, as yet undetermined, purpose relating to the content of the manuscript.

Tov also speculates that the Cryptic A letters might form some kind of a coded message used by the Qumran community and that the appearance of individual paleo-Hebrew letters in the margins of manuscripts possibly served such a function as well. He concedes, however, that there is no evidence to support this suggestion (Tov 2004:204, 207).

5QLam^a preserves short sections from Lamentations 4:5-22 and Lamentations 5:1-16. Due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript, it is very difficult to give a detailed description of its textual character. In conclusion, Milik (1962a:175) observes that the relationship between 5QLam^a and other witnesses to Lamentations, such as the MT and the LXX, is not clear.

Fragment 1 Column I: Lamentations 4:5-8⁶¹

top margin

[] למעדנים נש[] וצות[]
[] ח[ב]קו אשפתות ויגדל עוון[]

⁶¹ Although the part of manuscript 5QLam^a on which its surviving six columns were written has broken into a number of fragments, these are all grouped together as “fragment 1” in the DJD edition. Milik distinguishes fragment 1 from fragments 2-14, the thirteen other slivers of leather from the same scroll containing parts of individual words and letters.

[וְכֹכַב כָּמוֹ רֶגַע וְלֹא]

[מַח־לֵב [א] דָּמוֹ עֵצִים מְפִינִין]

[מִשְׁחֹר תֹּאֲרֵם לֹא נֵ]

[]

[]

[]

Variants

Apart from individual orthographical differences compared to the MT and interesting translations of **עצם מפנינים** אדמו in the LXX and V, there does not appear to be any textual variants between 5QLam^a, the MT and the proposed Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the ancient versions for these verses.

Fragment 1 Column II: Lamentations 4:11-15

[]

[]

[] דְּתִיָּה [] תְּבִלְ []

כִּי יֹ [] צַר וְאֵיכָּל [] נְבִיאִיהֶם []

עֲוֹנוֹת כּוֹהֵן [] הֵן [] וְבִקְרָבָהּ [] קִים נְעֻ []

[] בְּחֻצוֹת נֶגֶד [] בְּדָם בִּלְיָ [] וְכָל [] יִבְגַּ [] בְּלִבוֹשֵׁיהֶם []

[] וְטִמְאֻם קִרְאוּ לָמוֹ סִוְרוֹ [] וְרָאוּ אֶל [] גַּ' עֹלָם כִּי נִצְוָה []

bottom margin

Variants

4:14 בִּלְיָוֹן בַּל 5QLam^a] MT LXX (ἐν τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι)

4:14 [5QLam^a יִבְגַּל] MT LXX (ῥψαντο) P (تفككوا) V (*tenuerunt*)

4:15 יִמְאֹז 5QLam^a LXX (ἀκαθάρτων) P (𐤓𐤌𐤕𐤓) V (*polluti*) (?)] טמא MT T^{W, Y}
(ממסאבא)

4:16-17 Different acrostic sequences: *áyīn/pê* 5QLam^a 5QLam^b B19^A – *pê/áyīn* MT^{mss} P

Fragment 1 Column III: Lamentations 4:15-20

top margin

	[לְגֹר פְּנֵי יְהוָה]]
	[נשאז]]
[]
[]
[]
[בָּר]	[שמים]	היזם]
[ם	[ארבו לנו רון] ח] אפינ[ו מ] שיח יהוה]	

bottom margin

Variants

4:19 MT היו] 5QLam^a היזם

Fragment 1 Column IV: Lamentations 4:20-5:3

top margin

	[ים שיש] י]
	[עליך תעב] וס תש]]
[	[ב] ת ציון לוא יוסיף לה]]
[vacat	[אדום גלה על חט]	פ] [עונג]
[את	[מָה] [לָנוּ הביטה]	זכ] vacat
[ם בתינו לזכריִם		חרפותי]נו

יתומים] אב אמוֹתֵינוּ לֹא בָנוֹת וְאַלְמָנוֹת

bottom margin

Variants

- 5:1 MT (*K^ethîbh*) הביט] MT (*Q^ere*) 5QLam^a MT^{mss} הביטה
- 5:1 V (ܡܫܬܠܡܐ) P (ὄνειδισμὸν ἡμῶν) MT LXX חרפתנו] 5QLam^a חרפותיִננו
(*obprobrium nostrum*) T^{W, Y} (כסופנא)
- 5:2 MT לנכרים] 5QLam^a לִנְזָכְרִיָּם
- 5:3 V (ܐܡܪܡܠܝܢܐ) P (ὡς αἰ χήραι) MT LXX כאלמנות] 5QLam^a לֹא בָנוֹת וְאַלְמָנוֹת
(*quasi viduae*) T^{W, Y} (כארמלין)

Fragment 1 Column V: Lamentations 5:4-12

top margin

[חיר] []
 [לנו מ] []
 [אֲשׁוּר לֶשׁ] [וְחֹטְאִי]
 [אֲנִי חֲנָנִי עֹנֹתֵיהֶם סָ] [לֵנוּ עָבָ]
 [מִידָם בִּנְפְשֵׁנוּ נִבִּיא לַחֵם] [וְחֶרֶב] [הַמְדַּבֵּר]
 עוֹרָנִי כְתֹנֹר נִכְמְרוּ מִן [פִּי] נִי זֹלְפוֹת רָעַב נָשִׁים בְּצִיּוֹן
 [עָ] לֵנוּ בַתּוֹלוֹת בַּעֲרָ [דָּהָא שְׂרִים בִּידָם נִתְּלוּ]

bottom margin

Variants

- 5:10 V (*pellis nostra*) T^{W, Y} (משכנא) P (τὸ δέσμα ἡμῶν) MT LXX עורנו] MT^{mss} 5QLam^a עורִיִנִי
- 5:10 MT זלעפות] 5QLam^a זלפות

Fragment 1 Column VI: Lamentations 5:12-17

top margin

] אָנהדרו בחורי]ם [טָחון נשאו	
] כשלו vacat	
]	
]	
] אוי	
] עלה]אלה	
]	

Variants

5:17 MT על אלה] (or עלה]ר in verse 18?) 5QLam^a עלה]אלה

Fragments 2-14

2	3	4	5	6
]א לא	]ש	]א	]הא	א
]לן]זל	]אור כ	]הם	]שד	ם
		]א		
7	8	9	10	11
]א	]תל	]חרי	]ה	]ם
]א	] ..	]א	]אא	]א
12	13 - 14			
]א	traces of letters			

5QLAM^b (5Q7)

The fragment of the second manuscript of Lamentations found in cave 5 contains individual words from four verses of Lamentations 4 (verses 17-20). The leather is devoid of any ruling and the beginnings of the lines are not aligned. This can be deduced from the fact that the first three words that have been preserved on the fragment (עוד[ינה], צִדּוֹ and קלים) are all from the beginning of the *ʿáyīn*, *ṣādê* and *qôf* verses of Lamentations 4. The text, therefore, seems to have been arranged stichographically with two bicola per line (with or without spaces separating them) (Tov 2004:171). In the fourth line, however, אפינו, the second word of the *rêš* verse, appears almost directly under קלים. This implies that the initial word of the *rêš* verse, רוח, might have been written in what, on the plate in the DJD edition, looks like the right margin of the manuscript. Nevertheless, the fragment is too small for there to be any certainty in this regard.

Milik (1962b:177) indicates that the handwriting of 5QLam^b is contemporaneous with the one of 5QLam^a (50 CE), but that the same scribe did not copy both manuscripts.

Fragment 1: Lamentations 4:17-20

עוד[ינה]
צִדּוֹ צֶעַן
קלים ה]
אפינו]
]◦[

Variants

- 4:16-17 Different acrostic sequences: *ʕyīn/pê* 5QLam^a 5QLam^b B19^A – *pê/ʕyīn* MT^{mss} P
- 4:17 *ינה* [עוד] 5QLam^b B19^A (*K^ethîbh*)] *עודינו* B19^A (*Q^erê*) MT^{mss} (*Q^erê*) LXX (ἔτι
ὄντων ἡμῶν) P (حد مصحح سلم) V (*cum adhuc subsisteremus*)
- 4:18 *צדו* 5QLam^b B19^A] *צרו* MT^{ms}

CLOSING REMARKS

The preceding overview of the formal characteristics of 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b, the transcriptions of these fragmentary manuscripts and the survey of the variants that they exhibit in comparison with the MT prepare the way for detailed text-critical analyses of their wordings. The aim of such text-critical analyses will be to gain a better understanding of the ways in which the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran present the content of the book. This desired better understanding of the wordings preserved by 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b pertains to the creation of the *variae lectiones* in these manuscripts during the processes of transmission, as well as an examination of the textual problems and ambiguous readings.

From the current chapter's overview of 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b, it follows that too little of the second and third chapters of Lamentations have survived in these manuscripts to qualify for a detailed text-critical analysis of their wordings. As a result, the next chapter will concentrate on the two manuscripts that witness to the content of Lamentations 1 (3QLam and 4QLam), while the chapters thereafter will focus on 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b, the witnesses to Lamentations 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 3

A TEXT-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WORDING OF LAMENTATIONS 1 AS WITNESSED TO BY 3QLAM AND 4QLAM

In the following chapter a text-critical analysis is provided of the Qumran manuscripts that witness to the first chapter of the book of Lamentations. These manuscripts include 3QLam (verses 10-12) and 4QLam (verses 1-18). Although parts of verses 2, 3, 4 and 5 are preserved in 4QLam, very little of their wordings have survived the forces of decay. Since an accurate assessment of the way in which the manuscript from Qumran presents the content of these four verses is unfortunately not possible, they are left out of consideration in this analysis.⁶² It is nonetheless noteworthy that, apart from orthographical differences, the individual words of these verses in 4QLam exhibit no variant readings compared to the wording in the MT. Also, this chapter will not include Lamentations 1:18 in this text-critical examination, due to a lack of sufficient data for analysis. There is, however, a possible variant reading in the wording of this verse which can be briefly mentioned here. Only the first two words of verse 18 have been fully preserved on the last line of 4QLam's third column ([צדיק הוא אֵלֶּיךָ דֹּנִי]). The final letter on the fragment, a *ʾālēph*, probably introduces the word אֵלֶּיךָ, whereas its counterpart in the MT is יהוה. Apparently, the variation in usage of the two divine designations between the Qumran manuscript and the MT, which will be discussed in greater detail in the analysis of Lamentations 1:14 and Lamentations 1:15, is also exemplified in verse 18. Finally, in addition to the analysis of verses 1 and 6-17 in 3QLam and 4QLam, this chapter contains two excurses on matters relevant to textual criticism. The first one deals with the quotation or allusion to Lamentations 1 in the document 4Q179 (*4QApocryphal Lamentations A*) from Qumran. The second excursus is concerned with the origin of the variants recorded by the *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* notes in the MT.

⁶² I have elsewhere discussed some aspects of the wordings of verses 3, 4 and 5 in the MT and the ancient translations (especially the LXX). See Kotzé (2009a:77-93; 2009b:275-292).

VERSE 1

4QLam

[כא] A lady among the nations [like a w]idow;
a princ[ess

MT

אֵיכָהָ | יֹשְׁבָהּ בְּדָד הָעִיר רַבָּתִי עִם הָיְתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה Oh, how the city that was full of people sits⁶³
רַבָּתִי בְּגוֹיִם שָׂרָתִי בְּמַדִּינֹת הָיְתָה לְמָס: ס alone! A lady among the nations has become
like a widow; a princess among the provinces
has become a forced labourer.

Column I of 4QLam starts at the top of the sheet with Lamentations 1:1b. This means that the first column of the scroll (containing the first words of the book's first lament) has not been preserved. The assumption that the first line of the book was written at the bottom of a previous sheet opens up the possibility that 4QLam might have been part of a scroll containing more than one writing, presumably two or more books of the five Megilloth (Ruth, Song of Songs, Qohelet, Lamentations and Esther). This possibility is mentioned by both Cross (2000:229) and Tov (2004:75). In this regard, it is noteworthy that all the fragments of Megilloth manuscripts found in the Qumran caves form part of individual scrolls. In other words, although these books are relatively short in comparison with other writings of the Old Testament (some of which were copied on a single scroll), they were all copied on separate scrolls. 4QLam is the only possible exception.

Only parts of two words (רַבָּתִי and בְּגוֹיִם) in the first line of Column I are visible on the plate printed in the official edition of 4QLam. However, the editor draws attention to three small fragments that do not appear on the photographs that were used for the plate (Cross 2000:231). One of these fragments is on line 1 at the right side of the sheet. The second fragment is on lines

⁶³ The perfect form of יָשָׁב is understood to have a present meaning here (Berges 2002:88): the (personified) city sat down and is still sitting (House 2004:344; Renkema 1993:68; Rudolph 1962:206).

1-2 at the left and the third is at the left of lines 9-11. These fragments allow Cross to restore the first line of this column to read היתה כא[למנה רבתי בגוים שר]תי במדינות. A dot appears above the *rêš* of רבתי in the DJD edition, indicating that the identification of this consonant is probable, yet uncertain. A circlet above the *rêš* of שר]תי shows that the identification of this consonant is possible, but also uncertain.

The part of Lamentations 1:1 that was preserved in 4QLam is identical to the consonantal base of the MT. Nevertheless, since scholars give diverging interpretations of the two occurrences of the word רבתי in the MT of verse 1, its use in both Hebrew witnesses merit further discussion. This word is a feminine construct singular form of the root רב (with *hîrêq compaginis*) and can either be understood as an adjective (“numerous”/“great”/“abounding in”) or as a noun (the masculine equivalent means “chief” or “ruler”). A number of scholars read רבתי as an adjective in both instances.⁶⁴ The interpretation of רבתי עם as meaning “full of people”/“volkreich”/“volkrijk” finds support from a similar construction in 1 Samuel 2:5 (רבתי בנים “full of children”). However, according to McDaniel (1968:30), in the case of רבתי בגוים the reading of רבתי as an adjective is bedevilled by the fact that he finds no other examples in the Hebrew Bible of the adjective רב in the construct state being followed by a prepositional phrase as the *nomen rectum*. There are, however, passages where prepositional phrases come after nouns in the construct state (GKC §130a). McDaniel goes on to draw attention to an interpretation of the second רבתי as a noun and marshals evidence from Northwest Semitic philology in order to challenge the reading of the first one as an adjective. He refers to the honorific title *rbt* (“Lady”/“Mistress”) used in Ugaritic, Phoenician and Punic epithets of goddesses and equates the two instances of רבתי in Lamentations 1:1 with this title. McDaniel (1968:29-31) therefore argues that רבתי should be taken as feminine counterparts of the noun

⁶⁴ Cf. House (2004:331), Berges (2002:88), Provan (1991:35) and Rudolph (1962:204). In P, רבתי עם is rendered with ܪܒܬܝܐ ܥܡܐ, and רבתי בגוים with ܪܒܬܝܐ ܒܓܝܝܡ. Evidently, the Syriac translator also treated both occurrences of רבתי as adjectives.

meaning “chief”/“ruler”. Some scholars concur with McDaniel’s interpretation,⁶⁵ while others agree that the second רבתי should be understood as a noun corresponding to שרתי (“princess”) without necessarily maintaining his views regarding רבתי as an epithet.⁶⁶ Such a reading of the second רבתי as a noun is further strengthened by the fact that the lines in the second and third bicolon of verse 1 match, syntactically, with one another in a chiastic pattern (abb'a’):

b	a
רבתי בגוים	היתה כאלמנה
a’	b’
היתה למס	שרתי במדינות

The two verbs היתה correspond with another and כאלמנה corresponds with למס (preposition + singular noun), while רבתי בגוים corresponds with במדינות (preposition + plural noun). Finally, שרתי corresponds with רבתי, and it is this connection which lends support to the interpretation of רבתי as a noun, rather than an adjective. These two bicola also share a semantic similarity. Both express the reversal of fortune suffered by Jerusalem. The city had a high standing and was regarded with respect (conveyed by the designations “lady” and “princess” for the city), but has now been degraded to a situation of dependence and subservience (conveyed by the simile “like a widow” and the phrase היתה למס, “she has become a forced labourer”). In their chiastic relationship, the second and third bicolon of verse 1 therefore effectively communicate a radical change in circumstances for Jerusalem and a contrast between the city’s glorious past and its pitiful present. A similar interpretation of the Hebrew text is found in V. Jerome translates the phrase רבתי בגוים as *domina gentium* (“the lady of the nations”). This reading pairs well, both

⁶⁵ Cf. Gottlieb (1978:11), Cross (1983:136), Dobbs-Allsopp (1995:465-466) and Hunter (1996:94-95). Renkema (1993:68-69) also sees both instances of רבתי as nouns, but not as divine epithets. He reads עם רבתי as “die Vrouwe van haar volk” and רבתי בגוים as “die Vrouwe temidden der volken”.

⁶⁶ Cf. Berlin (2004:45), Hillers (1992:65), Kraus (1983:26) and Aalders (1952:21).

semantically and syntactically, with *princeps provinciarum* (“the princess of the provinces”), the translation of *שרתי במדינות*. *Domina* and *princeps* are the subjects of *facta est quasi vidua* (“she has been made like a widow”) and *facta est sub tributo* (“she has been placed under tribute”), the respective renderings of *היתה כאלמנה* and *היתה למס*. As a result, V emulates the chiasm in the Hebrew text. In so doing, the Latin translation of the second and third clauses of verse 1 also communicates the change in the city’s circumstances.⁶⁷

The reading of the first *רבתי* as a noun, as argued by McDaniel, finds less support among other commentators. Hillers (1992:64), for example, argues that the understanding of the phrase *עם רבתי* as “full of people” is preferable to McDaniel’s suggestion, since it would eliminate the contrast expressed by *בדד* (“deserted”) and *עם רבתי* (“full of people”). Hillers, therefore, has a

⁶⁷ This motif is conveyed by the Latin translation of the opening clause of the verse 1 as well. By translating *עם רבתי* with *plena populo* and combining it with *sedit sola* as the rendering of *ישבה בדד*, Jerome did well to articulate the reversal of Jerusalem’s fortunes. Therefore, the “contrast motif” runs through the whole first verse of Lamentations 1 in V. This is also true of the LXX. The Greek translator decided on *πεπληθυμμένη* as the translation equivalent for both occurrences of *רבתי* in his Hebrew *Vorlage*. In the Greek translation of the first clause, *πῶς ἐκάθισε μόνη ἡ πόλις ἡ πεπληθυμμένη λαῶν* (“How the city that was full of people sat alone”), *πεπληθυμμένη* acts as an attributive participle that modifies *ἡ πόλις*. The translation of the second clause reads as follows: *ἐγενήθη ὡς χήρα πεπληθυμμένη ἐν ἔθνεσιν* (“She became like a widow, she who was multiplied among the nations”). *Πεπληθυμμένη*, in this instance, probably stands in apposition to *χήρα*, but it can also be interpreted as a substantival participle acting as the subject of *ἐγενήθη*. The Greek translation of the first and second clauses of the Hebrew text would in either interpretation form a parallelism. *Πῶς ἐκάθισε μόνη* corresponds to *ἐγενήθη ὡς χήρα*, both in terms of the city’s being alone and the simile involving the image of a widow, while the phrase *ἡ πόλις ἡ πεπληθυμμένη λαῶν* matches up semantically with *πεπληθυμμένη ἐν ἔθνεσιν*. These parallel clauses in the LXX adequately convey the contrast between the city’s past and present circumstances. The “contrast motif” is also expressed by the Greek translation of the third clause, *ἄρχουσα ἐν χώραις ἐγενήθη εἰς φόρον* (“A ruler among countries became a tributary”). For a detailed discussion of the Greek and Latin translations of Lamentations 1:1, see Kotzé (2010:77-93).

contrast between the past and present condition of the city in mind for the first bicolon comparable to the one communicated by the second and third bicola: the city was *once* full of people, but *now* sits alone.⁶⁸

In view of the preceding discussion, **היתה כאלמנה רבתי בגוים** in the clause **רבתי**, as well as its partially preserved counterpart in 4QLam, is probably best interpreted as a noun that forms part of a chiastic structure expressing the *condicio inversa* of Jerusalem.

Excursus: The supposed quotation or allusion to Lamentations 1:1 in 4Q179

The short composition 4Q179, labelled *4QApocryphal Lamentations A*, consists of five fragments, two large and three small scraps of leather. The first fragment contains two columns. Column I has fourteen lines of writing and Column II thirteen. The second fragment only preserves ten lines of writing in one column. The text is dated as belonging to the period between 50 and 25 BCE based on its semi-formal Hasmonian script (Webster 2002:403; Strugnell 1970:250). Due to the incomplete nature of the manuscript, it is difficult to acquire a clear

⁶⁸ In his discussion of the effects of enjambment in Lamentations, Dobbs-Allsopp (2001b:377-385) draws attention to the importance of the pause between what he considers to be the two cola of the first bicolon in Lamentations 1:1, namely **אֵיכָה יְשָׁבָה בְּדָד** (1:1aα) and **הָעִיר רַבְתִּי עִם** (1:1aβ). He also proposes that these lines communicate a contrast between the city's past and present circumstances. In this regard, it is important to recognize that there is subject enjambment in this bicolon. This means that the subject of the clause that stretches over two cola, **הָעִיר**, appears in the second colon (Dobbs-Allsopp 2001a:226). The first colon before the line terminus or pause presents the image of the city set apart and secure. The phrase "sits alone" is used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible to indicate the idea of solitary security. However, this image is radically reversed by the second colon after the pause. The city does not sit alone because it is secure, but because it has been deserted by its inhabitants. Dobbs-Allsopp notes that only the pause between the cola forces a reconsideration of the initial image. Another consequence of this interplay of two images is that they are played off against one another, creating the contrast between past and present: "The effect is to contrast Jerusalem's glorious past, when she sat securely, and her desolate present, when she sits deserted" (Dobbs-Allsopp 2001b:378-379).

picture of its content.⁶⁹ In the first column of fragment 1, first-person plural speakers are lamenting their situation (cf. **אוי לנו** line 3 [4]).⁷⁰ The lamentable circumstances of the speakers seem to be linked to the destruction of Jerusalem, seeing as there are references to “courtyards of our sanctuary” (**חצרות קודשנו** line 6 [7]), the name of the city (**ירושלים** line 7 [8]), “her streets/open spaces” (**ורחובותיה** line 8 [9]) and the desolation of “all her fortresses” (**שממו כל ארמונותיה** line 9 [10]). In lines 10-12 (11-13), the contrast between the past and present conditions of the city and the speakers is alluded to. There are no more festival visitors (**ובאי מועד** line 10 [11]), the inheritance of the speakers has become like a desert (**נחלתנו היתה כמדבר** line 11 [12]) and voices of joy have grown silent (**שמ[ח]ה לא נשמעה בה** line 12 [13]).⁷¹ It would also appear as though the calamity that has befallen Jerusalem and the speakers is attributed to

⁶⁹ Marya Horgan (1973:222-223) connects the content of this writing with the accounts of Antiochus IV Epiphanus’ attacks on Jerusalem, related in 1 Maccabees 1:16-40, and suggests that these events might have inspired the composition of 4Q179. Lawrence Schiffman (2010c:304; 1994:385-386) agrees with Horgan that 4Q179 does not exhibit any features that are peculiar to the views of the Qumran community. However, in his opinion, the text has to do with the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in the sixth century BCE and expresses the nation’s sorrow over those events. Berlin (2003:9-10) argues that the poem might convey a Qumranic view of the present state of Jerusalem. The Qumran community considered the temple to be defiled, because of the illegitimate priests who served in it and the wrong cultic calendar that was followed. As a result, the sacrifices that were performed there were obsolete. Berlin (2003:9) notes that it is not inconceivable that, from the perspective of the cult, the Qumran community thought of the temple as still in ruins. The author of 4Q179 could therefore have communicated his displeasure at the condition of Jerusalem and the temple of his own time with language and images that are reminiscent of laments over the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE.

⁷⁰ The line numbers are quoted from Bernstein’s preliminary edition of 4Q179 (Bernstein 2005). In the editions prepared by Allegro (1968) and García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997), it is assumed that the first lines of writing did not survive in Columns I and II of the manuscript. The numbers in brackets refer to the lines of the transcriptions of 4Q179 in these editions.

⁷¹ The form of the word **נשמעה** in the manuscript is **נשמעה**, but there is a cancellation dot above the second *šm*.

disobedience. The words כל עוונותינו (“all our iniquities”) and the clause לקרותנו כל אלה ברוע (“so that all these befell us on account of wickedness”) in the initial two lines hint at this, as does the final line in the column, which mentions “our transgressions” (פ[שעינו] and “our sins” (חטאותינו). Column II of fragment 1 opens with the interjection אוי לנו (line 1 [3]) and a reference to the anger of God (אף אל). The lament of the first-person plural speakers is therefore continued. The themes of the fragmentary wording of this column are “woe, defilement, and the dire straits of those who once lived in luxury” (Berlin 2003:2). In this regard, the speakers mention “their infants” (לעוליהן line 4 [6]), the cruelty of “the daughter of my people” (ובת עמי אכזריה line 4 [6]), the desolation of “her youths” (עלומיה שוממו line 5 [7]), the “sons of my people” (בני עמי line 5 [7]) and the “tender daughters of Zion” (בנות ציון חרכות line 13 [15]).⁷²

In the second fragment of 4Q179, the afflictions of the deserted city and her “daughters” are enumerated. For the purposes of the present excursus, the fourth and fifth lines of fragment 2 are of special interest. The surviving sequence of words in these lines shows similarities with the wording of Lamentations 1:1. Accordingly, the transcriptions of lines 4 and 5 produced by Bernstein (2005:148-150),⁷³ García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1997:370),⁷⁴ Pabst (1978:141),⁷⁵ Horgan (1973:225)⁷⁶ and Allegro (1968:77)⁷⁷ fill the gaps in the wording of 4Q179 to varying

⁷² This line contains two interesting scribal corrections. The scribe originally wrote בני ציון היקרים (“the valuable sons of Zion”), but changed the reading completely by adding a *tāw* in the interlinear space above and to the left of the *yôd* of בני. The *yôd* was then transformed into a *wāw*. The scribe subsequently removed the reading היקרים by means of cancellation dots and wrote the feminine plural adjective חרכות (“tender”) next to it.

⁷³ [בדד העיר] [ירוש]לים [רבתי / בגו]ים שרתי כל לאומ[ים] [שוממה כע[ב]ה] .

⁷⁴ [איכה ישבה] בדד העיר [הג]דול[ה] ירוש[לים] ר[בתי] / [בע]מים שרתי כל לאומ[ים] [שוממה כעזובה] .

⁷⁵ [איכה ישבה] בדד העיר [הג]דול[ה] ירוש[לים] ר[בתי] / [בע]מים שרתי כל לאומ[ים] [שוממה כע[ב]ה] .

⁷⁶ [איכה ישבה] בדד העיר [רבתי עם י]רוש[לים] ירוש[לים] ר[בתי] / [בג]וים שרתי כל לאומ[ות] [שוממה כעז[ו]ב[ה]] . The reading ירוש[לים] at the center of line 4 in Horgan’s transcription is based on Strugnell’s proposal that the *wāw*, which is visibly preserved in the manuscript, is flanked by a *rêš* and *šîn* respectively (Strugnell 1970:251).

⁷⁷ [איכה ישבה] בדד העיר [] [ירוש]לים [] [ירוש]לים שרתי כל לאומ[ים] [שוממה כעזובה] .

degrees in accordance with Lamentations 1:1. This creates the impression that the first verse of Lamentations 1 is either quoted or alluded to in 4Q179. The words in question can be reconstructed as follows:⁷⁸

4Q179 fragment 2 lines 4-5

לִים [] וִים [] בְּדַד הָעִיר [] alone the city [] [] []
 שְׂרָתִי כָּל לְאוֹמֵי [] שׁוֹמְמָה כַּעַ [] the princess of all the na[tions] is desolate like []

In his edition of 4QLam, Cross (2000:231) cites the phrase שְׂרָתִי כָּל לְאוֹמֵי [] as a possible variant compared to שְׂרָתִי בַּמְּדִינֹת in Lamentations 1:1. He is quick to add, however, that 4Q179 contains free allusions to passages in the biblical book of Lamentations and that these allusions should not be treated as genuine variants. An allusion to a passage from a biblical text in a text from Qumran should be distinguished from a quotation. The latter is a *verbatim* excerpt taken from a biblical text and inserted into the wording of another composition, usually preceded by some sort of introductory formula.⁷⁹ In contrast, an allusion is a string of words (not necessarily in the same order) that a Qumran text borrowed from a particular biblical passage without explicitly quoting this biblical text. According to this view, which this study shares, 4Q179 does not quote Lamentations 1:1 *verbatim* from a manuscript in which the wording of this verse differed from the version in the MT and the reconstructed wording of 4QLam. The specific shape of the allusion to Lamentations 1:1 was probably determined by the techniques that the author of 4Q179 employed in composing the poem.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ This transcription is based on the photographs of the manuscript that were printed in the DJD edition.

⁷⁹ Cf. for instance the quotation formula identified by Lust (1998:67-77).

⁸⁰ Concerning the compositional techniques exhibited by 4Q179, Berlin (2003:5-6) argues that שְׂרָתִי כָּל לְאוֹמֵי [] might involve a substitution of a less common term with a more common one. In this case, מְדִינֹת made way for לְאוֹמִים. See also the comments of Pabst (1978:140).

VERSE 6

4QLam

[] [א מבת] [] [] from the daughter of[
] Her princes have [be]come like stags, they
[ו]ילכו בלי כוח לפני
רודף did not find and pasture,[but] have gone
away without strength before the pursuer.

MT

וַיֵּצֵא מִן בֶּת־צִיּוֹן כָּל־הַדָּרָה הָיוּ שָׂרֶיהָ כְּאַיִלִם And out of the Daughter of Zion⁸¹ went all her
לֹא־מָצְאוּ מְרֻעָה וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּלֹא־כֹחַ לִפְנֵי רוֹדֵף: ס splendour. Her princes have become like stags;
they have not found pasture, but have gone
away without strength before the pursuer.

The first lines of verse 6 were written at the bottom of Column I of 4QLam and, like the previous verses, they are only partially preserved. These lines appeared on the small sliver of leather that broke off at the lower left edge of the fragment that was not included in the photograph used for the plate of the DJD edition. However, Cross (2000:231) notes that the reading *מבת* is clear on old photographs of the fragment. The second fragment of 4QLam contains eleven lines of script (Column II), including the rest of verse 6. These lines are almost fully preserved, since the part of the sheet containing Column II was discovered in a better condition than the part on which Column I was written. A comparison between 4QLam and MT at verse 6 reveals a number of interesting differences in wording.

⁸¹ Dobbs-Allsopp (1995:451-470) argues on the basis of comparative evidence from Akkadian divine epithets and the narrative contexts in the Hebrew Bible in which *בת* + a geographical name occurs that this syntactical construction is not an appositional genitive, as it is generally understood, but rather a genitive of location. The result of Dobbs-Allsopp's examination is that the 18 occurrences of *בת ציון* (including the phrase *בת עמי*) in Lamentations (1:6, 1:15, 2:1, 2:2, 2:4, 2:8, 2:10, 2:13 [x2], 2:15, 2:18, 3:48, 4:3, 4:6, 4:10, 4:21, 4:22 [x2]) should be seen as an epithet for Jerusalem and be translated as "Daughter of Zion" and in the case of *בת עמי* "Daughter of my people".

מן בַּת – מבַת

The form מבַת in the manuscript from Qumran merely represents a variation in the mode of writing from the *K^ethîbh* reading בַת מן in the MT and not a deviation in meaning. Interestingly, מבַת in 4QLam agrees with the *Q^erê* reading which the Masoretes noted in the *masora parva* (see the excursus below). As to the cause of the variation in wording, it could be speculated that a scribe regarded the form of the prepositional phrase בַת מן as unusual and amended it into מבַת. The preposition usually takes the form מן before articular words and is only irregularly joined in this form to a word without a definite article. Otherwise, the *nûn* assimilates to the first consonant of the following anarthrous word (GKC §102b; IBHS §11.2.11a). Alternatively, it can also be posited that the form בַת מן is an example of an Aramaism in the version of Lamentations transmitted by the MT and, as such, developed from מבַת under the influence of Aramaic.⁸²

⁸² The lack of the customary assimilation of the *nûn* of the preposition מן before an anarthrous noun in the prepositional phrase בַת מן is characteristic of Aramaic. Eskhult (2003:14) defines Aramaisms in the following terms: “Aramaisms may be phonemic, in which case one can see that the word is not Hebrew in form. Alternatively, a word may be judged an Aramaism when it is uncommon in Hebrew, but frequent in Aramaic, and the idea could well have been expressed by the usual Hebrew word”. Dobbs-Allsopp (1998:25-31) identifies a number of features in the book of Lamentations that can either be characterised as Aramaisms or possibly exhibit Aramaic influence. These include the nouns אֲרִיָּה (“lion”) (Lamentations 3:10), מְדִינָה (“province”) (Lamentations 1:1), מִטְרָא (“target”) (Lamentations 3:12), as well as the plurals שׁוֹמְמִין (“desolate”) (Lamentations 1:4) and תְּנִינִים (“jackals”) (Lamentations 4:3). He notes that the *hapax legomenon* מְנִינָתָם (“their song”) (Lamentations 3:63), as well as the forms עֹתָתִי (“my oppression”) (Lamentations 3:59) and רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת (“compassionate”) (Lamentations 4:10) display Aramaic traits. The following verbal roots are included in Dobbs-Allsopp’s list: זָעַק (“to call”) (Lamentations 3:8), חָזַה (“to see”) (2 x in Lamentations 2:14), נָטַל (“to lay upon”) (Lamentations 3:28), סָלַח (“to despise”/“to flout”/“to reject”) (Lamentations 1:15), פָּרַק (“to cleave”/“to separate”/“to tear apart”) (Lamentations 5:8) and סָבַל (“to carry”/“to bear”) (Lamentations 5:7). Dobbs-Allsopp observes that the word כְּלִילָה in the phrase יְפִי כְּלִילָה (Lamentations 2:15) is probably an Aramaism. If כְּלִילָה is taken as an Aramaism, the phrase can be translated as “crown of beauty”, as

Excursus: מן בת/מבת in Lamentations 1:6 and the origin of the *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* variations in the MT

The significance of the difference between the prepositional phrases מן בת in 4QLam and מן בת in the MT pertains to the issue regarding the origin of the variants recorded by the *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* notes in the MT. The two traditional theories explaining the phenomenon of *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* understand the *Q^erê* readings either as variants in manuscripts that were collated by early scribes or possibly much later by the Masoretes themselves (Orlinsky 1960:184-192), or as corrections to the written tradition in cases where the latter presented readers with difficulties. In this case the *Q^erê* “corrections” were not necessarily found in manuscripts. Recent studies of *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* readings identify the weaknesses in both the “collation” and “correction” theories and seek to combine them in order to find a more plausible explanation for the origin of *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* readings (Tov 2001:58-63). One of the modern theories, proposed by James Barr (1981:19-37), argues that the *Q^erê* readings formed part of a reading tradition that became official before a particular written tradition achieved such a status. This theory both accounts for the use of the terms *K^ethîbh* (“what is written”) and *Q^erê* (“what is read”), as well as for the fact that there exists only one *Q^erê* reading for every *K^ethîbh*. In view of the textual situation at Qumran, which suggests that a plurality of Hebrew texts existed in antiquity, it stands to reason that a collation of manuscripts would result in more than one variant that could be recorded as *Q^erê* readings. Morrow (1992:27) takes the position that “the K/Q variations represent alternate traditions, each accepted in a certain circle. The K represents the written tradition accepted by the scribes who copied the consonantal text, while the Q represents the oral reading tradition accepted by the readers and synagogue schools”. Morrow also points out that the *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* notes are the work of the Masoretes. Concerning the copying of manuscripts, the Masoretes adhered to a principle

opposed to the usual interpretation “perfection of beauty”. Finally, the periphrastic construction with the verb *היה* + a participle (Lamentations 1:11 and 1:16) occurs often in *Reichsaramäisch* and later Aramaic dialects. It is attested in Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) as well and its usage is attributed to Aramaic influence (Dobbs-Allsopp 1998:30).

according to which the consonantal text they received should be transmitted as accurately as possible. As part of the *masora parva*, the *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* notes serve this purpose. Morrow (1992:27) contends that the *Q^erê* variants were well-known to the Masoretes and could potentially influence the copying of their received consonantal text. In such cases the Masoretes recorded the *Q^erê* variant in order to preserve the form of the consonantal text that they were transmitting. On the basis of the available evidence and the various theories that account for the origin of the *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* variants, Graves (2003) makes a cogent argument in favour of the view that the Masoretes intended for the *Q^erê* to be preferred over the *K^ethîbh*, and that the *Q^erê* readings were not identified through a process of critically collating manuscripts, despite the fact that some of them are found in the readings of the ancient versions and in the fragments from Qumran (as is the case with מבת in 4QLam). He goes on to hypothesise that the origin of *K^ethîbh/Q^erê* variants can possibly be attributed to the need for both an authoritative written text and a separate reading tradition, while the source of this reading tradition might be “a popular manuscript recension”. The idea that at least some of the *Q^erê* readings were drawn from variants that were available in existing manuscripts finds support from the fact that the form מבת appears in 4QLam. This suggests that the *Q^erê* reading in the MT of Lamentations 1:6 might very well have been based on a textual variant.

לֹא־מִצָּאוּ מְרַעָה – לֹא לֹא מִצָּא וּמְרַעָה

לֹא is written twice in the Qumran fragment and although this is undoubtedly an example of dittography, the scribe made no attempt to erase one לֹא. Apart from this clear case of dittography, the reading מִצָּא וּמְרַעָה exhibits another scribal error in the wording of 4QLam. The immediate context demands a plural verb with the plural subject שְׂרִיָּה. This implies that the *wāw* should not have been appended to מְרַעָה as a conjunction, but to מִצָּא in order to form the third-person plural perfect conjugation of the verbal root. The error in 4QLam can easily be explained as a wrong division of the words. The evidence from the Dead Sea scrolls shows that the spaces between words in ancient manuscripts were not always indicated very clearly and this could lead to confusion, as well as to wrong word divisions (Tov 2001:209, 252-253). The reading מִצָּא

ומרעה in 4QLam illustrates this kind of blunder perpetrated by the scribes who copied the manuscripts in antiquity.

בְּלֹא-כֶחַ – בְּלִי כּוּחַ

In the final bicolon of Lamentations 1:6, 4QLam has the adverb בְּלִי, where the MT reads בְּלֹא (the negative particle לֹא with the preposition בְּ). Cross (1983:139) hazards a guess as to which one of these readings derives from the other and consequently proposes that the reading in 4QLam should perhaps be preferred over the one in MT: “*bl*’ arises easily from misreading *bly* as *blw* corrected orthographically to *bl*’”. It is not easy to see how an original *bl*’ would have been corrupted to *bly*”. The presumption that בְּלִי constitutes the earlier of the two readings might find support from data regarding the occurrence of בְּלִי and בְּלֹא at different phases in the development of BH. In his analysis of the linguistic profile of Lamentations, Dobbs-Allsopp (1998:18) indicates that the form בְּלִי is found in both Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH) and LBH,⁸³ but בְּלֹא is used almost exclusively in the latter, as well as in later dialects of the Hebrew language, such as MH. Moreover, Qimron (1986:77) notes that both בְּלִי and בְּלֹא occur in QH, although בְּלֹא is the more common of the two particles. The predominance of בְּלֹא in later forms of Hebrew increases the possibility that a scribe altered the wording of the text he was copying from בְּלִי to בְּלֹא so as to modernise the language of the text.⁸⁴ On this hypothesis, the updated form of the text is represented by the MT,⁸⁵ while 4QLam preserves a version of Lamentations 1:6 before a scribe decided to revise the wording of the phrase. If this is indeed the case, the modernisation of

⁸³ In the diachronic study of BH, SBH refers to the phase of the Hebrew language reflected in the writings of the Old Testament that date to pre-exilic times. LBH denotes the stage in the development of Hebrew exhibited by writings from the post-exilic period (Young 2003:1-6).

⁸⁴ For other examples of modernization of language, see McCarter (1986:51-56).

⁸⁵ In this regard, it is noteworthy that the prepositional phrase ἐν οὐκ ἰσχύει in the LXX suggests that the Hebrew *Vorlage* from which the Greek translation was made contained the reading בְּלֹא כֶחַ like the version of the text vocalised by the Masoretes.

the language was not executed consistently, since בלי also appears in the MT text of Lamentations 1:4. Consequently, one can conclude that although a scribal attempt at modernisation of the language could have caused the change from בלי to בלא, Cross' suggestion of a scribal error remains plausible. In light of the fact that both בלי and בלא are utilized as “negative adverbials meaning ‘without’ or the like” (Dobbs-Allsopp 1998:18), the variation in 4QLam and the MT does not result in a difference in meaning between these two Hebrew witnesses.

Since the wording of the first line of poetry in 4QLam was almost completely lost, it is impossible to predict whether it resembled the wording in the version of the text represented by the MT.⁸⁶ Wary of an *argumentum e silentio*, this chapter restricts remarks regarding the content

⁸⁶ Some scholars complain about the supposed inelegance of the *wāw* consecutive at the beginning of verse 6 (Cross 1983:139; Hillers 1992:67). They note that the only reason why a *wāw* is used here is for the acrostic to work. Accordingly, these scholars do not see a close connection in subject matter between verse 5 and verse 6 in the MT. Conversely, this chapter suggests that the conjunction of ויצא in the MT links the reference to the children that go into captivity before the foe in verse 5 (עולליה הלכו שבי לפני צר) to the statement in verse 6 regarding the departure of the city's splendour. The end of verse 5 shares with verse 6 the idea that members of Jerusalem's population have to leave the city on account of an enemy. This chapter agrees with Rudolph (1962:212), Provan (1991:41) and House (2004:352) that the simile according to which the city's leaders are compared to powerless stags elaborates on the observation that the splendour of “the Daughter of Zion” has gone away. In keeping with this interpretation הדר refers to the leaders. Nevertheless, other interpretations of הדר are also possible. Kraus (1983:28-29), for example, thinks of הדר in terms of the glory of Jerusalem and sees in the deportation of the leaders an example of the departure of the city's splendour. Berlin (2004:53) notes that הדר “may refer to the treasures of gold and silver, plundered by the enemy; or perhaps it refers to the city's leaders, described in the following lines as stags”. Renkema (1993:86-87) deems such interpretations too narrow and, with reference to passages from the Psalms and Isaiah, draws attention to the fact that הדר also denotes the kingship of YHWH and his majesty in creation. Renkema goes on to observe that, according to Ezekiel 16:6-13, 14, YHWH bestows such הדר to Jerusalem. He specifically thinks of the glory of the temple in this regard. But the destruction of the temple is but one aspect of

of Lamentations 1:6 to the parts of the verse that did survive in 4QLam. Based on what can be surmised about the wording that was preserved on the fragments of 4QLam, the scribal mistakes do not detract much from the sense of the verse as a whole, and despite their slightly different wordings, 4QLam and the MT essentially present the same content for Lamentations 1:6. In both the fragment from Qumran and the MT, a hunting image is used to portray the flight of the city's leaders.⁸⁷ They flee the city like stags before a hunter. They will, however, not make good their escape, because, according to the text, they do not find a source of nourishment and they flee without strength (אילים is taken as the subject of וילכו and not שריה). Their capture by the enemy is therefore inevitable.

VERSE 7

4QLam

זכורה יהוה [כו]ל מכאובנו אשר היו מימי קדם	Remember O YHWH [al]l our pains that
בנפל [עמ]ה ביד צר ואין עוזר צריה שחקו על	existed from days of old. When her [people]
[] ל משבריה	fell in / by the hand of a foe and there was no
	helper, her foes laughed about [] her ruins.

what the departure of glory refers to. What is implicitly lamented here, in Renkema's view, is the departure of YHWH from Zion, since he is the one who imparted his glory on the temple.

⁸⁷ In contrast to P, which agrees to a large extent with the the MT, the LXX and V present different interpretations of the content of Lamentations 1:6. For a discussion of the readings in the LXX compared to the MT and references to V, see Kotzé (2009b:275-292).

MT

זְכָרָהּ יְרוּשָׁלַם יָמֵי עֲנִיָּהּ וּמְרוֹדֶיהָ בְּלִי מִחֲמִדֶּיהָ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ
מִיָּמֵי קֶדֶם בְּנֶפֶל עַמָּהּ בִּיד־צָר וְאִין עֲזָרָה לָּהּ רְאוּהָ
צָרִים שָׁחֲקוּ עָלֶיהָ מִשְׁבֹּתָהּ: ס

In the days of her affliction and homelessness⁸⁸
Jerusalem remembers all her precious things
that existed from days of old. When her people
fell in / by the hand of a foe and there was no
helper for her, foes saw her, they laughed about
her downfall.

Verse 7 of Lamentations 1 in the MT presents the interpreter with a number of textual difficulties. Firstly, its colometry or stichography is debatable. Based on the text's supposed *qinah*-metre, this verse is arranged in such a way that it consists of four bicola. Since the rest of the verses of chapter 1 in the MT are thought to be composed of three poetic lines each, scholars generally consider Lamentations 1:7 in this version to be corrupt due to its length and suggestions for its emendation abound. On the one hand, the critical apparatuses of *BHS* and *BHK*, as well as Hunter (1996:123), Westermann (1994:112), Kaiser (1981:318), Kraus (1983:22), Aalders (1952:22), Löhr (1893:2), Dyserinck (1892:363) and Budde (1892:265) identify the second verse-line as the secondary addition and some prefer to eliminate it on metrical grounds.⁸⁹ On the other hand, Ehrlich (1914:31), followed by Berges (2002:88-89), Gottlieb (1978:13), Albrektson (1963:62-63) and Rudolph (1962:206), suggests striking the third

⁸⁸ This translation of מְרוֹדֶיהָ is based on an interpretation of the form as an *Abstraktplural* deriving from the root רוד (IBHS §7.4.2.a-b; Rudolph 1962:206). בְּלִי מִחֲמִדֶּיהָ is taken as the direct object of the verb זְכָרָהּ and יָמֵי as an adverbial *accusativus temporis* indicating the time when the action of the main verb takes place.

⁸⁹ Hillers (1992:61) also excises the second verse-line from his translation, but notes that the wording of the MT still retains an acceptable sense regardless of whether the second or the third verse-line is omitted. He therefore agrees with Meek (1956:9) that "this strophe circulated in two different text-forms with identical first and third lines, the extant text being a conflation of the two. There seems little decisive reason to prefer either reading as the original" (Hillers 1992:69).

verse-line as a gloss to the problematic word מְרוּדִיָּה.⁹⁰ De Hoop (2000b:80-104), however, has recently made a cogent argument against the assumption that the so-called *qinah*-metre is prevalent in the book of Lamentations. He notes that there is no reason to emend the wording of Lamentations 1:7 in the MT and proposes a different stichometric arrangement of the verse on the basis of the Masoretic accents.⁹¹ In his layout, this verse consists of a tricolon and a bicolon:⁹²

⁹⁰ Renkema (1993:93) argues that none of the explanations for the four lines of Lamentations 1:7 is satisfactory and holds the four-line strophe to be the original text. His argument rests, firstly, on what he considers a copyist would likely have done: “Het is nauwelijks voorstelbaar dat een glossator of overschrijver van de kanttekening niet zag dat een invoeging de overduidelijke regelmaat van drie bicola per strofe verstoort. Het omgekeerde ligt veeleer voor de hand: bij het overschrijven bestond juist de neiging om moeilijke teksten glad te strijken”. Secondly, he mentions the occurrence of expansion in Hebrew poetry. This phenomenon refers to those cases where poets or reciters disrupt the regularity of a poem by means of an elaboration. Thirdly, Renkema bases his view on his structural analysis of Lamentations, according to which what he identifies as the second and third bicola of Lamentations 1:7 both form integral parts of larger literary units, namely the canticle (Lamentations 1:7-9) and the sub-canto (Lamentations 1:7-11). House (2004:335) and Gordis (1974:154) also argue against the deletion of a part of the wording of the version of Lamentation 1:7 in the MT.

⁹¹ De Hoop (2000a:47-73; 2000c:65-100) demonstrates how the Masoretic accentuation can be an important source of knowledge concerning the colometry of Hebrew poetic texts. He, nevertheless, warns that the Masoretic accents must be used with care in dividing verse lines into cola. He agrees with Yeivin (1980:169) and Revell (1992:594-596) that one should not only be alert to the classification of the accents into a higher and lower grade, but also take the position of the accents in relation to each other in a clause into consideration (De Hoop 2000b:90).

⁹² The principle of *BHQ* is to print poetic texts stichographically, based on the Masoretic accents: “Stichoi are always defined by the primary disjunctive accents, except in cases where a different syntactic division from the one expressed in those accents is judged to be the preferred reading of the text. In such cases the preferred reading will determine the division of the stichoi” (Schenker 2004:x). In the *BHQ* fascicle edition of the Megilloth, Schäfer (2004:55) does not follow De Hoop’s arrangement of the wording of Lamentations 1:7 into a tricolon and a bicolon,

זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַם יָמִי עֲנִיָּה וּמְרוּדִיָּה (1:7aα) / בָּל מַחְמָדִיָּה (1:7aβ) / אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִיָּמֵי קֶדֶם (1:7aγ)
 בְּנִפְלַ עֲמָה בִּיד־צָר וְאִין עוֹזֵר לָהּ (1:7bα) / רָאוּהָ צָרִים שָׁחֲקוּ עַל מִשְׁבַּתָּהּ (1:7bβ)

A second difficulty in the MT version of the verse pertains to the meaning of the rare word *וּמְרוּדִיָּה*. Apart from Lamentations 1:7 it is also found in Lamentations 3:19 and in Isaiah 58:7. Commentators on the text of Lamentations derive the form from the roots *רוד*, “to roam” / “to wander restlessly” (BDB 923; KBL 876), *רדה*, “to tread”/“to dominate”/“to rule” (BDB 921-922; KBL 874-875), *רדד*, “to subdue” (BDB 921; KBL 874), and *מרד*, “to rebel”/“to revolt” (BDB 597; KBL 564; DCH V 478). Alternatively, they think of the form as a corruption of an original *מרוריה*, “her bitterness”.⁹³

but divides it into four sets of bicola. Whereas De Hoop treats *זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַם יָמִי עֲנִיָּה וּמְרוּדִיָּה בָּל מַחְמָדִיָּה* as one colon, Schäfer separates it into two with the division after *יְרוּשָׁלַם*, which has the disjunctive accent *r^ebhîa^c*. De Hoop (2000:96) justifies his arrangement by pointing out that a *r^ebhîa^c* is often positioned at the second or third word of a colon without terminating that colon.

⁹³ The ancient translations also reflect various interpretations of this word. In the LXX *מרודיה* is translated as *ἀπωσμων ἀντις*, “her rejections”/“her repulsions” (LEH 59; GELS 89). This rendering elicits a number of different explanations from scholars. According to Rudolph (1962:206), the LXX reflects an interpretation of *וּמְרוּדִיָּה* as deriving from the root *רוד*, while Albrektson (1963:60) argues that the Greek translator possibly had a root *דרה* in mind, inverting the *dālēth* and *rêš* of *וּמְרוּדִיָּה*. Barthélemy (1986:865) translates *καὶ ἀπωσμων ἀντις* as “et de ses expulsions” and remarks that “(i)l s’agit d’une traduction large de l’hébreu”. In the critical apparatus of *BHQ*, Schäfer (2004:55*) also proposes that the Greek translator took liberty in rendering his *Vorlage*. The translation of *וּמְרוּדִיָּה* in P, *מַחְמָדִיָּה* (“her chastisement”/“correction”/“discipline”), can be related to the verbal root *חג* (“to instruct”/“to chastise”) or to *חג* (“to rebel”). This implies that the Syriac translator derived the Hebrew form from the root *רדה* or *מרד*. In contrast to its Hebrew counterpart, *מַחְמָדִיָּה* is singular and this change in number might be a deliberate ploy on the part of the translator to foster a closer link with *מַחְבָּדִיָּה* (“her oppression”), the equivalent of *עֲנִיָּה* in the MT. On the basis of the coordination of the words *מַחְבָּדִיָּה* and *מַחְמָדִיָּה*, Albrektson (1963:60-61) argues

In spite of the significance of these difficulties in the MT for text-critical research, for the purposes of this study, the following analysis will be restricted to the conspicuous differences between the MT and 4QLam, which fortunately preserves almost the complete text of Lamentations 1:7.

זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַם יְמֵי עֲנִיָּה וּמְרוּדִיָּה כָּל מַחְמַדֶּיהָ – זָכוּרָה יְהוּה [כּוּ]ל מִכְאוּבוֹנָהּ

4QLam reads זָכוּרָה יְהוּה where the MT, followed by the LXX (ἐμνήσθη Ἱερουσαλὴμ), P (אֶמְנָעוּתָא אֶמְנָעוּתָא) and V (*recordata est Hierusalem*), reads זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַם. The MT presents the verb as a Qal perfect form of זָכַר with Jerusalem as its subject, but 4QLam interprets the verb as an emphatic imperative with YHWH as the one called upon to remember. 4QLam also lacks יְמֵי עֲנִיָּה וּמְרוּדִיָּה and reads [כּוּ]ל מִכְאוּבוֹנָהּ in the place of the MT's כָּל מַחְמַדֶּיהָ. In his restoration of the text of Lamentations as it would have appeared at the time of its composition in the sixth century BCE, Hobbins (2006:15) does not delete any part of the wording of Lamentations 1:7, but argues that both the readings in the MT and 4QLam can be explained as corruptions from his proposed original text.⁹⁴ He supposes that זָכְרָה was originally an imperative, but when it was mistaken for a Qal perfect form with יְרוּשָׁלַם as the subject, יְהוּה came to be interpreted as יְמֵי.⁹⁵ The shorter

that “chastisement” is the more likely meaning of מַחְמַדֶּיהָ in the context of P's version of Lamentations 1:7. *Praevaricationis* (“collusion”) in V and the reading attributed to α' in the margin of the Syrohexapla, אֶמְנָעוּתָא אֶמְנָעוּתָא (“and secessions/defections/revolts”), point to an understanding of the Hebrew form as deriving from מָרַד. The two recensions of T paraphrase the Hebrew text and interpret זָכְרָה וּמְרוּדִיָּה in terms of the root רָדָה and the word מְדוּרָה, “dwelling” (Jastrow 733).

⁹⁴ Hobbins attempts to reconstruct not only the original consonantal text, but also the text's purported original orthography, phonology and prosody. For the initial cola of Lamentations 1:7, he suggests the following wording and vocalisation: (1:7aβ) זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַם יְהוּה הָעֲנִיָּה וּמְרוּדִיָּה / וְכָל מַחְמַדֶּיהָ אֲשֶׁר וְהִי מִיָּמֵי קֶדֶם (1:7aα).

⁹⁵ In Hobbins' reconstruction of the original phonology of these words, they sound alike. He also notes that the reinterpretation would have been facilitated by similar texts in Deuteronomy 32:7 and Psalm 137:7 (Hobbins 2006:16).

reading in the fragment from Qumran was caused by homoioarcton, the copyist's eye jumping over **ירושלם** to **יהוה** due to the similar forms of the consonants at the beginning of these two words (**ירו** and **יהו**). The omission of **עניה** and **ומרודיה** is then also attributed to parablepsis. Furthermore, in contrast to Schäfer (2004:55*) and Cross (2000:232), who regard **מחמדיה** in the MT as a corrupt reading, Hobbins retains it in his version of the original text, but emends the preceding **כל** to read **כלו**. This conjectural emendation substitutes the noun **כל** with a Qal perfect third-person plural form of the verbal root **בלה**, “to come to an end”/“to be finished” (BDB 477; KBL 437; DCH IV 418-419), with **מחמדיה** as its subject. Hobbins argues that the readings in the MT and 4QLam represent aural misunderstandings of this reconstructed original reading. He also agrees with the editor of Lamentations in *BHQ* that **מכאובנו** in 4QLam constitutes a facilitation. In other words, the scribe consciously attempted to ease what he considered to be a difficulty or awkwardness in the text, namely the reading **מחמדיה**.

Cross (1983:140-141) reconstructs the original text of the first bicolon of this verse to read as follows: **זכרה יהוה מרודיה אשר מימי קדם**. He regards the reading of the verb **זכרה** as an imperative in the Qumran fragment as superior to the one in the MT, since the change in subject from YHWH to Jerusalem can be explained as an assimilation to the subject of the verb in the first colon of verse 8. Moreover, in his view the phrase **ימי עניה ומרודיה**, conflated from the similar reading in Lamentations 3:19 (**זכר עניי ומרודי**), was added to Lamentations 1:7 during the transmission process. Concerning **כל מחמדיה** in the MT and **כל מכאובנו** in 4QLam, Cross theorises that both readings represent corruptions and can be traced back to a proposed original reading **ומרודיה כל** (**כל מרודיה**). According to this view, the MT preserves a double reading: **ומרודיה כל מחמדיה**. The change in the MT could have been triggered by **כל מחמדיה** in verse 10 (4QLam also reads the form **מחמדיה** in verse 11, where the MT has **מחמודיהם**), while the reading in 4QLam came into being “either as a revision of the rare word under the influence of **מכאוב** and **מכאובי** later in the lament (vv 12, 18), or much more likely, as a correction, conscious or unconscious, of the impossible **מחמודיה** in its manuscript tradition: **כל מכאוביה > כל מחמודיה**” (Cross 2000:233). Schäfer follows these suggestions in his comments concerning preferable readings in the critical apparatus and textual commentary of *BHQ*.

In its present shape, the wording of the MT states that during her time of trouble after her capture, Jerusalem remembers all her precious things that existed from days of old.⁹⁶ By evoking the contrast between the city's past and the present condition, the first two bicola of Lamentations 1:7 in the MT recalls the theme of Jerusalem's *condicio inversa*. The idea of the reversal of fortunes was already introduced in the opening verse of Lamentations 1 and reappears several times throughout the first eleven verses of this chapter (House 2004:338-339). It is therefore possible that a scribe might have wanted to transform the wording of an earlier form of verse 7 in order to promote this particular theme. From the perspective of creativity in the copying of manuscripts, the changes wrought to the irretrievably lost original wording of Lamentations 1:7 need not only be sought in scribal mistakes. A scribe could very well have inserted עניה ומרודיה together with ימי (interpreted as an adverbial accusative of time) under the influence of the similar wording in Lamentations 3:19 as a counterpart for כל מחמדיה אשר היו מימי קדם in the text which he copied. In this way, the contrast motif was clearly introduced into the initial part of the verse. Moreover, a case can be made for seeing זכרה ירושלם as the earlier reading, because it fits in well with the larger context of verses 1-11 of Lamentations 1, where the third-person speaker portrays the dire straits of Jerusalem, whereas the imperatives in verse 9 and 11 (as well as the one in verse 20) are reserved for personified Jerusalem when she calls on YHWH to take note of her distressful condition, especially on account of her enemies.

⁹⁶ According to House (2004:353-354), כל מחמדיה אשר היו מימי קדם implies that "Jerusalem remembers days of victory, days of great leaders, and days of wealth. All these are connected to her glorious past, just as misery, wandering, defeat, and contempt are part of her terrible, depressing present. Her thoughts range from the distant past, to the recent past, to the present moment". Berlin (2004:46) translates מחמדיה as "her treasures" and notes that its sense is things that delight the city, "treasured moments or treasured memories". Rudolph (1962:212) and Provan (1991:43) indicate that מחמדיה may refer in general to "alles, was in Israel groß und beglückend war", but Provan also mentions the possibility of understanding מחמדיה as "her precious ones", namely the people who once inhabited the city. Renkema (1993:91) prefers to interpret the precious things of Jerusalem as the temple complex and the royal palace.

The contrast motif is absent from 4QLam. According to the version of verse 7 transmitted by this manuscript, the narrator calls on YHWH to remember all the pain suffered by him and his community from days of old. The imperative זכורה links up with the imperatives directed at YHWH in verses 9 and 11 of Lamentations 1. Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the manuscript of 4QLam where the line in verse 9 with the petition addressed to YHWH was written, but verse 11 is wholly preserved. In this passage, the speaker calls upon YHWH to see “that I have become insignificant/worthless/despised” (ביא הייתי זולל). The word זולל in the Qumran fragment is masculine singular, referring to the narrator himself, whereas in the MT it is feminine singular (זוללה), implying that the speaker is personified Jerusalem. An analogous difference between the MT and 4QLam is found in verse 13 at the phrase “He has made me desolate, ill all day long”. The MT reads as follows: נתנני שממה כל היום דוה. The feminine singular form of the participle שממה and the feminine adjective דוה relate to personified Jerusalem, while 4QLam has נתנני שומם and the masculine adjective שומם. The masculine singular form of the participle שומם and the masculine form of the adjective וד[י] refer once again to the narrator. In a similar vein, מכאובנו in verse 7 of 4QLam can be interpreted as a deliberate change, rather than an unconscious change from either מרודיה or מחמדיה. The shapes of the letters of these words are graphically too dissimilar for them to have been mistakenly interchanged by a scribe. It rather seems that a scribe created the reading מכאובנו from an earlier reading with the narrator and those whom he represents as the antecedent of the first-person plural suffix. Furthermore, if זכרה ירושלם in the wording of the MT is accepted as the earlier reading, one can also detect the creative hand of a scribe in the variant יהוה זכורה. The change of ירושלם into יהוה and the concomitant presentation of the initial verb as an imperative would then form part of a scribe’s ploy to make the narrator the focus in this verse. Arguably, a scribe (or scribes) intentionally brought about these subtle modifications in wording of verse 7, as well as those in verses 11 and 13, during the process of transmission in order to present the content of the first chapter of Lamentations from the perspective of the narrator. In contrast to the MT and the ancient translations, where the first-person voice in verses 9 and 11 belongs to personified Jerusalem and she remains the speaker throughout verses 12-22 (with the exception of verse 17

where the third-person voice of the narrator makes a return), it is the narrator, not personified Jerusalem, who beseeches YHWH to take his (and his community's) plight to heart in verse 7 and verse 11 (and probably verse 9) of 4QLam's version of Lamentations 1.

In light of the thematic connections between the respective wordings of verse 7 in 4QLam and the MT, and the wordings of the neighbouring verses in these two Hebrew versions, it follows that their departures from the lost original wording of Lamentations 1:7 was for the most part not due to scribal mistakes. Therefore the creative activity of the scribes who were responsible for the wording of the versions transmitted by 4QLam and the MT might be given more recognition. However, the possibility that scribal errors affected the original wording of the verse's opening clauses and not only made their way into the wording of the manuscripts from which the available Hebrew versions were made but also facilitated other deliberate changes by later scribes cannot be ruled out. This is to say that neither 4QLam nor the MT preserves the original wording of the opening clauses of Lamentations 1:7. Moreover, it cannot be established with absolute certainty how far removed the wordings in 4QLam and the MT are from the original form of the text. Be that as it may, the differences in wording between 4QLam and the MT could, in this case, be ascribed primarily to innovative scribes who adapted more original versions of the wording of Lamentations 1:7 in diverging ways so as to better express their understanding of the passage and to link it thematically with the surrounding verses. As such, the wordings of both Hebrew versions exemplify the creative license that ancient scribes had in copying texts.

לָהּ > 4QLam לָהּ רְאוּהָ

לָהּ רְאוּהָ is not present in 4QLam and the omission of these two words constitutes a minus in the Qumran fragment compared to the MT. The parablepsis can be attributed to homoioteleuton, since לָהּ, רְאוּהָ and צְרִיָה all end in a *hē*. In the script in which 4QLam was written *yôd* and *wāw* were, morphologically speaking, almost identical. A copyist's eye could therefore easily have skipped over לָהּ רְאוּהָ to צְרִיָה. The effect of this omission is that the subordinate adverbial clause בְּנֶפֶל [עַמָּה] בַּיּוֹם צָר, which expresses the time when the actions of the main verbs take place, is

connected to only one main verb, שחקו, whereas in the MT there are two main verbs, ראוה and שחקו. According to the latter version, foes saw the city of Jerusalem and laughed because of her downfall precisely when her people fell into (or by)⁹⁷ the hand of a foe and no one came to help her. In contrast, 4QLam states that Jerusalem's ruins caused her foes to rejoice and that their gloating occurred at the same time as a foe captured (or killed) her people and there was no helper.

צָרִים – צָרִיה

The reading צָרִיה in 4QLam has a third-person feminine singular suffix, which is absent from the form צָרִים in the MT. The translation equivalents in the LXX (οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῆς) and P (ܐܠܬܗܝܗ) agree with the reading in the manuscript from Qumran. According to Schäfer (2004:55), the agreement between 4QLam, the LXX and P can be attributed to assimilation to the immediate context. In his opinion, these readings are not more original than the one in the MT. Cross (2000:233) also thinks that צָרִים in the MT is more preferable than צָרִיה in 4QLam. Albrektson (1963:61) avers that “(t)he suffix in P and LXX’s αὐτῆς do not necessarily imply a different Hebrew original, at least not for the Syriac translation, where suffixes are freely added. But the literal Greek version is perhaps based on a Hebrew text צָרִיה, or else simply on a misreading of MT”. With regard to the latter possibility, he refers to the possible confusion of the letters *hē* and *mēm*. Eichorn (1888:181) mentions three passages where *hē* and *mēm* are accidentally confused, namely 2 Samuel 13:13, 2 Kings 8:17 and Isaiah 30:32. In the event that these two consonants could be interchanged during the reading of a manuscript, it is equally possible that a scribe could also have mistakenly copied צָרִיה as צָרִים. From this perspective, the *lectio faciliior*, צָרִיה in 4QLam, might very well be more original than צָרִים in the MT.

⁹⁷ The preposition of בִּיד can be interpreted either as a *bêth locale* or a *bêth instrumenti*.

על משבתה – [ל] משבריה

4QLam reads [ל] משבריה⁹⁸ in the place of the MT's על משבתה. The form משבתה in the MT, which should be vocalised as a singular noun according to Ehrlich (1914:31) and Rudolph (1962:206), can be understood as a *hapax legomenon* derived from the verbal root שבת, “to cease” (BDB 991; KBL 946). In its proposed meaning of “collapse”/“downfall” (BDB 992; KBL 572; DCH V 509), משבתה probably refers to the capture of Jerusalem by enemy forces. This interpretation of the meaning of משבתה is based on a reading of the preposition ב + infinitive construct נפל as forming an adverbial phrase that reflects the moment in time when the action indicated by the main verb of the sentence occurs. When the infinitive construct is used with the preposition ב, it points to an action that takes place at the same time as the action of the main verb (BHRG §20.1.5). Thus, the final clause of Lamentations 1:7 in the MT states that when the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell into the clutches of the enemy and no one came to help her, foes saw the fallen city and laughed about her downfall. In 4QLam, שחקו בנפל relates adverbially to שחקו, while משבריה calls to mind the physical destruction of the city more clearly than does the MT: the city's foes laughed over her ruins when her people fell into the hands of an enemy.

With regard to the relationship between משבריה in 4QLam and the variant משבתה in the MT, Cross (2000:233) is of the opinion that the former is the more original reading and that the latter came into being as a result of a confusion of רי with ת in a script in which *yôd* was not yet reduced in size and could be mistaken for the left down stroke of the letter ת. Support for this view can be found in the text of P. Although the Syriac translation agrees to a large extent with the MT version of Lamentations 1:7, its reading ܐܒܝܐ (“destruction”/“ruin”) was in all probability based on a form such as משבריה in 4QLam. One might conclude from this that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of P was very close to the version transmitted by the MT, but represents a stage

⁹⁸ Cross (2000:233) reconstructs the word before משבריה as [כנל] and regards it as a secondary reading, “the result of a familiar tendency for *kōl* to multiply in transmission”. Schäfer (2004:114*), however, also mentions the possibility that the preposition על was written twice by the scribe (dittography). This possibility is all the more plausible in view of the carelessness of the scribe reflected by the other scribal errors in 4QLam.

in the transmission of the Hebrew text before a scribe confused the juxtaposed *rêš* and *yôd* with a *tāw* when he copied מַשְׁבֵּרִיה. This scribal error must have occurred very early in the transmission history seeing as the reading מַשְׁבֵּתָה not only became part of the version that was later vocalised by the Masoretes and served as the parent text for V⁹⁹ and T¹⁰⁰, but also the Hebrew *Vorlage* from which the LXX¹⁰¹ was made.¹⁰² On this explanation of the textual data, 4QLam and P preserve the earliest form of the final word of the verse.

⁹⁹ Concerning *sabbata eius* in V, Jerome might have connected מַשְׁבֵּתָה to שַׁבַּת (“Sabbath”) under the influence of Jewish exegesis such as found in *Lamentations Rabbah* 1:7 §34.

¹⁰⁰ T^w appears to offer a double interpretation of מַשְׁבֵּתָה (Alexander 2007:115). In the clause חֲזוּהָ מַעֲקִיָּא דְאֻלָּא (“Oppressors saw her going into captivity”), מַשְׁבֵּתָה appears to be derived from שָׁבָה, “to take captive” (BDB 985; KBL 939), while in the following clause, הֵיכּוּ עַל טוֹבָהָ דְפִסְקָא מִבִּינָהָ (“They laughed over her good, which has ceased from her”), מַשְׁבֵּתָה is related to the verbal root שָׁבַת, “to cease”. The Yemenite recension of T differs here slightly from the Western one: חֲזוּהָ מַעֲקִיָּא דְאֻלּוּ בְּגִלּוּתָא הֵיכּוּ עַל דְּפִסְקָא טוֹבָהָ מִבִּינָהָ (“Oppressors saw her, that they went into exile. They laughed over [the fact] that her good ceased from her”).

¹⁰¹ The manuscripts of the Greek translation witness to two different translation equivalents for מַשְׁבֵּתָה. Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Marchalianus, Codex Venetus, as well as the majority of the Greek manuscripts contain the reading (τῇ) μετοικεσία αὐτῆς, “her deportation”/“her captivity”/“her living abroad” (LEH 302; GELS 456). Rahlfs (2006:757) prints it as the preferred reading in his *Handausgabe* of the LXX. Conversely, Ziegler (1976:469) regards the alternative reading, κατοικεσία αὐτῆς, as the reading of the Old Greek text. This reading has the meaning “her dwelling”/“inhabited area” (LEH 250; GELS 391) and appears in Codex Vaticanus, Codex Sinaiticus and minuscules 106, 130 and 538 (with eta instead of epsilon), according to the critical apparatus of the Göttingen edition. Driver (1950:136) argues that these Greek equivalents were translated from an original מוֹשְׁבֵּתָה. He derives מוֹשְׁבֵּתָה from a hypothetical form מוֹשְׁבָה, “settlement (in a foreign land)”, and claims that this was the word in the original Hebrew text and infers that the error in the MT was not because of a miscopying, but rather a misunderstanding and wrong vocalisation of an unique word. In my opinion, the two translation equivalents in the Greek witnesses should rather be attributed to different interpretations of מַשְׁבֵּתָה. (τῇ) μετοικεσία αὐτῆς implies

Notwithstanding the arguments for a more original text, deliberate changes and scribal errors in 4QLam and the MT, the present forms of both Hebrew texts are intelligible. Since the wording of verse 7 in the fragment from cave 4 diverges from that in the version of the text vocalised by the Masoretes, it yields a significantly different meaning. The main difference between 4QLam and the MT revolves around the imperative directed to YHWH versus Jerusalem's reminiscence, as well as the change of speaker. Whereas the MT draws attention to the contrast between the city's past and the present, this emphasis is lacking in 4QLam. Both texts, however, give a portrayal of the enemy's *Schadenfreude* at the collapse of Jerusalem. By placing the focus on the narrator (and those whom he represents) in the opening clause of the verse in 4QLam, the wording of the verse as a whole conveys the idea that the pain of the narrator is indissolubly connected to what happened to Jerusalem and her inhabitants.

VERSE 8

4QLam

ל[] חטוא חטאה ירושלם על[] לנוד היתה[] ל[] she
 [] די'ה הזילו כיא ראו [ע]רותה גם[] אחר[] became banished / (an object of) head-nodding
 / unsteady. [Al]l who [] her despised, because
 they saw her [nak]edness. Also [] away.

MT

חטא חטאה ירושלם על-כן לנדה היתה כל-מכבדיה Jerusalem sinned greatly, therefore she became
 הזילה כיראו ערותה גם-היא נאנחה ותשב אחר: ס abhorrent. All those who honour her despised
 her because they saw her nakedness. She also

that a scribe probably linked משבתה to the root שבה, while the reading κατοικεσία ἀντιῆς seems to be based on an understanding of משבתה as derived from ישב ("to sit"/"to dwell" BDB 442-443; KBL 409-410; DCH IV 317).

¹⁰² This implies that the other changes to the hypothetical original form of Lamentations 1:7 that the MT, the LXX, P, V and T have in common, such as the opening clauses of the verse, must also have been made at an early stage of the transmission history.

groans and turned away.

חַטָּא חַטָּאָה – חטוא חטאה

In 4QLam, the verb חטאה is accompanied by a preceding infinitive absolute חטוא, while in the MT, the noun חַטָּא before the verb constitutes an “internal object”; that is, a noun acting as object of the verb that derives from the same root as the verb (GKC §117p). In contrast to Schäfer’s characterisation of חטוא in 4QLam as assimilation to the standard form of the expression in BH (Schäfer 2004:55), Hobbins (2006:19) argues that the vocalisation of חטא in the MT assimilates the text to the “frequent cognate accusative” construction and that the infinitive absolute in 4QLam is not only the more difficult reading, but also semantically more suitable.¹⁰³ House (2004:335), who also favours the reading of חטא as an infinitive absolute, observes that the sense of the clause (an emphasis on the severe nature of Jerusalem’s sin) does not change regardless of whether one takes the word as an internal object or as an infinitive absolute. The function of both constructions is to intensify the verbal idea.

לְנִידָה – לְנוֹד

לְנוֹד in 4QLam and the variant לְנִידָה in the MT are both problematic. According to Cross (2000:233), 4QLam preserves the more original text and לְנִידָה in the MT came into being as a result of assimilation with the word לְנִידָה in Lamentations 1:17. The *hē* at the end of לְנִידָה can be explained as a dittograph of the first *hē* of the next word הִיתָה, while in the scripts of the Late Hasmonean and Herodian periods the *wāw* of לְנוֹד might have been confused with *yōd*, giving rise to the form of the word found in the MT. Schäfer (2004:115*) agrees with Cross, but also mentions the possibility that לְנוֹד in 4QLam might be a facilitation of the difficult word לְנִידָה in the MT. Hobbins (2006:19) assumes that the readings in both 4QLam and the MT are corruptions from an original form לְנִידָה. The form לְנוֹד in the fragment from Qumran was created

¹⁰³ It is noteworthy that Ehrlich (1914:31) already proposed that חטא should be read as an infinitive absolute long before the reading in 4QLam came to light.

through a confusion of *yôd* with *wāw*, whereas לנידה resulted from dittography of *hē* (or an aural error), as well as assimilation with לנדה in verse 17.

Apart from these different explanations of how לנוד and לנידה in 4QLam and the MT came into being, scholars also give diverging interpretations of these words. The root of לנוד in 4QLam is נוד. The verb has a variety of meanings, including “to move to and fro”, “to waver”, “to wander” and “to shake the head” (sympathetically or in mockery) (BDB 626-627; KBL 600; DCH V 635). This range of possible meanings can all be brought to bear on the clause לנוד היתה in 4QLam. Accordingly, the clause in the fragment from Qumran indicates that Jerusalem’s sinfulness caused her to become unstable, or that the city became a wanderer, or that she turned into an object of scorn and ridicule. Concerning the MT, one group of scholars derives לנידה from נוד as well. They follow the example of the medieval Jewish commentator Ibn Ezra and ascribe to לנידה the meaning “Kopfschütteln”/“head-nodding” in the sense of to mock or deride.¹⁰⁴ Such an interpretation links up well with what has been said at the end of the previous verse about the foes who laugh about the city’s downfall, as well as with the observation in the following bicolon that those who honoured the city now despise her because they saw her nakedness. The main objection against such an interpretation of לנידה in the MT is that in other Old Testament passages where the expression “nodding the head” is used, the word “head” is required to indicate what it is that is being shaken (Jeremiah 18:16; Psalm 44:15). It is therefore debatable whether the root נוד in itself can convey the meaning “to nod the head”. Another group of scholars treat the anomalous form of the word לנידה as a spelling variant of נדה, meaning “impurity”/“impure thing”/“abhorrent thing” (BDB 622; KBL 596-597; DCH V 623), which appears in Lamentations 1:17.¹⁰⁵ It is used elsewhere in the Old Testament to refer to the ritual

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Berges (2002:89), Hunter (1996:127), Hillers (1992:70), Kraus (1983:29), Rudolph (1962:206-207) and Meek (1956:10).

¹⁰⁵ Cf. House (2004:335), Renkema (1993:94-95), Provan (1991:44-45), Kaiser (1981:319) and Albrektson (1963:63-64). In P, נגח (“contempt”/“abhorrent”) is used to translate לנידה in Lamentations 1:8 and לנדה in Lamentations 1:17. Concerning the former, Robinson (1937:1229) supposes that the Syriac translator’s *Vorlage*

impure state of a woman when she bleeds during childbirth or menstruation (Leviticus 12:2; 15:19-33; 18:19). On this interpretation of לַנִּידָה, the city is in a state of impurity as a result of her sin. The mention of the city's nakedness (עֲרוּתָהּ) and her impurity (טִמְאָתָהּ) in her skirts (Lamentations 1:9) is also considered by some to be relevant to the view that לַנִּידָה refers to an impure, menstruant woman. However, Berlin argues against such a reading of לַנִּידָה. She notes, firstly, that the orthography of the word does not support this interpretation, since it would have been written with a double *dālēth* and without the *yôd* if it derived from נִידָה. Secondly, she points out that a menstruant woman was considered ritually, but not morally impure and that such a state was not brought about by sin. Therefore, Berlin also derives לַנִּידָה from the root נִוּד, but prefers to read the latter in its meaning “to wander”. Despite the fact that other commentators voice their doubts concerning the appropriateness of reading לַנִּידָה as “wanderer”, she favours the idea of wandering, because, in her opinion, the consequence of Jerusalem's sin would more likely be banishment and exile than scorn and derision (Berlin 2004:54). T^{W, Y} and Rashi read the MT in the same way (Alexander 2007:116).

In summation, the words לַנִּוּד in 4QLam and לַנִּידָה in the MT are subject to more than one legitimate interpretation in the context of Lamentations 1:8. The wording of the MT can be interpreted to mean that the city of Jerusalem brought disgust over herself through her sin or that she became a wanderer (with the connotation of being banished) because of her sin. The clause in 4QLam can be taken to mean that Jerusalem's great sin resulted in her banishment, or made her an object of scorn, or caused the city to lose her stability. Although commentators on the Hebrew texts of Lamentations do not take this last possible meaning into consideration, the LXX and V bear witness to such an interpretation of the clause. The LXX has the reading εἰς σάλον ἐγένετο (“she became unsteady”), while the V has *instabilis facta est* (“she has been made unsteady”). The word σάλος in the Greek translation refers to any unsteady, tossing motion. It follows from this choice of translation equivalent that the Greek translator either derived לַנִּידָה

actually contained the form נִידָה. Albrektson (1963:63), however, considers it more plausible that the translator merely interpreted the form לַנִּידָה in the same way as many modern commentators do.

from the root נוד, in its sense of “to move to and fro” or “to waver”, or the Hebrew text from which he made his Greek translation contained the form לנוד. Accordingly, the influence of the LXX can be detected in Jerome’s translation of לנידה with *instabilis facta est* in V.¹⁰⁶ Thus, in their respective ways the LXX and V reproduce one of the possible meanings that the clause לנוד היתה in 4QLam can convey. Moreover, the evidence from the LXX and the interpretations that relate לנידה in the MT to the root נוד lend support to Cross’ argument that the reading in 4QLam is the earlier one and that the *lectio difficilior* לנידה developed from לנוד through scribal errors and under the influence of לנדה in Lamentations 1:17.

הזילון – הזילון

In the case of הזילון, the last part of the word, without the third-person feminine suffix, is clearly visible on the plate of the DJD edition of 4QLam. This variant is otherwise unattested to in the ancient versions of Lamentations 1:8. The loss of the suffix in the reading of 4QLam strikes one as an accidental omission without anything in the vicinity of the word that could have triggered the scribal error.

With regard to the content of Lamentations 1:8 as it is represented by the wording that survived in 4QLam, the statements concerning Jerusalem’s grave sin and the repercussions for the city thereof are followed by the observation that those who held her in high esteem now have a change of opinion after being exposed to the nakedness of the city. Whereas the opening verse of Lamentations 1 contrasts the miserable present circumstances of the city with her honourable condition in the past, verse 8 deals with the perspective of others on the city. It bemoans the fact that their view of her has changed from honour to scorn. The causal conjunction כִּי introduces the clause ראו [ע]רותה and, in doing so, implies that the contempt for the city is elicited by her uncovered nakedness. In this context, the majority of commentators on the MT point out that ערותה is used as an image to refer to the conquered city’s shameful state. The final part of the

¹⁰⁶ Schulz-Flügel (1996:655) notes that, although his knowledge of Hebrew was impressive, Jerome would not have been able to translate the Hebrew texts without the help of existing versions.

verse is incomplete in 4QLam, but scholars understand the Hebrew clause ותשב אחור in the MT to mean that the dishonoured city is aware of her shameful state and can either not bear to look at herself or goes off by herself in shame.¹⁰⁷

VERSE 9

4QLam

[	טמאתה בש]	Her uncleanness is in []
[	[פ]לאות ואין]	[as]tonishingly and there is no []
[	הגדיל] []	[] magnifies himself []

MT

טמאתה בשוליה לא זכרה אחריתה ותד פלאים אין	Her uncleanness clings to her skirts; she did
מנחם לה ראה יהוה את עניי כי הגדיל אויב: ס	not remember her end. And she came down
	astonishingly; there is no comforter for her.
	See, O YHWH, my affliction, for an enemy
	magnifies himself.

Only a few words and parts of words of Lamentations 1:9 are preserved at the bottom of Column II in 4QLam. Nevertheless, two of these words, [פ]לאות and ואין, differ in form from their counterparts in the MT.

ותד פלאים – [פ]לאות

In the critical apparatus of *BHQ*, the editor, Schäfer (2004:56), attributes the feminine plural form of פלאות to a deliberate attempt on the part of the scribe who copied 4QLam, or a predecessor, to assimilate פלאים in MT to the typical form of the expression in BH. In the whole of the Hebrew Bible, the masculine plural form of פלא is found only in Lamentations 1:9, while the feminine plural form occurs elsewhere. The meaning of פלאים/פלאות is problematic, but

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the comments of Renkema (1993:96), Provan (1991:45) and Meek (1956:10).

Rudolph (1962:207) makes the cogent suggestion that the word here acts as an *accusativus adverbialis* describing the manner in which the action takes place (GKC §118q; IBHS §10.2.2e). This interpretation of the פלאים/פלאות is also reflected in the Latin translation of V: *deposita est vehementer* (“she was put down vehemently”). However, the passive voice of *deposita est* could be an indication that Jerome understood ותרד as a Hoph^{al} form of the root ירד.¹⁰⁸ In fact, the other ancient translations exhibit interpretations of the Hebrew clause that deviate even further from the way the MT is usually understood.

Judging from the reading in the LXX, καὶ κατεβίβασεν ὑπέρογκα (“and [s]he lowered her haughty tones”),¹⁰⁹ it seems as though the translator read the verb ותרד as a Hiph^{il} form of the root ירד. Ὑπέρογκα is a plural neuter adjective in the accusative. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine (2005:203) indicate that this adjective designates that which is “puffed up” or “excessive” in a literal or figurative sense. When its neuter form is used as a substantive, this Greek word can also designate pride. In the present context, it acts either as an adverbial adjective or as the direct object of the verb κατεβίβασεν. If ὑπέρογκα is taken as an adverbial adjective, the LXX would agree with the interpretation of פלאים/פלאות in the Hebrew textual witnesses. However, since κατεβίβασεν is a transitive verb, ὑπέρογκα should rather be read as its direct object. With reference to other contexts in which forms of καταβιβάζω is found in the LXX, Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine (2005:202) propagate the view that the Lord is the subject of κατεβίβασεν and not Jerusalem. In this case, the clause κατεβίβασεν ὑπέρογκα conveys the notion that the Lord humiliated the city. It is equally plausible that Jerusalem should be seen as the subject of the verb κατεβίβασεν. On this interpretation, the focus falls on the city’s reaction

¹⁰⁸ Hobbins (2006:19) reconstructs the verb as a Hoph^{al} (וְתִרְדּוּ) in his putative original form of this clause. In his critical apparatus, Hobbins notes that the form וְתִרְדּוּ in the MT came into being as a result of assimilation to the immediate context.

¹⁰⁹ I owe the translation of κατεβίβασεν ὑπέρογκα to Provan (1991:45-46). Gentry (2007:936) translates ὑπέρογκα with “things of great size”, while Hirsch-Luipold and Maier (2009:1350) render it as “das Hochtrabende”.

to the Lord's humiliation of her.¹¹⁰ According to Albrektson (1963:64), the unusual adverbial use of פלאים caused the Syriac translator some difficulties. In the wording of P, ܐܡܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ("And her glory/honour/magnificence went down"), ܐܡܬܐ, the equivalent of פלאים, has an added suffix that is absent from the corresponding Hebrew word and functions as the subject of the verb ܕܡܠܟܐ.¹¹¹ P therefore construes the wording of the clause in such a way that the Syriac translation differs syntactically from the MT. With regard to T^{W, Y}, the equivalent of ותדר פלאים in the Aramaic paraphrases is ܘܢܚܬܬ ܘܢܦܠܬ ܘܗܘܬ ܦܪܝܫܢ. Alexander (2007:117) shows that פלאים is here rendered as a predicative noun and not as an adverbial accusative. Accordingly, he translates the Aramaic versions as follows: "And she sank down and fell, and became a thing of wonder".

Although I favour an adverbial interpretation for [פלאות] in 4QLam, analogous with the wording of the MT, the loss of the part of the manuscript which contained the preceding words of the clause under discussion means that its exact phrasing in the Qumran manuscript remains unknown. At any rate, the various renderings of the clause in the ancient translations cautions against a reading of the partially preserved wording in 4QLam that agrees in all details with the interpretation of the MT.

אין – ואין

Schäfer (2004:56) treats the conjunction *wāw* before אין in 4QLam as a plus in relation to the MT and characterises the addition as a facilitation of a stylistic difficulty. Both P (ܐܠܡܐ ܠܗ ܡܚܒܪܐ)

¹¹⁰ In contrast to the LXX, the rendering in *L*, πέπτωκεν θαυμαστῶς ("she fell astonishingly"), conforms to the use of פלאים/פלאות in an adverbial sense.

¹¹¹ In the first apparatus of *BHK* Robinson (1937:1229) speculates that ܐܡܬܐ in P might be based on a Hebrew variant תפארתה ("her beauty"/"her glory"). Albrektson (1963:64) dismisses this suggestion as unjustified because his investigation of P shows that the Syriac translator of Lamentations often added suffixes to his translation equivalents of Hebrew words that did not have suffixes.

and T^W (ולית די ימליל תנחומין לה)¹¹² bear witness to a conjunction before their respective equivalents of אֵין. Even though Albrectson (1963:210) points out that the Syriac translator had a penchant for adding conjunctions where there are none in the MT and that the Aramaic translations are characteristically paraphrastic, the *wāw* in the wording of 4QLam raises the possibility that אֵין was preceded by a conjunction in the Hebrew *Vorlagen* on which these translations were based. At the same time, this possibility entails that the addition of a *wāw* to אֵין was most likely not the invention of the scribe who copied 4QLam.

The fact that Lamentations 1:9 in 4QLam is very fragmentary makes it difficult to infer to what degree the wording of this manuscript diverged or agreed with the only full Hebrew version of this verse in our possession, the MT. All that remain in 4QLam are incomplete references to the city's uncleanness, her astonishing downfall, the absence of someone or something and somebody who magnifies himself. According to Lamentations 1:9 in the MT, Jerusalem's uncleanness clings to her "skirts". Berlin argues convincingly that טמאתה בשוליה has nothing to do with the impurity a woman incurs through menstruation, but rather denotes sexual impropriety. She concludes that "[t]he idea of a menstruant is not present at all in our verse. The phrase 'her impurity is in her skirts' means that her impurity results from her sexual immorality. She is not a menstruant; she is a whore" (Berlin 2004:55).¹¹³ Furthermore, in the MT Jerusalem's

¹¹² This is the wording of T^W recorded by Levine (1976:94). According to Van der Heide's edition (1981:7*), T^Y reads as follows: ולית דימליל תנחומין עלה. Alexander (2007:117, 190) gives the same translation for both versions: "And there was no-one to speak consolation to her".

¹¹³ The midrash on this verse brings the filthiness of Jerusalem into connection with illicit religious practices. *Lamentations Rabbah* 1:9 §36 associates the Hebrew phrase בשוליה with the Valley of Hinnom situated "at the feet" (south) of Jerusalem, where infants were supposedly sacrificed to Molech at a site called Tophet (Cohen 1961:109-111). "Her skirts" therefore refers to the area surrounding Jerusalem where these abhorrent practices were performed. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine (2005:201-202) argue that the LXX translation, ἀκαθαρσία αὐτῆς πρὸς ποδῶν αὐτῆς ("Her uncleanness [was] at her feet"), recalls the midrash in *Lamentations Rabbah*. However, the midrash does not make mention of "her feet", but only of "her skirts". There seems to be no direct connection

downfall is described as astonishing. The loss of the verb in 4QLam leaves one to speculate about its exact form in this manuscript, but the renderings in the ancient translations illustrate that it can best be understood as a Qal (“she came down”) or a Hoph^{al} (“she was brought down”). The MT and V demonstrate that the adverbial interpretation of פלאות works equally well with the purported verb in the Qal or the Hoph^{al} conjugation.

The observation in the MT that there is no one to comfort the city of Jerusalem is repeated five times in this version of Lamentations 1 (1:2, 1:9, 1:16, 1:17, 1:21). As such, it is an important recurring idea in the first chapter of the book.¹¹⁴ Unfortunately, only parts of the phrases expressing this idea are preserved in the manuscript of 4QLam at Lamentations 1:9, 16 and 17.

The final bicolon in verse 9 of the MT contains a significant change in voice. Here personified, Jerusalem speaks for the first time in this version of the chapter. She cries to YHWH

between the Greek translation of בשוליה with πρὸς ποδῶν αὐτῆς and the interpretation of בשוליה recounted in *Lamentations Rabbah*. Interestingly, Jerome follows the example of the LXX in translating בשוליה as *in pedibus eius*. Concerning T, Levine (1976:94) argues that T^w also alludes to the midrash. Alexander (2007:116-117) refutes this view on the basis that T^w explicitly connects the city’s uncleanness to menstrual blood. Nevertheless, Alexander concedes that the geographical overtones of the Aramaic rendering בשיפולהא (“in her lower parts”) is appropriate, seeing as Jerusalem is the referent of the third-person feminine singular pronominal suffix. He also notes that the cognate word in MH can denote the lower female abdomen and therefore does not rule out the possibility that בשיפולהא has sexual connotations here.

¹¹⁴ Except for Lamentations 1:16, this thought is expressed in a form almost identical to the phrase in Lamentations 1:9: אֵין (a negative predicator of existence that “denies the existence of the referent of an undetermined subject in a nominal clause” [BHRG §41.5.2.ii]) + a Pi^{el} participle masculine singular of the root נחם + the preposition ל with a pronominal suffix (third-person singular in Lamentations 1:2, 1:9, 1:17 and first-person singular in Lamentations 1:21).

and implores him to see her affliction on account of the enemy who “magnifies himself”.¹¹⁵ It is a pity that only the word הגדיל survived in 4QLam. Nevertheless, the preceding discussion of Lamentations 1:7 in 4QLam argues that the version of Lamentations 1 transmitted by this manuscript witnesses to differences, when compared to the MT, that ensure that the narrator remains the speaker throughout the chapter and that there is no change in voice making personified Jerusalem the speaker. It is therefore probable that there is no change in voice intended in 4QLam’s version of verse 9 and that it is still the narrator who is speaking here.

VERSES 10 AND 11

3QLam

[] ב[קהל] into] assembly[]

[] יְהוָה [] YHWH[]

4QLam

[] יְדוּ פֶרֶשׁ זֶרַע עַל כָּל־מַחְמַדֶּיהָ כִּי־רָאֲתָהּ גּוֹיִם בָּאוּ

אשר צויתה לוא יבואו מחמדיה באוכל להשיב נפשה concerning whom (?) you commanded that
ראה יהוה והבטיח כיא הייתי זולל they may not bring (?) her precious things for
food to restore her life. Look O YHWH and
see that I have become worthless!

MT

יְדוּ פֶרֶשׁ זֶרַע עַל כָּל־מַחְמַדֶּיהָ כִּי־רָאֲתָהּ גּוֹיִם בָּאוּ A foe stretched out his hand over all her
מקדשה אשר צויתה לא־יבאו בקהל לך: ס precious things. Indeed, she saw nations enter
כל־עממה נאנחים מבקשים לחם נתנו מחמדיהם into her sanctuary, concerning whom you
באכל להשיב נפש ראה יהוה והבטיח כי הייתי זוללה: commanded that they not enter into your
ס assembly.

All her people are groaning, searching for

¹¹⁵ The Hiphʿl stem formation of the verbal root גדל indicates that the enemy causes himself to be regarded as great and so assumes great airs (IBHS §27.2f).

bread. They gave their precious things for food
to restore life.

Look O YHWH and see that I have become
worthless!

Only parts of two words from verses 10 and 11 are discernible on the fragments of 3QLam. It is noteworthy that the divine name in this manuscript was written in the paleo-Hebrew script. With regard to 4QLam, what appears to be the top stroke of a *dālēth* is preserved on the last line of its second column. The first two lines of writing in Column III contain the rest of verse 10, as well as verse 11. The scribe who copied the text of 4QLam originally wrote *והביטה* without the *yôd* and subsequently corrected this error by inserting the *yôd* in the supralinear space between the *bêth* and the *têth*.

4QLam > בְּקֶהֱל לָךְ כָּל־עֲמָה נֶאֱנָחִים מִבְּקָשִׁים לֶחֶם נָתַנוּ מִחֲמֻדֵּיהֶם

Verses 10 and 11 are discussed together because there is a long omission of words from the last part of verse 10 (בְּקֶהֱל לָךְ) and the first part of verse 11 (כָּל עֲמָה נֶאֱנָחִים מִבְּקָשִׁים לֶחֶם נָתַנוּ) in 4QLam compared to the wording found in the MT. In the opinion of Cross (2000:234), there is nothing in the consonantal text of the MT that would have triggered the omission and, as a result, he speculates that the text behind 4QLam might have read as follows: לֹא יָבוֹאוּ מִמוֹעֲדִיהָ כָּל עֲמָה. On this proposal, the parablepsis is due to homoioteleuton, since the endings of the proposed variant מִמוֹעֲדִיהָ and מִחֲמֻדֵּיהָ in the text of 4QLam are identical. Cross refers to בָּבְאִי ... בְּמוֹעֲדִים in Ezekiel 46:9 and בָּאִי מוֹעֵד in Lamentations 1:4 as parallels for the proposed reading יָבוֹאוּ מִמוֹעֲדִיהָ. Since he does not elaborate on this point, one cannot deduce from his terse remarks whether he thinks that the supposed variant reading at the end of verse 10 that was lost through parablepsis during the copying of 4QLam (מִמוֹעֲדִיהָ) developed from the reading in the MT (בְּקֶהֱל לָךְ) or vice versa. A third possibility is that both readings developed from an unknown, earlier reading. This, however, is a moot matter. Although Cross' solution to the problem posed by the wording in 4QLam cannot be

rejected out of hand, it raises more unanswerable questions and remains speculative at best. Hobbins (2006:19) ignores the difficulties of 4QLam's wording and decides to retain the form of the MT in his reconstruction of the original text of Lamentations 1. The very fragmentary text of 3QLam contains the word **קהל**, which suggests that the wording of this manuscript agreed here with the MT. The ancient Greek, Syriac, Latin and Aramaic translations also bear witness to the form of the text of verse 10 in the MT.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ With reference to the reading $\alpha \epsilon \nu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \omega \mu \eta \epsilon \iota \sigma \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \upsilon \tau \alpha \epsilon \iota \varsigma \epsilon \kappa \kappa \lambda \eta \sigma \acute{\iota} \alpha \nu \sigma \upsilon \upsilon$ ("Concerning whom you commanded that they not enter your congregation") in the LXX and to **ܐܠܗܝܢ ܕܠܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܢܗܝܒܐ ܕܥܥܩܪܝܐ** ("Concerning whom you commanded that they may not enter into your congregation") in P, Albrektson (1963:65-66) argues that neither the Greek nor the Syriac translator understood the Hebrew text correctly: "The quotation after **צויתיה** is direct, not oblique narration, and **לך** does not bear on Yhwh but on Israel". This interpretation of the consonantal base of the MT propagated by Albrektson is indeed plausible and followed by Renkema (1993:102), who reads the suffix of **לך** as a second-person feminine singular one and relates it to personified Jerusalem, rather than to Israel. Gottlieb (1978:15) seems to agree with Albrektson's criticism of the interpretation of **בקהל לך** as "your assembly" and argues that **לך** qualifies the verb **יבאו**, rather than the preposition phrase **בקהל**. Accordingly, he also rejects the view that the second-person suffix of **לך** refers to YHWH. Provan (1991:47), however, argues that it is possible to retain the phrase following **צויתיה** as indirect speech and to read **לך** in the sense of "belonging to you". In this case, the pronominal suffix appended to the preposition is not second-person feminine, but second-person masculine, referring to YHWH, who is then the addressee. This is the interpretation represented by the Greek translation. The clause **יבאו לא** is rendered by an accusative + infinitive construction ($\mu \eta \epsilon \iota \sigma \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon \iota \nu \alpha \upsilon \tau \alpha$) after a word of perception ($\epsilon \nu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \omega$). This Greek construction introduces an indirect statement and implies that the Hebrew clause was understood as indirect speech during the translation process. With regard to the text of P, although the Syriac particle **ܐ** can introduce direct speech (Nöldeke §367), the second-person masculine suffix of **ܐܠܗܝܢ** suggests that the particle **ܐ** of **ܐܠܗܝܢ** acts as a relative pronoun in this case and that what follows is *oratio indirecta*. V reads as follows: *de quibus praeceperas ne intrarent in ecclesiam tuam* ("Concerning whom you had instructed that they not enter into your assembly"). The combination of the particle *ne* and the imperfect subjunctive *intrarent* clearly

What makes the case of the wording of verse 10 and 11 in 4QLam so convoluted is not only its shorter form when compared to the version in the MT and the concomitant assumption of a mistaken omission, but also the fact that the part of the manuscript that contained the first lines of verse 10 has fallen prey to worms and the ravishes of time, while at verse 11 4QLam differs in three more words from the MT (זולל and נפשה, מחמדיה). Despite the fact that the editions of Cross and Ulrich fill in the words that are missing from 4QLam by using the MT, the damage to the Qumran manuscript means that it is impossible to know whether the wording in the lost part of the manuscript did indeed agree with the *Wortlaut* in the MT. This allows one to speculate about the sentence structure of the surviving words of verses 10 and 11 in 4QLam. In the translation presented above, it is assumed that the pronoun אשר introduces a dependent or attributive relative clause (IBHS §19.3a), although the preceding noun with which it forms this syntactical relationship is not preserved. מחמדיה was taken as the object of the verb יבואו and the latter was reconfigured as a Hiphʿl form יביאו, in light of the almost identical forms of the *wāw* and the *yôd* in the script in which 4QLam was written. Furthermore, the clause לוא יביאו מחמדיה was rendered as indirect speech, but it can also be direct speech.¹¹⁷ Seeing as the surviving wording of this passage in 4QLam can be construed in such a way that מחמדיה can plausibly function as the object of the verb יביאו, another explanation for the extant form of the wording in 4QLam comes into view. In this scenario, there was no accidental omission of words as suggested by Cross, but a scribe deliberately changed the wording of the version he was copying so that he could place מחמדיה after יביאו as its object. This seems unlikely, however,

introduces an indirect command after the pluperfect verb *praeceperas*. Therefore, V, like the LXX and P, reproduces the Hebrew clause לא יבאו בקהל לך as indirect speech with the Lord as the one who is being addressed.

¹¹⁷ Abegg, Flint and Ulrich (1999:624) give a similar translation of the words of verses 10 and 11 that were preserved in the manuscript: “[10 The adversary has spread out his hand upon all her precious]s [things; for she has seen that the nations have entered into her sanctuary; concerning] whom you commanded that they should not *bring* 11 *her* precious things as food to refresh *her* soul” (emphasis in original).

since it would imply that this scribe intentionally abandoned the acrostic sequence of the text by eliminating the part of the strophe that starts with the letter *kaph*.

נָפֶשׁ – נִפְשָׁה; מַחְמוּדֵיהֶם – מַחְמַדִּיהָ

With regard to verse 11, the words מַחְמַדִּיהָ and נִפְשָׁה in the manuscript from Qumran have third-person feminine singular suffixes, whereas in the MT נִפְשָׁה has no suffix and מַחְמוּדֵיהֶם has a third-person masculine plural one. The latter is the *K^ethîbh* reading in B19^A and might have developed from מַחְמַדִּיהֶם,¹¹⁸ which is the form recorded as the *Q^erê* reading in the *masora parva* of this manuscript and also appears in another Masoretic manuscript. Apart from the number and gender of the suffix, מַחְמַדִּיהָ in 4QLam is closer to the *Q^erê* reading in B19^A and the reading of the other Masoretic manuscript than to the *K^ethîbh* form of the former. To complicate matters even more, the Greek rendering of the clauses in the LXX agrees in part with the wording of 4QLam: ἔδωκαν τὰ ἐπιθυμήματα αὐτῆς ἐν βρώσει τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ψυχὴν (“They gave her desirable things for food in order to restore life”). Τὰ ἐπιθυμήματα αὐτῆς was probably based on a reading such as מַחְמַדִּיהָ in 4QLam. The LXX does, however, not have an equivalent for the third-person feminine suffix of נִפְשָׁה in 4QLam. On the one hand, this means that the form מַחְמַדִּיהָ was not introduced by the scribe who copied 4QLam, but circulated in manuscripts other than 4QLam. On the other hand, the evidence from the LXX implies that a third-person feminine suffix was added to נִפְשָׁה at a time during the transmission history after Hebrew versions of the text of Lamentations 1 with verse 11 containing the readings מַחְמַדִּיהָ and נִפְשָׁה was disseminated and one of these could become the *Vorlage* of the LXX translation. Seeing as the purpose clause τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ψυχὴν in the Greek text, as well as its purported Hebrew parent reading לְהַשִּׁיב נִפְשָׁה (which, incidentally, is also found in the MT), is rather vague and that it is not absolutely clear whose life is to be sustained (Berlin, 2004:56), it is possible that a scribe

¹¹⁸ The suggestion that this *K^ethîbh* reading is a later form goes hand in hand with Ehrlich’s proposal that the form מַחְמוּדֵיהֶם in the MT should be vocalised as מַחְמוּדֵיהֶם, a Qal participle passive form of the verbal root חָמַד with a מִן *partitivum* (“[They gave] of their precious things”) (Ehrlich 1914:32).

appended the suffix to נפש with the purpose of eradicating the perceived ambiguity. While נפש in 4QLam can be explained as a *lectio faciliior*, scholars disagree about the originality of מחמדיה in this manuscript and its opposite number in the MT. Cross (2000:235; 1983:143) regards מחמדיה in the manuscript from Qumran as the earlier reading, but Schäfer (2004:115*-116*) makes the point that this view leaves the third-person plural suffix of the reading in the Masoretic manuscripts and the majority of the ancient translations unexplained.¹¹⁹ He argues that the form in 4QLam constitutes an assimilation with מחמדיה in verse 10. However, the fact that the wording of verse 10 in 4QLam was lost means that the argument for assimilation cannot be made with absolute certainty for this manuscript. It might be pertinent to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, though. In *BHQ*, the characterisation of a particular reading as assimilation implies that it was intentionally created by a scribe and that it is not an accidental scribal error. According to this interpretation, a scribe changed the earlier form מחמדיהם into מחמדיה so that the relevant clauses in verse 10 and verse 11 would refer to the same object. “Her precious things” plausibly denote the temple vessels or the city’s treasures. Verse 10 then observes that an enemy stretched out his hand to snatch Jerusalem’s valuables, while verse 11 states that in their search for a source of nourishment, the people gave it in exchange for food. To be sure, the Greek translation of these verses can be understood in this way, whereas the version in the MT declares that the people gave up their own precious things for something to eat.¹²⁰ The meaning of the verses in 4QLam is difficult to ascertain in light of the missing part of verse 10 in this manuscript and the difficulties presented by the wording that did survive. Despite this uncertainty, 4QLam does

¹¹⁹ The equivalent of מחמדיהם/מחמודיהם in T^{W,Y} is רגוגיהון/ריגוגיהון (“their precious things”). ܩܡܕܝܗܐ in P also has a third-person masculine plural suffix, but the noun is singular in number (note the absence of the *s^ℓyāmē*). Albrektson (1963:66) attributes this difference in number between the Syriac and Hebrew readings to the freedom exerted by the translator of P in such matters. For his Latin translation, Jerome decided on an indirect pronoun instead of a possessive pronoun: *dederunt pretiosa quaeque pro cibo* (“They gave all the precious things for food”).

¹²⁰ מחמדיהם/מחמודיהם in the Masoretic manuscripts can either refer to the privately owned treasures of Jerusalem’s citizenry or, in a figurative sense, to human beings, and more specifically to children (Hillers 1992:88).

differ from both the MT and the LXX in that it explicitly refers to the surrendering of the city's precious things in order to restore her life.

זולל – זוללה

As already mentioned, the third difference between 4QLam and the MT in verse 11 is the masculine form of זולל in 4QLam as opposed to the feminine form of the participle in the MT (זוללה). In view of the feminine form of the participle, personified Jerusalem is the subject of the periphrastic construction הייתי זוללה in the MT. An appeal is made to YHWH to see and consider how insignificant or worthless the city has become.¹²¹ The theme of the city's reversal of fortunes is therefore once more echoed in the version transmitted by the MT. However, due to the masculine form of the participle, the narrator himself is the subject of the periphrastic construction in 4QLam. He pleads with YHWH to take note of the fact that he has become insignificant or worthless. As a result, the content of the closing plea of verse 11 in 4QLam differs from its counterpart in the MT.

This change in perspective, the suffixes of נפשה and מחמדיה and the shorter form of verses 10-11 all contribute to the variations in content between the versions of these verses in 4QLam and the MT. Unfortunately, it is impossible to get a clear picture of the differences between these two Hebrew witnesses to Lamentations 1:10-11, because of the missing wording in the manuscript from Qumran. This lacuna in 4QLam at verses 10 and 11 forces one to conclude that

¹²¹ The majority of commentators and ancient translations derive the form זוללה in the MT from the root זלל, “to be worthless”/“to be insignificant” (BDB 272-273; KBL 261, DCH III 114-115), while certain traditional Jewish exegetes and the two recensions of T relate it to the word זולל, “glutton” (Hurowitz 1999:542-543). Hurowitz (1999:544) argues that the form זולל in 4QLam might be the earliest example of this traditional Jewish understanding of the word. He also notes the difficulties in the two abovementioned interpretations of זוללה in the MT and proposes an alternative one based on comparative philology. He suggests that זוללה should be understood in terms of the rare Akkadian noun *zilulû*, which, he argues, can have the meaning “vagabond”/“tramp”/“peddler” (Hurowitz 1999:543-544). Accordingly, he opts for the translation “a beggar” for זוללה in the MT wording of Lamentations 1:11.

all the proposals for how the surviving wording came into being remain pure speculation. Likewise, one cannot be sure to what degree 3QLam agreed in wording with either 4QLam or the MT, or presented an even more diverging version of these verses, since too little of this manuscript has survived to make an accurate assessment in this regard.

VERSE 12

3QLam

[הַהוּגָה] he afflict[ed]

4QLam

לוא אליכ[י] הכל עברי ד[] או אם יש Would that all those who pass by the []
מכאוב כמכאובי אשר עוללו לי אשר הוגירני upon you¹²² [] if there is a pain like my pain,
י[] ס[חרו]נו which they brought upon me, with which[]
frightened me [] his a[nger].

MT

לוא אליכֶם כֹּל־עֹבְרֵי דֶרֶךְ הַבַּיִט וְרֹאֵי אִם־יֵשׁ מִכְאוֹב (It is) not for you (?), all you who pass by the
בְּמִכְאוֹבִי אֲשֶׁר עוֹלֵל לִי אֲשֶׁר הוּגָה יְהוָה בַּיּוֹם חֲרוֹן כֶּחַד road. Look and see if there is a pain like my
אָפּוֹ: ס pain, which was brought upon me, with
which¹²³ YHWH afflicted on the day of his
fierce anger.

¹²² In the following analysis, this study argues that the reading אליכ[י] can also be reconstructed as אלינ[ו], in which case the translation would be “upon us”.

¹²³ The antecedent of the second אשר in the MT is ambiguous. This relative pronoun can either be related to מכאובי like the first one or it can be taken to function accusatively with the first-person referent of לי. In the case of the first option אשר הוגה יהוה ביום חרון אפּו must be translated as “with which/werewith YHWH afflicted on the day of his fierce anger”. The second possible interpretation leads to the translation “[Which was brought upon me] whom YHWH afflicted on the day of his fierce anger”.

Although marred by the ravages of decay, the surviving part of the manuscript of 4QLam containing Lamentations 1:12 exhibits interesting variants compared to the MT. Only a part of one word from this verse is preserved on a sliver of leather forming part of 3QLam.

לוא אֵלֵיכֶם כָּל־עֲבָרֵי דֶרֶךְ הַבֵּיטוּ וַיֵּרְאוּ – לוא אליכ[י] הכל עברי ד[א]

The first two words in the MT present the interpreter with a difficulty. Kraus (1983:23) goes as far as to say that it does not yield any sense and one is forced to have recourse to emendation in order to salvage any meaning from it. Indeed, a number of scholars have proposed different conjectural emendations as a solution to the perceived difficulty in this first part of Lamentations 1:12. Others attempt to retain the consonantal form of the text in the MT, but vocalise the word לוא differently from the way it was done by the Masoretes. Yet another group of scholars do not accept these proposed changes and interpret לוא אליכם in the MT either as a question or as a statement. Gottwald (1954:8), Provan (1991:48) and House (2004:335) count amongst those scholars who treat the phrase as a question addressed to the passers by: “Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by the road?” Conversely, both Ehrlich and Albrektson argue that לוא אליכם should be understood as a statement, albeit in different ways. With reference to the use of the preposition אל in Job 32:14, Ehrlich (1914:32-33) reads לוא אליכם as a statement that conveys the idea that what has happened to Jerusalem is not like anything that the passers by have experienced. He thinks of כל עברי דרך in terms of “die den Lauf der Welt beobachten und darum mehr Ehrfarung haben als andere Menschen” and thus personified Jerusalem, so Ehrlich argues, says to the passers by that her fate does not correspond to their experience. Albrektson (1963:68-69) also takes the preposition אל as his point of departure, but refers to its meaning in Genesis 20:2, 1 Samuel 4:19 and Malachi 2:1. Accordingly, he suggests that לוא אליכם be read as follows: “(It is) not for (or, about) you, (this is) nothing which concerns you”. He goes on to interpret כל עברי דרך in a figurative sense as “the man in the street” on the basis of other passages in the Old Testament in which the expression עברי דרך (כל) is found (Psalm 80:13,

Psalms 89:42, Lamentations 2:15, Job 21:29 and Proverbs 9:15).¹²⁴ Therefore, the whole of the first clause in verse 12 states that what has happened to Jerusalem does not happen to everybody, in other words, something unprecedented has befallen the city. Albrectson is of the opinion that this interpretation of **לֹא אֵלֵיכֶם כָּל עֲבָרֵי דֶרֶךְ** is appropriate in the immediate context and that the clause forms a parallelism with **הִבִּיטוּ וּרְאוּ אִם יֵשׁ מִכְאוֹב כַּמְכַּאֲבִי**.

Turning to the proposals for a different pointing of **לֹא**, Reider (1954:294-295) suggests that **לֹא** should be vocalised as **לָאֵ**, an abbreviated form of **לָאֵיָה**, “wailing”/“dirge”. On this reading, **לֹא אֵלֵיכֶם** would mean “woe to you”. This interpretation, he notes, is in keeping with the readings in the LXX (οἱ πρὸς ὑμᾶς),¹²⁵ σ’ (ὦ ὑμεῖς)¹²⁶ and V (*o vos*). Alternatively, Renkema takes **לֹא** as a variant form of **לוֹ**, “O that”/“if only”/“would that” (BDB 530; KBL 475; DCH IV 522). With reference to the syntactical connection of this conjunction and prepositional phrase with the two imperative verbs **הִבִּיטוּ** and **וּרְאוּ**, he indicates that “bij een imperatief heeft **לוֹ** een aandringende betekenis ‘toch’ ... Het **אֵלֵיכֶם** duidt op het adres. Samen dienen beide aanvangswoorden om de aandacht te trekken en zijn se inleiding op de imperativi van het volgende colon” (Renkema 1993:109).

¹²⁴ Gottlieb (1978:16-17) criticises this view and points out that the phrase **כָּל עֲבָרֵי דֶרֶךְ**, which is found in psalms of lamentation such as Psalms 80 and 89, refers to onlookers who can be expected to mock the sufferer. In accordance with this interpretation of **כָּל עֲבָרֵי דֶרֶךְ**, he argues that **לֹא אֵלֵיכֶם** in Lamentations 1:12 should be taken as a repudiation of such mockery. In turn, Provan (1991:48) objects to Gottlieb’s interpretation and shows that it does not fit well with the invitation to look and see, expressed by the imperatives **הִבִּיטוּ** and **וּרְאוּ**.

¹²⁵ It should, however, be pointed out that Ziegler (1976:470), in his critical Göttingen edition of LXX Lamentations, gives the reading of the LXX as οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Rahlfs (2006:765) also has this reading in his edition. Nevertheless, the majority of the Greek textual witnesses read οἱ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

¹²⁶ Field (1875:749) thinks that the reading ὦ ὑμεῖς, which is found in the margin of the Syrohexapla (ܐܡܪ ܕܥܡܝܗ), was the actual reading of σ’, whereas in the margin of Codex Marchalianus, the reading of σ’ is given as οὐ πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Barthélemy (1986:869) argues that the aim of this marginal reading was to correct the reading οἱ πρὸς ὑμᾶς in this codex (and most other textual witnesses to the Greek translation).

Concerning the conjectural emendations recommended by scholars, Dyserinck (1892:364) follows De Hoop Scheffer in emending **לוא אליכם** into **לוא אניתם**. **לוא** is then also understood as a longer form of the conjunction **לו** and **אניתם** as a Qal perfect second-person masculine plural form of the verbal root **אנה** (“to mourn”). He consequently translates the first part of his altered text of Lamentations 1:12 as follows: “Och, of gij rouw bedreeft, al gij voorbijgangers”. In contrast to this proposal of Dyserinck, Budde (1892:266) suggests that instead of **לוא אליכם**, one should rather read **לוא אלי**, while Praetorius (1895:143) speculates that the text originally read **לכו**.¹²⁷ He agrees with Budde that **אליכם** in the MT is a corruption from the more original reading **אלי** and goes on to suggest that the latter was a later addition triggered by **לכו**, the Qal imperative second-person masculine plural form of the verbal root **הלך** (“to go”/“to walk”). In his view, the corruption from **לכו** to **לוא** occurred when a scribe mistakenly omitted the *kaph* of **לכו**, which resulted in the form **לו**. A later scribe then amended **לו** into **לוא**. Hillers (1992:71), Kraus (1983:23) and Rudolph (1962:207; 1938:102-103) regard Praetorius’ emendation as the most satisfactory solution to the difficulties presented by the phrase **לוא אליכם**. In addition, Rudolph (1938:102) draws attention to the possibility that **לוא אליכם** was a marginal note that was incorporated into the text and replaced the original reading by mistake: “Es handelt sich um eine Randbemerkung (“nicht euch zgedacht”), die die Angeredeten vor Unheil schützen soll”.¹²⁸ This understanding of the meaning of **לוא אליכם** agrees to a large extent with the midrash found in *Lamentations Rabbah* 1:12 §40 (Cohen 1961:117), as well as the translation of Berlin (2004:43), “May it not happen to you”, which she presents without further comment. Finally, Kaiser (1981:309) makes mention of earlier proposals for emending the text in his commentary, as well as Albrectson’s interpretation of the wording of the MT as a statement, but finds them

¹²⁷ Robinson (1937:1230) documents the proposed emendations of Budde and Praetorius in his critical apparatus in *BHK* as possible solutions to the corrupt **לוא אליכם** in the MT. It is also noted here that the *lāmēd* of **לוא** is written smaller than the other letters. Some scholars interpret this as a possible indication that the scribes also had their doubts as to the reliability of this reading.

¹²⁸ Berges (2002:89) and Westermann (1994:113) concur with this proposal of Rudolph.

unconvincing. With reference to Lamentations 1:18, 21, as well as passages from Isaiah 46:3, 12, 51:1, 7 and Judges 9:7, he puts forward the suggestion to read the first part of Lamentations 1:12 as שמעו אלי (“Hört auf mich”).

Hillers (1992:71) remarks that it is unfortunate that the uncertain reading in 4QLam does not have a “significant bearing on the old textual problem”. 3QLam only preserves one word of verse 12 and is, therefore, not of help in this regard. In the official DJD edition of 4QLam, as well as in his earlier study on this text, Cross (2000:235; 1983:144-145) expresses the view that both the readings in the manuscript from Qumran and in the MT are corrupt. Due to the damage suffered by the manuscript of 4QLam, the letters both following the *kaph* of [אליכ] and preceding the *hē* of הכל are difficult to determine. In his opinion, the break in the leather does not leave enough room for a *mēm* to have been written after the *kaph* of [אליכ]. Consequently, he suggests that the remaining ink traces might be identified as a *yōd*, resulting in the reading אליכי. In his discussion on how the readings in the MT and the manuscript from cave 4 could have come into being, Cross follows the proposal of Budde that the original text read לוא אלי ... הביטו (“Would that they look at me”), arguing that the consonants of לוא should be pointed as לוא rather than as לוא and that the verb נבט in the Hiphʿil stem formation regularly takes the preposition אל with its object (DCH V 586-587).¹²⁹ The reading in the MT can then be attributed to an initial dittography of the letter *kaph*, which was wrongly corrected at a later stage of the copying of this form of the text: אלי כל → אליך כל → אליכם כל. The reading in 4QLam might be explained in a similar way, according to Cross: אלי כל → אליך כל → אליכה כל → אליכי הכל.

Notwithstanding this proposal concerning the way in which the readings in 4QLam and the MT might have come into being as corruptions from a more original text, it is also possible to explain the text of 4QLam in a different way. Firstly, the syntax of the consonantal text can be interpreted in a number of ways. If one allows for the reconstruction of the two verbs הביטו and

¹²⁹ Hobbins (2006:21) agrees that לוא in the original text of Lamentations 1:12 was the conditional conjunction with the spelling לוא. It was subsequently misread as לוא in the textual tradition preserved in the MT. However, Hobbins retains the preposition אל + second-person masculine plural pronominal suffix אליכם as the original text.

וּרְאוּ in forms similar to the consonantal base of the MT, it should be observed that the consonants allow for them to be interpreted as either imperatives (as they are vocalised in the MT), or as perfects, or the one as a perfect and the other as an imperative. The word הַכֵּל, with the definite article, which is absent in the MT, can be taken as the implied subject of [לֹא אֵלֵיכֶם], if this phrase is interpreted as expressing a question.¹³⁰ הַכֵּל can, however, also be related to דַּרְךְ עֲבָרִי as a modifier of the substantival participle. The latter is, in all probability, to be read as the subject of וּרְאוּ and הִבִּיטוּ. If one or both of these verbs are taken as imperatives, דַּרְךְ עֲבָרִי would constitute the addressees of the direct command(s). As was indicated in the discussions on the different interpretations of the MT and the proposals for its emendation, the first word לֹא can either be read as a negative particle לֹא, as a variant form of the conjunction לוֹ or as an abbreviated form of לִיָּהּ. Moreover, the second word of the verse in 4QLam, which Cross restores as אֵלֵיכֶם [י], can be reconstructed in two different ways. Accordingly, the interpretation of the syntax depends to a large extent on how this word is understood. In the form proposed by Cross, the word can be interpreted as a preposition אֶל + a second-person feminine pronominal suffix כִּי. In his description of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea scrolls, Qimron (1986:58-59) draws attention to the fact that this Aramaic form of the second-person pronominal suffix occurs regularly in the biblical and non-biblical texts from Qumran. On this reading, personified Jerusalem is addressed in the first clause of Lamentations 1:12. In accordance with the various possible interpretations of לֹא and the syntactical function of הַכֵּל, the first part of the verse can be translated as follows: “Is all of this nothing to you (Jerusalem)?”/“Is all of this not for you (Jerusalem)?”/“All of this is not for you (Jerusalem)?”/“Would that all those who pass by look at you (Jerusalem)?”/“Woe to you (Jerusalem)”. Judging from the photograph used for the plate in the DJD edition, the consonant *kaph* can also be interpreted as a *nûn*, due to the similarity in

¹³⁰ The English translation of the text of 4QLam prepared by Abegg, Flint and Ulrich (1999:624-625) seems to imply that the manuscript from Qumran read אֵלֵיכֶם. Interestingly, הַכֵּל is then treated as the subject of the supposed question expressed by לֹא אֵלֵיכֶם: “Is all of this nothing to you, you that pass [by? Look and see] if there be any sorrow which *they* brought upon me” (emphasis in original).

form between these two letters in the script in which 4QLam was written.¹³¹ In view of the almost identical form of the *yôd* and *wāw* in the same script, what Cross reads as a *yôd* in the damaged part of the manuscript can therefore also be taken to be a *wāw*. The second word might therefore be reconstructed as אֵלֵינוּ, the preposition אֵל + the first-person plural pronominal suffix נוּ. The referent of the suffix would in this case be the narrator and his community. This interpretation is reminiscent of the directive addressed to YHWH in verse 7 of 4QLam, זְכוּרָה יְהוָה [כֹּן] לְמִכְאוּבֵנוּ, where the narrator appeals to God to remember or call to mind “our pain”. On this interpretation of the extant text of 4QLam, the verbs הִבִּיטוּ and וְרָאוּ are best read as perfects with עֲבְרֵי דַן־רַךְ as the subject and לוֹא as a longer form of the conjunction לוֹ. The prepositional phrase אֵלֵינוּ is then related to הִבִּיטוּ, as Cross points out. Consequently, this first part of verse 12 in 4QLam can be translated as follows: “Would that all those who pass by the road look at *us* and see if there is a pain like my pain”. The objection might be raised against this interpretation of the text that it creates a discrepancy between the first-person plural suffix attached to the preposition אֵל, whereas the suffix appended to the noun in the prepositional phrase כִּמְכְאוּבִי is singular. According to this reconstruction of the text, the narrator would express the concern that all the passers by will look at him and his community and see if there is a pain comparable to his. However, although the disagreement in number between the suffixes might detract from the coherence of the clauses, it does not necessarily discredit the proposed reconstruction. What counts in favour of this reading of the text of 4QLam is the fact that it is in keeping with the argument presented at verses 7 and 11 that it is the narrator who speaks in these verses of 4QLam and not personified Jerusalem, as is the case in the MT. The same holds true if the second word is reconstructed as אֵלֵיכִי and the syntax interpreted as mentioned above: “Would that all those who pass by the road look at *you* and see if there is a pain like my pain”. In this case, the pain of the narrator is directly linked with what has happened to Jerusalem. Although this study favours

¹³¹ Cf. Cross’s description of the development of the Hebrew script as reflected in the Dead Sea scrolls (Cross 1961:138). Admittedly, the disputed letter in 4QLam does not have a slight bend to the right at the top as the other examples of the *nûn* in 4QLam seem to have. This lends support to its identification as a *kaph*.

this understanding of the Qumran manuscript's wording, it appears as though all of the possible interpretations differ to some degree from the version transmitted by the MT, regardless of which one of the reconstructions of the wording of 4QLam one considers to be the most likely. Compared to the possible wordings of the restored text of 4QLam, the reading in the MT can be taken as the earlier, more original form of the text of Lamentations 1:12 by virtue of being the *lectio difficilior*. However, in view of the supposed corrupted nature of the text in the MT, both it and the text in 4QLam might constitute departures from an unattested earlier wording of the verse. In both scenarios the text in the fragmentary manuscript from cave 4 throws light on the activity of a scribe, the one who copied 4QLam or a predecessor, in which the wording was changed so as to reflect a different interpretation from the one presented in the text being copied. This proposal flies in the face of the view propagated by Cross. Nevertheless, since the possible wordings of the first part of verse 12 in 4QLam yield good sense in the immediate context, this study suggests that it did not arise as a result of a corruption of an earlier reading, but as a deliberate alteration of such an earlier reading.

In contrast to the MT, in which the verb עָלַל is vocalised as a Pô'al and therefore has a passive meaning, the third-person plural form עוֹלְלוּ in 4QLam should be read as being in the Pô'el stem formation ("they dealt out") (BDB 759; KBL 708; DCH VI 425-426). The subject of the verb in this manuscript can either be the enemies mentioned in the previous verses, or the passers by. According to Cross (2000:235), the original text would have contained a Pô'el perfect third-person singular verbal form, עוֹלֵל, with YHWH as the subject ("he dealt out"). He bases this view on the perceived parallelism between this purported original reading and הוֹגָה יְהוָה in the next clause, as well as on the evidence from P and V. The Syriac translation of the two Hebrew relative clauses reads ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܥܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܥܠܝܬܝܢ ("Which the Lord did to me. The Lord also humbled me on the day of his fierce anger"). Interestingly, the Syriac translator treated the second relative clause in the Hebrew text as a main clause by rendering the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר with the conjunction ܐܘܪܝܬܝܢ. He did, however, faithfully use ܕܝܗܘܐ to translate

יהוה in this clause. He also inserted וַיְהִי in his translation of the first relative clause so as to make the implicit subject of וַיְהַב, namely the Lord, explicit. This indicates that the translator of P understood the Lord to be the subject of the verbs in both clauses. In Jerome's Latin translation of the two Hebrew relative clauses, *quoniam vindemiavit me ut locutus est Dominus in die irae furoris sui* ("Because the Lord gathered me in when he spoke in the day of his furious anger"), the Lord (*Dominus*) is the subject of both the aorist verb *vindemiavit me* ("he gathered me in [as one gathers in grapes or a vintage]") and of the subordinate temporal clause *ut locutus est* ("when he spoke"). These two ancient translations therefore lend credence to Cross' proposal that YHWH was meant as the subject of the verb עָלָל in the unpointed Hebrew original.

Unfortunately, Cross's suggestion regarding the original wording of this relative clause does not ease the difficulty of finding a feasible explanation for the plural number of the verbal form עוֹלְלוּ in 4QLam. It is theoretically possible that the reading came into being as a result of dittography. The prepositional phrase לִי and the final two consonants of עוֹלְלוּ would have looked very similar in a script where the *yôd* and the *wāw* were almost identical in shape. From this, one might hypothesise that at some stage during the transmission history a scribe mistakenly wrote לִי twice. Another scribe could have used a copy where the spaces between the words were not adequately indicated and therefore read the *yôd* of the duplicated לִי as a *wāw* and mistook the preposition for a third lamed that was erroneously added in a previous copying of עוֹלָל. He then proceeded to rectify the corrupt reading by dropping the extra *lāmēd* and in so doing created the reading עוֹלְלוּ, which found its way into the wording of 4QLam: עוֹלָל לִי → עוֹלָל לִי לִי → עוֹלְלוּ לִי. However, this explanation is no more than mere speculation. It is more plausible that a scribe intentionally changed the number of the verb to a plural, given that a scribe (or maybe the same one) already altered the words of the opening clause of the verse. With regard to the impact of these changes on the meaning of the verse, this study interprets the reconstructed wording of 4QLam in such a way that the narrator addresses Jerusalem, expresses the wish that those people who pass her by on the road would look upon the city and see in her the pain which the enemies have brought upon him. Where in verse 11 of 4QLam the narrator addresses YHWH and pleads with him to see and take note of his apparent insignificance, there is a change in addressee at

verse 12. According to this verse's opening sentence, the narrator speaks to Jerusalem and seems to suggest that his pain will be evident to those who would look upon the city. This is followed by the first of two relative clauses. **מכאובי** serves as the antecedent of the relative pronoun **אשר**, which functions accusatively with the verb **עוללו**. Although the plural form of **עוללו** might have the passers-by in view, it probably refers to the foes that were already mentioned in the previous verses.

הוֹגָה – הוֹגִירָנִי (4QLam) – הוֹגִירָנִי (3QLam) [הוֹגִירָנִי]

The form **הוֹגִירָנִי** in 4QLam is an otherwise unattested Hiphʿîl of the root **יגַר**. In the Qal stem formation this root means “fear”/“to be afraid” (BDB 388; KBL 362; DCH IV 81) and since the Hiphʿîl stem formation commonly expresses a causative meaning, the word **הוֹגִירָנִי** probably means “he frightened me”.¹³² **הוֹגָה** in the MT recalls the occurrence of the same form in verse 5 (יהוה הוֹגָה). While Hobbins (2006:21) retains the verb of the MT in his reconstruction of the original text of Lamentations 1:12 (with only a change in spelling, הוֹגִירָנִי) and Schäfer (2004:56) regards **הוֹגִירָנִי** in 4QLam as an interpretation on the part of the scribe who copied this manuscript (or a predecessor), Cross (2000:235) prefers **הוֹגִירָנִי** as the *lectio difficilior* and notes that **הוֹגָה** in the MT might be a corruption of the reading in the Qumran fragment “by reminiscence of **הוֹגָה** in v 5”.¹³³ Seeing as he mentions the readings in the Greek and Syriac translations in support of his suggestion, a closer look at the ancient translations is warranted.

¹³² This is the way Abegg, Flint and Ulrich (1999:625) render the word.

¹³³ The reading in 3QLam is too uncertain to be cited in support of either position. Baillet reconstructs the word as **הוֹגָה**, albeit with a dot above the *hē* and a circlet above the *gimēl*. He notes that the reading is therefore very uncertain, “mais autorisée par un examen minutieux sous forte lumière” (Baillet 1962:95). According to this reconstruction, 3QLam agrees with the MT, at least in this one word.

The manuscripts of the Greek translation witness to the doublet φθεγξάμενος ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐταπείνωσέν με as counterpart of the verbs הוֹגִירִי in 4QLam and הוֹגֶה in the MT.¹³⁴ This *lectio duplex* appears to be translational and, as such, it constitutes a double rendering based on the same Hebrew form. The presence of the prepositional phrase ἐν ἐμοί and the independent personal pronoun με suggests that the Hebrew word in the *Vorlage* contained a first-person pronominal suffix. The renderings φθεγξάμενος and ἐταπείνωσέν point towards הוֹגִירִי as the reading in the *Vorlage* in view of the fact that this form can be derived from the root הִגָּה and הִגָּה.¹³⁵ The former can have the sense “to utter”/“to speak” (BDB 211; KBL 224; DCH II 487) and the latter means “to cause sorrow”/“to grieve” in the Hiphʿil (BDB 387; KBL 361; DCH IV 79). It therefore seems clear that the use of the Greek verb φθέγγομαι, “to utter a sound”/“to speak (loud and clear)” (LEH 502; GELS 714) was based on an understanding of הוֹגִירִי as a form of the root הִגָּה, while another scribe derived it from הִגָּה, which would account for the choice for ταπεινώω, “to bring low”/“to humble” (LEH 469; GELS 670), as an alternative translation equivalent. Ziegler notes how difficult it is to decide which one of these renderings is original and which one is a secondary addition.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, he argues that the “Wiedergabe von הִגָּה mit ταπεινοῦν ist der Thr.-LXX eigentümlich und findet sich auch 1s 322 33; deshalb wird sie 112 ursprünglich sein. Dagegen steht φθέγγεσθαι nur hier in den Thr” (Ziegler 1958:97). On the basis of this argument, Ziegler (1976:470) opts for ἐταπείνωσέν με as the reading of the

¹³⁴ This Greek reading is often identified as a *lectio duplex*, but Robinson (1933:257) claims that it is more probable that φθεγξάμενος was based on a Hebrew reading of אָמַר instead of אָשַׁר, because there is no rendering of the relative pronoun in the Greek.

¹³⁵ Cf. Kraus (1983:23), Rudolph (1938:103) and Albrektson (1963:72).

¹³⁶ Unfortunately, the daughter translations of the LXX are of little help in this regard. In Sabatier’s edition of the *Vetus Latina* (OL), there is no equivalent for Lamentations 1:12 and the Sahidic Coptic version (Sa) also bears witness to the doublet: ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛⲣⲱⲩ ⲉⲣⲓⲁⲓ ⲉⲭⲱⲓ ⲛⲟⲓ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲉⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲱⲛⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲩⲟⲣⲓⲛ (“The Lord opened his mouth against me, he humiliated me on the day of the wrath of his anger”) (cf. Feder 2002:200).

Old Greek text for the Göttingen edition.¹³⁷ Similarly, the equivalent in P, **ܡܚܝܠܝܬܝܐ**, has an appended first-person pronominal suffix and therefore also witnesses to a form **הוּגְנִי** in the Hebrew *Vorlage* from which this Syriac translation was made. The Syriac translator consistently employed forms of the root **ܡܚܝܠܝܬܝܐ** (“to humble”/“to lay low”) to translate the instances of the root **יָגַה** at Lamentations 1:5 and Lamentations 3:32. It therefore stands to reason that he related **הוּגְנִי** in the present verse to **יָגַה**. According to Levine (1976:99), the text of T^W, **דַּאֲסַתְקַף לִי דַתְּבַר יִי יְתִי**, (“Which has been inflicted upon me, werewith the Lord has broken me”),¹³⁸ like the LXX and P, also bears witness to a Hebrew version that contained the reading **הוּגְנִי**.

The cumulative evidence of the LXX, P and T leave little doubt that there circulated a Hebrew version of Lamentations in which verse 12 of the first chapter included the reading **הוּגְנִי**. Compared to the variants in 4QLam and the MT, **הוּגְנִי** might very well qualify as the earliest Hebrew reading. On such a reading of the textual evidence, one can agree with Cross that **הוּגַה** in the MT represents an assimilation with the identical consonantal form in Lamentations 1:5, while the unique reading in the manuscript from Qumran can be attributed to scribal invention. Since it is very difficult to explain how **הוּגִירִנִי** could have developed from **הוּגְנִי** via a scribal error, it seems prudent to conclude that this reading was created by a scribe during the transmission process. This is all the more probable in light of the changes that this scribe (or other scribes) brought about in the earlier parts of the verse.

¹³⁷ The renderings in LXX.D, “Gedemütigt hat mich der Herr am Tag des Zorns seines Herzens” (Hirsch-Luipold and Maier 2009:1351), NETS, “The Lord humbled me on the day of the wrath of his anger” (Gentry 2007:936), and BdA, “Seigneur m’a humiliée au jour de la colère de sa fureur” (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005:204), show that the modern translators uncritically followed Ziegler’s emended text. Rahlfs (2006:757) prints the doublet as part of the text of LXX Lamentations 1:12, because it is found in Codex Vaticanus, Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Alexandrinus.

¹³⁸ Codex Urbinas 1, which serves as the base text for Levine’s study, reads **דַּתְּבַר דִּי תְּבַר** instead of **דַּתְּבַר**. For the manuscripts that have the latter reading, see Alexander (2007:119). The text of T^Y is the same as that of T^W in these two relative clauses.

בְּיוֹם חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ – בִּיּוֹם [חרון]נו

Cross argues that the shorter reading בִּיּוֹם [חרון]נו in 4QLam is to be preferred over the longer בְּיוֹם חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ in the MT, which is then understood as an assimilation with the usual form of the expression. Hobbins (2006:21) expresses the same view, but, due to the general carelessness of the scribe who was responsible for the copying of 4QLam, Schäfer (2004:117) is reluctant to accept the precedence of the readings in the fragment from Qumran over those in the MT.

With regard to the difference in meaning between 4QLam and the MT, it is likely that the narrator voices a concern in 4QLam that all the passers by would look either upon Jerusalem (if the second word of the verse is restored as אֵלֵיכֶן, in which case the city is addressed and not the passers by) or upon him and his community (if the second word of the verse is reconstructed as אֵלַיִנִּי) and see the incomparability of the pain the enemies have brought upon him. This is the pain that YHWH then uses to frighten the narrator on the day of God's wrath. Conversely, in the MT, notwithstanding the *crux interpretum* presented by the first two words, personified Jerusalem calls on the passers by to look and see if there is a pain like hers, which YHWH caused to come over her and in so doing afflicted her on the day of his fierce anger.

VERSE 13

4QLam

ממרום שלח א[ש] בעצמותי ויורידני פרש רשת	From on high He sent fi[re] into my bones and
לרגלי חשיבני [אחו] נתנני שומם כול היום	brought me / it down. He spread out a net for
וד[נ]י	my feet; He turned me (?) [bac]k. He left me
	deserted and faint all day.

MT

ממרום שלח אש בעצמותי וירדנה פרש רשת לרגלי	From on high He sent fire into my bones and
חשיבני אחור נתנני שממה כל-היום דוה: ס	trampled on it. He spread out a net for my feet;
	He turned me back. He made me desolate, ill
	all day.

Some letters of words in 4QLam are obscured or lost as a result of the damages to the manuscript. Cross (2000:234) indicates the uncertain nature of the reconstructed form *חשיבנִי* by means of dots above the *hêth*, *nûn* and *yôd*. A tear in the leather renders the *wāw* of וד[ו] illegible. Nevertheless, apart from a number of orthographical differences, the manuscript also preserves interesting variant readings compared to the MT.

וִירְדָּנָה – וִירִידָנִי

וִירְדָּנָה in the MT can be parsed as a *wāw* consecutive + Qal imperfect third-person masculine singular + third-person feminine singular suffix of the root *רדה*.¹³⁹ The reading is problematic on three accounts. Firstly, the Masoretic accents assigned to the words of the first bicolon of this verse pose a problem to those scholars who insist on basing its colometry on the presumed *qinah*-meter. In *BHS*, Robinson (1977:1356) arranges the cola as follows: (1:13aα) מִמָּרוֹם / שְׁלַח-אֶשׁ (1:13aβ) בְּעֶצְמָתִי וִירְדָּנָה. The first colon therefore consists of three words and the second of two. This is the characteristic 3+2 division of so-called *qinah*-meter.¹⁴⁰ However, Robinson's arrangement clearly ignores the Masoretic accents. The accent with אֶשׁ is a *mêr^ekhâ*. Since this is a conjunctive accent, the division of the cola cannot be after אֶשׁ. Furthermore, the disjunctive accent *ṭiphhā*, placed with בְּעֶצְמָתִי by the Masoretes, implies that this word belongs to the first colon of Lamentations 1:13. This means that the single word וִירְדָּנָה, with the *uthnāh*, makes up the second half of the bicolon. Renkema (1993:114) notes that the *wāw* consecutive with וִירְדָּנָה lends support to this division into unbalanced cola. The second problematic aspect of וִירְדָּנָה in the MT is that there does not appear to be an appropriate antecedent for the third-person feminine singular suffix appended to the verb. Thirdly, some scholars have difficulties in finding

¹³⁹ The reading in T^{W, Y} וכבש יתהון ("and he subdued them") also seems to have derived וִירְדָּנָה from the root *רדה*. The Aramaic translation, however, takes עֶצְמָתִי as the referent of the third-person feminine suffix of וִירְדָּנָה.

¹⁴⁰ House (2004:333) also divides the first bicolon of Lamentations 1:13 into cola of three and two words respectively.

a fitting meaning for the root רדה in the context of the first bicolon of verse 13. In view of the problematic nature of the reading in the MT, many scholars¹⁴¹ opt to emend the text by vocalising the consonants of the verb as וִירְדָּנָה, a Hiph'îl imperfect third-person masculine singular + the third-person feminine singular suffix of the root ירד (“and he caused it to come down”), in line with the renderings in the LXX (κατήγαγεν αὐτό) and P (ܐܝܪܕܢܐ).¹⁴² Accordingly, Hobbins (2006:21), Schäfer (2004:117*-118*), Renkema (1993:114) and Hillers (1992:72) promulgate the view that the original text of Lamentations 1:13 reads וִירְדָּנָה and, in so doing, present a satisfactory solution to the syntactical and stylistic problems plaguing the text of the MT. בעצמתי is then construed together with וִירְדָּנָה as the second colon, YHWH taken as the subject of both verbs and אש treated as the antecedent of the suffix of וִירְדָּנָה. Moreover, בעצמתי וִירְדָּנָה forms a parallelism with אש מִמְרוֹם שָׁלַח אֵשׁ (“From on high he sent fire; into my bones he brought it down”).

Other scholars have put forward interesting proposals for the interpretation of וִירְדָּנָה on the basis of comparative philology. For example, Kopf (1958:203) suggests that the Arabic word *rdh* (“to perish”/“to be destroyed”) can help to explain the difficult reading in the MT: “וִירְדָּנָה steht dann für וִירְדִּינָה, hat sein Subjekt in עצמתי und ist eine der seltenen Formen 3. pl. fem. mit präfigiertem י statt ת”.¹⁴³ If the text is read in this way, it can be translated as follows: “From on high he sent fire into my bones and they were ruined”. Dahood (1963a:4) offers another possible

¹⁴¹ Cf. Berlin (2004:46), Renkema (1993:114), Hillers (1992:72-73), Rudolph (1962:207; 1938:103), Ehrlich (1914:33), Löhr (1893:4), Budde (1892:266) and Dyserinck (1892:364).

¹⁴² However, the LXX does not include an equivalent for the conjunction of וִירְדָּנָה and the Syriac translation has a first-person singular suffix instead of a third-person feminine singular one. Whereas P supports the reading in 4QLam, a form וִירְדָּנָה might lie behind the reading in the LXX. V (*et erudit me*) and σ' (καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν με) also witness to a first-person singular suffix and their equivalents might be based on a reading וִירְדִּינָה (waw consecutive + Qal imperfect third-person masculine singular + first-person singular suffix of רדה) and an understanding of the root רדה in its Aramaic meaning “to chastise” (Rudolph 1938:103).

¹⁴³ Cf. also the discussion of Gottlieb (1978:17-18).

solution based on Ugaritic evidence. An energetic *-n* added to *yqtl* verbal forms is well-attested in Ugaritic. The two energetic forms suffixed to verbs are *-an* and *-anna*: *yaqtulan* and *yaqtulanna*.¹⁴⁴ Dahood interprets וִירְדְנָה in Lamentations 1:13 as an example of such an energetic form of the verb in BH. Accordingly, he revocalises the verb as וִירְדְנָה, with the *nûn* indicating an energetic form and אש serving as the subject of the verb: “From high He sent forth fire; into my bones has it descended”.¹⁴⁵ As a result, Dahood propagates a meaning for these clauses that is remarkably similar, but not identical to the one arrived at by those scholars who favour emending the reading in the MT so as to align it with the Greek translation.

From a different perspective, Albrectson (1963:72) follows Driver (1950:137) in wresting sense from the MT without having recourse to emendation based on the ancient translations or to Northwest Semitic philology. These scholars take אש (which is usually feminine) as the subject of the masculine verb וִירְדְנָה and the plural noun עֲצָמָיו as the antecedent of the singular suffix of the verb. House (2004:335) points out that the wording of the MT makes sense in light of parallels such as Joel 4:13, while Provan (1991:49) argues that YHWH is the subject of both שלח and וִירְדְנָה. The idea communicated by the first bicolon of verse 13 is that YHWH is directly responsible for the suffering of Jerusalem. Kraus (1983:31) also takes YHWH as the subject of both the verbs and אש as the antecedent of the third-person feminine singular suffix of וִירְדְנָה. In his opinion, the text means that YHWH put out the fire that he sent by trampling on it and, in so doing, destroyed the city: “Nachdem das Feuer gewütet hatte, zertrat Jahwe es und zertrümmerte so die Stadt”.

¹⁴⁴ Sivan (2001:102-103) discusses the possibility that there might have existed another energetic form appended to *yqtl* verbs in the indicative mood, but Bordreuil and Pardee (2009:50) note that this has not yet been determined. Concerning the two energetic forms *-an* and *-anna*, Bordreuil and Pardee (2009:50) point out that “their semantic import is uncertain”, while Gordon (*UT* §9.11) suggests that they are stylistic variants and do not have a special meaning.

¹⁴⁵ McDaniel (1968:205-206), who is in agreement with Dahood’s solution, notes that his translation leaves the conjunction untranslated, because the *wāw* with a verb in the final position of a colon is pleonastic.

Turning to 4QLam, the reading וִיִּרְדְּנִי, or possibly וִיִּרְדְּנִי (Cross 2000:236; 1983:145), is clearly a Hiphʿil form of the root יִרַד. If the final letter of the verb is read as a *yôd*, rather than a *wāw*, it agrees precisely with ܝܪܕܢܝ in the Syriac translation, the Aphʿel form of the root ܝܪܕ + a first-person singular suffix. The similarity between the readings in 4QLam and P can be explained either by polygenesis or by a positing that there existed a correspondence between the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Syriac translation and the text transmitted by the Lamentations manuscript from cave 4. On the first hypothesis, both the scribe who copied 4QLam (or a predecessor) and the Syriac translator changed the third-person feminine suffix of an earlier reading (possibly יִרְדְּנָה) into a first-person and interpreted the consonants as a Hiphʿil form of יִרַד. According to the second explanation, the *Vorlage* of P agreed, at least in individual readings, with the text preserved in 4QLam.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, there exists a marked difference between the Syriac translation and 4QLam, since the wording of the latter leaves little room for doubt that the narrator is the speaker in these verses and, therefore, that the suffix of וִיִּרְדְּנִי refers to him, as does the first-person suffixes appended to other words in verse 13, namely ܠܪܓܠܝ, ܒܥܥܘܡܬܝ and ܢܬܢܝ. Conversely, personified Jerusalem is the speaker in the text of the Syriac translation (as well as in the MT).¹⁴⁷ If the verb in 4QLam is read as וִיִּרְדְּנִי אֵשׁ, it should probably be taken as the antecedent of its third-person masculine singular suffix. A burning text-critical question, which arises in light of the difference between the forms of the verbs in 4QLam and the MT, concerns the way in which the former came into being and how it relates to the latter. In this regard, it seems reasonable to assume that neither reading directly developed from the other but that both derived from an earlier reading. יִרְדְּנָה, the form of the verb that supposedly underlies the Greek

¹⁴⁶ See Weitzman's discussion of parallel readings in P and Hebrew texts outside the Masoretic tradition (Weitzman 1999:55-57).

¹⁴⁷ The web of agreements and disagreements between the wordings of verse 13 in 4QLam, the MT and P seems to bolster the view that the wording of P's Hebrew *Vorlage* was, ostensibly, not identical to the consonantal base of the MT. The former agrees, at least in individual readings, with 4QLam, which, according to Tov's categorisation (2004:335), does not represent the same text as the Masoretic tradition.

equivalent $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$,¹⁴⁸ presents itself as a suitable candidate for the earlier reading. On this hypothesis, וירדנה in the MT can be attributed to a metathesis of $w\bar{a}w$ and $y\acute{o}d$, $\text{וירדנה} \rightarrow \text{וירדנה}$.¹⁴⁹ The latter was subsequently interpreted as a form of the root רדה . The reading in 4QLam could have developed in two different ways from the earlier reading וירדנה . On the one hand, the scribe might have changed the third-person feminine singular suffix of וירדנה into a first person singular or third-person masculine singular suffix, depending on whether one reads the verb in the fragment from cave 4 as וירידיני or as וירידינו . Afterwards, the scribe added a conjunction to the imperfect verb. On the other hand, the conjunction $w\bar{a}w$ could have been the result of a dittography of the letter $y\acute{o}d$, which was later interpreted as a conjunction by another scribe due to the graphic similarity between these letters in the script in which 4QLam was copied. This same scribe, or maybe a successor, then proceeded to emend the suffix and add the $y\acute{o}d$ between the $d\bar{a}l\acute{e}th$ and the $r\acute{e}\check{s}$ so as to make the Hiph'il stem formation of the verb evident: $\text{וירדנה} \rightarrow \text{וירדנה} \rightarrow \text{וירידיני}$. In whichever way the creation of the readings in 4QLam and the MT is understood, it should be noticed that both Hebrew texts yield sufficient sense, despite the difficulties of the MT, and that there are striking differences between them. Whereas Kraus's interpretation of the MT is quite convincing, 4QLam either states that YHWH sent fire and brought it down into the bones of the narrator, or that YHWH sent fire into the narrator's bones and felled him.

הַשִּׁיבִנִי – חֲשִׁיבִנִי

The exact form of the word in 4QLam is difficult to make out because of the damage to the part of the manuscript on which it was written. A close look at the form of the first letter leads to the conclusion that it is a $h\acute{e}th$, rather than the expected $h\bar{e}$. A lapse of concentration on the part of

¹⁴⁸ Cross suggests that the Greek reading bears witness to the forms וירידינה or וירידינו , while the critical apparatus of *BHS* proposes that הרידה might underlie $\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$ (Robinson 1977:1356). Interestingly, Westermann (1994:113) and Kaiser (1981:309) prefer to emend the text of the MT to read הרידה .

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Tov (2001:246-247), Würthwein (1995:108) and McCarter (1986:47).

the scribe who copied 4QLam can explain the reading in this manuscript. The interchange of a *hē* and *hēth* is a common scribal error, due to the graphical and phonetic similarity between these two letters in the script in which 4QLam was copied (Tov 2001:245, 251; Würthwein 1995:108; McCarter 1986:46).

דָּוָה – וְדָוִד; שְׁמָמָה – שׁוֹמֵם

דָּוָה and שְׁמָמָה in the MT are both feminine forms, while the variants in 4QLam are masculine. This is consistent with the trend in the wording of the fragment from cave 4 to portray the first-person speaker as the narrator, instead of personified Jerusalem (Cross 2000:236). In the discussion of verse 7, it was argued that this might very well be a deliberate change in perspective introduced by a scribe. From this point of view, the modification of the gender of שׁוֹמֵם and וְדָוִד in verse 13 was also intentional. Compared to its counterpart in the MT, the conjunction *wāw* with וְדָוִד constitutes a plus. The addition of a conjunction might represent an attempt on the part of a scribe to facilitate the syntax by linking the adjective דָּוִי more closely to the clause נִתְנַגֵּי שׁוֹמֵם. In the closing bicolon of Lamentations 1:13 in the MT, the devastated city bemoans the fact that YHWH has made her uninhabited and ill all day long,¹⁵⁰ while in 4QLam the narrator claims that YHWH has left him deserted and faint all through the day.

¹⁵⁰ Dobbs-Allsopp and Linafelt (2001:81) suggest that שְׁמָמָה in the MT carries overtones of rape. They also make the case that imagery of the (metaphorical) rape of the (personified) Daughter of Zion can also be found in Lamentations 1:8 (in the reference to the exposed nakedness of the city), Lamentations 1:10 (where it is said that a foe stretched out his hand over all the city’s “precious things” and nations “entered” her “sanctuary”) and Lamentations 1:12 (where the root עָלַל is used to convey YHWH’s cruel treatment of the city). Dobbs-Allsopp and Linafelt (2001:80) note that throughout the book “Yhwh is depicted as exercising raw power over Judah and its environs and inhabitants. When this brutal power manifests itself in violence and is channeled against the figure of a defenseless woman the issue of rape arises”). Although this is a thought-provoking interpretation of the MT version of verse 13, it is probably not as applicable to the version transmitted by 4QLam, because the speaker here is not the female figure of personified Jerusalem, but the narrator.

VERSE 14

4QLam

נקשרה על פשעי בידו וישתרג עולו על צ'וארי [It is bound about my steps by his hand / We are bound up by his hand on account of my transgressions / we are bound up to my transgressions by his hand and He fastened his yoke onto my neck]. He made my strength to fail. YHWH gave me into the hand of him whom I am not able to withstand / YHWH delivered me up; I am unable to stand.

MT

נשקד על פשעי בידו וישתרגו עלו על-צוארי הכשיל He bound (?) the yoke of my transgressions by his hand; they were fastened, they went up onto my neck. He made my strength to fail. Adonai gave me into the hands of those whom I was unable to withstand.

A cursory glance at the text preserved in 4QLam reveals a number of variant readings compared to the MT. The fragment from cave 4 reads נקשרה ("she/it is bound up"), a preposition על,¹⁵¹ וישתרג ("and he fastened together") and עולו ("his yoke"), whereas the MT has נשקד ("he bound"), על ("yoke"), וישתרגו ("they are fastened together") and עלו ("they went up") respectively. Moreover, 4QLam has the *Tetragrammaton*, where the MT reads אדני. The

¹⁵¹ Cross (2000:236; 1983:146) avers that the verb נקשרה in 4QLam imposes the vocalisation על in accordance with the MT. This statement is not convincing, since a full orthography is used to write "his yoke" (עולו) in the same line as נקשרה על. This study therefore agrees with Schäfer (2004:118*) that על almost certainly means the preposition על.

נִשְׁקָד עַל פְּשְׁעֵי בִידוֹ – נִקְשְׁרָה עַל פְּשְׁעֵי בִידוֹ

¹⁵² This suggestion of Praetorius meets with the approval of Kraus (1983:23), while Hobbins (2006:22) appears to arrive at the same emendation independently from Praetorius.

110

order to correct the MT. He suggests that the original text had the form **נִקְשׁוּ עָלַי פְּשָׁעַי**, “schwer lasten auf mir meine Sünden”. Although Hillers (1992:73) also emends the text, he takes the consonantal base of the MT as his point of departure and goes on to vocalise the consonants differently from how the Masoretes did it. Firstly, Hillers prefers the reading **נִשְׁקַד עַל** in favour of the MT’s **נִשְׁקַד עָלַי**. Secondly, he does not read **פִּשְׁעַי** as **פִּשְׁעַי** (“my sins”), but rather as **פִּשְׁעַי** (“my steps”), since, in his opinion, the former does not fit as the subject of the verb **יִשְׁתַּרְגּוּ** in the next clause. Lastly, he marshals support from the Syriac word **ܣܝܢܐ** (“to fabricate”/“to weave”/“to entangle”), which is used of a path,¹⁵⁴ to interpret the expression **בְּיָדוֹ יִשְׁתַּרְגּוּ**. According to this interpretation of the text YHWH kept watch over his people’s steps, only in order to trip them up (Hillers 1992:90).

In spite of the difficulties in the MT, House (2004:335), Renkema (1993:116) and Albrektson (1963:73-74) retain it as the *lectio difficilior* and, therefore, as the most original wording of Lamentations 1:14. On the one hand, Albrektson regards the ancient translations as attempts to make sense of a word that was no longer understood, while, on the other hand, he objects to proposals for the emendation of the *hapax legomenon* **נִשְׁקַד**. He also refers favourably to the view of Ewald (1881:108) that the root **שִׁקַּד** might be a *terminus technicus* for putting on a yoke. This not only alleviates the need to change **עַל** into the preposition **עָלַי**, but also fosters a link with the following clauses.

With regard to the reading **נִקְשָׁרָה** in 4QLam, Cross asserts that it, in part, justifies the emendation of Ehrlich (1914:33), who suggested that the original text of verse 14 read **נִקְשָׁרוּ**. Cross (2000:236) considers both the readings in the Masoretic manuscripts (**נִשְׁקַד** and **נִשְׁקַד**) to be corrupt and claims that they developed from the better reading **נִקְשָׁרָה** through metathesis of *qôf* and *šîn/šîn* and through confusion of *rêš* and *dālêth*. On this interpretation of the evidence,

against me”. In the critical apparatus to *BHK*, Robinson (1937:1230) suggests that the plural form **נִשְׁקַדוּ** might underlie the reading in P.

¹⁵⁴ Payne Smith (1902:389) gives the example of **ܣܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ** (“A road beset/entangled with stumbling blocks”).

4QLam resembles the proposed original reading more closely than the MT does. Schäfer (2004:118*), however, argues in favour of the exact opposite position, namely that נקשרה represents a corruption from נשקד through metathesis of *śîn* and *qôf*, which afterwards led to a confusion of *dālêth* and *rêš*. Hobbins (2006:21), who takes נקשה על as the original reading, proposes that נקשרה על in 4QLam developed from this earlier reading through an assimilation with the semantics of the next clause. Even though these hypotheses identify plausible candidates for the more original text, they do not explain the presence of the final *hē* in the form נקשרה. The verb appears to be a Niph'al perfect third-person feminine singular or a Niph'al participle feminine singular of the root קשר ("to be bound up" BDB 905; KBL 860). The form demands a feminine subject. Abegg, Flint and Ulrich (1999:625) render נקשרה על פשעי בידו as "it was bound about my transgressions by his hand" and leave the subject of the verb undetermined. Cross (2000:236) suggests that it is the speaker: "Bound am I", but this explanation flies in the face of the tendency in 4QLam to equate the speaker of these verses with the masculine narrator. One solution to the problem would be to follow Hillers' suggestion of reading פשעי as "my steps" and to take the feminine noun רשת in the previous verse as the subject of the opening verb of verse 14. The narrator would then state that the net was bound about his steps by the hand of YHWH. This statement would parallel the one in verse 13 concerning the net that YHWH sprung for his feet. It is also possible to read נקשרה as a first-person plural imperfect with a *hē*-affirmative. Qimron (1986:44) indicates that this form of the first-person imperfect, which looks like a cohortative, is found sixty six times in the Dead Sea scrolls.¹⁵⁵ In this case, the imperfect verb expresses an action in the present and its subject would be the narrator and his community,

¹⁵⁵ The corpus from which Qimron draws this statistic includes all the non-biblical and non-apocryphal scrolls that were published before 1976. Abegg (1998:336-337) also draws attention to this feature of the first-person imperfects in his overview of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea scrolls. His corpus is made up of the following texts: the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), the *Messianic Rule* (1QSa), *Blessings* (1QSB), the *Pesher on Habakkuk* (1QpHab), the *War scroll* (1QM), the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH^a, 1QH^b), the *Temple scroll* (11QT^a, 11QT^b) and the *Damascus Document* (CD A, CD B).

while **פשעי** would best be read as “my transgression(s)”. The preposition **על** can be interpreted as indicating either the joining of two entities (“we are bound to my transgression[s] by his hand”) or cause (“we are bound up by his hand on account of my transgression[s]”) (BHRG §39.19.3/5). It follows from these interpretative possibilities that the reading in 4QLam did not necessarily result from a corruption of an earlier reading, but might reflect a deliberate change brought about by a scribe so as to convey his understanding of the text.

ישתרגו עלו – וישתרג עלו

The Hithpaʿel perfect verb **ישתרג** in 4QLam not only has an added conjunction *wāw* that is lacking in the MT, it is also singular, while its counterpart in the MT, **ישתרגו**, is plural. Cross (2000:236) argues that the structure of the bicolon requires that the original text had the form **ישתרג עלו**.¹⁵⁶ In his opinion, the added conjunction of **ישתרג** in 4QLam can be attributed to a wrong division of the colon, while the plural form of the verb in the MT was the result of attraction to **פשעי** read as a plural noun.¹⁵⁷ The claim that a wrong division of the colon explains the added conjunction in **ישתרג** is not convincing. A comparison between Cross’ reconstructed text, divided into cola,¹⁵⁸ and the colometric arrangement of the MT in *BHS* and *BHK*¹⁵⁹ shows

¹⁵⁶ The reading of **עלו** as “his yoke” and, therefore, as the object of the preceding verb, is not only found in 4QLam, but also in *L* (ἐβάρυνε(ν) τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ). In the Syriac translation (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܕܝܐ ܕܝܕܝܐ ܕܝܕܝܐ) the equivalent of **עלו** has been interpreted as a plural noun and construed not as the object, but as the subject of the verb: “And by his hands his yokes were bound to my neck”. Hobbins (2006:22) and Hillers (1992:74) aver that the original text might have read **על עלה** (“his yoke has gone up on”), while Rudolph (1962:207) suggests an interpolation of **על** between **עלו** and **על**. These scholars attribute the loss of the words that they add in their emendations to haplography.

¹⁵⁷ The word **עלו** was also taken to be a verb and vocalised as a Qal perfect third-person plural of the verbal root **עלה** (“they went up”). Hobbins (2006:22) thinks that this reading in the MT represents an assimilation with the preceding **ישתרגו**. Be that as it may, **פשעי** forms the subject of both **ישתרגו** and **עלו** in the MT.

¹⁵⁸ נקשר על פשעי / בידו ישתרג / עלו על צוארי / הכשיל כוחי (Cross 1983:145).

that his explanation of the reading in 4QLam is rooted in a predetermined preference for the lineation in the critical editions. According to the Masoretic accents, however, the wording in the MT from נִשְׁקָד to כָּחִי falls into three cola. The main unit divider is the *athnâḥ* with כָּחִי. The next major disjunctive accent is the *tiphḥā* with עַל-צִוְאָרִי. Yeivin (1980:191-192) indicates that in those cases where a main division within the *tiphḥā* unit is on the third word or further before the *tiphḥā*, it is always marked by *r^ebhîa* with a *t^ebhîr* between it and the *tiphḥā*. In the present verse, the *t^ebhîr* is with יִשְׁתַּרְגֵּנּוּ and the *r^ebhîa* with בִּידוֹ. The division of the sense unit is, therefore, after בִּידוֹ and before יִשְׁתַּרְגֵּנּוּ. The corresponding text in 4QLam also consists of three sense units. עוֹלו serves as the direct object of וישתרג with the prepositional phrase [על צִוְאָרִי] as an adjunct. YHWH is the implied subject of this verb. Its conjunction distinguishes the clause [על צִוְאָרִי] עוֹלו from the previous one, נקשרה על פשעי בידו. In the latter, the prepositional phrase בידו forms an adjunct with the verb נקשרה. כוחי forms an independent clause, but like וישתרג it has YHWH as its implied subject. The division of the sense units in the cave 4 manuscript therefore agrees with the colometric arrangement of the MT based on the Masoretic accents, notwithstanding the differences in syntax between the two Hebrew texts. The conjunction of וישתרג in 4QLam could be a deliberate addition, or it might have come into being through dittography of the *wāw* of בידו (perhaps facilitated by the similar form of the *yôd* of וישתרג and the *wāw*) in a copy of the text where the consonants were crowded: בידו וישתרג עולו → בידו וישתרג עולו.

The clauses in the MT convey the metaphor of a yoke constructed from the transgressions of the speaker, personified Jerusalem. The yoke is placed on her neck and, in so doing, the yoke, or YHWH (depending on whom the subject of the verb הכשיל is), causes her strength to fail. Conversely, the wording of 4QLam allows for two interpretations of these clauses in Lamentations 1:14. If נקשרה is taken as a Niph'al perfect third-person feminine form with רשת as its subject, the narrator says that YHWH tied a net to his steps and fastened a yoke onto his

¹⁵⁹ (1:14bβ) כָּחִי / הַכְשִׁיל כָּחִי (1:14bα) / עָלוּ עַל-צִוְאָרִי (1:14aβ) / בִּידוֹ יִשְׁתַּרְגֵּנּוּ (1:14aα) / עַל פְּשָׁעֵי. This is also the arrangement found in *BHQ*.

neck. YHWH thereby causes the narrator's weakened state. Alternatively, נקשרה can be read as a first-person plural imperfect. On this reading, the narrator either declares that he and his community are ensnared by the hand of YHWH because of his transgressions, or that he and his community are bound up with his transgressions by YHWH.

נִתְּנִי אֶדְנִי בְיָדִי לֹא־אוֹכֵל קוֹם – נִתְּנִי יְהוָה בִּיד לֹא אוֹכֵל לְקוֹם

In this last clause of verse 14, both Hebrew texts state that the deity delivered the speaker up to the enemy. While the MT transmitted by B19^A refers to God with the designation “Adonai”, 4QLam and other Masoretic manuscripts use the *Tetragrammaton*.¹⁶⁰ On the one hand, the critical apparatus of *BHS* instructs the reader to replace אֶדְנִי with יְהוָה and, in this manner, convey a preference for the proper name of God as the earlier reading (Robinson 1977:1356). On the other hand, Renkema identifies אֶדְנִי as the more difficult reading and argues that it was adapted to יְהוָה in the manuscripts.¹⁶¹ His structural analysis shows that only one divine name is used per canticle (Renkema 1988:318-320). In the first lament, אֶדְנִי occurs in the sixth canticle (Lamentations 1:14-16). Moreover, according to Renkema, the passages in which this divine name is employed also differ in content to those where יְהוָה appears. The *Tetragrammaton* is predominantly mentioned in contexts of prayer and utterances of trust. On occasion it is said that יְהוָה oppresses or executes judgement. Contrastingly, אֶדְנִי is found in passages with harsh terminology: Adonai hands over (Lamentations 1:14), piles up the strong ones (Lamentations 1:15), treads Daughter Zion as in a winepress (Lamentations 1:15), engulfs with a cloud in his anger (Lamentations 2:1), swallows up without pity (Lamentations 2:2), becomes like an enemy (Lamentations 2:5) and rejects his altar (Lamentations 2:7). This divine name is used

¹⁶⁰ In the MT of Lamentations, as represented by B19^A, אֶדְנִי appears fourteen times (1:14, 1:15 (x2), 2:1, 2:2, 2:5, 2:7, 2:18, 2:19, 2:20, 3:31, 3:36, 3:37 and 3:58) and יְהוָה thirty two times (1:5, 1:9, 1:11, 1:12, 1:17, 1:18, 1:20, 2:6, 2:7, 2:8, 2:9, 2:17, 2:20, 2:22, 3:18, 3:22, 3:24, 3:25, 3:26, 3:40, 3:50, 3:55, 3:59, 3:61, 3:64, 3:66, 4:11, 4:16, 4:20, 5:1, 5:19, 5:21).

¹⁶¹ Hobbins (2006:21) also opts for אֶדְנִי in his reconstruction of the original text without justifying his choice.

considerably fewer times in positive statements (Lamentations 3:31 and 3:58). Renkema (1993:119) concludes from this that God's dominion and might dominate those contexts where אֲדֹנִי appears and, therefore, that this divine name fits the immediate context of the canticle better than יהוה does.

Hillers (1992:73), however, argues that the variation between the divine names does not follow a specific pattern:

There is no convincing explanation for it from the point of view of meaning, for in a given passage one seems about as appropriate as the other. Also metrically there is not apparent ground for preference of one over the other. Finally, one may note that there is considerable variation between the two in the manuscript tradition. It seems impossible to be sure that the usage was absolutely uniform even in the original form of the book, even though it is likely that to some extent *"dōnāy* had replaced an original *yhwh*, especially since in later periods *"dōnāy* was being pronounced in public reading wherever *yhwh* stood in the text.¹⁶²

From a text-critical perspective, Hillers' argument seems more convincing than Renkema's, seeing as it takes into account how the wording of copies of the book might have been changed during its transmission. Nevertheless, it is debatable whether an indiscriminate substitution of אֲדֹנִי with יהוה throughout the whole of the book is justified in light of the inconsistency of usage reflected in the manuscript evidence. The matter therefore remains moot.

With regard to בִּידִי לֹא אוֹכֵל קוֹם in the MT, Ehrlich (1914:33) recommends that one reads דוֹה instead of בִּידִי and לֹא אוֹכֵל קוֹם as a result clause: "der Herr hat mich krank gemacht, dass ich mich auf den Beinen nicht halten kann". Renkema also alters the wording and proposes that the second *yôd* of בִּידִי should be changed into a *wāw*. This *wāw* is then attached to לֹא as a conjunction: בִּידִי לֹא אוֹכֵל קוֹם, "Adonai gaf mij prijs, en ik kan niet staande blijven"

¹⁶² Cross (2000:236) shares the view that the direction of the change was presumably from יהוה to אֲדֹנִי, "since in late times יהוה was not read aloud, and often the manuscripts were dictated".

(Renkema 1993:118). Neither of these proposals has met with scholarly assent. The present forms of the Hebrew witnesses are patient of several interpretations. Most commentators agree that *לֹא אוֹכֵל קוֹם* in the MT forms a relative clause that stands in a genitive relationship with the status construct *בִּיד* (GKC §130d). It is possible, *mutatis mutandis*, to read 4QLam in a similar way. In this manuscript, *בִּיד* is singular and the final infinitive construct *לְקוֹם* has an added preposition *לְ*. The latter can be an assimilation with the more usual way of writing the infinitive, as suggested by Schäfer (2004:57) in the critical apparatus of *BHQ*, or it can be explained as a dittography of *lamed*: *לֹא אוֹכֵל לְקוֹם* → *לֹא אוֹכֵל לְקוֹם*. The idea might be that God gave the speaker over to the enemy in her/his weakened state and that she/he cannot withstand them/him. Then again, *קוֹם* can be understood in its more literal sense of “to stand up”/“to arise”. In the case of the MT, the power of the transgressions might be in view (Provan 1991:51). The weight of this burden resting on the personified Jerusalem’s neck prevents her from getting up from the ground. If *בִּיד* is not read as a status construct, the expression *נָתַנִּי יְהוָה בִּיד* (“YHWH delivered me up”) in 4QLam would form a parallelism with the next clause *לֹא אוֹכֵל לְקוֹם*, which indicates that the speaker cannot hold his ground.

VERSE 15

4QLam

<p>סֵלָה כּוֹל אֲבוּדֵי אֲדוֹנָי בְּקִרְבִּי קָרָא עָלַי מִן[עַד] לְשִׁבּוֹר בְּחֹרֵי גֵת דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה לְבַתּוֹלֶת בֵּת יְהוּדָה</p>	<p>Adonai has scorned all my perished ones in my midst. He proclaimed an app[ointed time] against me in order to crush my chosen young men. YHWH has trodden the winepress for the Virgin Daughter of Judah.</p>
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MT

<p>סֵלָה כָּל-אַבִּירַי אֲדֹנִי בְּקִרְבִּי קָרָא עָלַי מִזְעֵד לְשִׁבּוֹר בְּחֹרֵי גֵת דֶּרֶךְ אֲדֹנִי לְבַתּוֹלֶת בֵּת-יְהוּדָה: ס</p>	<p>Adonai has rejected (?) all my mighty men in my midst. He proclaimed an appointed time against me in order to crush my chosen young men. Adonai has trodden the winepress for the</p>
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Verse 15 is well preserved in 4QLam, with the exception of the end of line 6 of Column III. The damage to the leather is probably the work of worms (Cross 2000:234). Nevertheless, the *mēm* and *wāw* of מוֹן[עד] can be deciphered. Differences between 4QLam and the MT include the variants אָבֹדִי and יְהוֹה for אֲבִירִי and אֲדָנִי respectively.

סְלָה כָּל-אֲבִירִי – סְלָה כּוֹל אֲבֹדִי

Cross reconstructs the counterpart of the MT's אֲבִירִי in the manuscript from cave 4 as אֲבִידִי. In his opinion, this reading merely represents an interchange of *rêš* and *dālēth* (Cross 2000:236). The editor of *BHQ* shares this view (Schäfer 2004:57). The almost identical shape of the letters *yôd* and *wāw* in the Herodian script in which 4QLam was written also allows one to reconstruct the word in question as אֲבֹדִי. This would presuppose not only confusion of *rêš* and *dālēth*, but of *yôd* and *wāw* as well. If the word in 4QLam is reconstructed as אֲבֹדִי, it would have the same form as בַּחֲוֹרִי in the next clause, a noun in the *qātûl* pattern with a first-person singular suffix (“my chosen young men”). This noun pattern resembles the Qal participle passive form of verbs and, in the case of אֲבֹדִי, the verbal root is אָבַד (“to perish”/“to be ruined”/“to be destroyed” BDB 1; KBL 2; DCH I 98-99). אֲבֹדִי might therefore have the meaning of “my perished ones”. Conversely, אֲבִירִי in the MT is a *qattîl* word with a first-person singular suffix (“my strong ones”/“my mighty men”). Theoretically speaking, both אֲבֹדִי and אֲבִירִי are suitable candidates for the earlier reading,¹⁶⁴ since the one could just as easily have developed from the other through erroneous copying. Although the consonantal base of the MT should not by default be identified with the original text until proven otherwise, a number of considerations point to אֲבִירִי

¹⁶³ The preposition ל of לַבְתוּלַת בֵּת יְהוּדָה can either be a *lāmēd* of disadvantage, or it can indicate possession (BHRG §39.11.3; IBHS §11.2.10d). In the case of the latter, the translation of the final clause of verse 15 would be “YHWH/Adonai has trodden the winepress of the Virgin Daughter of Judah”.

¹⁶⁴ Ehrlich (1914:33), however, avers that אֲבִירִי in the MT should “sonder Zweifel” be replaced with גְּבוּרִי.

as the earlier reading. Firstly, the numerous other scribal errors in 4QLam suggest that the scribe who wrote this manuscript was to some extent careless in copying the text. אָבוּדִי might well be included in the list of words containing scribal errors exhibited by 4QLam. However, on its own this is not a clinching argument, because it is also possible that the scribe of 4QLam already found the form אָבוּדִי in the copy of the text that he was reproducing. The view that אָבוּדִי was the result of an incorrect copying of the form אָבִירִי must, therefore, be bolstered by more evidence. A second consideration in favour of the reading אָבִירִי is that it is well-known in biblical and later forms of Hebrew, whereas the *qātûl* form אָבוּד is otherwise unattested and the Qal participle passive of אָבַד is found only in the Masada scroll containing the Hebrew text of Ben Sira 41:2.¹⁶⁵ Finally, the translation equivalents in the LXX, πάντας τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς μου (“all my strong men”), P, حَمَمٌ حَقِيصٌ (“all my mighty men/warriors”), V, *omnes magnificos meos* (“all my great/esteemed ones”) and T^W כָּל תְּקִיפֵי (“all my mighty ones”)¹⁶⁶ seem to support the reading in the MT. These three considerations give weight to the argument that אָבִירִי is the earlier reading and that אָבוּדִי in 4QLam developed from it. Nevertheless, this conclusion does not undermine the fact that אָבוּדִי makes sense in the immediate context of verse 15 as it is presented in 4QLam. In order to substantiate this claim, a closer look is needed at the verb סָלַח and its respective direct objects in the two Hebrew witnesses.

The meaning of the Hebrew verb סָלַח is disputed. In the MT, it is vocalised as a Piʿēl and many scholars relate the form to the root סָלַח I, which, in the Qal stem formation, has the

¹⁶⁵ The relevant passage in the Hebrew text of Ben Sira 41:2 in the Masada scroll reads as follows: אָפֶס הַמֶּרֶה וְאָבוּד. The corresponding part of the verse in Manuscript B from the Cairo Genizah differs significantly from the text in the Masada scroll: סָרַב וְאָבַד תְּקוּהָ (Beentjes 1997:161; Yadin 1965:17).

¹⁶⁶ Alexander (2007:120) notes that this plural reading is found in Codex Urbinas I, manuscript 116-Z-39 in the library of the Universidad Complutense in Madrid and manuscripts 3218 and 3231 of the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, Italy. Conversely, the corresponding noun in manuscript Hébr. 110 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is singular in number. The consonantal base of the reading in T^Y is כָּל תְּקִיפִי, but the vocalisation of the suffix indicates that it is appended to a plural noun (Van der Heide 1981:9*).

meaning “to despise”/“to make light of”/“to consider worthless”/“to toss away” (BDB 699; KBL 658; DCH VI 159). In view of this, a similar sense is often ascribed to the rare Piʿel form in the MT of the present verse: “Verworfen hat all meine Helden der Herr in meiner Mitte” (Kraus 1983:22); “Als wertlos behandelte alle meine Starken der Herr in meiner Mitte” (Rudolph 1963:205); “Es verwarf all meine Helden der Herr in meiner Mitte” (Kaiser 1981:309); “The Lord flouted all my mighty men” (Provan 1991:51); “He has scorned all my strong men – the Lord in my midst” (House 2004:333). Nevertheless, the divergent renderings in the ancient versions, as well as the fact that some scholars resort to emendations, imply that the meaning of the verb in the present context remains uncertain and that the abovementioned glosses are only tentative.

The first clause of verse 15 in the LXX reads as follows: ἐξῆρε πάντας τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς μου ὁ κύριος ἐκ μέσου μου (“The Lord removed all my strong men from¹⁶⁷ my midst”). Similarly, Jerome rendered the opening sentence of Lamentations 1:15 in his Hebrew *Vorlage* as *abstulit omnes magnificos meos Dominus de medio mei* (“the Lord removed all my great/esteemed ones from my midst”). The translation equivalent of סלה in the Greek translation is ἐξῆρε, the aorist indicative third-person singular of the verb ἐξάιρω (“to drive out”/“to remove”) and *abstulit* in V (the perfect indicative third-person singular of *aufero*, “he took/carried away”). Apart from the likelihood that the V text exhibits Septuagintal influence here, both the Greek and the Latin equivalents might be renderings of סלה in the sense of “to toss away”/“to do away with” or of the root סלל in its meaning “to cast up”/“to lift up”.¹⁶⁸ Conversely, the counterpart of סלה is חבט (“to tread down”) in P and כבש (“to tread upon”/“to stamp out”/“to

¹⁶⁷ The prepositional phrase ἐκ μέσου μου in the Greek text and its counterpart in V, *de medio mei*, may witness to a form מקרבי in their Hebrew *Vorlagen*. It is also possible that the translators mistook the *bêth* of בקרבי for a *mêm*. With regard to the LXX, Albrektson (1963:76) argues that the use of the preposition ἐκ is a consequence of the choice of ἐξῆρε as translation equivalent for סלה.

¹⁶⁸ However, in this meaning, סלל is used as casting up a highway (Isaiah 62:10) or as lifting up a song (Psalm 68:5) (BDB 699; KBL 659; DCH VI 162).

suppress”) in the two recensions of T. The Syriac and Aramaic translations might derive from סלל not in the sense of “cast up/lift up”, but in the sense of “trample down”/“tread”/“to beat a path” (Alexander 2007:120). Berlin (2004:46-47) is of the opinion that the image of trampling or stamping down found in P and T is also the intended one in the Hebrew text. In her commentary on the MT, she relates סלה to סלל, which is often used as stamping down the ground around a city in preparation for raising an earthen ramp during a siege, and argues that this continues the military metaphors employed in Lamentations 1:13 (fire to burn the city and nets to entrap the soldiers) and Lamentations 1:14 (a yoke placed on the neck of the conquered, which symbolises subjugation to the conqueror). This interpretation of סלה accords well with the verbs לשבר (“to crush”) and דרך (“he has trodden”) later in verse 15. The effect of such an interpretation is to make trampling and crushing the controlling images in the verse (Berlin 2004:57-58).¹⁶⁹ Hillers, however, draws attention to the variant reading כנש (“to gather”) in T^W.¹⁷⁰ This reading in the Western Aramaic recension lends support to his suggestion that סלה in the MT derives from a root סלי/סלה and is parallel to the root סלל in its meaning “to heap up”, which is used in Jeremiah 50:26 for piling up of sheaves of grain for threshing as an image of the punishment of Babylon. Hillers (1992:74) also mentions the possibility that סלה is a scribal error for a form of סלל. The reading of סלה as “he heaped up” entails that harvest imagery is employed throughout verse 15 of Lamentations 1. The mighty men of Jerusalem were stacked like sheaves in the middle of the threshing floor. YHWH proclaimed a gruesome harvest festival so that the chosen young men can be “threshed”. This is followed by the picture of Judah as a winepress, in which the warriors

¹⁶⁹ Images of trampling also dominate the text of the Syriac translation. ܕܒܕ in the first clause parallels the verb ܕܒܕ (“to trample”/“to tread under foot”) in the clause ܕܒܕ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ (“The Lord trod the winepress for the Virgin Daughter of Judah”). It is noteworthy that the word לשבר (“to crush”) is rendered by ܕܡܕܝܢܐ, the Aph’el infinitive of ܡܕܝܢܐ (“to slay”/“to destroy”/“to do away with”). The image of crushing is therefore not reproduced in the P text of verse 15.

¹⁷⁰ The variant is found in the wording of T^W included in Bomberg’s Second Rabbinic Bible, as well as in one manuscript of T^Y (Alexander 2007:120).

are trampled like grapes until their blood runs like wine. Renkema (1993:119-120) takes over Hillers' interpretation of סלה and avers that it is not only T that presents a similar understanding of the Hebrew text, but P as well.

The readings in the Syriac and Aramaic versions are therefore broached in service of scholars' different interpretations of סלה in the MT, while the LXX and V might be based on a reading of the consonants סלה as a Qal form. Alternatively, the Greek and Latin equivalents might represent attempts to make sense of the form of the word in their *Vorlagen* by relating it to a particular meaning of the root סלל. Since the meaning of סלה is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty, a few scholars have in the past given in to the impulse to emend the text. Dyserinck (1892:364) replaces סלה in the MT with סלף ("to pervert"/"to subvert"/"to ruin" BDB 701; KBL 660; DCH VI 166) and מועד with מועד ("appointed place"/"horde" BDB 418; DCH V 178). Accordingly, his translation reads: "Verdorven heeft de Heer al mijne sterken in mijn midden; Hij heeft tegen mij een leger opgeroepen". Budde (1892:267) approves of the emendation of סלה into סלף, but deems the change of מועד to מועד unnecessary. These proposals for emending the text of Lamentations 1:15 have not gained much support in recent scholarship.

In view of the difficulties surrounding סלה in the MT, this study interprets the form of the opening verb of verse 15 in 4QLam as a Qal perfect third-person singular form of the root סלה. In this interpretation, the narrator complains that Adonai treated all the perished ones in his community¹⁷¹ with scorn. Moreover, he bemoans the fact that God proclaimed an appointed time against him when the chosen young men from his group were to be annihilated. This interpretation of the first two clauses of verse 15 in 4QLam agrees, to some extent, with the exposition of the MT by scholars who ascribe a meaning to the Pi'el form of סלה that is very similar to the meaning of the verb in the Qal stem formation. The disagreement between the interpretations is the result of the different speakers in the Hebrew texts and the different objects

¹⁷¹ Seeing as the speaker in 4QLam is the narrator and not personified Jerusalem, בקרבי refers to the midst of a human group. In view of the first-person suffixes of אבודי, בקרבי, עלי, and בחורי, it appears as though the narrator acts as the representative and spokesperson of his group or community.

of the first verb. It follows from this that אבודי in 4QLam makes good sense in the opening clause of verse 15, although it might have come into being through the confusion of letters in the earlier reading אבירי.

אֲדֹנִי – יְהוָה

Both 4QLam and the MT have אֲדֹנִי in the first clause of verse 15. The change to the *Tetragrammaton* in the final clause of the manuscript from Qumran, where the MT again reads אֲדֹנִי, contributes to the variation between the two designations of the deity in the Hebrew manuscripts of Lamentations. Despite the fact that Cross (2000:236) expresses his preference for יהוה over אֲדֹנִי, it was noted in the discussion of the previous verse that the question as to which one of the divine designations constitutes the more original reading remains uncertain.

VERSES 16 AND 17

4QLam

Zion spread out [] comforter for her from	פרשה // ציון בִּי [] מנחם לה מכול אוהביה
amongst all her lovers. You are righteous O	צדיק אתה יהוה צפה אדוני לעקוב סביבִּי []
YHWH! Adonai lies in ambush for Jacob.	היתה ציון לנדוח בניהמה על אלה בכֹּ עיני ירדה
[His] neighbours []. Zion has been	דמעתי כיא רחק [] מִן [] נפש היו בנִי
banished amongst them (?). Over these things	שוממים [] גבר אויב
my eyes cry. My tears run down because []	
is far, [] life. My sons have become	
desolate, [] an enemy has prevailed.	

MT

על־אלה אני בוכֶּה עיני | עיני ירדה מִיָּם כִּי־רחק מִמֶּנִּי	Over these things I weep. My eyes, my eyes
מִנַּחֵם מְשִׁיב נִפְשִׁי הָיוּ בְנֵי שׁוֹמְמִים כִּי גִבֵּר אוֹיֵב: ס	run with water, because a comforter, one who
פָּרְשָׁה צִיּוֹן בְּיָדֶיהָ אֵין מִנַּחֵם לָהּ צוּה יְהוָה לִיעֲקֹב	revives my life, is far from me. My sons have
סְבִיבוֹ צָרְיוֹ הִיתָה יְרוּשָׁלַם לְנֶדָה בִּינֵיהֶם: ס	become desolate, because an enemy has

prevailed. Zion spread out her hands.¹⁷² There is no comforter for her. YHWH commanded concerning Jacob (that) his neighbours¹⁷³ (be) his enemies. Jerusalem has become a menstruating woman amongst them.

The editor of 4QLam in the DJD edition notes that after פִּרְשָׁה, there appears to be an erasure (indicated by the sign //) and that the end of line 7 of Column III has suffered severe damage (Cross 2000:234). In addition to the several textual variants preserved by 4QLam in comparison to the MT, the fragment from Qumran exhibits a reversed order in the acrostic sequence of the verses. In contrast to the MT, the verse beginning with *pê* precedes the one beginning with *áyîn* in 4QLam. The two verses are therefore discussed together in the following text-critical analysis.

Different acrostic sequences: *pê/áyîn* (4QLam) – *áyîn/pê* (MT)

The unusual alphabetic order in 4QLam is also found in chapters 2, 3 and 4 of the MT. In his reconstruction of the original text of Lamentations 1, Hobbins (2006:24) expresses a preference for the *pê/áyîn* arrangement of the verses in 4QLam, while Berges (2002:89-90) regards this order as a harmonisation to the sequence found in Lamentations 2, 3 and 4. Hillers (1992:75), Cross (2000:236-237) and Schäfer (2004:118) are of the opinion that the question concerning the

¹⁷² According to Hobbins (2006:24), פִּרְשָׁה צִיּוֹן בִּידֶיהָ in the MT is corrupt. He reconstructs the original wording of the phrase as פִּרְמָה צִיּוֹן בִּידֶיהָ (“Zion rent her linen vestments”). Hobbins argues that the changes of מָ into שָׁ and בָּ into פָּ were facilitated by reminiscence of יָדוּ פָּרַשׁ צָר in Lamentations 1:10 and the rarity of both the verb פָּרַשׁ and the noun בִּידֶים. On this reading, Zion is said to have rent her linen vestments in an act of grief.

¹⁷³ סְבִיבֵי is taken here as a noun. Cf. Rudolph (1938:104) and Westermann (1994:113). Hobbins (2006:23-24) emends the text to read סָבְבוּ (“they gather around”). He argues that the syntax of the MT is awkward and that סְבִיבֵי was the result of an orthographical error.

original order is a moot issue that cannot be settled satisfactorily.¹⁷⁴ The different arrangement of the verses does, however, have a marked influence on how the content of the verses is presented in the two Hebrew witnesses (see the discussion below).

מכול אוהביה צדיק אתה יהוה > MT

The addition in 4QLam consists of two elements. Firstly, מכול אוהביה is conflated from verse 2 where the phrase אין מנחם לה, which is also found in the present verse, is followed by מכל אוהביה (מכול אוהביה in 4QLam). In all probability, the identical wording in the two verses triggered the addition. Schäfer (2004:119*) suggests that the scribe might have added the phrase automatically, since he knew the text by heart. The observation that there is no one to comfort the city of Jerusalem/Zion is repeated five times in the first chapter of Lamentations (1:2, 1:9, 1:16, 1:17, 1:21). It is an important recurring *Leitmotif* in the first lament of the book and contributes to the image of the miserable and abandoned city. In turn, this image forms part of the theme of Jerusalem's reversal of fortunes. The conflated passage in 4QLam evokes this contrast motif more clearly than the text of the MT does by mentioning Zion's erstwhile lovers who have forsaken her. Another link with verse 2 is fostered if the end of line 8 of Column III in 4QLam is restored to read סביביו צריו in accordance with the consonantal base of the MT. The

¹⁷⁴ Cross (1983:148) reaches this conclusion after weighing the theories of how the book of Lamentations was composed: "If one posits a single anonymous author for the book, he could well argue that the order of chapters 2-4 reflects the author's preference, and that Lamentations 1 has been secondarily conformed to the standard order. However, we are not sure that the laments come from a single hand. Again, if we assume that Lamentations is the collection of a systematic editor, we might argue that the *pe-ayin* order is original at least in the principal edition of the book. But we do not know that the putative editor was systematic; he may have included Lamentations 1 in his collection in the form it came to him, in which case it has been secondarily conformed to the order of Lamentations 2-4 in the textual tradition preserved in 4QLam (and so on)".

announcement that the neighbouring nations who surround “Jacob”¹⁷⁵ are his oppressors recalls the note in verse 2 that all of Jerusalem’s friends have dealt treacherously with her and have become her enemies.

The second added element, **צדיק אתה יהוה**, might well be a variant of the beginning of verse 18 that was inserted into its present position in the wording preserved in 4QLam. Cross (2000:237) presumes that **צדיק אתה יהוה** was a marginal reading that infiltrated the body of the text. However, bearing in mind the creative license of scribes at the time when 4QLam was copied, the possibility that a scribe adapted the wording by adding the clause in question, be it the manuscript of 4QLam itself or an earlier copy, cannot be rejected out of hand. These two explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Although **צדיק אתה יהוה** does not constitute a double reading *per se*, the addition of this clause into the wording of the *pê* verse in 4QLam might have occurred in a way similar to the creation of double readings. Talmon (1964:231) points out that scribes sometimes made note of corrective readings or variant readings in the margins of manuscripts or in the spaces between the lines of writing in a column. A double reading comes into being when a subsequent copyist transferred these marginal or interlinear readings into the wording of the text. In the case of the corrective readings, the inclusion of the marginal or interlinear reading into the body of the text by the second scribe runs counter to the intentions of the first scribe, but in the case of a variant reading, the second scribe does what the first scribe intended, namely to preserve the variant reading. Alternatively, a double reading was created when a scribe did not bother to note the variant reading in the margin or the interlinear space, but intentionally inserted the parallel reading into the wording of a text in order to preserve two readings which he considered to be of equal value. These two different ways in which double readings came about might help to shed light on the addition of the clause **צדיק אתה יהוה** in the wording of the verse of Lamentations under discussion. It is possible that the clause was written in the margin by one scribe as a theological annotation and later mistakenly

¹⁷⁵ Concerning the use of the patriarchal name Jacob, House (2004:361) argues that Jerusalem, Zion and Jacob are to be considered as synonyms. “Jacob”, like “Zion”, is therefore another designation for Jerusalem.

incorporated into the wording of the text by a subsequent scribe, as Cross (2000:237) suggests. Another possibility is that a creative scribe deliberately inserted the clause directly into the wording of the verse as a theological comment on its opening sentence. A closer look at the impact of the clause on the content of the verse is needed before one can decide which one of these is the most plausible explanation. The second-person independent personal pronoun **אתה** implies that YHWH is being addressed. This is also the case in verses 7 and 9 of 4QLam (provided, of course, that the lost wording in these verses are restored to agree with the consonantal base of the MT), as well as verse 11. In these verses, YHWH is implored to remember, see and take note of the pain, affliction and scorn of the narrator (and the community or group that he represents). In the present verse, however, the narrator interrupts his description of Zion's futile attempts at drawing someone's attention to her plight by admitting to YHWH, the author of the city's troubles, that he is in the right. Seeing as the narrator's account of Zion's plight continues after the added clause, the latter disrupts the train of thought of the verse. From this perspective, Cross' suggestion that **צדיק אתה יהוה** was probably a marginal note that a scribe erroneously inserted into the body of the text appears to be the most credible explanation of the addition.

צִוְהָ יְהוָה לְיַעֲקֹב – צַפָּה אֲדוֹנִי לִיעֲקֹב

After the interpolation of **צדיק אתה יהוה**, the text of 4QLam reverts back in the next clause to the designation **אֲדוֹנִי** for God. In contrast, the *Tetragrammaton* is used in the version of the text represented by the MT. This variation in the corresponding passages of the two Hebrew witnesses once more gives the impression of inconsistency in usage of the divine names in Lamentations 1. With regard to the reading in the MT, both Cross (2000:237) and Hobbins (2006:24) regard it as extremely awkward, if not impossible. Renkema, however, argues that the use of **יהוה** in combination with the name of the patriarch Jacob is theologically significant, since it conveys the idea that it was the God of the fathers, the God of Jacob, who exerted his power

over the neighbouring nations in order to bring “Jacob”, that is Judah,¹⁷⁶ to a fall. The text of the MT does not attribute the oppressors’ victory over “Jacob”/Judah to YHWH’s powerlessness in the face of the gods of the other nations or to YHWH’s wrath and, therefore, his absence from “Jacob”/Judah; rather YHWH demonstrated his dominion over the surrounding peoples by commanding them to cause “Jacob”/Judah’s downfall (Renkema 1993:126-127). In this interpretation provided by Renkema, the wording of the MT is not as awkward as Cross and Hobbins claim it to be. The majority of scholars also think that the version of the MT is acceptable. Hillers (1992:75), for example, renders צוה יהוה ליעקב as “Yahweh gave command concerning Jacob”. The following phrase, סביביו צריו, then provides the content of the command: “his enemies (should be) around him”.

Moreover, the ancient translations unanimously witness to the reading in the MT. They do not, however, corroborate scholars’ interpretations of the Hebrew sentence. In the Greek translation ἐνετείλατο κύριος τῷ Ἰακώβ, the counterpart of צוה יהוה ליעקב constitutes a sentence and κύκλω αὐτοῦ οἱ θλίβοντες αὐτόν, the equivalent of סביביו צריו, forms another, syntactically independent sentence. Οἱ θλίβοντες is nominative and serves as the subject of an implied verb (“Those who oppress him (are) all around him”), while צריו in the MT is generally regarded as the object of the verb צוה. סביביו is rendered by the prepositional phrase κύκλω αὐτοῦ. The dative case of τῷ Ἰακώβ can be understood as a dative of disadvantage (*dativus incommodi*) (“The Lord gave orders against Jacob”). V exhibits a similar interpretation of the prepositional phrase ליעקב with its rendering *mandavit Dominus adversum Iacob* (“the Lord commanded against Jacob”). The text of V also follows the Greek version in presenting סביביו צריו as a separate sentence: *in circuitu eius hostes eius*. Like οἱ θλίβοντες, *hostes* is nominative and thus the subject of an implied verb (“His enemies (are) in his circumference”). Jerome evidently treated סביביו as a noun and translated it with *in circuitu eius*, creating the impression that the enemies are at the border of Jacob’s territory. The two sentences in the Syriac

¹⁷⁶ Renkema (1993:127) states that Judah is here called “Jacob”, because after the Assyrians took the people of the kingdom of Israel into exile in 722 BCE, Judah became the representative of the whole of Israel.

hand, Schäfer is of the opinion that the change came about through a theological consideration, rather than through a phonological or graphical error. The change effected in the text of the MT might be the result of an attempt to tone down the anthropomorphism of the supposed earlier reading. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the image of God laying in ambush is also found in the third chapter of Lamentations. In Lamentations 3:10, the speaker compares his tormenter (who, as it turns out, is YHWH) with a bear laying in wait and a lion in hiding, ready to pounce on the speaker. Moreover, anthropomorphic representations of YHWH occur elsewhere in the book. The image of YHWH spreading a net for the speaker's feet (Lamentations 1:13), Adonai trampling virgin Daughter Judah as in a winepress (Lamentations 1:15), YHWH bending his bow like an enemy and setting the speaker up as a target for his arrow (Lamentations 2:4 and 3:12) immediately come to mind. It therefore seems doubtful that a scribe deliberately changed צפה to צוה so as to avoid a particular anthropomorphic depiction of God in Lamentations 1:17. As a result, the difficult reading in the MT might very well have come into being through a scribal error.

הִיתָה יְרוּשָׁלַם לְנִדָּה בִּיגִיָּהֶם – הִיתָה צִיּוֹן לְנִדּוּחַ בְּנִיהָמָה

After noting that YHWH commanded the nations surrounding “Jacob” to be his oppressors, the text of the MT goes on to declare that Jerusalem has become a נדה among them. Berlin (2004:58-59) rejects the explanations of נדה as “filthy thing” (Meek 1956:14) or “menstrual rag” (O’Connor 2002:27) and argues convincingly that the metaphor of Jerusalem as a woman is continued in this clause. Berlin draws attention to two uses of נדה in contexts of purity in the Old Testament. The first context is one of ritual purity. Menstruation, like other male and female bodily discharges, renders a person ritually unclean. Although a person in such a state of ritual impurity is not allowed to come into contact with sacred objects, it does not mean that a menstruating woman is disgusting or that she must be banished from the community or isolated within her home (Milgrom 2004:141). נדה is also found in the context of moral impurity and Berlin (2004:59) takes this context as her point of departure in interpreting the clause in the MT:

Having sex with a *niddâ* [a menstruating woman] is listed among the prohibited sexual relationships, like incest, and these offences against moral purity cause the land to be defiled. Leviticus 18:19, “Do not approach a woman in her menstrual impurity,” is what is behind our verse. Zion is seeking a comforter, but God made those around her – her allies who should comfort her – into enemies, so that she has no comforter. She had become like a *niddâ* among them, in that no one wanted to have relations with her. Judah’s erstwhile “lovers” do not want to have “sexual” relations with her because she is in a state of “impurity”.

Concerning **בִּינֵיהֶם**, Rudolph (1938:104), Kaiser (1981:310) and Westermann (1994:113) accept Delitzsch’s proposed emendation of the preposition + pronominal suffix into **בְּעֵינֵיהֶם** (“in their eyes”).¹⁷⁸ The critical apparatus of *BHS* also marks this change as a distinct probability (Robinson 1977:1357). Nevertheless, this suggested emendation is not widely approved among other scholars.

The reading in 4QLam presents difficulties of its own. Apart from the interchange of **צִיּוֹן** and **יְרוּשָׁלַם**, which may be chalked up to assimilation with **צִיּוֹן** in the initial clause of the verse in 4QLam, the text of the fragment from Qumran also differs from the wording in the MT in that it reads **לְנִדּוּחַ** instead of **לְנִידָה**. Both the editor of the DJD edition of 4QLam (Cross 2000:237) and the editor of Lamentations in *BHQ* (Schäfer 2004:58) ascribe the variant in the fragment from Qumran to a graphical error, namely the confusion of the letters *hē* and *hêth*. However, the presence of the *wāw* in **לְנִדּוּחַ** remains largely unaccounted for. The critical apparatus of *BHK* mentions the reading **לְנִידָה** in five Masoretic manuscripts assembled by Kennicott (Robinson 1937:1231). In view of the similar shape of the *yôd* and *wāw* in the Herodian script in which 4QLam was written, it is possible that the copy of the text of Lamentations from which 4QLam was made contained the form **לְנִידָה**. On this hypothesis, **לְנִדּוּחַ** in 4QLam can be explained as a misreading and erroneous copying of **לְנִידָה** by the scribe who was responsible for 4QLam.

¹⁷⁸ Kraus (1983:22) also adopts this emendation in his translation of verse 17, but fails to alert the reader to the change from the wording of the MT.

Through a confusion of the almost identical letters, the *hē* of לְנִידָה was copied as a *hêth*, the *yôd* as a *wāw* and this *wāw* switched places with the *dālêth* through metathesis (לְנִידָה → לְנִידָה → לְנִידָה). Some of these scribal errors could also have occurred in earlier stages of the copying process. The scribe of 4QLam might already have found the reading לְנִידָה in the text that he copied and faithfully reproduced it in the manuscript that he was writing. Thus, the reading preserved in 4QLam seems to have developed from the one in the Masoretic manuscripts. This means that לְנִידָה, or its orthographical variant לְנִידָה, represents the earlier of the two readings.¹⁷⁹ From the perspective of content, it does not necessarily follow from this that the reading in 4QLam is inferior to the one in the MT. The form לְנִידָה can be interpreted as a Qal passive participle of the verbal root נִדָּה (“to banish”/“to thrust away” BDB 623; KBL 597; DCH V 624) with the preposition ל, which links up with הִיתָה in the present clause. The subject of הִיתָה, Zion, might refer metonymically to the inhabitants of the city. Although בְּנֵיהֶמָּה might be interpreted as “their sons” (the noun בֶּן + the longer form of the third-person masculine plural pronominal suffix), it can also be read as a form of the preposition בֵּין (“between”/“among”). IBHS §11.2.6b indicates that the shorter form of the preposition is rare but not unprecedented.

¹⁷⁹ The ancient translations also bear witness to the wording preserved in the MT, but with their own specific nuances. According to the LXX, Jerusalem became “one who sits apart” in the midst of the oppressors (ἐγενήθη Ἰερουσαλὴμ εἰς ἀποκαθημένην ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν). Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine (2005:210) argue that the Greek word ἀποκαθημένην refers to the situation of a menstruating woman and shows that the translator related the form לְנִידָה to the verb נִדָּה (“put away”/“exclude” BDB 622; KBL 596; DCH V 621). If this view is correct, the interpretation in the Greek translation flies in the face of modern scholars’ understanding of נִדָּה. Some interpreters are of the opinion that a woman was not isolated during her menses, although she was ritually “unclean” (Berlin 2004:58-59). Interestingly, V has *quasi polluta menstruis* for לְנִידָה. *Menstruis* can be taken as an ablative of reference. Accordingly, Jerusalem is described as one “polluted” with reference to monthly cycles. It would appear as though Jerome also associated Jerusalem’s “uncleanness” with the image of menstruation. P bluntly states that Jerusalem became an abomination among the oppressors (הָיָה יְרוּשָׁלַם אַבִּימָוּן בְּעֵינֵי הַבְּעֻרִּים), while the two recensions of T compare the city to an unclean woman (הָיָה יְרוּשָׁלַם דְּמִיָּא לְאִתְתָּא מְרַחֶקָא בִּינִיחוֹן).

Such an interpretation of the wording of the clause is reflected in the translation of 4QLam prepared by Abegg, Flint and Ulrich (1999:625): “Zion has been banished among them”. Accordingly, the text of 4QLam states that Zion stretched out her hands, presumably in supplication. This gesture of petition for help is in vain, because there is not one of her former lovers who comforts her. After acknowledging to the one responsible for Zion’s plight, YHWH, that he is righteous, the narrator continues his description of Zion’s lamentable situation. Adonai lies in ambush for her and the neighbours of the city, now referred to with the name Jacob, are identified as her oppressors. Moreover, Zion (or her inhabitants) has been banished among these oppressors. The image of a menstruating woman as a metaphor for the morally “impure” city found in the MT is, therefore, absent from the text of 4QLam.

אֲנִי בֹכִיָּה עֵינִי עֵינִי יִרְדָּה מִיָּם – בְּכֹ עֵינִי יִרְדָּה דְּמַעַתִּי

The different wordings of the sentences in 4QLam and the MT result in syntactical differences between the two Hebrew witnesses. The word עֵינִי appears only once in 4QLam and is a dual form of the noun עֵין + a first-person singular suffix. It acts as the subject of the plural verb בְּכוּ. Conversely, in the MT, the independent personal pronoun אֲנִי, which is lacking in 4QLam, is the subject of the feminine singular participle בֹּכִיָּה. In view of the gender of the participle, אֲנִי almost certainly refers to personified Jerusalem. The singular noun עֵינִי is written twice in the MT and serves as the subject of the feminine singular participle יִרְדָּה with מִיָּם as the object of the verb. In the text of the fragment from Qumran, the variant דְּמַעַתִּי is the subject of יִרְדָּה.

Some scholars defend the wording of the MT as it appears in B19^A, while others regard it as corrupt. A few medieval Masoretic manuscripts depart slightly from the form preserved in B19^A and the ancient versions are also divided in their support of the reading found in this manuscript. Any attempt to explain how the readings in 4QLam and the text of B19^A came into being should, therefore, take into consideration the emendations proposed by text-critics, as well as the readings in the other extant textual witnesses.

The critical apparatus of *BHS* calls attention to the absence of the second עֵינִי in the wording of B19^A from a few other medieval Masoretic manuscripts, the LXX, P and V (Robinson

1977:1356). Indeed, the Greek and Latin texts respectively have ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου κατήγαγεν ὕδωρ (“My eye has brought down water”) and *et oculus meus deducens aquam* (“And my eye brings down water”). Evidence from the Syrohexapla suggests that *O* contained a second ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου under an asterisk and that σ’ rendered the repeated עיני with the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως (“incessantly”) (Field 1875:750).¹⁸⁰ To judge from the critical apparatus of Ziegler’s edition of LXX Lamentations, four Greek minuscules, dating between the tenth and twelfth centuries CE, exhibit the reading οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου (1976:471).¹⁸¹ The relevant passage in the Syriac translation reads ܡܬܬܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܝܢ ܥܝܢܝܝܝܝܝܢ (‘‘And my eyes shed forth water’’).¹⁸² Although οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου in the Greek manuscripts and ܡܬܬܬܝܬܝܢ in P agree with the plural form of עיני in 4QLam, the Greek manuscripts and the Syriac translation adopt the sentence structure of the MT and not the syntax of the text preserved in the fragment from Qumran. The phrase ותרתין עיני (‘‘my two eyes’’) in the two recensions of T seems to confirm the reading in the MT (as represented by B19^A). Schäfer (2004:119*) contends that the LXX and V were either based on *Vorlagen* in which the second עיני was lost through haplography, or that these two translations facilitate the reading of Masoretic manuscripts similar to the one transmitted in B19^A. Furthermore, he proposes that the Greek manuscripts and P represent facilitating interpretations of the MT, rather than witness to *Vorlagen* with only one עיני. As a result, Schäfer argues that the double occurrence of עיני in B19^A is confirmed by *O*, several Greek minuscule manuscripts, P

¹⁸⁰ Fields gives the reading of σ’ in the margin of the Syrohexapla as ܠܐ ܥܠܝܬܐ (‘‘without ceasing’’). Σ’ might have understood the repetition as an expression of intensity, as Schäfer (2004:119*) suggests. Alexander (2007:121) notes that the medieval Jewish interpreter Rashi also understood the doubling of עיני as an indication of the constancy of weeping.

¹⁸¹ Ziegler (1976:59, 79-84) assigns three of these minuscules (51, 62 and 770) to *L*, while the fourth (minuscule 26) is grouped together with other manuscripts that largely agree with Codex Marchalianus. Nevertheless, he notes that minuscule 26 is ‘‘stark lukianisiert’’ in Lamentations.

¹⁸² It is noteworthy that both Jerome and the Syriac translator joined their respective equivalents of אני בוכיה and עיני (עיני) ירדה מים syntactically by means of an added conjunction.

and the recensions of T. Gottlieb (1978:19) provides a similar assessment of the textual witnesses and regards the reading in B19^A as the *lectio difficilior*. He argues that the word עיני is given greater emphasis through its repetition.¹⁸³

Dahood has provided two possible solutions to the perceived problem of the double עיני in the MT. In an earlier contribution, he pointed out that if the final *yôd* of the first עיני is deleted, the resulting reading (עין עיני) (“the fount of my eyes”) would be semantically similar to the Ugaritic phrase *qr ʕnk* (“the spring of your eyes”) in the legend of Keret (CTA 16 I 27) (Dahood 1960:364-365).¹⁸⁴ Dahood identifies the phrase as an example of paronomasia. In view of the extensive use of paronomasia in the biblical writings and the correspondence between the images in the Ugaritic text and the slightly emended text of the MT, McDaniel (1968:33) concludes that Dahood’s initial reconstruction is correct. In a subsequent article, Dahood (1978:174-197) proposes a number of new readings for Lamentations. With regard to Lamentations 1:16, he observes that both occurrences of עיני can be retained in the text of the MT, provided that the independent personal pronoun אנכי be repointed as אונכי (“my sorrow”). With this emendation in mind, the demonstrative pronoun אלה would refer to אבירי (“my warriors”) and בחורי (“my chosen young men”) in verse 15. The first עיני is modified by the participle בוכיה and the second one by ירדה. Accordingly, Dahood (1978:178) translates his emended text as follows: “Over these my sorrow, my weeping eye, my eye running with tears”. He goes on to claim that “my sorrow” has a complement in a passage from the Ugaritic Baal cycle where a mourning ritual is

¹⁸³ Linafelt (2000:51), Renkema (1993:122) and Meek (1956:14) agree that עיני is repeated for emphasis. Meek points out that the deletion of one עיני would result in a 3+3 meter, which does not constitute a variant of the presumed *qinah* meter of Lamentations. The present wording of B19^A exhibits a 3+2+2 meter. According to Meek, this is a variant of the *qinah* meter and therefore the double עיני should be retained. Gordis (1974:159) agrees that the second עיני need not be deleted *metri causa*, since the present meter represents a variation of the *qinah* meter.

¹⁸⁴ The article is quoted and discussed by McDaniel (1968:33). McDaniel also notes the similarity between the images in the aforementioned Ugaritic text, Jeremiah 8:23 and Lamentations 1:16.

described (Dahood 1978:179): *yṣq ṣmr ʾun lr-šh*, “He poured the dust of sorrow upon his head” (CTA 5 VI 14-15).

Another group of scholars consider the second עיני in the MT as a clear case of dittography¹⁸⁵ and emends the text by removing it. The critical apparatuses of both *BHK* and *BHS* also advise the user of these editions to delete the second עיני (Robinson 1977:1356; 1937:1230). Rudolph (1962:208) is one of the scholars who argues for a striking of the repeated עיני, but proposes that “Vielleicht handelt es sich um eine ursprüngliche Randbemerkung (עיין), die darauf hinweisen wollte, daß hier im Unterschied von Kap. 2-4 die ע-Strophe vor der פ-Strophe kommt”. Cross recognizes the corrupt nature of the MT as well. He speculates that the original text either read (1:16aβ) עיני ירדה מים / (1:16aα) על אלה עיני בכיה, or just (1:16aβ) עיני ירדה מים / (1:16aα) עיני בכיה (Cross 1983:148-149). He notes that על אלה might have been added secondarily to reinforce the alphabetic sequence after the opening עיני was corrupted into אני. In this regard, he argues that two variants, עיני בכיה and בכיה עיני, lay behind the wording in the MT. During the transmission process, עיני was misread as אני. The combination of the two variants therefore resulted in the reading עיני בכיה אני of the MT. Cross attributes the wording of 4QLam to a revision of עיני בכיה, which interpreted עיני as a dual. In addition, he thinks that the second sentence probably existed in two variants: עיני ירדה מים (MT) and עיני ירדה דמעתי (4QLam). In the opinion of Cross, it is difficult to choose between these variants. With the exception of σ', all the ancient translations witness to the reading מים. Σ' reads δάκρυα, the standard translation equivalent for דמעה, but Cross concedes that this rendering could be interpretative. Against Cross' reconstruction, Hillers (1992:75) raises the objection that in BH the subject of the verb בכה (“to weep”) is never the eye, but a person. He suggests that a reading עיני אבכה עיני על אלה בכו אבכה עיני might lie behind the reading in 4QLam. In this hypothetical text, בכו is not a perfect form of the verbal root בכה, but an infinitive absolute followed by the imperfect form of the same verbal root (“Over these things I weep copiously; my eye runs with tears”). Hillers does not

¹⁸⁵ Berges (2002:90), Westermann (1994:113), Hillers (1992:75), Löhr (1893:4), Budde (1892:267) and Dyserinck (1892:365).

elaborate on this suggestion by specifying how the imperfect אבכה might have been lost in the process of copying. On the basis of the available textual witnesses, including 4QLam, Hobbins (2006:24) reconstructs the original text of the clauses under discussion as follows: (1:16aα) עַל אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי בָכִיָּה / (1:16aβ) עֵינֵי יִרְדָּה מַיִם. He indicates that the LXX and V are the closest to this reconstructed *Urtext*. Like the aforementioned group of scholars, Hobbins attributes the second עיני in the MT to an accidental rewriting of the word during the process of copying. With regard to 4QLam, he asserts that the reading בכו was the result of assimilation with the context after עיני was interpreted as a dual. דמעתי is, in his opinion, a mere facilitating replacement of מים. Seeing as the *yôd* and *wāw* could easily have been confused due to their almost identical form, the eye of the copyist could have skipped over the *yôd* of אני to the *wāw* of בכו. Therefore, the independent personal pronoun אני might have been omitted through homoioteleuton, as Hobbins (2006:24) suggests: בכו עיני ירדה דמעתי → אני בכו עיני ירדה דמעתי → אני בכיה עיני ירדה מים.

This short overview shows that many scholars take positions in favour of the retention of the double occurrence of עיני in the MT, while a number of others agree that the second עיני should be deleted. The evidence from the ancient versions can also be interpreted in different ways. Both groups make a strong case for their assessments of the textual witnesses. However, only a few scholars have grappled with the readings in 4QLam. Hobbins gives the most cogent explanation for how the readings in the fragment from Qumran and the MT developed from a hypothetical earlier form of the text. His reconstruction of the original text, or at least its consonantal base, is all the more credible owing to the fact that it finds support from the LXX and V. Finding plausible explanations for how the readings in 4QLam and the MT might have developed from a hypothetical earlier text is, of course, only the first step towards a better understanding of how the Hebrew witnesses present the content of the sentences. The next step is to analyse the particular wording of the sentences in relation to the immediate context of the verse as a whole as they appear in 4QLam and the MT. Before such an analysis can be undertaken, the last difference between 4QLam and the MT should be considered.

בִּירְחֶק מִמְּנִי מְנַחֵם מְשִׁיב נִפְשִׁי – כִּי רַחֵק] מִ] נִפְשִׁי

The first-person pronominal suffix of נִפְשִׁי in the MT is missing from its counterpart in 4QLam. The renderings in the Greek, Latin, Syriac and Aramaic translations all witness to the presence of the suffix. The lack of the suffix in the text of the Qumran manuscript can be attributed to haplography, but there does not seem to be anything in the immediate context that would have triggered the omission. Moreover, the reading in 4QLam would probably not have been influenced by the similar reading נִפְשִׁי לְהַשִּׁיב found at verse 11 of the MT, because in the text represented by 4QLam, a third-person feminine pronominal suffix was added to נִפְשִׁי at verse 11: לְהַשִּׁיב נִפְשָׁהּ. It is nevertheless possible to imagine that at one stage in the transmission process the reading in verse 11 of the text transmitted by 4QLam did not have the third-person feminine suffix and therefore also had the form לְהַשִּׁיב נִפְשִׁי. This similar reading in verse 11 could then have prompted the omission of the first-person pronominal suffix of נִפְשִׁי in the *ʿyīn* verse, resulting in the reading נִפְשִׁי מְשִׁיב presently exhibited by 4QLam. On this hypothesis, the adding of a third-person feminine suffix to נִפְשִׁי at verse 11 occurred at a point in the transmission of the text after the reading in the *ʿyīn* verse came into being.

Due to the lacunae in the line, it is difficult to gauge the effect of the reading נִפְשִׁי in 4QLam on the sentence as a whole. If the line is restored with the help of the wording of the MT, as Cross (2000:234) has done in his transcription of 4QLam's wording, the omission of the first-person pronominal suffix does not have a marked influence on the meaning of the sentence. The prepositional phrase מִמְּנִי would indicate that the narrator bewails the fact that a comforter is far away from him.¹⁸⁶ This distant comforter would also be one who revives life. Seeing as the comforter is said to be far away from the narrator, it seems as though the former's function of reviving life relates to the narrator as well. At the most, the first-person pronominal suffix of נִפְשִׁי in the MT makes it clear that the comforter would revive the life of the speaker. However, in the MT it is not the narrator, but personified Jerusalem who acts as the speaker in this verse.

¹⁸⁶ Since there is no indication of a change of speaker in 4QLam, it stands to reason that in this text the first-person pronominal suffix with the preposition מִן refers to the narrator.

Accordingly, the main difference between 4QLam and the MT is not elicited by the omission of the suffix of נפש, but lies in the identity of the speaker.

The full impact of the individual differences between 4QLam and the MT might be better appreciated if an overview is given of the content of the two verses. The fact that the verse beginning with *ʿayin* precedes the verse beginning with *pē* in the acrostic sequence of the MT means that the referent of על אלה will be different from its referent in 4QLam. In the MT, על אלה probably refers to what personified Jerusalem has said about her painful situation in Lamentations 1:12-15. The city weeps continually over God's treatment of her and her inability to persuade God or someone else to pay attention to her (O'Connor 2002:26). Over these things, she emphasises, does her eyes run incessantly with water (the function of the two participles בבכה and ירדה is to indicate continuous action). In verses 12-15, Jerusalem describes her pain to those who pass her by in terms of God's wrathful attack on her, but in verse 16 she recalls motifs that are also raised by the narrator in his initial speech (Lamentations 1:1-11). Apart from the city's weeping and tears, which was already mentioned by the narrator in verse 2, personified Jerusalem points out her remoteness from any who would comfort her (רחק ממני מנחם משיב) (נפשי) and the desolation of her sons (היו בני שוממים), because the enemy has prevailed (כי גבר) (אויב). The narrator evokes the *Leitmotif* of the absence of a comforter at verse 2 and verse 9. He calls attention to the unhappy fate of the city's children in verse 5, taken as captives by the victorious enemy. The narrator also alludes to the conquest of the enemy in verse 10 where he states that the foe spread out his hand over the city's precious things. Moreover, verse 16 once again creates the impression that the city and her inhabitants share similar experiences. In verse 4, the narrator observed the desolateness of the city gates (כל שעריה שוממין) and, in verse 10, he notices how the city's people give their precious things in exchange for food so as to revive (their) life (להשיב נפש). Now, in verse 16, Jerusalem uses similar terminology to bewail the desolateness of her sons and the distance between her and anyone who would revive her life.

Linafelt (2000:50) characterises verse 16 as the rhetorical climax of personified Jerusalem's speech that began at verse 12. Her description of her painful experiences in verses 12-16 is not only an aim in itself, but is also a rhetorical device that seeks to persuade God take notice of her

and to make an end to her suffering. The narrator interrupts Jerusalem's speech in verse 17. According to Linafelt, the change of speaker sets in motion a development in the poetry in which the narrator undergoes a change from the one who elegizes Jerusalem to the one who laments with the city and attempts to provide the city with the sought after response to her lament. Although this development will only reach its completion in chapter 2, verse 17 of chapter 1 already indicates that it is the narrator, not YHWH, who is being persuaded by the city's depiction of the pain caused by God's attack on her: "Instead of some indication of the desired response from YHWH, the reader meets in 1:17 the persona of the poet once again, thereby beginning the inscription of the rhetoric of persuasion but with the poet standing in for YHWH as the one who is persuaded" (Linafelt 2000:51). In verse 17 of the MT, some of the language and images that were employed in the narrator's initial speech are repeated. In addition to the motif of the absence of a comforter, Zion is said to stretch out her hands (פרשה ציון בידיה), presumably as an act of imprecation. This echoes the narrator's remark about the foe stretching out his hand (ידו פרש צר) over the city's precious things (verse 10). While in the same verse the narrator reminds YHWH of his command (צויתה) against nations (גוים) entering his assembly or the assembly of the city's inhabitants (depending on whether לא יבאו בקהל לך is taken as direct speech or not), in verse 17 of the MT, the narrator says that YHWH commanded (צוה) the neighbouring nations to be the oppressors of "Jacob". Finally, the observation that Jerusalem has become a נדה (B19^A)/נידה (other medieval Masoretic manuscripts) among the oppressors is reminiscent of the statement in verse 8 that Jerusalem has become נידה on account of her grievous sins.

Whereas in the MT the narrator interrupts personified Jerusalem's speech (verse 12-16) in verse 17 and both the city and the narrator recall motifs from the latter's initial eulogy, in 4QLam the narrator is portrayed as the speaker throughout the whole of the first chapter of Lamentations. It was already indicated in a preceding paragraph that the reversed order of verse 16 and verse 17 in 4QLam and the MT implies that the referent of על אלה will be different in the two Hebrew witnesses. In contrast to the MT, where על אלה refers back to the content of verses 12-15, על אלה in the fragment from Qumran refers to what the narrator says about Zion in the preceding *pê*

verse. Accordingly, the narrator states that his eyes cry over Zion's futile attempts to get someone to show her pity, over the abandonment of the city by any potential comforter, over Adonai's readiness to ambush "Jacob", over the neighbours' new status as the oppressors of "Jacob" and over the banishment of Zion's inhabitants among these oppressors. The narrator goes on to declare that his tears roll down on account of his remoteness from anyone who can comfort and revive life (כִּי־אֶרְחֹק מִמֶּנִּי מִנְחָם מְשִׁיב נֶפֶשׁ). Acting as spokesman for his group, the narrator then laments the fact that his sons, בְּנֵי (that is, the children of those forming part of the narrator's community), are desolate, presumably because the enemy has prevailed (גִּבֹּר אוֹיֵב). Moreover, the addition of מְכֹל אוֹהֲבֶיהָ and צָדִיק אַתָּה יְהוָה to the *pê* verse in 4QLam affects the meaning of the two verses dramatically. In the discussion of 4QLam's conflated text above, this study pointed out that the addition of מְכֹל אוֹהֲבֶיהָ, coupled with the restored reading סְבִיבֵינוּ צָרֵינוּ, fosters a link with verse 2. The narrator's weeping in the *ʿyīn* verse of 4QLam also recalls the crying of the city mentioned in verse 2 (provided that the fragmentary text of 4QLam at verse 2 is restored in accordance with the reading in the MT). Both the narrator and Jerusalem cry over what has happened to the city, including the absence of a comforter and the city's former friends becoming her enemies. Furthermore, the purpose clause introduced by the preserved conjunction כִּי־ in the *ʿyīn* verse of 4QLam indicates that the narrator sheds tears over the fact that he is far removed from any one who could give consolation. Like the city of Jerusalem, the narrator finds no comforter.¹⁸⁷ It would appear as though the narrator associates himself with the fate of the city in 4QLam and shares her grief over their similar experiences. At the same time, the interjection יְהוָה אַתָּה צָדִיק implies that the narrator draws a subtle distinction between his own situation and that of the city. In verses 7, 9 and 11 of 4QLam, the narrator calls on YHWH to

¹⁸⁷ Assuming that verse 4 of 4QLam can be restored on the basis of the MT, another connection between the fate of the city and that of the narrator and his community can be established. Just as verse 4 mentions the desolation of Jerusalem's gates (כָּל שַׁעְרֶיהָ שׁוֹמְמִין), presumably on account of the siege and sack of the city by the invading enemy armies, so the *ʿyīn* verse says that the children of the narrator's community are also desolate because the enemy was too powerful.

remember, see and take note of the pain, affliction and scorn suffered by himself and his community. However, when the narrator looks with sympathy at Zion stretching out her hands in supplication, he nevertheless explicitly admits to YHWH, the one who caused Zion's distress, that he was right in doing so.

SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENT OF THE IDENTIFIED VERSES IN LAMENTATIONS 1 AS THEY APPEAR IN 4QLAM

Lamentations 1:1 is only partly preserved in 4QLam. It is therefore difficult to determine how this manuscript from Qumran presents the content of this verse as a whole. From the viewpoint of this text-critical analysis, the status construct phrase **רַבְתִּי בְּגוֹיִם** is nevertheless worthy of note, because of the ambiguity of the *nomen regens*, **רַבְתִּי**. To be sure, **רַבְתִּי** is considered to be a noun based on this analysis of the wording of the MT and the perceived chiasm formed by the clauses **שָׂרָתִי בַּמְדִּינוֹת הִיָּתָה לְמָס** and **הִיָּתָה כְּאַלְמָנָה רַבְתִּי בְּגוֹיִם**. As such, the surviving words of verse 1 in 4QLam are part of the depiction of the reversal of Jerusalem's fortunes and the contrast between her pitiful present condition and her past splendour.

In spite of a slight difference in wording compared to the MT (**בְּלִי כֹחַ** and **מִבֵּת**) and two scribal errors, a dittography of the negative particle **לֹא** and a wrong division of the words **מִצָּא** and **וּמִרְעָה**, verse 6 in both the manuscript from Qumran and the MT describes the flight of Jerusalem's princes in terms of an image of hunting. The city's **שָׂרִים** are said to flee before their pursuers like powerless stags that find no pasture. Their attempted flight from the city therefore seems to be doomed to failure.

Lamentations 1:7 is the first verse where a significant difference in content can be detected in the diverging wordings of 4QLam and the MT. This analysis came to the conclusion that neither the manuscript from Qumran nor the MT present the original form of the verse and that scribes creatively adapted the opening clauses in particular so as to bring it in line with themes in the surrounding verses. The version of the wording of verse 7 transmitted by the MT and the ancient translations exhibits the insertion of the adverbial phrase **יְמֵי עֲנִיָּה וּמִרְוּדִיָּה**, probably under the influence of the similar words in Lamentations 3:19. According to the revised wording of the

first clauses, Jerusalem remembers all her precious things that existed of old during her time of trouble. This evokes the theme of the contrast between the city's past and present that is already expressed in verse 1 and elsewhere in the first eleven verses of Lamentations 1. Due to the changes brought about by a scribe during the copying of an earlier version, the theme of Jerusalem's contrasting present and past conditions is absent from the wording of 4QLam. Whereas the initial clause in the MT opens with the words זכרה ירושלם, 4QLam has זכורה יהוה. By changing the first word from a perfect to an imperative and exchanging ירושלם for יהוה, a scribe placed an appeal addressed to YHWH in the mouth of the narrator. The reading מכאובנו in the manuscript from Qumran was also attributed to the creative hand of a scribe. Accordingly, in the version of 4QLam the narrator no longer describes the thoughts of the personified city, but rather implores YHWH to recall all the pain suffered by him and his community from days of old. To judge from the surviving wording in 4QLam, verse 7 marks the first attempt on the part of a scribe to change certain words of the chapter so that the narrator remains the speaker right throughout Lamentations 1. One comes across comparable changes in Lamentations 1:11 and Lamentations 1:13 as well. The final sentence of verse 11 is particularly noteworthy in this regard, because in the manuscript from Qumran, the narrator pleads with YHWH to see how worthless he has become, whereas in the MT it is personified Jerusalem who makes this request. The narrator's plea in verse 11 in 4QLam is therefore similar to the one in the opening bicolon of verse 7. The call on YHWH to remember the pains of the narrator and the community he represents is followed by a portrayal of Jerusalem's fall and the joy of her foes on seeing her ruins. There appears to be a connection between the pains suffered by the narrator and his community and the fate of Jerusalem and her inhabitants in the wording of Lamentations 1:7 in the manuscript from Qumran. The wording in 4QLam also includes the accidental loss of the words לֵה and רֵאוּה through homoioteleuton, as well as two readings that are possibly more original than their counterparts in the MT, צריה and משבריה.

The reading לנוד in 4QLam's version of verse 8 is identified as more original than its counterpart in the MT, the anomalous form לנידה. לנוד allows for different interpretations and, depending on the one that is chosen, the wording of 4QLam either states that Jerusalem's great

sinfulness (expressed by an infinitive absolute + perfect, חטוא חטאה) caused her to become unstable or a wanderer, or turned her into an object of ridicule. The accidental omission of the third-person feminine suffix from the word הזילו, resulting in the reading הזילו in 4QLam, does not detract much from the sense of the second bicolon of Lamentations 1:8 in this manuscript. The word is part of the observation that the perspective of the city's erstwhile admirers has changed from esteem to scorn after they have been exposed to her nakedness (an image used to signify the city's shameful state).

There are two cases in verse 9 where the scribe, who was responsible for the copying of 4QLam, or his predecessors, altered the wording of the manuscript which was reproduced. The adverbial accusative פלאות was changed from פלאים to the form found in the Qumran manuscript, presumably because the scribe wanted it to resemble the more usual plural form of the word פלא. Furthermore, a conjunction was added to אין to facilitate the syntax by removing the asyndeton of the original wording of the phrase in question as it appears in the MT (אין מנחם). Since verse 9 is very fragmentary in 4QLam, the manuscript in its current condition only contains incomplete references to Jerusalem's uncleanness, her astonishing downfall, the absence of someone or something and the fact that someone magnifies himself. In the final bicolon of the version represented by the MT, there is a change of speaker where the narrator gives way to personified Jerusalem. She calls on YHWH to see her affliction on account of a boasting enemy. Although the full wording of the last part of the verse was not preserved in 4QLam, one assumes that there is no such change of speaker in this manuscript. This assumption is based on the analysis of verses 7, 11 and 13, where a scribe introduced changes to the wording so as to make the narrator the speaker throughout the first chapter of Lamentations.

A large part of the wording of verses 10 and 11 is omitted in 4QLam. This accidental omission and the fact that very little of verse 10 has survived in the manuscript means that it is difficult to determine how 4QLam presented the content of these two verses. Among the remaining words of vers 11 נפשה and מחמדיה were singled out for discussion. The MT preserves the original forms of these two words (נפש and מחמדיהם). It is deduced that scribes (probably at different times in the transmission history) made the third-person masculine plural suffix of

מחמדיהם into a third-person feminine singular one and added a third-person feminine suffix to נפש. The readings מחמדיה and נפשה in 4QLam are part of what seems to be a divine command that the precious things of Jerusalem may not be traded for food in order to restore the life of the city. Verse 11 in the manuscript from Qumran closes with the narrator imploring YHWH to take note of the fact that he has become worthless. The change of the original feminine singular participle זוללה into the masculine form זולל was interpreted as another intentional alteration of the original wording of the verse. This change entails that the narrator becomes the subject of the periphrastic construction הייתי זולל and, as such, is the one who also voices the preceding imperatives הביטה and ראה.

Verse 12 exhibits another set of differences in content between 4QLam and the MT. If the missing words in the former are restored in accordance with the wording of the latter and the reconstruction of the variant reading [אליכני] is accepted, the opening clauses of this verse in 4QLam conveys the narrator's wish that all who pass by the road would look upon Jerusalem and see in her the incomparable pain of the narrator. On this interpretation, the pain of the narrator is again linked to the fate of Jerusalem. This theme was already found in verse 7. The two relative clauses אשר עוללו לי and אשר הוגירני convey the idea that the foes, which were already mentioned in previous verses, are responsible for the narrator's pain and that it was used (presumably by YHWH) to frighten the narrator on the day of his wrath. The verb הוגירני in 4QLam did not develop from the putative original reading הוגני by mistake, but was in all probability deliberately given this form by a scribe. In contrast to the way the wording in 4QLam presents the content of the verse, personified Jerusalem assumes the role of the speaker in the MT version. She calls on those who pass by to witness her unparalleled pain, which YHWH brought upon her and by so doing afflicted her on the day of his fierce anger.

This analysis of 4QLam and the MT shows that these two Hebrew witnesses to the content of Lamentations 1:13 depict God's assault on the speaker in different ways, although they share the images of a fire from heaven and a net spread out as a trap. With regard to the Qumran manuscript, its initial clause states that YHWH brought fire down into the bones of the narrator and felled him (וירידני). This last verbal form is another example of a change to the supposed

original reading (ויודנה, in this case) brought about intentionally by a scribe. וד[ו]י and שומם in the final bicolon of the verse are two more examples of such changes. With these words, the scribe modified the gender so that they would no longer relate to Jerusalem, but to the narrator. Accordingly, in 4QLam the narrator complains that YHWH left him faint and deserted him all day long. Like verses 7, 11 and 12, we also find evidence in verse 13 of the version transmitted by the manuscript from Qumran that words which were intended to be spoken by the personified city are placed in the mouth of the narrator by means of subtle changes to the original wording.

The clause נקשרה על פשעי בידו in 4QLam's version of verse 14 can be understood in different ways, since the first word, נקשרה, which was purposely created by a scribe, and the prepositional phrase על פשעי allow for more than one interpretation. The narrator either indicates that he and his community are ensnared by YHWH's hand because of his/their transgressions or that they are bound up with his/their transgressions by YHWH. Alternatively, the narrator bemoans the fact that a net was tied to his steps by YHWH. Furthermore, God is said to have fastened his yoke onto the neck of the narrator and so caused his strength to fail. In the MT, personified Jerusalem observes how YHWH fashioned a yoke out of her transgressions, tied them together and placed them onto her neck. In addition to the opening word of the verse, the differences between 4QLam and the MT at Lamentations 1:14 include the forms of the verb "to fasten", as well as diverging analyses of the word עלו. In the Qumran manuscript, the latter was construed as a noun with an added pronominal suffix. The orthography was adapted accordingly with the help of a vowel indicator: עולו. The Masoretes understood the syntax of the consonantal text differently and vocalised עלו as a verbal form: עָלוּ. Concerning וישתרג and ישתרגו in 4QLam and the MT respectively, the plural form without the conjunction was recognised as the probable earlier reading, while it was conceded that the variant in the Qumran manuscript could be attributed to copying errors or to the initiative of a scribe. Despite the slightly different wording in the two Hebrew versions, the final part of the verse in both 4QLam and the MT claims that the deity has delivered the speaker (the narrator in the Qumran manuscript and Jerusalem in the MT) into the hands of the enemy.

Although the reading אבודי in 4QLam might have come into being as a result of a confusion of letters on the part of a scribe, it makes sense in the context of the manuscript's wording of Lamentations 1:15. The narrator declares that Adonai has scorned all the perished ones in his community and that he proclaimed an appointed time when the chosen young men of the narrator's group were to be annihilated. The narrator ends the verse with the grisly image of YHWH trampling on the Virgin Daughter of Judah as in a winepress. Therefore, the misfortune of the narrator and those whom he represents is linked to what happened to Judah (and the capital city of Jerusalem in particular).

Even though all the words of verses 16 and 17 were not preserved in 4QLam, a clearer picture of its presentation of their content emerges when one fills in the gaps in the wording with the help of the MT. The reversed order of the verses, compared to the MT, together with scribal mistakes and sundry scribal changes, ensure that the content of these verses in the manuscript from Qumran looks very different from the version in the MT. Zion seems to stretch out her hands in supplication, but in vain. There is no one from among all her lovers to comfort her. This observation is reminiscent of the similar statement in Lamentations 1:2. This is followed by a theological annotation that found its way into the body of the wording. Despite the fact that the narrator has sympathy with Zion, he acknowledges to YHWH, the one who is responsible for the city's plight, that he is righteous. The narrator then continues his depiction of Zion's difficult situation. It would appear as though Adonai laid in ambush for "Jacob", a variant designation for Zion, and that she has been banished amongst the neighbouring nations, who apparently have become her oppressors. The narrator evokes verse 2 again when he says that he cries his eyes out over these things, as well as the fact that he is far removed from anyone who could console him in his grief or restore life. Moreover, he complains that his "sons" (presumably members of the narrator's community) were left deserted, because of the enemy's triumph. In light of these remarks, it is clear that in the version of verses 16 and 17 transmitted by 4QLam the narrator associates his and his community's sad circumstances with the catastrophe that has befallen Jerusalem. According to this analysis of the available evidence, the same theme is found in verses 7, 12 and 15 in 4QLam.

CHAPTER 4

A TEXT-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WORDING OF LAMENTATIONS 4 AS WITNESSED TO BY 5QLAM^a AND 5QLAM^b

The manuscript 5QLam^a preserves parts of verses 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19 and 20 of Lamentations 4, while only parts of single words from verses 17, 18, 19 and 20 appear on the fragments of 5QLam^b. Of the passages in 5QLam^a where there are variants compared to the MT or where both Hebrew textual witnesses present the same textual difficulty, it is only at verses 7, 14 and 15 where enough words survived the forces of decay for one to make a reasonable inference regarding the way in which the wordings in the manuscript from Qumran present the content of these verses. Nevertheless, at verses 17 and 18 in 5QLam^b and verse 19 in 5QLam^a there are individual words in the Qumran manuscripts that are different from their counterparts in other Hebrew versions. These cases merit further discussion, despite the fact that too little of the wordings of the verses have been preserved in the manuscripts to deduce whether they agreed or disagreed with their opposite numbers in the other available Hebrew versions.

With regard to verse 17 in 5QLam^b, the final part of the restored word [עוד־ינה] agrees with the *K^ethîbh* reading עוד־ינה of B19^A, whereas the *Q^erê* readings in this Masoretic manuscript and in manuscript 1753 of the Cambridge University Library (designated by the siglum M^Y in *BHQ*) is עוד־ינו.¹⁸⁸ The evidence from the ancient translations are relevant here, since the equivalents in the LXX (ἐτι ὄντων ἡμῶν) and P (حَدِّ مَصْحَفِ هِي) have first-person plural pronouns, while V has a first-person plural imperfect subjunctive verb (*cum adhuc subsisteremus*). Seeing as the Greek, Syriac and Latin translations were in all probability made from Hebrew *Vorlagen* that contained the reading עוד־ינו, it is reasonable to conclude that the *Q^erê* variants in the Masoretic manuscripts are based on readings that appeared in manuscripts. The forms עוד־ינה and עוד־ינו are combinations of the adverb עוד and pronominal suffixes. Syntactically speaking, the third-person feminine

¹⁸⁸ In the critical apparatus of *BHQ*, Schäfer (2004:70) also indicates that the *Q^erê* reading in M^{L34} (manuscript EBP II B 34 of the Russian National Library in St Petersburg) is עוד־ינו.

plural suffix of עוֹדִינָה relates to עֵינֵינוּ in the clause עוֹדִינָה תְּכַלִּינָה עֵינֵינוּ (“still our eyes fail”). עוֹדִינָה, with the first-person plural suffix, means “yet/still we are”, which is the way that the LXX, P and V rendered their *Vorlagen*.¹⁸⁹ A previous generation of scholars considered neither עוֹדִינָה nor עוֹדִינָה as satisfactory and suggested that the original text read עַד מָה (“Wie lange”/“Hoe lang”) (Löhr 1893:22; Dyserinck 1892:378). Conversely, Berges (2002:233) and Gordis (1974:193) express an explicit preference for עוֹדִינָה over עוֹדִינָה. Dahood (1978:192) also takes עוֹדִינָה as his point of departure, but proposes an understanding of this form as a verb on the basis of an Ugaritic root: “If the consonantal grouping ‘wdynh is read as a participle plus suffix from ‘ādāh, Ugar. ‘dy, ‘to advance’, a good parallel to the construct chain interrupted by a pronominal suffix, ‘ezrātēnū hābel, is obtained”. Accordingly, he renders the first bicolon of Lamentations 4:17 as follows: “Because of those advancing toward us our eyes were consumed, by our help that was in vain”. In light of this proposal, as well as the interpretations in the ancient translations, the suggested emendations of Löhr and Dyserinck, and Rudolph’s opinion concerning עוֹדִינָה and עוֹדִינָה that “Beides ist möglich, zu ändern ist nichts” (Rudolph 1938:120), it follows that an argument as to which one of the variant readings gave rise to the other (*utrum in alterum abiturum erat*) will be dependent on an interpretation of the colon’s syntax. Unfortunately, there is not enough data in 5QLam^b to involve the manuscript in this discussion, given that only a part of one word from verse 17 survived in the manuscript and that there is no guarantee that the rest of its wording was the same as that of the MT manuscripts.

An example of an ambiguous reading compared to the vocalised Hebrew wording of the MT is found in 5QLam^b at verse 18. Milik (1962b:178) restores the first word of the verse as צָדוּ in accordance with the consonants of צָדוּ in B19^A. The circlets above the *ṣādē* and the *dālēth* indicate, however, that the identification of these two letters is not certain. Another Masoretic manuscript has the reading צָרוּ, which should be related to the root צָרַר, “to shut up” (Rudolph 1938:120). It is not inconceivable that 5QLam^b could also have had the reading צָרוּ instead of

¹⁸⁹ Cf. LXX, ἔτι ὄντων ἡμῶν (“while we are still alive”); P, حَتَّى مَصَحَّ سَدَّ (“while we are still standing/alive” [the participle مَصَحَّ expresses continuous action]); V, *cum adhuc subsisteremus* (“when we were still standing”).

צדו, owing to the almost identical shape of the letters *dālēth* and *rēš*. In fact, Barthélemy (1986:912) refers to Milik’s restoration of the word in question and notes that “(s)ur la planche, la 2e letter paraît plutôt être un ‘resh’ qu’un ‘dalet’”. The differences between the two readings צדו and צרו can easily be explained as an interchange of *dālēth* and *rēš*, which is a common scribal error (Tov 2001:245-246; Würthwein 1995:108; McCarter 1986:45-46). Even if Milik’s restoration of the word as צדו is accepted, it still remains ambiguous, because the consonantal form of this verb can be related either to the root צדה, “to lie in wait” (BDB 841), or to the root צוד, “to hunt” (BDB 844; KBL 797). The placement of the Masoretic accent (צָדוּ) implies that צדו must be understood in the first sense in this version. T^W (הִינֹן צִדְאֵן) and T^Y (צִדוּ) seem to present the same interpretation of the Hebrew word (Alexander 2007:172, 205). In contrast to the MT and the two recensions of T, the translations of P, לְהַמְצִיחַ (“They hunted those who belonged to the common people”),¹⁹⁰ and the LXX, ἐθηρεύσαμεν μικροὺς ἡμῶν (“We hunted our little ones”),¹⁹¹ clearly related צדו to the root צוד.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ On the translation of P, see the discussion of Albrektson (1963:192-193). The reading attributed to σ’ in the margin of the Syrohexapla is also לְהַמְצִיחַ. Field (1875:760) retranslates this as ἐθήρεύσαν, which is also the reading in L.

¹⁹¹ The reading in the LXX can be explained either in terms of a variant צדו in the *Vorlage* of the Greek translation (Ulrich 2010:753) or as the result of the translator’s attempt to assimilate the translation of צדו to the immediate context (Schäfer 2004:70). According to Barthélemy (1986:913), “Il est difficile de dire si c’est dans la *Vorlage* du *G ou dans la transmission de son texte qu’a eu lieu une assimilation aux possessifs qui précèdent et qui suivent, ainsi qu’au verbe צָפִינוּ du vs 17”.

¹⁹² Dahood (1963b:548) and McDaniel (1968:49) argue that one must look to Northwest Semitic philology for an understanding of the Hebrew wording of Lamentations 4:18. Concerning צדו, they mention the Ugaritic root *šwd*, which is used at times in parallelism with the root *hlk*. Cf. for example the following two passages from the Baal and Anat Cycle: *ḥ ḫtlk wʾšd kl ḡr lkbd ʾrṣ kl gbʿ* (“I myself go about and wander (over) every mountain to the midst of the earth, (over) every hill”) (CTA 6 II 15-16) and *ḥt tlk wʾšd kl ḡr lkbd ʾrṣ kl gbʿ* (“Anat goes about and wanders (over) every mountain to the midst of the earth, (over) every hill”) (CTA 5 VI 26-27).

Turning to verse 19 and the variant הַיּוֹם in 5QLam^a where the MT has הָיוּ, Milik (1962a:175) argues that the word is “peu satisfaisant dans ce passage, pourrait être placé à la fin du v. 18: (sic) הַיּוֹם קָצְנוּ הָיוּ; כי בא קצנו היום; mais dans ce cas la ligne 6 serait trop longue”. If, for the sake of the argument, one assumes that the rest of the wording in 5QLam^a was identical to the initial bicolon of verse 19 in the MT, it might be suggested that the final *mêm* of הָיוּ was added by a scribe under the influence of the ending -ים of the preceding word, the adjective קָלִים.¹⁹³ The form הָיוּ can then be parsed as a masculine plural participle of the verbal root הָיָה, which would yield a translation that is much the same as one based on the wording of the MT, except for the added nuance of continuous action conveyed by the participle: “Our pursuers are swifter than the vultures of the heavens”.

Apart from these interesting individual readings in 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b, it should also be pointed out that both Qumran manuscripts confirm the order of verses 16 and 17 in B19^A. In 5QLam^a, the first two words of verse 16 (פָּנִי יְהוָה) follow directly after the last word of verse 15 (לְגֹרֹם) and, in 5QLam^b, the partly preserved word from verse 17 ([עוֹד]ינָה) stands in the first line of the manuscript, while the opening word of verse 18 (צִדֹּן) is written in the next line. This implies that the wordings in both manuscripts had the *ʿyīn/pê* order that is also found in B19^A as opposed to the few Masoretic manuscripts and P where the *ʿyīn*-verse (verse 16) follows after the *pê*-verse (verse 17). Another interesting feature of 5QLam^a is the scribal marking (𐤔) in the bottom margin of its second column. This sign will be examined in an excursus after our discussion of verse 15.

In what follows, this study turns to Lamentations 4:7, Lamentations 4:14 and Lamentations 4:15 and offers a text-critical analysis of their wordings as they appear in 5QLam^a, with a view to establish how this Qumran manuscript presents the content of the verses.

¹⁹³ קָלִים is the only full word from verse 19 that has survived in 5QLam^b.

VERSE 7

5QLam^a

[מח[לב [א]דמו עצם מפנינ[ים] [than mi]lk. They were [ru]ddier in body than coral[s].

MT

זכו נזיריה משלג צחו מחלב אדם עץ מפנינים ספיר Her Nazirites were purer than snow; they were
גזרתם: ס more gleaming white than milk. They were
ruddier in body than corals; their form (?) was
sapphire.

The Hebrew wording of Lamentations 4:7 in the MT is riddled with textual difficulties. Apart from the clause אדם עצם מפנינים, the words נזיריה and גזרתם are also problematic. נזיריה can be interpreted as referring to princes or nobles in accordance with the meaning of the word נזיר in Genesis 49:26 and Deuteronomy 33:16. Alternatively, נזיר can be taken as the technical term “Nazirite”, which refers to any person who has devoted himself or herself to God for a period of time. During this time, Nazirites must abstain from drinking wine and cutting their hair. They must also avoid contact with corpses (Numbers 6:1-22; De Vaux 1962:403-405). The ancient translators unanimously understood נזיריה in this sense. However, the suggestion has been made that the form נזיריה is inappropriate in this context and that a scribal error has occurred. On this hypothesis, the *záyīn* of the opening word, זכו, has found its way into the second word and replaced an original *śáyīn*. Therefore, those who propagate this view argue that נזיריה in the MT should be replaced by the putative original form נעריה, “her young men” (Rudolph 1962:248; Ehrlich 1914:47). With regard to גזרתם, the word is obscure. The nominal form גזרה is usually related to the verbal root גזר, “to cut”/“to divide” (BDB 160; KBL 178: DCH II 341) and assigned a meaning such as “carved shape”/“form”/“stature”/“Gestalt”/“gestalte”/“taille” when it involves human beings (Renkema 1993:368). Nevertheless, Berges (2002:232) hits the nail on the head when he remarks that the meaning of גזרה “bleibt unsicher, obschon die Herleitung von

גֹּזֶר »schneiden«, »abschneiden« (vgl. Klg 3,54) als gesichert gilt”. The equivocal nature of the form גֹּזֶר is also evident from the translation equivalents in the ancient translations. גֹּזֶר, “their body”, and פְּרָצוּפֵיהֶן, “their faces”, in P and the two recensions of T respectively, represent the efforts of the Syriac and Aramaic translators to render the obscure Hebrew word in an understandable way from the context. Τὸ ἀπόσπασμα αὐτῶν, “their detachment/division”, in the LXX implies that the Greek translator interpreted גֹּזֶר in the sense of “separation”. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine (2005:266) think that “le substantif, difficile à interpréter, désigne ici soit la vie menée par les nazirs à l’écart des autres, soit le groupe séparé des autres hommes que forment les nazirs” and has to do with what sets this group apart from others, namely that they do not cut their hair. According to the free translation of סִפִּיר גֹּזֶרֶת in V, the *nazarei* were more beautiful than sapphire (*sapphyro pulchiores*). Instead of resorting to such contextual interpretations or an etymological explanation, Hillers (1992:140-141) finds a solution to the difficult Hebrew word in comparisons of body parts with dark blue materials, such as lapis lazuli in literature from the Ancient Near East. As a result, he suggests that גֹּזֶר should be understood as referring to “beard” or “eyebrows”. Conversely, Löhr (1893:20-21) proposes that גֹּזֶר should be emended to read גֹּזֶרֶת, “their (consecrated) head of hair”, since the part of the body that is in view must be comparable in colour to that of sapphire. Given these different interpretations of גֹּזֶר, it is fair to say that this word is enigmatic and that its precise meaning remains moot. Fortunately, the same does not hold for the difficult clause אֲדָמוּ עֵצִים מִפְּנֵינִים.

אֲדָמוּ עֵצִים מִפְּנֵינִים – [א]דָמוּ עֵצִים מִפְּנֵינִים

The colon in question presents a syntactical difficulty that revolves around the second word, עֵצִים. Some interpreters construe עֵצִים as the subject of the verb אֲדָמוּ, but in this case there would be incongruence in number between the singular subject and the plural verb.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, the lack of a pronominal suffix leaves עֵצִים without an explicit link to גֹּזֶרֶת, the ones to whom the

¹⁹⁴ Cf. House (2004:441), Berlin (2004:99) and Hillers (1992:135).

“bone” belongs. Those commentators who read עצם as the subject of the preceding verb usually adopt the translation “their bodies” for עצם because it fits the context, but Hillers (1992:140) concedes that this solution glosses over a genuine textual difficulty. The Syriac translator of P, who also interpreted עצם as the subject of אדמו, recognised these problems and therefore rendered עצם by ܐܬܡܬܐ, “their bones”. This Syriac word is plural and has an added third-person masculine plural pronominal suffix that refers back to ܢܐܝܪܝܬܐ (“her Nazirites”), the translation equivalent of גזירה. As a result, P reads as follows: ܬܡܢܬܐ ܐܬܡܬܐ ܕܐܬܡܬܐ ܕܢܐܝܪܝܬܐ, “Their bones were redder than sard”.¹⁹⁵ If עצם in the Hebrew versions is not taken as the subject of אדמו, as in these translations, an alternative syntactic function must be allocated to it. In both T^W and T^Y, עצם is translated freely as חיזו, “their appearance”. This noun acts as an adverbial accusative together with the verb סמיקו, “they were red” (Jastrow 1003). Alexander (2007:167) translates the wording of T^W accordingly: “They were redder in appearance than rubies”.¹⁹⁶ For the wording of T^Y, he has the translation: “They were redder in appearance than crimson (מזהרין)” (Alexander 2007:203). With regard to V, Jerome opted for a free translation of the whole clause: *rubicundiores ebore antiquo*, “more ruddy than ancient ivory”.

As an alternative to these different syntactical interpretations and free translations, a number of scholars prefer to emend the form עצם or exchange it for another word in order to make better sense of the colon. Westermann (1994:196-197) suggests that the word should be read as עצמיהם under the influence of the parallel ספיר גזרתם in the next colon. He admits, however, that the meaning of the clause remains obscure, because the point of comparison seems to be unclear. In the opinion of Driver (1950:140-141), אָדָמוּ מֵעֵצִים מְפִיגִים might be altered to אָדָמוּ מֵעֵצִים פְּגִיגִים, “they were more ruddy than the bone of (red) corals”, i.e., more red than coral itself. The misplacement of the preposition in the wording of the MT can then be attributed to the

¹⁹⁵ According to Payne Smith (1902:390), sard is a shining red stone.

¹⁹⁶ Alexander (2007:167) points out that both the word יוהרין and its translation is uncertain. He decided on the rendering “rubies” on the basis of the context. Levine (1976:52) prints an alternative reading, מזהורין, in his edition of T^W.

carelessness of a scribe. Gottlieb (1978:63) accepts the correctness of Driver's conjecture and notes that on this reading, **עצם** designates "the essential nature of an object or thing".¹⁹⁷ Rudolph (1962:248) and Robinson (1933:259) resort to more extreme measures for correcting the perceived corrupt reading **עצם**. Rudolph follows the emendation of **עצמו אדם** in the MT into **אדם ארם**, "röter ihre Haut (als Korallen)", which was proposed by Löhr (1893:20), while Robinson suggests that **עצם** should be replaced by **שפתם**, "their lips", despite the fact that it is graphically far removed from **עצם**.

Such conjectural emendations can, however, be avoided. The singular form **עצם** in both 5QLam^a and the MT can be interpreted as a case of synecdoche where the part stands for the

¹⁹⁷ Concerning the Greek translation of the clause in question, *ἐπυρρώθησαν ὑπὲρ λίθους* ("They have become redder than precious stones"), the editions of Rahlfs (2006:764) and Ziegler (1976:488) incorporate a reconstruction of the original form of the first word. In Codex Vaticanus and a few minuscules, the reading is *ἐπυρρώθησαν* ("they were burnt"). This reading is also recorded in the margin of Codex Marchalianus. The rest of the available Greek manuscripts, including Codex Alexandrinus, have the lovely variant *ἐτυρώθησαν* ("they were made into cheese"). This reading is also reflected by Sa, *αὐτῶκ ἐζοῦε περῶτε* ("They were thicker than milk") (Feder 2002:212). Since the proposed original reading *ἐπυρρώθησαν* aptly conveys the meaning of the Hebrew word **אדם**, and since the readings in the extant Greek textual witnesses can be ascribed to scribal errors, the emendation seems reasonable and justified. The reconstructed original Greek wording of the clause has no equivalent for **עצם** and Gottlieb argues that Driver's conjecture can help to explain why this word is left untranslated in the LXX. He refers to several passages where **עצם** is used as an expression of the "substance" of something and not rendered in the LXX. Cf. Genesis 7:13; Exodus 12:17, 12:51, Leviticus 23:21, Deuteronomy 32:48, Joshua 5:11 and Ezekiel 40:1 where the phrase **היום הזה בעצם**, "on this very day", is translated in various ways into Greek, but consistently without an equivalent for **עצם**. Schäfer (2004:131*) also mentions the possibility that "the translator understood it in the sense of 'they themselves' and regarded it as implicit in the vb". This proposal was also made by Barthélemy (1986:911).

whole. “Bone”, therefore, points to the whole body.¹⁹⁸ As such, **עצם**, like its equivalent **חיו** in the two recensions of T, functions as an adverbial accusative. It is an accusative “der nähern Beziehung” (Ehrlich 1914:47) and specifies or clarifies the action expressed by the verb **אדמו**. In other words, the clause **עצם מפנינים אדמו** in 5QLam^a and the MT indicates that the Nazirites are ruddier than corals with respect to the body.¹⁹⁹ In antiquity, a reddish complexion was considered attractive in men. It was also a sign of health, youthfulness and vitality.²⁰⁰ From this perspective, it follows that the observation that Jerusalem’s Nazirites were redder than corals with respect to the body complements the positive depiction of them as “purer than snow” and “more gleaming white than milk” in the first bicolon of verse 7. Although the primary point of comparison in the clause **עצם מפנינים אדמו** is the hue of the body and the colour of corals, the hard texture of the latter might also bear comparison with human bones and this could explain the choice for the word **עצם** in this verse.

VERSE 14

5QLam^a

¹⁹⁸ Berges (2002:232), Provan (1991:114), Kraus (1983:72) and Albrektson (1963:181) mention Proverbs 16:24 as a parallel, where **עצם** means “body” instead of “bone”. However, Rudolph (1962:248) is correct to point out that the meaning “body” for **עצם** in this proverb and the similar one in Proverbs 15:30 is not “zweifelsfrei”. A glance at the commentaries of Clifford (1998), Murphy (1998), McKane (1970) and Scott (1965) reveals that only McKane translates **עצם** in both Proverbs 15:30 and Proverbs 16:24 with “body”.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Aalders’ translation of **אדמו עצם מפנינים**: “roder van lichaam dan koralen” (Aalders 1952:92).

²⁰⁰ Cf. Dobbs-Allsopp (2002:132). As a parallel to this clause in Lamentations 4:7, one might cite a passage from Song of Songs 5. In Song of Songs 5:9, a chorus asks the girl what makes her lover more special than other lovers. She replies by giving a list of his desirable attributes (Song of Songs 5:10-16). At the top of the list is the fact that her lover is “radiant and ruddy” (**צה ואדום**). With regard to the similar meaning of “ruddy” in Song of Songs 5:10 and Lamentations 4:7, see the comments of Exum (2005:203), Keel (1994:198), Fox (1985:147) and Pope (1977:351-352) for an alternative view.

They wandered [] in the streets [] by the blood. They could not tou[ch(?)] their clothes.

MT

They wandered blind in the streets; they were defiled by the blood so that no one could touch their clothes/what they were not allowed, they touched with their clothes/those whom they should not, they touched with their clothes.

No more than a few words of Lamentations 4:14 are visible on the plate of 5QLam^a in the DJD edition. Milik's reconstruction of the wording of this verse allows us to identify two variant readings compared to the MT. Both of these variants appear in the second bicolon of the verse. Only one complete word from the first bicolon is clearly visible on the photograph used for the plate (בדם). A look at the plate reveals that בחוצות and []ג are partly preserved and the dots and circlets above the letters of these words indicate that their identification is tentative. Furthermore, only the final *mēm* of the second word of the verse survived the forces of decay. This is unfortunate, since some scholars suggest that עורים ("blind ones") in the MT is not original²⁰¹ and three of the ancient translations have equivalents that differ from this reading. In place of עורים, the LXX has ἐργήσοι αὐτῆς ("her watchers") and *L* has νεανίσκοι αὐτῆς ("her young men"). The latter seems to be based on a Hebrew reading such as נערים, while the original Greek translator either derived עורים directly from the root עור, "to arouse oneself"/"to

²⁰¹ Ehrlich (1914:49) is of the opinion that עורים in the MT is a corruption of an original ערומים, the adjective "naked". Houtsma (1907:58) and Driver (1950:141) share this view, although the latter avers that the form ערומ might be more suited because it does not involve any essential change of the consonantal text of the MT. Rudolph (1938:119) suggests that the original reading was דומ, the plural of דוה, "unwell"/"faint". According to this proposal, עורים in the MT was created through a dittography of the letters עו of the opening verb נעו and the alteration of *dālēth* into *rēš* and *wāw* into *yôd*: נעו דום בחוצות → נעו עו דום בחוצות → נעו עורים בחוצות.

be aroused” (BDB 734-735; KBL 690; DCH VI 314-315),²⁰² or was guided by the meaning of עִיר in Aramaic. In Daniel 4:10, 14, 20, as well as passages from *1 Enoch* 1-36 (the *Book of the Watchers*), the Aramaic word עִיר refers to an angelic being.²⁰³ The equivalent of עִיר is ἄγγελος at verses 10 and 20 in the Old Greek translation of Daniel 4,²⁰⁴ whereas in the version of θ', עִיר is transliterated as ιρ in all three verses.²⁰⁵ In the relevant passages from *1 Enoch*, however, forms of ἐγγήγορος are used primarily to designate the “fallen” angels who have left heaven and copulated with women.²⁰⁶ Fernández Marcos (2000:24) mentions the rendering of עִיר with

²⁰² Cf. Schäfer (2004:69) and the discussion by Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine (2005:270).

²⁰³ Cf. the following Aramaic passages from *1 Enoch* 1-36 in manuscripts that were recovered from the Qumran caves: *1 Enoch* 10:9 (4Q202 Column IV lines 5-6), *1 Enoch* 12:4 (4Q204 Column V line 19), *1 Enoch* 13:10 (4Q204 Column VI line 8), *1 Enoch* 22:6 (4Q206 Fragment 2 Column II line 5) and *1 Enoch* 33:3 (4Q206 Fragment 4 line 19).

²⁰⁴ Daniel 4:14 in the LXX is very different from θ'. It contains no reference to an angelic being and exhibits a plus compared to the text of θ' and the MT. The version of θ' is quite close to the MT in Daniel 4-6, but the LXX translation seems to have been based on a *Vorlage* that was very different from the MT in these chapters (McLay 2007:991-992).

²⁰⁵ According to the Göttingen edition of Daniel prepared by Ziegler and Munnich (1999:293), the θ' text of Daniel 4:10 reads as follows: ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ιρ καὶ ἅγιος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατέβη (“I looked in the vision of the night on my bed, and behold an Ir, and a holy one came down from heaven”). In Codex Alexandrinus, ἐγγήγορος is added after μου. Walters (1973:279) calls this addition a “hexaplaric doublet for the transliteration ιρ”. Interestingly, at Daniel 4:14, ιρ is preceded by ἐγγήγορου in minuscule 538 and in minuscule 311, ἐγγήγορος is added in the margin.

²⁰⁶ Cf. *1 Enoch* 1:5, 10:7, 10:9, 10:15, 12:2, 12:3, 12:4, 12:10, 14:1, 14:3, 15:9 and 16:2. For a discussion on the term “watchers” in the various textual witnesses to the book of *1 Enoch*, see Nickelsburg (2001:140-141). Forms of ἐγγήγορος are also used to refer to angelic beings in the Greek version of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In Reuben’s testament, the patriarch warns his descendents against the wiles of women and cites the story of the watchers and the women who, according to this text, seduced the watchers with their adornments (*Testament of*

ἐγρηγόρος as an example where Greek words take on a wider spectrum of meaning because they serve as the translation equivalent for polysemic Semitic words. Accordingly, ἐγρηγόρος, which has the meaning “watcher”, comes to denote a particular type of angel. Although it is debatable whether the Greek translator of Lamentations did indeed have an angelic being in mind when he decided on ἐγρηγόροι αὐτῆς to translate עורִים, it is nevertheless clear that this interesting reading in the LXX came about as a result of the translation process and was not based on a variant reading in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.²⁰⁷ The case of מַלְאָכֶיהָ (“her nobles”) in P is

Reuben 5:6-7). “It is interesting to note that the author of the Testaments avoids saying that the angels had intercourse with the women; they appeared to the women when they were with their husbands, and because the women saw the Watchers reach unto heaven, they gave birth to giants” (De Jonge 1953:75). Conversely, in *I Enoch*, the intercourse between the watchers and the women is portrayed as a conscious and deliberate rebellion against God (Nickelsburg 2005:48). Ἐγρηγόρος appears in the *Testament of Naphtali* as well. In *Testament of Naphtali* 3:5, the patriarch admonishes his children to recognize God in his works of creation so that they will not become like Sodom or the watchers, who departed from the order in nature and the Lord pronounced a curse on them at the time of the flood (De Jonge 1953:60). This is again a clear allusion to the story of the “sons of God” who took for themselves wives from among the “daughters of men” (Genesis 6:1-4). The *Testament of Naphtali* depicts this as a transgression of τάξις φύσεως αὐτῶν (cf. De Jonge 1978:117).

²⁰⁷ Albrektson (1963:186) is of the opinion that the Greek translator read a *yôd* instead of *wāw* and then interpreted the form in accordance with the sense of עיר in Aramaic. If the Greek translator had angelic beings in mind, he did not necessarily derive this meaning from Aramaic. Two texts from Qumran that were written in Hebrew, 4Q227 (4QPseudo-Jubilees^c) and 4Q266 (4QDamascus Document^d), contain references to the watchers. In the second fragment of the former text, mention is made of Enoch who gives witness against all the sons of men and against the watchers (ויעד על כולם [...] וגם על עירים), while in the latter text it is stated that “the watchers of the heavens” (עירי הַשָּׁמַיִם) fell because of the stubbornness of their hearts and that they did not follow the precepts of God. The appearance of Enoch in 4Q227 and the fact that the *Damascus Document* goes on to say that the sons of the watchers, “whose height was like that of cedars and whose bodies were like mountains”, also came to a fall (an allusion to the giant offspring resulting from the union between the “fallen” angels and the women) (CD A 2:19),

more difficult to decide. In the critical apparatus of *BHK*, Robinson (1937:1240) proposes that ܐܝܫܬܬܢܐ in the Syriac translation might be based on a Hebrew reading נגידיה (from the word נגיד, “chief”/“leader” [BDB 617-618; KBL 592; DCH V 606]), while Rudolph (1938:119) puts forward two possible candidates for the Hebrew reading behind the Syriac equivalent in P, חרים (“free ones”/“noble ones” [BDB 359; KBL 329; DCH III 305]) and נגדים (presumably also derived from נגיד). From a text-critical perspective, it is difficult to see how any one of these proposed readings could have developed through erroneous copying into עורים or vice versa. Albrektson’s solution therefore seems to be the most probable explanation of the variant in P. He takes as his point of departure Abelesz’s suggestion that the Syriac translator could have read עורים as שרים: “If a carelessly written ע stands very close to a ו, the two letters could easily be taken for a ש” (Albrektson 1963:186-187). With regard to the added pronoun αὐτῆς in the LXX and the third-person feminine singular pronominal suffix of ܐܝܫܬܬܢܐ in P, Albrektson speculates that both the Greek and the Syriac translator may have read the final *mēm* of עורים as a *hē*. Seeing as the Syriac translator freely added suffixes in his translation, it is also possible to explain the one of ܐܝܫܬܬܢܐ in this way. Schäfer (2004:132*) remarks that the fragmentary reading of 5QLam^a at least confirms that the word in question ended in a *mēm* and that this lends weight to the argument that the additions in the LXX and P are in all probability the work of the translators.

בְּלֹא יוֹכְלוּ יַגְעוּ בְּלִבָּשֵׁיהֶם – בִּלְי [ו] כָּלוּ יִבְגּוּ] בְּלוּשֵׁיהֶם

The wording of the MT is difficult. Berlin (2004:111) describes it as only partially intelligible, while Hillers (1992:142) is of the opinion that the wording “is really not possible”. He rearranges the consonants of the MT so that the wording would be בְּלֹא כָלוּ וַיִּגְעוּ בְּלוּ לְבוּשֵׁיהֶם (“By exertion

show that the עירים in these texts probably refer to the rebellious angels that are mentioned in texts such as *1Enoch*. At the same time, this implies that a Hebrew word עיר had connotations with a particular type of angelic being, the “watchers”, and that the Greek translator could have had these in mind when he read עורים in Lamentations 4:14 as עירים.

they are spent and exhausted; their clothing is tattered”). Hillers posits the existence of a noun **לֹאִי**, which he derives from the verbal root **לֹאֵה**, “to be weary”/“to toil”. He arrives at the form **בִּלְאִי** (preposition **ב** + noun **לֹאִי**) by removing the initial *yôd* of **יֹכְלוּ** and appending it to **לֹאֵה**. For the verbal forms **כָּלוּ** and **וַיִּגְעוּ** he deletes the vowel indicator, *wāw*, of **יֹכְלוּ** and adds the same consonant as a conjunction to **יִגְעוּ**. He relates the latter to the root **יִגַע**, “to be weary”, and not to **יָגַע**, “to touch”. Hillers notes that both the verbs **כָּלוּ**, “to be exhausted”/“to be at an end”, and **יִגְעוּ** are frequently followed by the preposition *bêth*, indicating the cause of the exhaustion. Finally, he inserts the word **בָּלוּ** (from the root **בָּלָה**, “to be worn out”), which he assumes was lost by haplography due to the *lāmēd* at the beginning of the next word, **לְבוּשֵׁיהֶם**. Hillers’ conjectural emendations to the wording of the MT have failed to convince his colleagues.²⁰⁸ Other scholars attempt to wrest some sense from the present form of the MT, rather than insert changes that have no basis in the available textual witnesses.

Rudolph (1938:119) remarks that the grammar of Lamentations 14:4b allows for two translations: “What they were not allowed, they touched with their clothes” (**ב** is dependent on **יִגְעוּ** and **יֹכְלוּ לֹא** constitutes a relative clause). Another possible translation would be “so that no one could touch their clothes” (**בִּלְאִי** + imperfect in a statement of consequence [DCH IV 388]). On the basis of his interpretation of the content of the verse, Rudolph favours the first possibility. Albrektson (1963:187), followed by Gottlieb (1978:65) and Renkema (1993:384-385), also thinks that **בִּלְאִי יֹכְלוּ** is best taken as a relative clause governed by **יִגְעוּ**, while Meek (1956:33) argues that the preposition **ב** should be understood as introducing a clause that acts as the object

²⁰⁸ Budde (1892:274) has proposed a less extravagant, but equally conjectural, emendation to the wording of the MT. He postulates that **וְיִרְאוּ** or **וְלִרְאוֹת** must be added after **יֹכְלוּ** in light of problems with the colometry of the bicolon: “Was sie nicht sehen mögen (oder «können»), berühren (streifen) sie mit ihren Kleidern”. The colon would therefore terminate after the added word. Gordis (1974:192) divides the bicolon as follows: (4:14bβ) **בְּלִבְשֵׁיהֶם** / (4:14bα) **בִּלְאִי יֹכְלוּ**. He attributes two accents to the long word **בְּלִבְשֵׁיהֶם** and notes that the “poetic caesura does not coincide with the logical pause”. The bicolon is given the same layout in *BHK* and *BHS*, whereas in *BHQ* its colometry is in accordance with the Masoretic accents: (4:14bβ) **יִגְעוּ בְּלִבְשֵׁיהֶם** / (4:14bα) **בִּלְאִי יֹכְלוּ**.

of the verb יגעו: “Those whom they should not, they touch with their garments”. On such an interpretation of the grammar, the prophets and priests of verse 13 constitute the subject not only of נעו in the first bicolon of verse 14, but also of the verbs יוכלו and יגעו in the second bicolon. Conversely, House (2004:445) and Berlin (2004:111) prefer the second translation possibility according to which people had to avoid contact with the bloodstained clothing of the prophets and the priests, lest they become impure as well.²⁰⁹

Neither of these two translation possibilities of the MT is applicable to the wording of the colon in 5QLam^a, since this manuscript has the negative particle בל instead of בלא, the preposition ב + negative particle לא. Although the change from בלא to בל or vice versa only involves the addition or omission of a *ʾāleph*, nothing in the immediate context seems to have triggered such a scribal error. Considering the fact that בלא + imperfect is a rare construction that occurs only in this verse in the Hebrew texts of Old Testament books (Ehrlich 1914:49) and that this wording in the MT is problematic, this study agrees with Schäfer (2004:69) that the change from בלא to בל was deliberately introduced by a scribe as a facilitation of a perceived syntactical difficulty.

The second (partially preserved) variant in 5QLam^a is [יבג]. Milik (1962a:175) points out that there is a dot below the *bêth*. If there was another dot above it, these dots would be cancellation dots. Cancellation dots indicate that, according to the scribe who inserted them, a letter was written down by mistake and should be deleted.²¹⁰ By removing the *bêth*, the reading

²⁰⁹ Kraus (1983:71, 80) also follows the second option by translating יגעו בלבשיהם בלא יוכלו as “so daß man nicht berühren durfte ihre Kleider”. His interpretation is unique in that he sees the צדיקים of verse 13 as the “blutbesudelten Unreinen” whose clothes are not to be touched, and not the prophets and the priests who are said to have spilled the blood of these righteous people.

²¹⁰ On the use of cancellation dots in manuscripts among the Dead Sea scrolls with numerous examples, see Tov (2004:188-198). Tov (2004:191) shows that on rare occasions cancellation dots were placed only below letters. One example might be found in 4Q501 (*4QApocryphal Lamentations B*) where a *hē* was written in the supralinear space

in 5QLam^a can be restored as יג[עו] in accordance with its counterpart in the MT. With regard to the syntax of the bicolon in 5QLam^a, the imperfect verb יגעו (without a conjunction) would be the complement of the governing verb יוכלו.²¹¹ Based on the surviving letters, one could also reconstruct the word either as ובג[עת], a conjunction *wāw* + the preposition *bêth* + a Qal infinitive construct of the verbal root נגע, or as יבג[דו], a Qal imperfect third-person masculine plural of the root בגד, “to betray”/“to be disloyal” (BDB 93; KBL 107; DCH II 90-91). However, such reconstructions create more problems than they solve. In view of the incomplete nature of the fragment on which the word was written, it seems prudent not to speculate about this possible variant reading. It cannot be restored with any measure of certainty and it may not even qualify as a variant, seeing as there is evidence to suggest that a scribe already cancelled out the *bêth*, which is the cause for speculation about a variant reading to begin with.

Concerning the content of the verse, the damaged state of the manuscript, which resulted in the loss of a number of words, makes it difficult to establish to what degree the wording of 5QLam^a agrees or disagrees with the MT. The subject of the verbs יוכלו and יגעו and the construction with בלא in the second bicolon of the MT are open to various interpretations. As a consequence, this version can either be taken to mean that the clothing of the prophets and priests may not be touched as a consequence of their defilement by blood,²¹² or that the

with a dot below it and possibly a line above it. The dot below the *bêth* of [יבג] in 5QLam^a could therefore also be interpreted as a cancellation dot, irrespective of whether there was a dot above it as well.

²¹¹ When a verb that is incomplete in itself receives its necessary complement in the form of another verbal idea, the governing verb is usually followed by an infinitive construct. Sometimes, however, it is combined with an infinitive absolute, a participle or an imperfect without a conjunction (GKC §120). The reconstructed text of 5QLam^a can be taken as an example of the latter, where יוכלו is the governing verb and יגעו is the subordinate member of the construction.

²¹² Cf. the Syriac translation of P: ܣܠܐ ܪܥܝܬܗ ܕܡܝܢ ܠܒܫܗܐ (‘‘So that they were not able to touch their clothes’’ [i.e., they could not or may not touch their clothes]). In the LXX and V, the difficult Hebrew clause is rendered by common Greek and Latin constructions. With regard to the Greek translation, an articular infinitive in a

bloodstained prophets and priests are guilty of coming into contact with unclean things. The change from בלא to בל exhibited by the wording in the manuscript from Qumran might have been intended to simplify the sentence structure of the bicolon. Whereas the final part of Lamentations 4:14 in the MT has a convoluted syntax, the wording in 5QLam^a (as far as it has survived the forces of decay) can be interpreted as a statement with an impersonal subject for the verbs: people are said to be unable to touch (?) the garments of (probably) the prophets and priests.

VERSE 15

5QLam^a

[] [] “They are unclean”/“They defile”/“They
[] are defiled”, they cried regarding them.
[] “Depart, de[par]t, do not [touc]h!” When they
took to flight []
sojourn.

MT

סֹוֹרוֹ טָמְאָ קָרְאוּ לָמוֹ סֹוֹרוֹ אֶל־תִּזְעֹוּ כִּי נָצְוּ “Depart! Unclean!”, they cried regarding them.
גַּם־נָגְעוּ אָמְרוּ בַּגּוֹזִים לֹא יוֹסִיפוּ לָגוֹר: ס “Depart, depart, do not touch!” When they
took to flight and also wandered about

prepositional phrase (ἐν τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς) is used to translate בלא יוכלו. The preposition ἐν + articular infinitive phrase probably indicates a temporal relationship between the infinitive, δύνασθαι, and the main verb, ἤψαντο, in which the action expressed by the former occurs simultaneously with the action expressed by the latter. Similarly, in the wording of the Vulgate, *cumque non possent tenuerunt lacinias suas*, the conjunction *cum* + the imperfect subjunctive, can signify a temporal relationship between the verb in the subordinate clause, *possent*, and the verb of the main clause, *tenuerunt*.

(aimlessly), they said among the nations:²¹³

“They shall not continue to sojourn”.

The Hebrew word נָצוּ, which appears in both the wordings of 5QLam^a and the MT, is a *hapax legomenon* and its precise meaning is uncertain. Driver (1950:141-142) makes use of comparative philology and suggests that נָצוּ should be related to a root נָוַן and interpreted in light of the Arabic root *nws*, “to avoid”/“to flee”. KBL 604 gives the meaning of נָוַן as “to leave”/“to depart”. BDB (663) tentatively relates נָצוּ to the root נָצַה, “to fly”, as does Rudolph (1962:249) on the basis of the position of the Masoretic accent. Some scholars prefer to emend the difficult word נָצוּ into נָדוּ. The latter would be derived from the root נָדַד, “to waver”/“to wander aimlessly”/“to move to and fro” (BDB 626; KBL 600; DCH V 634) and forms a good parallel with the following verb נָעוּ (Westermann 1994:197; Berges 2002:233).

To judge from the translation equivalents in the ancient versions, the translators derived the form נָצוּ from different Hebrew verbal roots. It is rendered as ἀνήφθησαν (“they were set ablaze”) in the LXX. This translation might have been based on a particular understanding of the

²¹³ Budde (1892:275), Dyserinck (1892:378) and Löhr (1893:22) share the opinion that אָמְרוּ בְּגוֹיִם must be deleted from the wording of the second bicolon for reasons of meter. Westermann (1994:197), Kraus (1983:72) and Albrektson (1963:190) identify these words, together with קִרְאוּ לָמוּ in the first bicolon, as glosses, whereas Rudolph (1962:249) and Gottlieb (1978:65-66) treat only אָמְרוּ as a secondary gloss. Instead of removing words *metri causa*, Gordis (1974:192-193) proposes that בְּגוֹיִם should be seen as part of the final colon and not as an adverbial adjunct of the verb אָמְרוּ. He scans the final bicolon of the verse as follows: (4:15bβ) לֹא יוֹסִיפוּ לְגֹר / (4:15bα) כִּי נָצוּ. Conversely, if the Masoretic accents are taken into consideration, the colometry of the bicolon will look different: (4:15bβ) לֹא יוֹסִיפוּ לְגֹר / (4:15bα) כִּי נָצוּ גַם-נָעוּ. According to this arrangement, the two cola are terminated with disjunctive accents of grade I, the *ʾathnāḥ* and the *sillûq*. Each of these larger units is divided into two smaller units by means of an accent of grade II, *ṭiphḥā* and *zâqēph qatôn* respectively (Yeivin 1980:176-181).

root נצה in the sense of “to go to ruin”.²¹⁴ The equivalents in T^W (אתקוטטו) and V (*iurgati sunt*) imply that the translators of these texts related נצו to the Niph'al form of נצה, “to struggle with each other” (BDB 663; KBL 629; DCH V 737) (Alexander 2007:171; Levine 1976:171). T^Y, however, has the Aramaic form נצו, “they wrangled” (Jastrow 928), the Pe'al perfect third-person plural form of the root נצי. Albrektson (1963:189-190), Rudolph (1938:119) and Robinson (1933:259) note that נצו in P presupposes that the Syriac translator read נצו as a Pi'el form of נאץ, “to treat without respect”/“to condemn”/“to spurn” (BDB 610-611; KBL 585; DCH V 581).

In light of the lack of consensus among scholars regarding the root of נצו and its different interpretations in the ancient translators, one can conclude that the word is still shrouded in mystery. Its translation will not only affect, but will also to some degree be determined by one's understanding of the clause נעו גם נצו כי. This study takes the adverb גם as a focus particle that modifies the verb נעו (BHRG §5.2.i). Its function is to indicate that the verbal idea expressed by נעו must be added to the temporal clause introduced by the conjunction כי. כי נצו גם נעו is therefore a subordinate clause, while the one that follows it, אמרו בגוים (“they said among the nations”), is the main clause. In other words, the idea that “they wandered about aimlessly” (נעו) is explicitly added to the verbal idea conveyed by נצו, which forms part of a temporal clause that refers to events that occur simultaneously with the main clause. Looking at the range of meanings assigned to the two possible roots of נצו, נוצ and נצה, a translation such as “they took flight” would be appropriate for נצו in this reading of the syntax of the MT's wording. On this interpretation, the wording of the MT states that when the defiled prophets and priests took flight, they also roamed around aimlessly. At the same time, the nations refused to harbour them as sojourners. Despite the fact that only נצו was preserved in 5QLam^a and it remains uncertain whether the rest of the clause was identical to the wording of the MT, the translation of נצו in the manuscript from Qumran draws on the interpretation of the wording of the MT.

²¹⁴ On this translation, see the discussion by Kotzé (2009a:91-93) and the one by Ziegler (1958:36) for an alternative view.

סורו טמא קראו למו – [] וְטִמְאֹו קראו למו

The wording of the opening colon of Lamentations 4:15 has elicited two diverging interpretations. On the one hand, scholars such as House (2004:445), Gordis (1974:192-193) and Meek (1956:33) argue that the prophets and priests mentioned in verse 13 are the subject of the verb קראו למו. This can then be understood in a reflexive sense. These scholars place the imperative סורו and the exclamation טמא in the mouths of the defiled prophets and priests, and assert that the colon compares them to lepers, since Leviticus 13:45 instructs a leprous person to cry out “Impure, impure!” On the other hand, Renkema (1993:386-387) and other commentators interpret the colon in such a way that קראו has an impersonal subject and למו means “regarding them (the impure ones)”. On this interpretation, members of the public warn each other not to draw near and come into contact with the unclean prophets and priests. The wording of the colon in 5QLam^a can be understood in a similar way to the second of these two interpretations of the MT. The difference between the two Hebrew textual witnesses lies in the second word of the colon. טמא in the MT is taken as an exclamation on analogy with the passage from Leviticus 13:45 (וטמא טמא יקרא), whereas the reconstructed variant וְטִמְאֹו in 5QLam^a is, without doubt, a verbal form. Milik (1962a:175) restores the word as וְטִמְאֹו, although only a part of the first letter and a few ink traces of the rest of the word are preserved on the manuscript. Nevertheless, the top part of the final letter resembles the *wāw* of קראו and this makes it probable that the second word of the colon in this manuscript was טמאו and not טמא, as in the MT. As a verbal form, וְטִמְאֹו can be an imperative second-person masculine plural, but the sense of the bicolon requires that it be understood as a third-person plural perfect in the Qal, Piʿel or Puʿal stem formations. In the Qal stem formation the root טמא means “to be/become (ceremonially) unclean”, while in the Piʿel, it has the sense “to defile” and in the Puʿal, the sense “to be defiled” (BDB 379; KBL 353; DCH III 366-368). Therefore, if וְטִמְאֹו is taken as a perfect form, the wording of the first colon in 5QLam^a allows for three slightly different interpretations depending on the conjugation of the verb. Firstly, the (impersonal) subject of the verb קראו calls out that the prophets and the priests are unclean (וְטִמְאֹו [Qal] = “They are unclean”). Secondly, people are warned that these prophets

that טמאִים was the Hebrew reading behind ἀκαθάρτων in the LXX and *polluti* in V. In contrast to this view expressed in the critical apparatuses of *BHS* and *BHK*, Schäfer (2004:133*) alludes to the possibility that the *Vorlagen* of the LXX, P and V might have contained the reading טמא as found in 5QLam^a. He is nonetheless of the opinion that טמא in the MT is preferable to טמא in the manuscript from Qumran, because the latter can be explained as a stylistic facilitation. It is, however, equally possible that a scribe changed טמא into טמא under the influence of a passage such as Leviticus 13:45. The evidence from the LXX, P and V can also be marshalled in support of the view that the reading of 5QLam^a is the more original one, provided that one firstly accepts the theory that the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of these ancient translations did indeed contain the reading טמא, and secondly, that the differences between these translations are due to the unique interpretations of the Hebrew wording by the respective Greek, Syriac and Latin translators. A case can be made for both explanations of the variants טמא and טמא based on one's interpretation of the wordings in the two available Hebrew textual witnesses. Although three other words in the first colon of Lamentations 4:15 end in a *wāw* (למו, קראו, סורו), it seems improbable that a scribe either omitted or added the *wāw* of the reading טמא by mistake.

Excursus: The scribal marking in the bottom margin of Column II of 5QLam^a

In chapter two of this study, the presence of the scribal marking (𐤀) in the bottom margin of 5QLam^a was mentioned. It also mentioned Tov's view that the shape of this scribal marking looks like a truncated paleo-Hebrew *wāw* (𐤀) or a *wāw* in the square Aramaic script dating from the 6th century BCE. Furthermore, it noted the uncertainty regarding the function of such signs that are found in the interlinear spaces and margins of some manuscripts among the Dead Sea scrolls. Tov (2004:206-207) suggests that these signs might point to certain details in the wording or to a particular passage, but that they may also have been utilised to refer to the Qumran community's reading of certain passages. Bearing in mind the position of the scribal

them: 'Stay back, go away! Refuse to touch!'. If this is correct, Jerome provides a third distinctive rendering of the verse's opening words.

marking in 5QLam^a, this study proposes that it might very well have been intended to draw attention to the content of verse 15 of Lamentations 4, which was written on the final line of the column. This verse deals with the anxiety over impurity and the need to avoid physical contact with people in such a defiled state. The potential exegetical import of the verse for the Qumran community inheres exactly in the theme of purity. Numerous passages from writings among the Dead Sea scrolls, including the so-called “foundation documents”,²¹⁸ leave no room for doubt that purity was a central concern for the *yahad*. Their regulations regarding purity are tied up in a number of other issues that were of special significance to the community and their self-definition.

The members of the *yahad* considered themselves to be the only legitimate representation of Israel, the chosen people of God with whom he had made the covenant. Consequently, obedience to the precepts of the Torah given to Moses was of paramount importance to the Qumran covenanters. Study, understanding and practice of the Torah constituted a vital part of the *yahad*’s communal life and each member’s position within it. For example, when a new member wanted to join the *yahad*, he had to take an oath to comply with the instructions of the Torah as they were interpreted by the Qumran covenanters (1QS 5:7-11):

These are the regulations of their behaviour concerning all these decrees when they are enrolled in the Community. Whoever enters the council of the Community enters the covenant of God in the presence of all who freely volunteer. He shall swear with a binding oath to revert to the Law of Moses, according to all that he commanded, with whole heart and whole soul, in compliance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and interpret his will and to the multitude of

²¹⁸ On the notion of the Qumran community’s “foundation documents”, see Talmon (1994:11). He includes the following writings under this heading: the *Rule of the Community* (1QS, 4Q255-264, 5Q11), the *Messianic Rule* (1QSa), the *Damascus Document* (CD A, CD B, 4Q266-272), the *Pesher on Habakkuk* (1QpHab), the *War Scroll* (1QM, 4Q491-496), the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH^a, 1QH^b, 4Q427-432, 4Q471b) and the *Temple Scroll* (11QT^a, 11QT^b, 4Q524).

the men of their covenant who freely volunteer together for this truth and to walk according to his will. He should swear by the covenant to be segregated from all the men of injustice who walk along the path of wickedness. For they are not included in his covenant since they have neither sought nor examined his decrees in order to know the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault and because they treated revealed matters with disrespect (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997:81).

1QS 5:20-24 relates the practice of examining the members of the *yahad* with respect to their understanding and practice of the Torah. An individual's place in the order of the *yahad* depended on his understanding and observance of the Torah:

And when someone enters the covenant to behave in compliance with all these decrees, enrolling in the assembly of holiness, they shall examine their spirits in the Community, one another, in respect of his insight and of his deeds in law, under the authority of the sons of Aaron, those who freely volunteer in the Community to set up his covenant and to follow all the decrees which he commanded to fulfil, and under the authority of the majority of Israel, those who freely volunteer to return within the Community to his covenant. And they shall be recorded in order, one before the other, according to one's insight and one's deeds, in such a way that each one obeys another, the junior the senior. And their spirit and their deeds must be tested, year after year, in order to upgrade each one to the extent of his insight and the perfection of his path, or to demote him according to his failings (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997:81, 83).

Seeing as the controversies between the different religious parties in Second Temple Judaism revolved around the interpretation and practice of Torah, it is noteworthy that the distinguishing factor that differentiated Qumran covenanters from the other religious parties was their stringent

interpretation of the Torah.²¹⁹ This rigorous interpretation of biblical laws found expression in the *yahad*'s halakhah and matters relating to the cultic ritual and purity enjoy pride of place in it.²²⁰ With regard to the former, it was imperative that the ritual acts be carried out in the correct manner and at the right times. The sacrifices performed by the priests at the temple in Jerusalem were regarded by them as null and void, because the official sacrificial cult followed the wrong calendar, namely a lunar one of 354 days. In accordance with writings such as *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, the Qumran covenanters were convinced that the proper calendar is the 364-day solar one (Rietz 2005:112-113):

The institution of the 364-day calendar was understood by the traditions of 1 Enoch and Jubilees as a commandment of God (1 En 18:14-16; 80:2-8; Jub 2:9; cf. 6:30-32) modifying the tradition preserved in Genesis 1:14-19, where both the sun and the moon are the determinants of the calendar: "The Lord appointed the sun as a great sign above the earth for days, Sabbaths, months, festivals, years, Sabbaths of years, jubilees, and all the times of the years" (Jub 2:9). The basis of the 364-day calendar also rests upon a concern to properly fulfil other *halakhot* of the torah. By fixing the festival days on the same day of the week every year, the 364-day calendar avoids conflict between the commandments to honor the Sabbath and commandments to celebrate the festivals ... As in the book of Jubilees, the Qumran community was also concerned that the Sabbath regulations, which they interpreted quite literally, be strictly followed²²¹

²¹⁹ For a discussion on the commonalities and differences between the Qumran covenanters and other Jews of the Second Temple period, see Sanders (2000:7-43). Cf. also Schiffman's discussion (with examples) of the halakhah of the Pharisees, Sadducees and the Qumran community (Schiffman 2000:123-142).

²²⁰ See Baumgarten (2006:93-105) and Harrington (2000:74-89) for discussions on the central place of purity in the halakhah of the *yahad*. Harrington (2000:81-85) argues that the primary purpose of the stringent interpretation of the Torah and the *yahad*'s halakhah with regard to cultic and purity matters was to become as holy as possible; that is, to emulate God as best as one can by discovering and doing his will. On holiness at Qumran, see also Schiffman (2010b:256-269) and Naudé (1999:171-199).

²²¹ Cf. for example the regulations regarding the Sabbath recorded in CD A 10:15-11:20.

... Thus, following of the correct calendar had halakic significance: the times of worship have been commanded by God; failure to worship at the correct time violates God's torah.²²²

Since they saw the sacrificial offerings at the Jerusalem temple as illegitimate, the members of the *yaḥad* did not take part in it. Although this was a great deficit in the community's religious life, they made up for it, to some extent,²²³ by thinking of themselves as an "embodiment" of the temple until such a time as the sacrificial cult is purged of its illegitimate character and the *yaḥad* can once more return to the temple and take part in its rituals. In the meantime, they mirrored the activities of the temple cult in their day-to-day existence by studying the Torah, practicing the community's interpretations of its laws (their *halakhah*) and engaging in liturgical practices, such as the daily prayer services. The *Rule of the Community* seems to imply that the *yaḥad*'s "offering of lips" will act as substitute for sacrificial offerings (1QS 9:3-6):

When these exist in Israel in accordance with these rules in order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal, in order to atone for the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice – the offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the perfectness of behaviour will be acceptable like a freewill offering – at that moment the men of the Community shall set apart a

²²² For details regarding the *yaḥad*'s calendar, see the calendrical documents that were recovered from the Qumran caves, 4Q319, 4Q320-4Q330, 4Q335, 4Q336, 4Q337 and 6Q17, as well as Talmon's discussion of the calendar controversy between the Qumran community and other representatives of Second Temple Judaism (Talmon 2006:25-58).

²²³ Kugler (2000:90-112) argues that the Qumran covenanters' self-definition as a holy, priestly community, their prayers and study of Torah was not conceived of as a substitute for the sacrificial cult, but was rather intended to mimic or mirror it. In lieu of taking part in the sacrifices performed at the temple in Jerusalem, the covenanters rewrote the rubrics for sacrifices through harmonizing and narrowing exegesis, according to Kugler. He demonstrates this by discussing legal rulings from 4QMMT.

holy house for Aaron, in order to form a most holy community, and a house of the Community for Israel, those who walk in perfection (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997:91).

The Qumran covenanters therefore appropriated for themselves the status of a holy, priestly community²²⁴ and submitted to priestly purity regulations, but interpreted these more stringently. For example, Leviticus 21:17-23 excludes anyone with a physical handicap from taking part in the sacrificial cult and the priestly office, but according to 1QSa 2:3-10, all such people are forbidden to enter the community when they assemble:

No man, defiled by any of the impurities of a man, shall enter the assembly of these; and no-one who is defiled by these should be established in his office amongst the congregation: everyone who is defiled in his flesh, paralysed in his feet or in his hands, lame, blind, deaf, dumb or defiled in his flesh with a blemish visible to the eyes, or the tottering old man who cannot keep upright in the midst of the assembly; these shall not en[ter] to take their place [a]mong the congregation of the men of renown, for the angels of holiness are among their [congre]gation.²²⁵ And if [one of] these has something to say to

²²⁴ See, in addition to the passages quoted from 1QS 5:7-11 and 9:3-6, the following passages: 1QS 8:5-9, CD A 3:18-4:4 and 4Q511 (*4QSongs of the Sage^b*) fragment 35. Lines 2-4 of this fragment read: “Among the holy ones, God makes (some) hol[y] for himself like an everlasting sanctuary, and there will be purity amongst those purified. And they shall be priests, his just people, his army and servants, the angels of his glory” (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1998:1033). The note in 4Q174 (*4QFlorilegium*) 1:6-7 that God “commanded to build for himself a temple of man (מקדש אדם), to offer him in it, before him, the works of thanksgiving” (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997:353) might also have been understood by the Qumran covenanters to apply to themselves (Vermes 2004:525; *contra* Wise, Abegg and Cook 2005:226).

²²⁵ By the same rationale, 1QM 7:3-6 excludes such people (as well as women and children) from forming part of the war camp of the sons of light when they will leave for battle against the sons of darkness: “And no young boy or any woman at all shall enter the camps when they leave Jerusalem to go to war, until they return. And no lame, blind, paralysed person nor any man who has an indelible blemish on his flesh, nor any man suffering from

the holy council, they shall question [him] in private, but the man shall [n]ot enter in the midst of [the congregation,] because [h]e is defiled (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997:103).²²⁶

In light of the important role that the concept of purity played in the Qumran community's self-identity, its interpretation of Torah and its daily existence, it does not seem too far-fetched to entertain the possibility that a scribe belonging to the *yahad* inserted the scribal marking in the bottom margin of 5QLam^a where Lamentations 4:15 was written. The scribe used the sign to flag this verse because it has to do with impurity and the necessity of avoiding those who are defiled. The scribal marking could have signalled to the reader that here is a passage in need of further interpretation or it might have been used to identify the verse as some kind of a "proof-text". These suggestions are, of course, no more than indemonstrable speculations and will probably remain so. Nevertheless, it is likely that a Qumran scribe would have been attentive to a passage such as Lamentations 4:15, which deals with impurity, a topic that was of major concern for his community. If this likelihood is conceded, it follows that 5QLam^a provides an example of a manuscript among the Dead Sea scrolls where there might be a connection between the *position* of the scribal marking in the manuscript and its possible intended *function*. Whether the particular shape of the scribal marking bears any significance is uncertain.

uncleanness in his flesh, none of these will go out to war with them. All these shall be volunteers for war, perfect in spirit and in body, and ready for the day of vengeance. And every man who has not cleansed himself of his 'spring' on the day of battle will not go down with them, for the holy angels are together with their armies" (García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997:125). Purity was therefore essential for the *yahad*, not least of all because they believed that angels were present in their community and that their worship services are somehow in sync with the cult conducted by the angels in the heavenly temple. Cf. the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400-407, 11Q17 and MasShirShabb).

²²⁶ Cf. also CD A 15:15-17. According to 4QMMT B 49-54, the blind and deaf must be denied access to the sanctuary, although they are allowed to eat of the holy food, while 11QT^a 45:12-14 states that a blind person may not be granted access to the entire (ideal) temple city.

SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENT OF THE IDENTIFIED VERSES IN LAMENTATIONS 4 AS THEY APPEAR IN 5QLAM^{a227}

At Lamentations 4:7, the discussion revolved around the difficult clause **אֲדָמוּ עֵצָם מִפְּנִינִים** in both 5QLam^a and the MT and the function of **עֵצָם** therein. This study indicates that the various proposals for emending the wording of the clause is unnecessary because **עֵצָם** can be interpreted as an example of synecdoche, in which case “bone” is representative of the body as a whole. In terms of the sentence structure, **עֵצָם** functions as an adverbial accusative together with the verb **אֲדָמוּ**. On the assumption that the missing wording of 5QLam^a was similar to that of the MT, this clause forms part of the positive depiction of Jerusalem’s **נִזִּירִים** in the verse as a whole. In the MT, verses 7 and 8 give a before-and-after portrait of the **נִזִּירִים**. Whereas their shining and ruddy complexion was a sign of health and vitality, their appearance has faded to black and their skin has become shrivelled because of hunger and famine. This then-versus-now portrayal of the **נִזִּירִים** contributes to a larger theme in Lamentations 4, namely the contrast between the past and the present situation of various groups of Jerusalem’s inhabitants (Gottwald 1954:59).

Verses 14 and 15 elaborate on the content of verse 13 where the blame for Jerusalem’s collapse into the hands of the enemy is put squarely on the shoulders of her sinful prophets and her iniquitous priests who shed the blood of innocent victims. The wordings of these verses in 5QLam^a and the MT exhibit subtle differences that can be attributed to the creative activity of scribes who introduced slight changes to the wording of the manuscripts which they copied. At Lamentations 4:14, the difference between 5QLam^a and the MT revolves around the wording of the verse’s final clause. The difficult syntax in the MT can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the clause can be understood as describing another illicit act perpetrated by the bloodstained prophets and priests. They touched things (or people) with their defiled clothes, while they were

²²⁷ The following synopsis is restricted to 5QLam^a because too little of the wording in 5QLam^b has survived for one to make an accurate assessment as to how this manuscript presents the content of the verses from Lamentations 4 that are partly preserved therein.

not allowed to do this. The second possibility is to interpret the clause as a statement of consequence. As a consequence of the uncleanness of the prophets and priests, owing to their bloodshed, people were not able to come into contact with the clothes of these religious figures. Bearing in mind that the reading בלא יוכלו יגעו in the MT constitutes the *lectio difficilior*, it is probable that [בל י[ו]כלו יגעו] in 5QLam^a represents an attempt on the part of a scribe to make the sentence structure of the clause easier. From this perspective, the move from בלא to בל is not an inadvertent scribal error, but a deliberate change. This change in wording also brings with it a shift in meaning. The final clause of Lamentations 4:14 in 5QLam^a declares that people are not able to touch the garments of the defiled prophets and the priests, provided that one accepts the evidence for a cancellation dot below the *bêth* of [יגעו] and assigns impersonal subjects to the verbs.

Concerning Lamentations 4:15, this study concludes that the difficult word נצו in both 5QLam^a and the MT can be interpreted in the sense of “they took flight” and forms part of a subordinate temporal clause introduced by the conjunction כי. Unfortunately, the final part of the verse is not completely preserved in the manuscript from Qumran, but the wording of the MT indicates that the nations refused to give shelter to the prophets and the priests during the time of their flight and aimless wandering. The difference between the two available Hebrew versions of the verse is to be found in the second word of the first colon. 5QLam^a has a verbal form, טמא, while טמא in the MT functions as an exclamation. If one understands the subject of קראו as the prophets and the priests themselves, the wording of the MT likens them to lepers, analogous with Leviticus 13:45. Alternatively, one can interpret the imperatives in the verse as a warning voiced by the impersonal subject of קראו to passers by so that they will avoid contact with the defiled prophets and priests. The wording of 5QLam^a also allows for more than one interpretation. The different possibilities for interpretation revolve around the verbal conjugation one allocates to טמא. This form can be construed as a Qal, Piʿel or Puʿal. The verse in 5QLam^a therefore opens with a warning that either the prophets and priests are unclean (Qal and Puʿal) or that they are in a position to render others unclean (Piʿel). The reading in 5QLam^a might very well be more original than טמא in the MT, seeing as the translation equivalents of the second word of the first

colon in the LXX, P and V are also plural. Admittedly, these ancient translations do not represent **טמא** as a verb, but this does not eliminate the possibility that their Hebrew *Vorlagen* contained a reading similar or identical to the one in 5QLam^a. Moreover, **טמא** might have been changed to **טמא** under the influence of the passage from Leviticus 13:45. However the creation of the readings in the Hebrew versions and the ancient translations is depicted, **טמא** in 5QLam^a was not the result of a scribal error. This, in turn, implies that the meaning it conveys is also not an accidental by-product of a mistaken addition of a *wāw* to **טמא**.

CHAPTER 5

A TEXT-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WORDING OF LAMENTATIONS 5 AS WITNESSED TO BY 5QLAM^a

The preceding chapters of this study dealt with the manuscripts of Lamentations from Qumran that witness to Lamentations 1 and Lamentations 4. 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b were subjected to a text-critical examination in order to establish how these fragmentary scrolls present the content of the first and fourth chapters of the book. In this chapter the focus is once more on 5QLam^a with a view to analyse the wording of Lamentations 5 as it is found in this manuscript. Individual words and parts of the bicola from 15 verses of Lamentations 5 have been preserved in 5QLam^a: verses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 17 (or possibly 18). The uncertainty whether the manuscript contains a part of verse 17 or verse 18 revolves around the letters על ה that appear on a small scrap of leather that has split off from a larger fragment of the manuscript. Milik (1962a:175) assigns the reading to verse 17, because the word אוי of the second bicolon of verse 16 is written just above על ה. Milik goes on to restore the latter as האלה על. This would constitute a variant compared to על אלה of verse 17 in the MT, which does not have the definite article. Milik points out, however, that על ה can also be identified with על הר in verse 18.²²⁸ In this case, verse 18 was written on the sixth line of the manuscript. Taking into account the spacing of the wording of 5QLam^a in the DJD edition, one must then assume that the final words of verse 17 were omitted as a result of homoiocartan (the second bicolon of verse 17 begins with על אלה, while the first bicolon of verse 18 opens with the words על הר). Be that as it may, too little of the wording has survived for us to establish with any degree of certainty which of these possibilities is the most plausible one or to draw conclusions regarding the effect such variations in wording would have on the content of Lamentations 5 in 5QLam^a.

²²⁸ Cf. also Ulrich (2010:754).

Based on perceived textual difficulties and the textual variants identified in the second chapter of the study, this study singles out verses 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, and 11-13 for closer text-critical investigation. Two excursuses will be interspersed between the analyses of the identified verses (after verse 10 and verses 11-13). These excursuses will deal with topics that are indirectly relevant to the text-critical examination of the wording of Lamentations 5 as it appears in 5QLam^a, namely (1) the allusions to verses from Lamentations 5 found in the text 4Q501 (*4QApocryphal Lamentations B*) and (2) the seemingly inexplicable space left in the manuscript of 5QLam^a after Lamentations 5:13.

VERSE 1

5QLam^a

אֶת [] לִנְנוּ הַבִּיטָה [] מֶה [זָכֹר] Remem[ber] what [] to us. Take note []
חרפותי[נו] [our] disgraces.

MT

זָכֹר יְהוָה מִהֲיָיָה לָנוּ הַבִּיט וְרָאָה אֶת־חֲרָפְתָּנוּ: Remember, O YHWH, what happened to us.
Take note and see our disgrace.

הַבִּיט – הַבִּיטָה

The word הַבִּיטָה in 5QLam^a is a Hiphʿil imperative second-person masculine singular form of the root נבט + a paragodic *hē*.²²⁹ It agrees in form with the *Qʿrê* reading noted in the *masora parva* of B19^A, as well as in the text of other medieval MT manuscripts. In so doing, הַבִּיטָה in 5QLam^a and the MT manuscripts imply that the matching *Qʿrê* reading in B19^A is based on a textual variant.²³⁰ The *Kʿthîbh* reading הַבִּיט is a *plene* spelling of the Hiphʿil imperative (with the *yôd* acting as a vowel indicator), which usually has the form הַבִּיט. Schäfer (2004:134*) indicates that

²²⁹ This particular form of the Hiphʿil imperative occurs four times in the book of Lamentations, at 1:11, 2:20, 3:63 and at 5:1.

²³⁰ A similar case was identified at Lamentations 1:6 where the form מַבִּיט in the *Qʿrê* note is also found in 4QLam.

the *K^ethîbh* form is unusual and prefers it, as the *lectio difficilior*, over הביטה in the *Q^erê* note and the text of the fragment from Qumran. As to the cause of the variation, a scribe might have augmented the unusual *plene* form הביט by a paragodic *hē* in order to remove what he considered to be an orthographical irregularity.²³¹

חַרְפֹּתֵינוּ – חרפותינו

חרפתנו in the MT is a singular form of the noun חרפה (“disgrace”/“shame”/“reproach” BDB 357-358; KBL 336; DCH III 321) + a first-person plural pronominal suffix, whereas its counterpart in 5QLam^a, חרפותינו, is plural. The reading in the MT is supported by the Greek (τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν ἡμῶν), Syriac (ܡܫܝܚܐ) and Latin (*obprobrium nostrum*) versions,²³² as well as by T^W and T^Y (כסופנא).²³³ Although the evidence from the ancient translations would suggest that the singular form represented by the MT is the earlier reading, it is by no means certain that this is indeed the case. Since both the singular and plural variants yield good sense in the immediate context, the change in number (in either direction) does not appear to be the result of a scribal error. It can rather be explained as a deliberate modification introduced by a scribe. The list of

²³¹ According to Joüon/Muraoka §48d, a paragodic *hē* is often appended to a masculine singular form of an imperative. The particular nuance of the paragodic *hē* is, however, difficult to discern.

²³² In fact, the LXX translation of the whole of Lamentations 5:1 closely reproduces the wording of the MT as represented by B19^A: μνήσθητι κύριε ὅ τι ἐγενήθη ἡμῖν ἐπιβλεψὼν καὶ ἰδὲ τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν ἡμῶν (“Remember, O Lord, what has befallen us. Look and see our disgrace”). The same holds for the P: ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܝܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܠܟܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ (“Remember, O Lord, what happened to us. Look and see our disgrace”), and the Latin text of Jerome’s translation: *recordare Domine quid acciderit nobis intueri et respice obprobrium nostrum* (“Remember O Lord what has befallen us. See and look at our disgrace”).

²³³ Alexander (2007:179, 206) identifies כסופנא (“our shame/disgrace”) as the majority reading in the manuscripts of T^W and T^Y. However, manuscript 116-Z-39 housed in the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, Spain reads חיסודנא (“our shame”). One textual witness to T^Y also differs from the majority reading. Or 2377 of the British Library has the variant סגופנא (“our affliction”).

things that happened to the community, recounted in verses 2-18 of Lamentations 5, could have been taken as the cause of the speakers' condition of shame.²³⁴ On this hypothesis, the singular form of the noun חרפתנו implies that a scribe understood this catalogue of troubles in verses 2-18 to amount collectively to the disgrace of the community. The plural form חרפותינו then implies that the individual items on the list of misfortunes were interpreted to add up to the community's disgraces. Therefore, in 5QLam^a the first verse of Lamentations' fifth chapter conveys a community's call upon YHWH to remember what has happened to them²³⁵ and to open his eyes for the disgraces which they are subjected to.

VERSE 2

5QLam^a

לזר[ים] בתינו לנזכריִם to stranger[s]; our houses to foreigners.

²³⁴ This interpretation is reinforced by the semantic parallelism of the bicolon in Lamentations 5:1, provided that the object clause מה היה לנו is understood as referring to the misfortunes suffered by the community described in verses 2-18. In this parallelism, the imperative זכר in the first colon corresponds to הביט / הביטה and ראה in the second. The absence of an equivalent for the *Tetragrammaton* in the latter is due to ellipsis. The correspondence between היה לנו מה and חרפתנו / חרפותינו rounds off the parallelism. If the proviso mentioned above is accepted, the poetical link between מה היה לנו and חרפתנו / חרפותינו means that the latter is also related to the calamities recounted in Lamentations 5:2-18.

²³⁵ This appeal to YHWH in Lamentations 5:1 is reminiscent of the version of Lamentations 1:7 found in 4QLam where the Lord is also asked to remember the painful conditions of a community. In the second colon of the present verse, which comprises a parallelism with the first, the imperatives הביט and ראה are used in order to implore God to see and take note of the speakers' distressful situation. The same combination of directives is employed in reversed order from that in Lamentations 5:1 at Lamentations 1:11 and 2:20 to address YHWH, whereas ראה is used on its own in Lamentations 1:9 and 1:20. Furthermore, at Lamentations 1:12 the speaker (personified Jerusalem in the MT and the narrator in 4QLam) pleads with the passersby to take note (הביט) and see (ראו) if there is any pain comparable to that suffered by the city (the MT) or the narrator and his community (4QLam).

MT

נַחֲלָתֵנוּ נִהְפָּכָה לְזָרִים בְּתֵינוּ לְנֹכְרִים: Our inheritance has been turned over to
strangers; our houses to foreigners.

לְנֹכְרִים – לְנֹכְרִיִּם

Although a break in the manuscript obscures the first part of the last word in Lamentations 5:2, Milik (1962a:175) restores it as לְנֹכְרִיִּם with a *ālēph* inserted in the interlinear space above the *yôd*. He is of the opinion that the longer form לְנֹכְרִיִּם is metrically more satisfying than its opposite number in the MT (“ce qui est plus satisfaisant *metri causa*”)²³⁶ and draws attention to a similar form נֹכְרִיִּם in the great Isaiah scroll from cave 1 (1QIs^a fragment 2 line 15 = Isaiah 2:6).²³⁷ Milik, however, leaves the *wāw* of לְנֹכְרִיִּם unexplained. In his analysis of the linguistic profile of Lamentations, Dobbs-Allsopp (1998:33) cites this word in Lamentations 5:2 as נֹכְרִים and includes it in his list of orthographical differences between words in the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran and their counterparts in the MT. He regards the *wāw* of לְנֹכְרִים as a representation of a vowel that developed from the Proto-Semitic *u*.²³⁸ To be sure, the *wāw* acts as an indicator of a *qāmēṣ ḥāṭûph*. Qimron (1986:17) remarks that the “most characteristic feature of the orthography of the DSS is the extensive use of *waw* as a vowel letter (*mater lectionis*). This *waw* in DSS Hebrew corresponds to the various o/u sounds of the Tiberian tradition, i.e. long *holem* (כוהן), *shureq* (רוח), short *holem* (חושך), *qibbuṣ* (בולם), *qameṣ ḥaṭuf* (כול-) and *ḥaṭef qameṣ* (חודשים)”. In the following paragraph of his discussion on *wāw* as a vowel letter in QH,

²³⁶ In this case, the added *ālēph* can probably be taken together with the *yôd* as a digraph; that is, two *matres lectionis* that indicate one vowel. Qimron (1986:20-21) shows that such digraphs are common in QH. Nevertheless, the problem with this interpretation is that in medial positions digraphs occur almost exclusively in words that have a *ālēph* as a root consonant.

²³⁷ Cf. Burrows DSSMM Plate II.

²³⁸ On Proto-Semitic short vowels, including *u*, and the BH vowels that developed from them, see the discussions by Kutscher (1982:25-26).

Qimron goes on to note that the short Proto-Semitic *u* is regularly designated by a *wāw* in the manuscripts among the Dead Sea scrolls. לְנוֹכְרִיִּם therefore only presents orthographical differences compared to לְנִכְרִיִּם in the MT.

In connection with the parallelism in this verse, one can consider זָרִים and נֹכְרִיָאִם/נִכְרִיִּם as a synonymous word-pair.²³⁹ Martin-Achard (1971:521) indicates that the usual meaning of זָר is “stranger” “im ethnischen oder politischen Sinn, also meistens »Nichtisraelit«. Zārīm bezeichnet die Fremdvölker, mit denen Israel zu tun hat, vor allem seine politischen Feinde”. Similarly, נִכְרִי, in its meaning “foreigner”, “bezieht sich in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Stellen auf ein anderes Volk” (Martin-Achard 1976:67-68). Furthermore, נַחֲלָתָנו corresponds to בְּחֵינוּ. The semantic match between these two words fostered by the parallelism would suggest that the former is restricted to its sense of a piece of the patriarchal real property that an heir receives through succession (Lipiński 1998:326-327).²⁴⁰ Yet the commentators argue convincingly for a broader understanding of נַחֲלָה in terms of the Promised Land as the portion bestowed on the Israelites by the landowner, YHWH (cf. Deuteronomy 4:21, 38; 25:19; 26:1).²⁴¹ This interpretation links the complaint in verse 2 directly to the appeal to YHWH in verse 1. Renkema (1993:425) observes that YHWH

nu moet aanzien dat – tegen zijn oorspronkelijke bedoeling in – het door Hem geschonken erfdeel in vreemde handen is terechtgekomen. Dat raakt niet alleen de erfgenaam, maar ook Hem als Erflater. Daarmee wordt de spits van deze klacht duidelijk: kan Hij dit aanzien? Dit klemmt des te meer omdat de metafoor van het land als door JHWH geschonken erfdeel niet geheel parallel loopt met die menselijke erfdeling. Was een erfdeel eenmaal gegeven, dan was dat het rechtmatige bezit van de erfgenaam. In de relatie: JHWH (Erflater), Israël (erfgenaam) en het land (erfdeel), gaat dat niet op; JHWH houdt het

²³⁹ On word-pairs as part of parallelism, see the discussion by Watson (1984:128-144).

²⁴⁰ For an overview regarding patrimony in ancient Israel, see De Vaux (1961:104-107).

²⁴¹ See the comments of House (2004:459-460), Berlin (2004:117), Dobbs-Allsopp (2002:144), Renkema (1993:424-425) and Kraus (1983:88).

beschikkingsrecht over het gegeven erfdeel. Hij kan het geschonken erfdeel weer afnemen ... Wat er met het erfdeel gebeurt, blijft Hem dus aangaan, en de klacht wil het schrijnende van de toestand onder JHWH's aandacht brengen en zijn betrokkenheid beklemtoon.

The verb **נהפכה** in the first colon is left without a counterpart in the second. The critical apparatus of *BHK* (Robinson 1937:) and Westermann (1994:210) suggest that **נתנו**, the Niph'al perfect third-person plural form of the verb **נתן** ("they were given"), should be inserted after **בתינו** in the MT. This proposed addition strikes one as unnecessary. The poetic feature of ellipsis adequately accounts for the absence of a verb in the second colon of Lamentations 5:2. **נהפכה** therefore governs both cola with the plural of **בתינו** denoting the number of houses collectively (cf. GKC §124a). Furthermore, the part of verse 2 that is preserved in 5QLam^a, as well as the LXX, P and V witness to the form of the text represented by the MT.²⁴²

In summation, the bicolon in verse 2 introduces the long communal complaint by pointing to the loss of the people's patrimonial real estate and houses to the occupying forces of a foreign power.

VERSE 3

5QLam^a

אב אִמּוֹתֵינוּ לֹא בָנוֹת וְאַלְמָנוֹת [] יְתוּמִים Orphans [] father. Our mothers (have)
no daughters and (are) widows.

²⁴² With regard to rendering of verse 2 in P, **ܐܘܪܬܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ** ("Our inheritance has been turned over to strangers and our houses to strangers"), Albrectson (1963:197) notes that the Syriac translator "spoils the poetical effect of the *parallelismus membrorum*, in which the same thing is said twice in different words, by using the same word both in 2a and b." Conversely the Hebrew synonyms **זרים** and **נכרים** are translated with two different words in the LXX, **ἄλλοτριούς** ("stranger") and **ξένους** ("foreigner"), as well as in V, *alienos* ("stranger") and *extraneos* ("foreigner").

MT

יְתוֹמִים הָיִינוּ, אֵין אָב אֲמִתִּינוּ כְּאַלְמָנוֹת: We have become orphans, fatherless. Our mothers (are) like widows.

אֲמִתִּינוּ כְּאַלְמָנוֹת – אֲמִתִּינוּ לֹא בְנוֹת וְאַלְמָנוֹת

The lacuna in the text of 5QLam^a deprives one of certainty as to whether the wording of the first colon of Lamentations 5:3 in this manuscript was identical to that preserved in the MT. As a consequence, it is impossible to know if 5QLam^a agreed with the *K^ethîbh* (אין) or the *Q^erê* (ואין) variants in the MT.²⁴³ Nevertheless, the respective second cola of the two Hebrew witnesses do exhibit a marked difference compared to each other. Apart from the *plene* spelling of אֲמִתִּינוּ, the wording of 5QLam^a includes an added phrase, לֹא בְנוֹת,²⁴⁴ which is lacking in the MT, and reads אֲמִתִּינוּ with a conjunction *wāw* instead of the simile כְּאַלְמָנוֹת (preposition כ + noun) in the wording transmitted by the Masoretes. The wording of this verse in the manuscript from Qumran is therefore longer than that of the MT. The text-critical rule of thumb *lectio brevior praeferenda est* and the unanimous support from the Greek, Syriac and Latin translations²⁴⁵ would suggest that the MT presents the earlier of the two variant wordings of the second colon in this verse. Indeed, Schäfer (2004:71) attributes the longer reading in 5QLam^a to the amplification of the text by the scribe who copied the manuscript (or maybe a predecessor). This characterisation of the reading in the critical apparatus of *BHQ* does not, however, elaborate on the intention of the scribe. A closer look at the effect that this amplification of the text might have on the parallelism

²⁴³ The *K^ethîbh* reading is reflected by the translation equivalents of the phrase אין אב in the LXX (οὐχ ὑπάρχει πατήρ), P (ܐܒܐ ܐܝܢ) and V (*absque patre*).

²⁴⁴ The circlets and dots above the letters of לֹא בְנוֹת indicate that their identification is probable but unsure, owing to the fragmentary state of the manuscript.

²⁴⁵ The second colon in the ancient versions reads as follows: LXX, μητέρες ἡμῶν ὡς αἱ χήραι (“Our mothers [are] like widows”), P, ܐܡܬܝܢܐ ܕܢܗܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ (“And our mothers [are] like widows”) and V, *matres nostrae quasi viduae* (“Our mothers [are] like widows”).

of the bicolon could be helpful in discovering the possible purpose behind the creation of the longer reading in 5QLam^a.

Commentators are surprisingly silent on the *parallelismus membrorum* expressed by the two cola of Lamentations 5:3, but, with regard to the MT, Watson (1984:124, 126) categorizes the bicolon in this verse as an example of “gender-matched” parallelism. It follows the pattern masculine + masculine // feminine + feminine.²⁴⁶ The amplified text in 5QLam^a bears out the same type of parallelism (provided that the lost wording is restored in line with the MT and the first-person plural verb *היינו* is taken to refer to male speakers): masculine (יתומים) + masculine (היינו) + masculine (אין אב) // feminine (ואלמנות) + feminine (אמותינו) + feminine (לא בנות). In the parallelism of both Hebrew texts, *יתומים* (“orphans”) corresponds to *אלמנות* (“widows”). In other passages of the Old Testament, as well as texts from the Ancient Near East, the formulaic pair of the “widow and the orphan” is often referred to in contexts where the vulnerable, needy and helpless are mentioned.²⁴⁷ Widows and orphans count among those members of society who must be protected and cared for by the deity, the royal sovereign or the community. A *אלמנה* is “eine Frau, die durch den Tod ihres Ehemannes ihren sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Rückhalt verliert (insofern ist hier »Witwe« nicht nur Bezeichnung des Zivilstandes »ehemalige Frau eines Verstorbenen«) (Kühlewein 1971:169). As such, widows are women who are deprived of the financial support, protection and care provided by adult male members of the family. According to Ringgren (1990:479), the term *יתום* in the Old Testament denotes children without a father.

With these descriptions of *אלמנה* and *יתום* in mind, scholars propound a number of different interpretations of Lamentations 5:3 in the MT. Renkema (1993:427-429; 1995:119-121) argues that the term *יתום* refers to children who have lost or have been separated from both their parents, not just the father. He emphasizes the fact that the combination of the preposition *כ* with

²⁴⁶ *אמותינו* and *כאלמנות* obviously constitute the feminine side of the parallelism and one might infer that Watson regards *יתומים* and *אין אב* as the representatives of the masculine side.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Ringgren (1990:477-481), Hoffner (1974:287-291), Kühlewein (1971:169-173) and De Vaux (1961:82-83).

אלמנות/אלמנה occurs in Lamentations 1:1, where Jerusalem is compared to a widow, and also in Lamentations 5:3. In light of this, Renkema makes a case for understanding אלמנות in the present verse as symbolizing Jerusalem and the cities of Judah. By means of the preposition כ, these “mother cities” are portrayed in the image of widows.²⁴⁸ Renkema mentions two possible interpretations for אב. It can either be taken collectively as a designation for the community’s civil leaders, the priests, prophets and the king,²⁴⁹ or it can be related theologically to YHWH as the father of the nation.²⁵⁰ Taken together, these interpretations of יתום, אלמנות and אב lead Renkema to the view that the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah are the “orphans”, because they are separated from their “parents”, the leaders and the cities. The absence of the “fathers” and the “children” (the leaders and the inhabitants have been killed or taken into exile) leaves the cities “widowed”, figuratively speaking. Compared to Renkema’s exposition of the verse, Aalders (1952:109) and Kraus (1983:88) offer a more literal interpretation of the expressions in Lamentations 5:3. According to these scholars, the verse describes the situation of those who survived the catastrophe of 586 BCE when Jerusalem was sacked by the Babylonians and the inhabitants of the city deported to Babylon. The latter have become orphans, because their fathers were either killed or taken into captivity. The mothers of the survivors resemble widows, since they have lost the protection and help of their murdered or captured husbands. Hillers (1992:163) puts forward a third interpretation of Lamentations 5:3 as represented by the MT:

²⁴⁸ In contrast to Berlin (2004:115), Meek (1956:35) and Gordis (1974:159), Renkema understands the preposition כ not in an assertive sense (“our mothers have indeed become widows”), but rather as expressing comparison (cf. IBHS §11.2.9 a-b). Berges (2002:271) likewise objects to the interpretation of the preposition as a *kaph veritatis*.

²⁴⁹ Gottwald (1954:67) mentions such an interpretation of אב in connection with Lamentations 5:7.

²⁵⁰ Löhr (1893:24), for example, comments that “mit Rücksicht auf I1, zu dem diese Stelle sicher in Beziehung steht, ist unter אב Gott zu verstehen”.

“Orphans” and “widows” (v 3) were recognized in the ancient Near East as the groups of people most defenceless against aggression, and this pair is linked in poetry already in very early biblical texts e.g., Ps 68:6 9 [=5E]) and earlier still in Ugaritic poetry.²⁵¹ Thus this line should not be made into an explicit reference to the slaughter and deportation of males; the sense is, “all of us (males included) have become defenceless.”²⁵²

In view of these different understandings of the MT, the longer text of Lamentations 5:3 in 5QLam^a lends itself to a literal interpretation similar to the one Aalders and Kraus propose for the MT. One need not go as far as to claim that the scribe who was responsible for the amplified text represented by 5QLam^a had the sixth century Babylonian attack on Jerusalem in mind when he altered the wording of the verse. The content of the lament can be related to more than one historical context during which Jerusalem was under siege.²⁵³ All the same, by adding the phrase

²⁵¹ In the *Aqht* epic from Ugarit it is said of king Danel that he sits at the city gate and judges the case of the widow and makes decisions regarding the orphan (*ydn dn ʾlmnt yṭṭ ytm*) (CTA 17 V 7-9).

²⁵² Ehrlich (1914:52) advocates a similar understanding of the text: “Selbstredend liegt hier ein Bild vor, doch ist weder unter **אנ** der König oder Gott, noch sind unter **אמהינו** die Städte Judas zu verstehen. Gemeint ist einfach: wir sind hilflos wie Waisen und Witwen”.

²⁵³ Cf. Provan (1990:130-143), who mentions the difficulties in reading poetic texts against a particular historical background. Nevertheless, in his discussion of literary genres that were used in the exilic period, Albertz (2003:145-146) suggests a very specific historical context for Lamentations 5: “The lengthy first-person plural lament in 5:2-5, 8-18 describes all too graphically the suffering of the people of Judah and Jerusalem under the rigors of foreign rule, which our knowledge of Israel’s history indicates can only be Babylonian ... The harsh treatment and coercion of the civilian population at the hands of the Babylonian occupation forces may be connected with the murder of Gedaliah in 582”. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Fries (1893:110-124) attempted to show that chapters 4 and 5 of Lamentations were written in the Maccabean period. Löhr (1894:51-59), however, retaliated in the next volume of *ZAW* with an article in which he disproves Fries’ claims, and returned to the view that these chapters were composed in response to the events of 586 BCE.

and changing the simile (כאלמנות) into a statement (ואלמנות), the second colon in the text of 5QLam^a bears a closer resemblance to the first colon than is the case in the MT. The narrators' assertion that they are orphans is echoed by the observation that their mothers are widows and the fatherlessness of the speakers corresponds to their mothers' loss of daughters. Therefore, the scribe's goal in amplifying the text might have been to lay bare the perceived parallelism more clearly than did the text that he copied.

In combination with the plea addressed to YHWH in verse 1, the complaint in Lamentations 5:3 of both 5QLam^a and the MT is aimed at moving YHWH to sympathy for the people who are orphaned and the mothers who are bereft of their daughters and widowed (5QLam^a), or who resemble widows (the MT). The community's lament over their current condition must provoke YHWH into assuming his role as the protector of the widow (Kühlewein 1971:170-171) and the helper of the orphan (Ringgren 1990:479-480).

VERSE 9

5QLam^a

בנפשנו נביא לחם] מפני חרב [ה] מדבר At the price of our live(s) we bring in [our] bread, [because] of/away from the sword/the drought/the heat of [the] desert.

MT

בנפשנו נביא לחמנו מפני חרב המדבר: At the price of our live(s) we bring in our bread, because of/away from the sword/the drought of the desert.

The wording of Lamentations 5:9 in 5QLam^a, as reconstructed by Milik, exhibits no orthographical or textual variants compared to the MT. Even so, the verse merits further discussion, since the translation equivalents in the ancient translations and the comments of modern-day scholars illustrate that the preposition ב of בנפשנו and the rest of the wording of the Hebrew witnesses are patient of more than one interpretation.

The majority of commentators on the MT understand the preposition ב in the phrase בנפשנו as a *bêth pretii*. In the LXX text, an instrumental ἐν + dative (ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν)²⁵⁴ is employed to represent the Hebrew prepositional phrase. This use of the Greek preposition is aptly reflected in the respective renderings of ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν in LXX.D, “unter Einsatz unseres Lebens” (Hirsch-Luipold and Maier 2009:1357), and NETS, “by our lives” (Gentry 2007:941). BdA gives the translation of ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν as “contre nos vies” (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005:280). This creates the impression that the speakers in the Greek text assert that they give their lives in exchange for bread. In keeping with the French translation, we therefore suggest that ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν in the LXX can be paraphrased as “in exchange for our lives”. On such an interpretation, the Greek counterpart of בנפשנו expresses a similar nuance to the one usually attributed to the prepositional phrase in the MT and 5QLam^a. A different situation obtains for the preposition מפני. Whereas מפני in this verse is generally interpreted as denoting cause (“on account of”/“because of”) (BHRG §39.15.2), the Greek translator rendered the preposition with the phrase ἀπὸ προσώπου. The latter is to be understood in a spatial sense (BDAG 888).²⁵⁵ Sollamo (1979:85) mentions LXX Lamentations 5:9 in her discussion of cases in the Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures where ἀπὸ προσώπου, in its spatial sense, represent sound *koiné* Greek. Although the Greek rendering departs from the near consensus among commentators on the Hebrew text that מפני in this case signifies cause, it nevertheless shows that the Hebrew preposition can reasonably be taken as

²⁵⁴ On the instrumental use of the preposition ἐν, see BDF §219. Incidentally, some Masoretic manuscripts witness to the form בנפשינו in which the noun is plural (“by our lives”). This means that ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν in the LXX might be based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* that also had the reading בנפשינו instead of the singular form בנפשנו of B19^A and 5QLam^a.

²⁵⁵ Cf. LXX.D: “angesichts des Schwerts der Wüste” (Hirsch-Luipold and Maier 2009:1357); NETS: “away from before the sword of the wilderness” (Gentry 2007:941); and BdA: “de devant l’épée du désert” (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005:280). GELS 601, however, indicates that ἀπὸ προσώπου can also have a causative meaning: “on account of”/“because of”.

having a locative connection. Such an ablative meaning is underscored by the fact that the translation equivalents of מִפְּנֵי in P, מִפְּנֵי, and V, *a facie*, also convey a sense of separation.

Turning to the phrase חֶרֶב הַמִּדְבָּר, it occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament apart from the present verse. At the end of the nineteenth century, Löhr (1893:25) observed that “Ausleger haben es sich Mühe kosten lassen, einen Sinn für diese Worte zu finden”. This apt remark holds true of more recent exegetes as well. Some scholars prefer to reinterpret the MT’s חֶרֶב (“sword”). On the one hand, Löhr follows the example of Dyserinck (1892:379) in vocalising חֶרֶב as חֶרֶב, “heat”, resulting in the translation “the heat of the desert”. Gordis (1974:195) offers the same solution to the perceived difficulties associated with the text of the MT (“the sword of the desert”). On the other hand, Berlin (2004:121-122) proposes that Deuteronomy 28:22 holds the key to the correct meaning of the phrase חֶרֶב הַמִּדְבָּר. In this text, which warns the Israelites against disobedience against the commandments and decrees of YHWH, חֶרֶב has the sense of “drought” and is listed as a curse together with disease (שָׁחָת), fever (קִדְחָת), inflammation (דִּלְקָת), scorching heat (חֲרָרָה), blight (שִׁדְפָה) and mildew (יִרְקוֹן). In her exposition of Lamentations 5:9-10, Berlin claims that these are the conditions that are said to prevail in Judah. The country is as dry as a wilderness on account of the scarcity of water, thus starvation and dehydration constitute the metaphorical sword that kills. Due to its unvocalised state, the text of 5QLam^a is open to any one of these suggested interpretations of חֶרֶב.

Other scholars retain the meaning “sword” for חֶרֶב and choose to emend or reinterpret חֶרֶב הַמִּדְבָּר. According to Beer (1895:285), the status construct phrase חֶרֶב הַמִּדְבָּר is corrupt, but the correct reading can easily be restored by substituting the definite article *hē* for a conjunction *wāw*: חֶרֶב חֶרֶב → חֶרֶב וּמִדְבָּר. On this emendation, חֶרֶב no longer refers to the noun “desert” (מִדְבָּר), but consists of a preposition מִן + the noun דֶּבֶר, “pestilence” (BDB 184; KBL 202; DCH II 411). Beer’s reconstructed text of the second colon of Lamentations 5:9 therefore reads מִפְּנֵי חֶרֶב וּמִדְבָּר, “vor dem Schwert und der Pest”. Dahood (1964:401) offers a revised understanding of חֶרֶב הַמִּדְבָּר, not by resorting to conjectural emendation, but by utilising comparative philology. In his opinion, חֶרֶב הַמִּדְבָּר should be derived from the verbal root דָּבַר in the sense of Akkadian

duppuru/dubburu in the El-Amarna tablets (“to drive out”/“pursue”)²⁵⁶ and the Syriac word ܕܒܪ (“subdue”/“drive”/“lead”). The form חרב המדבר would then be parsed as a definite article + Pi’el participle masculine singular of דבר and the translation of the second colon would read “because of the sword of the pursuer”. Dahood’s proposal has not convinced many scholars (McDaniel is the exception). Yet, the unpointed text of 5QLam^a can indeed be interpreted in this way. Most commentators, however, agree with Kraus’ assessment that the phrase חרב המדבר is a “verkürzte Redeweise” that has the meaning “das Schwert der Wüstenbewohner” (Kraus 1983:89). The desert dwellers are often identified with armed Bedouin,²⁵⁷ but Westermann (1994:214) merely refers to the danger posed by marauding bandits. The rendering of מפני חרב המדבר in the LXX (ἀπὸ προσώπου ῥομφαίας τῆς ἐρήμου) can also be interpreted along these lines. With regard to ἀπὸ προσώπου, Sollamo (1979:85) notes that the referent is usually a person or a concrete object. In the instance of LXX Lamentations 5:9, she asserts that ῥομφαία actually refers both to the weapon itself and its wielder. The case of τῆς ἐρήμου can be taken as a genitive of origin (the sword, and by extension its user, comes from the desert) or a genitive of place/space (the sword, and its user, is confronted in the desert). If τῆς ἐρήμου is understood as a genitive of place/space, its meaning would be similar to the renderings of חרב המדבר in P and V. In the Syriac translation (ܕܠܚܒܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ), the relative pronoun ܐ + the preposition ܕ, followed by the noun ܠܚܒܐ, serve to reproduce the Hebrew *postconstructus* (“the sword that is in the desert”), while Jerome decided on a prepositional phrase for his Latin translation: *gladii in deserto* (“the sword in the desert”).

It follows from the different interpretations put forward by scholars and the various renderings of the phrase in the ancient translations that it is not altogether clear how חרב המדבר should be understood. Nonetheless, the reading of the preposition in בנפשנו as a *bêth pretii* and the causal function of מפני lead to the conclusion that the community laments over the high price that they

²⁵⁶ McDaniel (1968:52) draws attention to the fact that *duppuru/dubburu* is also used in other Akkadian literature. Cf. CAD III 186-188.

²⁵⁷ Gottlieb (1978:69-70), Meek (1956:36), Aalders (1952:113) and Rudolph (1938:121).

must pay to obtain bread and that they attribute this loss of lives to the threat posed by the desert or its inhabitants. Verse 9 of Lamentations 5 therefore continues the community's description of their distress. The mention of bread (which might be a metonym referring to food in general) links this verse thematically to verse 4 ("We must pay for the water we drink; the wood we get must be bought")²⁵⁸ and verse 6 ("We gave the hand [to] Egypt; [to] Assyria so as to get enough bread").²⁵⁹ These three verses recount the lengths the community has to go to in order to secure sources of nourishment for themselves.

VERSE 10

5QLam^a

עורִי־נֹ[נ]וֹ כְּתִנּוֹר נִכְמְרוּ מִ[פ]־נִי זֹלָפוֹת רָעֵב [Our] skins grow hot like an oven, be[cau]se of
rages of hunger.

MT

עוֹרֵנוּ כְּתִנּוֹר נִכְמְרוּ מִפְּנֵי זֹלַעְפוֹת רָעֵב: Our skin grows hot like an oven, because of the
rages of hunger.

The text of 5QLam^a shows two differences in wording compared to that of the MT. Despite the damage to the manuscript from Qumran and the resulting uncertainty of the reading, the first word of Lamentations 5:10 in 5QLam^a can be restored as עורִינוּ. The *yôd* that was inserted by the scribe in the interlinear space transforms the suffix appended to the word עור from one denoting a singular noun to one indicating a plural noun. The singular form is found in the MT. Another variant appears in the second colon of the verse. 5QLam^a reads זֹלָפוֹת, where the MT has זֹלַעְפוֹת.

²⁵⁸ In 5QLam^a, verse 4 is represented by only the last three letters of one word: במחיר.

²⁵⁹ Unfortunately, only parts of three words of verse 6 are visible on the fragments of 5QLam^a.

עורנו כתנור נכמרו – עור^נ כתנור נכמרו

The wording of the first colon in the Hebrew witnesses present the reader with two difficulties. Firstly, in the MT there is incongruence between the noun עורנו, which is singular, and the plural verb נכמרו of which עורנו is the subject. Secondly, the meaning of the verb נכמרו is not altogether clear in this context.

With regard to the disagreement in number between עורנו and נכמרו, Ehrlich (1914:53) argues that עורנו should be emended into עורינו. Rudolph (1938:121), however, warns that the problem in the MT (B19^A) will not be solved by substituting עורנו for עורינו, since the usual plural form of the word עור is עורות. He proposes that נכמרו should be modified by removing the final *wāw* so that the verb will be singular in accordance with its subject עורנו. Westermann (1994:210), Kraus (1983:85) and Dyserinck (1892:380) advocate the same view. Renkema (1993:436-437) suggests that עורנו can be understood collectively, while the first-person plural suffix -נו forms the point of contact with the plural verb נכמרו. In the opinion of Dahood (1978:194), a solution to the difficulty is obtained when one takes עורנו as a defective spelling of עורינו. The reading עורינו is actually found in a number of Masoretic manuscripts and in the corrected text of 5QLam^a. It seems that the scribe who copied the manuscript of 5QLam^a initially wrote down the form עורנו. When he realised that the verb in the predicate is plural, he went back and changed עורנו into עורינו by inserting a *yôd* above the line (Schäfer 2004:135*). Such an explanation of the wording of 5QLam^a implies that the manuscript from which it was copied contained the reading עורנו like the MT and that the scribe responsible for 5QLam^a created the variant himself. The aim of the scribal correction in the text of 5QLam^a would then have been to mitigate the discrepancy between the singular subject and the plural verb. עורנו in B19^A can accordingly be characterised as the *lectio difficilior*. From this perspective, the suggestions of Renkema and Dahood have the benefit of upholding the more difficult reading and rendering the emendation of the verb נכמרו unnecessary. The scribal correction in 5QLam^a and עורינו in the Masoretic manuscripts are attempts at a facilitation of the perceived syntactical difficulty in this scenario.

The ancient translations make for interesting reading in view of the differences exhibited by the Hebrew witnesses. Ziegler (1976:492) gives the reconstructed original form of the Greek

translation as τὸ δέσμα ἡμῶν ὡς κλίβανος ἐπελιώθη ἀπὸ προσώπου καταγίδων λιμοῦ (“Our skin has become pale like an oven from before the squalls of hunger”). All the extant Greek manuscripts, however, have the word συνεσπάσθησαν (“they were drawn together”, i.e. “shrivelled”) after ἐπελιώθη.²⁶⁰ This is an apparent case of a *lectio duplex*. Since both Codex Vaticanus and Codex Alexandrinus contain the double translation, it is presented as part of the text of Lamentations 5:10 in Rahlfs’ *Handausgabe* of the LXX (Rahlfs 2006:765). Tov (1997:129) points out that a double translation can pertain to the translation technique of the original Greek text of a particular biblical writing, if the Greek text contains two or more alternative renderings based on the same Hebrew *Vorlage*. From this perspective, the characterisation of ἐπελιώθη συνεσπάσθησαν as a double translation rules out Robinson’s suggestion that the LXX might be based on a *Vorlage* that already contained the doublet נכמרו סמרו (Robinson 1933:259). It also implies that both ἐπελιώθη and συνεσπάσθησαν serve to render נכמרו, and that the singular form of the first verb is a translational adaptation to the singular form of the subject, τὸ δέσμα ἡμῶν. At the same time, the question presents itself why the Greek translator would adapt the first chosen translation equivalent (ἐπελιώθη) to the number of its subject and not the second. In other words, if we are dealing with a double translation in LXX Lamentations 5:10, why is συνεσπάσθησαν plural and not singular like ἐπελιώθη? Another possibility is that the *lectio duplex* in the manuscripts that witness to the Greek translation was created during the transmission of the Greek text. Since ἐπελιώθη²⁶¹ is a

²⁶⁰ With regard to *O*, the text of Codex Marchalianus and the Syrohexapla, an obelus (÷) is placed before συνεσπάσθησαν to indicate that this word does not appear in the Hebrew text of Lamentations 5:10 consulted by Origen (Field 1875:761).

²⁶¹ Ἐπελιώθη is the aorist indicative passive form of the *hapax legomenon* πελιόομαι (“to become pale”/“to become livid” LEH 364b; GELS 543). The verb is related to the adjective πέλειος (“livid”/“pale”). Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine (2005:280) translate the LXX text accordingly in BdA: “Notre peau est devenue livide comme un four, devant les tourmentes de la faim”. Gentry (2007:941) and Hirsch-Luipold and Maier (2009:1357) render ἐπελιώθη respectively with “became dark” and “wurde geschwärzt”. In Feder’s edition of the Sa the equivalent of

hapax legomenon in the LXX, one can speculate that a scribe, who was unfamiliar with this new word, added συνεσπάσθησαν, a form which he considered to be closer to the Hebrew verb נִכְמַר in both number and meaning.²⁶² Moreover, the OL only has an equivalent for ἐπελιώθη, *livida facta est*, “it was made bluish/black and blue” (Sabatier 1743:732), and not for συνεσπάσθησαν. The OL might very well preserve the original Greek translation in this case.²⁶³ The evidence therefore suggests that Ziegler is justified in dropping συνεσπάσθησαν from his reconstructed text of the original Greek translation. Taking Ziegler’s text of the LXX as the point of departure, as well as the assumption that the Hebrew *Vorlage* from which it was made was identical to the consonantal base of the MT at Lamentations 5:10, it seems as though the Greek translator solved the problem of the incongruence between the subject and verb in the Hebrew text by changing the number of the verb from plural to singular.

τὸ δέσμα ἡμῶν ὡς κλίβανος ἐπελειώθη is ἀΠΕΝΩΑΑΡ ΚΜΟΜ ΝΘΕ ΝΟΥΤΡΙΠ (“Our skin became black like an oven”) (Feder 2002:216). This daughter version therefore represents ἐπελιώθη in the meaning of “blackened” as well.

²⁶² In a note on the importance of seeking the origin of Greek renderings in the vocabularies of languages that are cognate to Hebrew, such as Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic, before making claims for a variant *Vorlage*, Driver (1934:308-309) argues that πελιόομαι, in its meaning of “to become livid”, demonstrates that נִכְמַר was derived from the same root as the Syriac words ܠܚܝܕ (“gloomy”/“dark”/“black”) and ܠܚܝܕܐ (“to become darkened”). The addition of συνεσπάσθησαν was probably intended to clarify the sense of ἐπελιώθη in this context, since this verb is not properly applied to scorching.

²⁶³ Conversely, Sa was based on a Greek text that already included συνεσπάσθησαν and assigned this verb to the next clause: ἈΥΚΟΚΟΥ ΕΠΕCΗΤ ΖΙ ΟΥCΟΠ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΖΑΤΗΥ ΜΦΕΒΩΩΝ (“They brought us down together before the whirlwinds of hunger”). Rahlfs’ (2006:765) punctuation of the Greek text in his edition also reflects such a syntactical arrangement: τὸ δέσμα ἡμῶν ὡς κλίβανος ἐπελιώθη, συνεσπάσθησαν ἀπὸ προσώπου καταιγίδων λιμοῦ (“Our skin became pale like an oven, they became shrivelled from before the squalls of hunger”).

The Syriac text of this passage is just as intriguing as the LXX version. P reads as follows: ܡܬܥܬܝ ܕܥܡܝ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ (“Our skins are shrivelled as from an oven and they became pale from the exhaustion from hunger”).²⁶⁴ It is important to notice that the Hebrew verb נִכְמְרוּ is represented by two verbs in P (ܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ), as is the case in the different manuscripts that witness to the Greek translation, and that the subject of these two verbs (ܡܬܥܬܝ) is plural in number. The appearance of two verbs in P and the manuscripts witnessing to the Greek translation raises the issue of whether the Syriac translation was influenced by the manuscripts of the Greek one. In terms of the Old Testament as a whole, Weitzman (1999:68-86) identifies three potential explanations for those instances where P and the LXX are in agreement over against the corresponding reading in the MT: (1) the LXX and P are based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differs from the MT; (2) the Syriac translators arrived at the same interpretation of a passage as the Greek translators did (polygenesis) or consulted the LXX during the translation process; and (3) the text of P was altered by later copyists so as to bring it in line with the LXX. With regard to the present verse, Albrektson (1963:200-201) rejects Abelesz’s view that this passage is proof that the P text of Lamentations was revised to conform to the LXX. He nevertheless concedes that there is clearly some connection between the two versions. The possible explanations for this connection which he considers, a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* containing two verbs and a marginal gloss from the LXX that was incorporated in the text of P, correspond to the first and third ones mentioned by Weitzman. Despite the fact that there are two verbs with similar meanings for נִכְמְרוּ in the Syriac translation and the Greek manuscripts, one must bear in mind that these verbs are in reversed order in P and the manuscripts of the Greek translation (ܡܕܢܐ // συνεσπιάσθησαν; ܡܬܥܬܝ // ἐπελειώθη). Furthermore, ἐπελειώθη is singular, whereas its counterpart in P, ܡܕܢܐ, is plural. Seeing as the latter has a conjunction *wāw*, it divides the verse into two related main clauses with ܡܬܥܬܝ acting as subject of both verbs.

²⁶⁴ This is the text of Codex Ambrosianus (7a1 according to the catalogue of the Leiden Peshitta Institute and manuscript A in Albrektson’s edition). Weitzman (1999:315) makes the suggestion that the text of 12a1 and 16a6 (manuscripts B and O in Albrektson’s edition), in which ܡܬܥܬܝ is omitted, might also qualify as the original text of P.

Accordingly, the web of agreements and differences between P and the various manuscripts witnessing to the Greek translation suggest that the Syriac translator gave his own interpretation of what he found in his Hebrew text, but also consulted a Greek manuscript. The plural form of **מַחֲבִי** is either the result of the Syriac translator's effort to iron out the disagreement in number between the subject and verb in his Hebrew *Vorlage*, or it might be based on a Hebrew text that contained the reading **עוֹרֵינוּ**.

Turning to the text of Lamentations 5:10 in V, *pellis nostra quasi clibanus exusta est a facie tempestatum famis* ("Our skin is inflamed like an oven from before the squalls of hunger"), Jerome evidently followed the lead of the Greek translator and OL in rendering the plural Hebrew verb **נִבְמְרוּ** with a singular equivalent. His choice of *exusta est*, the perfect indicative passive of *exurere* ("to burn up"/"to dry up"/"to be inflamed"), is significant, since it represents a novel interpretation of the Hebrew verbal root **בִּמַר**. The LXX, OL and P allude to a discolouring of the skin due to extreme hunger, while the Syriac translation also includes the image of shrivelled skin. The two recensions of T liken the blackening of skin to an oven: **משכנא כתנורא** ²⁶⁵ **אתקדרו מן קדם מפח כפנא** ("Our skin has become black like an oven,²⁶⁶ because of the exhaustion from hunger"). Conversely, V makes the hotness of an oven the point of comparison with the skin of the speakers, seemingly as a reference to fever resulting from starvation. The midrash of *Lamentations Rabbah* 5:10 §1 transmits an analogous understanding of the Hebrew verb: "Two teachers comment. One said: Like a heated mass of grapes. The other said: Like an oven insufficiently heated" (Cohen 1961:240). The Latin counterpart of **נִבְמְרוּ** in V approximates

²⁶⁵ According to Alexander (2007:182), some manuscripts of T^w have the reading **היך תנורא**, while another has **היכתנורא**. Codex Urbinas I of the Vatican Library, which Levine (1976:21) chose as the basic manuscript for his edition, reads **הי כתנורא**.

²⁶⁶ Surprisingly, T^{w, y} do not employ the Aramaic root **בִּמַר**, "to keep warm"/"to shrink"/"to be wrinkled" (Jastrow 647), but the Ithpe'el form of **קִדַר**, "to become black" (Jastrow 1318). Moreover, the incongruence between subject and verb in the MT is reproduced in the recensions of the Aramaic translation.

the meaning “to grow hot”, which modern lexica assign to the Hebrew verbal root **כמר** (BDB 484; KBL 442; DCH IV 429).

From these short remarks regarding the treatment of the Hebrew text in the ancient translations and what can be deduced about their respective *Vorlagen* from extant Hebrew manuscripts, it seems clear that the ancient translators treated the difficulties in the Hebrew text in different ways. The LXX and V adjusted the number of the verb in order to be in concordance with the singular subject. While this might be true of P as well, the possibility exists that the Syriac translation was made from a Hebrew text that contained the reading **עורינו** instead of **עורנו**. T^{W,Y} reflect the same dissimilarity in number between the subject and verb as the MT embodied by B19^A. It is also striking that the ancient translations differ in the meanings they ascribe to the verb **נבמרו**. In this, they foreshadow the divided opinions amongst commentators on the Hebrew text of Lamentations concerning the correct translation of **נבמרו**. Some scholars prefer “is wrinkled” (House 2004:454), “schrumpft zusammen” (Rudolph 1962:256), or “glows” (Westermann 1994:209), “glüht” (Kraus 1983:85; Löhr 1893:25), “gloeit” (Aalders 1952:107). Berlin (2004:115) decides on “inflamed”, Renkema (1993:436-437) argues for “is ruw geworden”, Hillers (1992:158) has “turned black” and Kaiser (1981:374) “ist rissig”.

זלַעפּות – זלַפּות

Milik (1962a:175) avers that the omission of the *ʿayin* from זלַעפּות witnesses to an instability in the pronunciation of laryngeals. *ʿAyin* is, in fact, a pharyngeal and not a laryngeal, but Kutscher (1982:96) indicates that gutturals in general weakened in QH, causing them either to be confused with one another or elided altogether. זלַפּות in 5QLam^a is an example of the latter. The word only occurs three times in the Old Testament at Psalm 11:6 (רוח זלַעפּות; “a raging/burning wind”), Psalm 119:5 (זלַעפּה אחזתני; “a burning zeal has seized me”) and the present verse. BDB 273 proposes that the word has the basic meaning of “raging heat”. The renderings in the LXX (καταγίδων) and V (*tempestatum*) are reminiscent of רוח זלַעפּות in Psalm 11:6, while the equivalents in P (ܠܥܝܢܐ) and T^{W,Y} (מפח) are singular (as opposed to the plural in the Hebrew texts) and have the rather vague connotation of “exhaustion”.

In light of the foregoing observations, it appears as though verse 10 of Lamentations 5 in the extant Hebrew texts conveys the community's complaints about the effects of a fever that is induced by fits of hunger. In this regard, the content of the present verse can be brought into connection with the references to the measures that the community has to take in order to procure food and water in verses 4, 6 and 9. Be that as it may, the different interpretations of Lamentations 5:10 in the ancient versions and modern commentaries are indicative of the fact that the precise connotation between hunger and the skin that the author had in mind remains, to a large extent, obscure (Provan 1991:130).

Excursus: The allusions to verses from Lamentations 5 in 4Q501

There are clear allusions to three verses from Lamentations 5 in the small composition from Qumran bearing the serial number 4Q501 and given the title *4QApocryphal Lamentations B*. Only one copy of this composition was recovered from the Qumran caves. This copy comprises one fragment with nine lines in one column of writing.²⁶⁷

	והו	
]	[אֵל תִּתֶּן לְזָרִים נַחֲלָתָנוּ וַיִּגְעֵנוּ לִבְנֵי נָכָר זָכוֹר כִּי־אֵל	
]	[י עֲמָכָה וְעִזּוּבֵי נַחֲלָתָהּ זָכוֹר בְּנֵי בְרִיתָהּ הַשּׁוֹמְמִים	
]	[ה הַמְּנוֹדָבִים תּוֹעִים וְאֵין מְשִׁיב שְׁבוּרִים וְאֵין חֹב	
]	[זו] קָף סִבְבוּנוּ חִילְכִּיָּא עֲמָכָה בִּלְשׁוֹן שְׁקֶרֶמָה וַיּוֹפְכוּ (?)	
]	[הּ וּפִאֲרָתָהּ לִילּוֹד אִשָּׁה הַבֵּיטָה וְרָאָה חֶרֶפַּת בְּנֵי	
]	[נִכְמַר (?) עוֹרֵינוּ וְזַלְעוֹפּוֹת אַחֲזוֹנוּ מִלִּפְנֵי לִשׁוֹן גְּדוֹפִיהֶם מִיָּהּ אֵל	

²⁶⁷ The following transcription of 4Q501 is made with the help of the one in the DJD series (Baillet 1982:79), as well as the plates from this edition. The translation is my own. Transcriptions of the text can also be found in Parry and Tov (2005:510-513) and García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1998:992-995), while alternative English translations are also available in the works of García Martínez (1996:402-403), Vermes (2004:328), as well as Wise, Abegg and Cook (2005:517-518).

[	במצוותיכה ואל יהיה זרעמה מִבְּנֵי צְרִיִּית]
[	אליהמה בהמון כוחכה ועשה בהמה נקמה]
[	כֹּה ולוא שמוכה לנגדמה ויתגברו על עני ואביון]

[...]²⁶⁸ Do not give our inheritance to foreigners and our property to sons of strangers.

Remember that

[...] (of) your people and the forsaken ones of your inheritance. Remember the sons of your covenant, the desolate ones

[...] the ones freely devoted, ones who wander about and no one brings back, ones who are broken and no one bandages,

[...] The wicked ones of your people have surrounded us with their lying tongue and they have been turned

[...] and your foliage / glory to one born of a woman. Take note and see the disgrace of the sons of

[...] our skin and hot indignation has seized us on account of their insolent language. Do not

[...] in your commandments and do not let their posterity be.²⁶⁹

[...] against them with the abundance of your strength and take vengeance on them.

[...] and they have not placed you before them and they have displayed arrogance over the poor and needy.

²⁶⁸ At the top of the right side of the fragment above the letter that appears to be a *yôd*, there is a letter that Baillet (1982:79) identifies as a *hē* with a cancellation dot below it and a horizontal line above it.

²⁶⁹ Both the translations prepared by García Martínez (1996:403) and Wise, Abegg and Cook (2005:518) include a translation of מִבְּנֵי צְרִיִּית. However, in his extensive study of the scribal practices exhibited by the Dead Sea scrolls, Tov (2004:198) indicates that although the line used to cross out words extends only to individual letters of the two words in this case, the cancellation pertains to the complete words. I therefore leave this phrase untranslated.

In its current form, 4Q501 can tentatively be characterised as a petition for deliverance.²⁷⁰ The speakers complain, presumably to God, although the divine name is not mentioned in the text that has been preserved on the fragment, that they have fallen victim to the verbal attacks of those who are portrayed as the “wicked ones of your people”. God is called upon twice to remember the speakers, who refer to themselves *inter alia* as the rejected ones of God’s inheritance and the sons of God’s covenant. A firm line is therefore drawn between “us” and “them”, the speakers and their Jewish opponents. In the final lines of the column, God is asked to wreak vengeance on the wicked, because they have not only caused the speakers disgrace with their insolent language, but they have also not heeded God and mistreated the poor and the needy.

Line 1 of 4Q501 opens with a petition that the inheritance and property of the speakers must not be handed over to strangers and foreigners. The two objects of the verb תתן, נחלתנו and יגיענו, form a chiasm with their accompanying prepositional phrases לבני נכר and לזרים:

b	a
נחלתנו	לזרים
a'	b'
לבני נכר	ויגיענו

The sentence shows affinities with the wordings of both Lamentations 5:2 and Psalm 109:11.²⁷¹ Whereas in the former, the community laments over the fact that their inheritance (נחלתנו) and

²⁷⁰ Berlin (2003:12) remarks that the text of 4Q501 partly exhibits some of the components of communal laments such as an invocation, a request for deliverance, a lament proper and a petition for vengeance over an enemy.

²⁷¹ The words in line 4 of 4Q501 סבבונו חילביא עמכה בלשון שקרמה (“The wicked ones of your people have surrounded us with their lying tongue”) might be composed of a combination of elements from verses 2 and 3 of Psalm 109, דברו אתי לשון שקר ודברי שנאה סבבוני (“They have spoken to me with lying tongues and surrounded me with hateful talk”).

their houses (בתינו) have been turned over to strangers and foreigners, and in the psalm the opponents express the wish that strangers would plunder the property of the psalmist (זרים יגיעו) (ויבזו), the speakers in 4Q501 implore God not to let such a fate befall them. According to Berlin (2003:15), the passage from Lamentations has been recontextualized in 4Q501 by conflating it with verse 11 of Psalm 109 so that the enemy becomes those who talk falsely of the speakers.

In lines 5-6 of 4Q501 there is a plea for God to take note (הביטה) and see (וראה) the disgrace suffered by the speakers. חרפת has a feminine singular status construct form. It is followed by בני (“sons of”), but, unfortunately, the part of the manuscript on which the rest of the *postconstructus* was written did not survive. Baillet (1982:79), followed by García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1998:994), reconstructs the phrase as [עמכה] בני חרפת בני, “the disgrace of the sons of [your people]”. This is reminiscent of the *Q^{re}* reading of the second colon of Lamentations 5:1 in the version transmitted by the MT: הביטה וראה את חרפתנו.²⁷² The plea is followed up by references to “our skin” (עורינו) and “hot indignation” (זלעופות), which allude to Lamentations 5:10.²⁷³ In fact, on the basis of this allusion scholars reconstruct the missing wording at the beginning of line 6 of 4Q501 in such a way that עורינו forms the object of the purported verb נכמר. Moreover, Berlin postulates that the words of Lamentations 5:10 were here combined with those of Psalm 119:53: זלעפה אחזתני מרשעים עזבי תורתך (“Hot indignation has seized me on account of the wicked; those who forsake your Torah”). The resulting conflation recontextualizes the passage from Lamentations in terms of the verse from the psalm (Berlin 2003:13-14):

“We are physically devastated,” says the poem, “like the Jerusalemites in Lamentations, not by famine but by the wicked people who have abandoned the Torah.” The poet clarifies the nature of their wickedness by adding the explanatory words מלפני לשון גדופיהם, “from before their insolent tongue.”

²⁷² 4Q501 probably did not draw this allusion from the text of Lamentations 5:1 found in 5QLam^a, since the counterpart of חרפתנו in that version is plural (חרפותינו).

²⁷³ In light of the corrected form עורינו in 5QLam^a, it stands to reason that this specific form of the wording of Lamentations 5:10 was not in view when the allusion to the passage was used for the composition of 4Q501.

Insolent words are the cause of the harm. The poet's problem comes not from famine but from Jewish opponents.

Further research on 4Q501 is necessary to gain a better understanding of this text and its provenance. I suggest, firstly, that an examination of the similarities and differences in wording and themes between the petitionary prayer of 4Q501 and penitential prayers such as 4Q393, as well as the daily, festival and other prayers from Qumran (e.g. the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, *4QDaily Prayers*^a [4Q503], *4QWords of the Luminaries*^a [4Q504], *4QWords of the Luminaries*^c [4Q506], *1QFestival Prayers* [1Q34], *4QFestival Prayers*^b [4Q508] and *4QFestival Prayers*^c [4Q509 + 4Q505])²⁷⁴, might prove to be useful in this regard. Secondly, it must be ascertained whether 4Q501 was a text written by the Qumran community. Berlin (2003:13) is of the opinion that the general nature of the language and imagery in 4Q501 allows for the conclusion that this text was not composed at Qumran. Nevertheless, the orthography and morphology of the text of 4Q501 exhibit characteristics of the so-called Qumran scribal practice (Tov 2004:343). It would therefore be worthwhile to launch a detailed comparison of the terminology and the ideas in this text with the terminology and ideas found in writings that are closely associated with the Qumran community.²⁷⁵ Thirdly, even if this text did not originate at Qumran, the function of petitionary prayers such as 4Q501 within the Qumran community demands further exploration. The recent

²⁷⁴ On these and other prayers from Qumran, see Chazon (2000:710-715; 1998:244-270; 1994:265-284), Falk (2003:404-434), Nitzan (2003:195-219) and Schuller (2003:173-189; 1994:153-171).

²⁷⁵ Dimant (1995:27-29) argues convincingly that only the combination of distinctive terminology with the respective ideas associated with the Qumran community provides the criteria for assigning a particular text to the group of writings that originated with the community itself. See also the remarks by Rietz (2007:29-52). He identifies a set of three criteria to determine which writings might have been important to the Qumran community, although they were not written by its members (the number of copies of a writing recovered from the Qumran caves, the evidence that the writings were copied at Qumran and references, allusions and quotations in Qumran compositions).

study by Eileen Schuller (2000:29-45), who discusses the function of petitionary prayers in relation to the deterministic theology espoused by the Qumran community, is a good example of this.

Such inquiries into the provenance of the manuscript and its relationship with other types of prayers that were recovered from the Qumran caves might open new vistas on the nature of 4Q501, its composition and its use of passages from Lamentations 5.

VERSES 11-13

5QLam^a

נשים בציון [ע]נו בתולות בער[י יהו]דה	They have [rav]ished women in Zion;
שרים בידם נתלו [פני זקנים ל]א נהדרו	maidens in the citie[s of Ju]dah.
בחורי[ם] טחון נשאו [] כשלו	Princes were hung up by their hands. [The faces of elders were no]t honoured.
	Young me[n]bore the mill []
	stumbled.

MT

נשים בציון ענו בתלת בערי יהודה:	They have ravished women in Zion; maidens
שרים בידם נתלו פני זקנים לא נהדרו:	in the cities of Judah.
בחורים טחון נשאו ונערים בעץ כשלו:	Princes were hung up by their hands. The
	faces of elders were not honoured.
	Young men bore the mill and youths stumbled
	because of the wood. ²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Ehrlich (1914:54) and Hillers (1992:159) contend that the preposition ב in combination with the verbal root כשל can only mean to stumble over an object and not to stumble under a load or burden. Furthermore, Hillers presupposes that the text of the MT contains a textual error. The original reading, he suggests, was בעצב (“from hard work”). The error occurred when the final *bêth* of בעצב was lost through haplography on account of the similarity of

With the exception of the *plene* spelling of בתולות in verse 11, the parts of these three verses that have been preserved in 5QLam^a are identical to their counterparts in the MT. These verses describe the misery experienced by pairs of people at the hands of the invading enemy forces. Verse 11 reports the rape of women and virgins, or unmarried maidens, in the capital and all over the cities of Judah.²⁷⁷ The physical violence inflicted on the women has the effect of humiliating them as well. Verse 12 relates how princes were hung up and elders were shown no respect. There is some discussion as to whether the ambiguous expression בידם refers to the body part by which the princes were hung up or to the enemy who does the hanging. The precise meaning of נתלו also remains uncertain.²⁷⁸ In view of the parallelism with the next colon, which mentions the dishonour suffered by the elders, it nevertheless seems clear that the hanging involved the humiliation of the nobles. As a result, commentators generally do not find the Hebrew text of verses 11 and 12 very taxing, despite the fact that they disagree on the exact explanation of one or two words. Verse 13, however, confronts scholars with an interesting textual problem.

The difficulty in this verse centres on the *hapax legomenon* טחון. The circlet above the *têth* in the transcription of this word in 5QLam^a indicates that this letter is uncertain. The rest of the word is well preserved. Together with the verb נשאז, the form טחון can be interpreted in a

this letter to the initial *kaph* of the next word בשלו. In my opinion, it is unnecessary to posit a scribal error here, since the preposition of בעץ can be interpreted as a *bêth causa* (BHRG §39.6.3.iv).

²⁷⁷ Berlin (2004:122) notes that the parallelism “married women” // “unmarried women” moves from a general category to a more specific one, whereas the parallelism of “Zion” // “cities of Judah” goes in the opposite direction (from the narrower category to the broader one).

²⁷⁸ Provan (1991:131) and Berlin (2004:123) see the act of hanging as a form of humiliation or torture imposed on the living. According to Aalders (1952:114), the hanging of princes refers to impalement: “Onder het ‘ophangen’ hebben we te verstaan het spietsen op een paal, zoals dat bij de Assyriërs en Babyloniërs, soms bij levenden lijve, soms alleen bij wijze van ontering na den dood, gebruikelijk was”. Dobbs-Allsopp (2002:146) also understands it as a means of execution or as a way of exposing corpses for humiliation or to instil fear in the survivors.

number of ways. The vocalisation of טחון in the MT suggests that it was understood as a noun of the *qīṭāl*-type. In Hebrew nouns of this ground-form, the *ī* changes to a *ṣ̣wâ* and the *â* is replaced by *ô*, according to GKC §84^an. On such an interpretation, טחון is translated as “mill”, since the word is derived from the verbal form טחן, “to grind” (BDB 377; KBL 351). Driver (1950:143) notes that nouns of this type may denote concrete objects. The colon can then be taken to mean that young men bare or endure (נשא) the labour of grinding (Driver 1950:143-144). In other words, טחון is understood to refer metonymically to the degrading menial labour usually performed by slaves. This is the sense of the Hebrew text that is reflected in the translation of 5QLam^a provided above. Alternatively, טחון can be retained as a noun while the verbal root נשא is understood in its sense “to lift up”/“to carry” (BDB 669-671; KBL 635-636). This would result in the translation, “Young men carry the mill”, which is the meaning reproduced by the two recensions of the T.²⁷⁹ A third solution to the textual difficulty can be obtained by reading טחון as an infinitive construct and בחורים as the object of the verb נשא (Meek 1956:37; Rudolph 1938:122).²⁸⁰ In this regard, טחון might also be a euphemism for sexual intercourse: “They [the enemy] took young men to ‘grind’ [them]”. *Lamentations Rabbah* 5:13 §1 mentions this as a possible interpretation of the passage and refers to a similar use of טחן in Judges 16:21: “And he [Samson] ground at the mill in the prison” (Cohen 1961:241). Tractate *Soṭah* 10a, which forms part of *Seder Nashim* in the Babylonian Talmud, expounds the meaning of טחן in the same way in connection with the episode recounted in Judges 16:21: “R. Johanan said: ‘Grind’ means nothing else than [sexual] transgression; and thus it is stated, *Then let my wife grind unto*

²⁷⁹ T^W reads רובין ריחיא נטלו (“Young men carried the millstone”), while T^Y has עולימא ריחיא נטלו (“Youths carried the millstone”). Cf. the comments of Alexander (2007:184, 207) and Levine (1976:188).

²⁸⁰ Seeing as נערים acts as the subject of the verb כשלו in the parallel colon in the MT, it is unlikely that בחורים should be seen as the object of נשא (Albrektson 1963:202). This interpretation is, nonetheless, represented by the version of σ'. The text of σ' in the Syrohexapla reads as follows: *נטמא לחלס נסח*. Field (1875:761) gives the Greek text as νεανίσκους εἰς τὸ ἀλέσαι ἔλαβον (“They took young men to grind”).

another” (Cohen 1936:45).²⁸¹ This line of interpretation probably exercised an influence on Jerome via his Jewish confidants, considering the fact that V offers an obscene interpretation of the Hebrew text of Lamentations 5:13a: *adulescentibus inpudice abusi sunt* (“they unchastely misused the young men”). P’s rather free rendering of the Hebrew colon simply states that youths grind at the mill (ܠܫܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܝܕܝܢܐ). The Greek text of L, ἐκλεκτοὶ ἐν μύλοις ἤλεσαν (“Chosen ones grinded in mills”), is similar to the Syriac translation, while Sa has a conflation of images and presents the chosen ones as weeping and grinding at the mill: ܢܥܘܬܝܐ ܐܝܙܡܝܥܐ ܐܝܦܝܡܐ ܐܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܐ ܢܢܘܬܐ (“The chosen ones sat, they wept, they grinded at the mill”). The image of the chosen ones weeping goes back to the LXX which departs from the meanings attributed to the Hebrew text, presumably because of inner-Greek corruption or because the translator was unfamiliar with the *hapax legomenon* ܝܡܝܬ. The near unanimous reading in the manuscripts witnessing to the Greek translation is ἐκλεκτοὶ κλαυθμόν ἀνέλαβον (“Chosen men took up weeping”), but some scholars consider κλαυθμόν, the equivalent of ܝܡܝܬ, to be corrupt. Robinson (1933:259) wonders whether κλαυθμόν could have erroneously developed from ἀληθόμενον, a participle form of the verbal root ἀλήθω (“to grind”), which is used to translate forms of ܝܡܝܬ in Numbers 11:8, Judges 16:21 and Ecclesiastes 12:3 and 4. Rudolph (1938:122) dismisses ἀληθόμενον as “ungriechisch” and suggests κλάσμα μύλου or μυλικὸν λίθον (“millstone”) as possible original readings. Ziegler (1958:36) argues that κλάσμα μύλου “paßt nicht gut, da es zwei Wörter sind, und da es nicht als Objekt zu ἀνέλαβον geeignet ist“. With regard to μυλικὸν λίθον, he approvingly quotes Katz as saying that it is “eine unzeitige Reminiszenz aus dem N.T.” (Ziegler 1958:36). Consequently, Ziegler adopts Katz’s proposal and prints μύλον (“hand-mill”) as the reading of the Old Greek text. To judge from the translations in LXX.D,²⁸² NETS²⁸³ and BdA,²⁸⁴ the translators of LXX

²⁸¹ This last quotation is taken from Job 31:10.

²⁸² “Auserwählte hoben den Mühlstein auf” (Hirsch-Luipold and Maier 2009:1357).

²⁸³ “Choice men took up the millstone” (Gentry 2007:941).

²⁸⁴ “Les élus ont soulevé la meule” (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005:280).

Lamentations into German, English and French do not object to Ziegler's emendation. Rahlfs (2006:275), however, keeps to the text found in Codex Vaticanus and Codex Alexandrinus for his edition. Moreover, Albrektson (1963:202-203) rejects the above-mentioned emended readings proposed by Robinson, Rudolph and Katz on the basis that κλαυθμόν is graphically remote from all of them. In other words, it is difficult to surmise how κλαυθμόν could have developed from any one of these suggested readings through a confusion of letters on the part of a scribe. Albrektson puts forward the hypothesis that the Greek translator rendered וְנִחַשׁ with ἄλεσμόν, "grinding" (LSJ 63). This proposed original Greek reading has the benefits of both being close to other Greek words that are used in the LXX to translate forms of וְנִחַשׁ (ἀλήθω, ἄλέω and καταλέω) and of allowing for the possibility of a scribal error. On this theory, ἄλεσμόν would have changed into κλαυθμόν. In order to substantiate this proposal, Albrektson (1963:203) points out that the interchange of ΑΛ into ΛΑ and the confusion of C and Θ are common in Greek uncial manuscripts. The problem of the confusion of Greek letters that look alike is compounded by the practice of *scriptio continua*. In light of this, Albrektson's proposal appears plausible to a degree. Nevertheless, he fails to show how the initial kappa of κλαυθμόν came to be added and the epsilon of ἄλεσμόν turned into the diphthong αυ. Accordingly, it might be speculated that a scribe confused some of the letters of ἄλεσμόν, which resulted in a reading that did not make sense. A later scribe could then have attempted to undo the damage by changing the corrupt reading into κλαυθμόν in an attempt to create a new sense for the passage. At the same time, it is also possible that the Greek translator did not know the meaning of וְנִחַשׁ and produced what he perceived to be a meaningful reading in the context. Seeing as the majority of the Greek manuscripts have the reading ἐκλεκτοὶ κλαυθμόν ἀνέλαβον and וְנִחַשׁ is a *hapax legomenon* that might very well have been unknown to the Greek translator, this second explanation seems to me to be the more probable one.

Turning back to the Hebrew text of 5QLam^a, if one can suppose that the lost wording of the second colon resembled that of the MT, both the manuscript from Qumran and the MT express the idea that young men and boys are forced to perform hard menial labour. As a result,

Lamentations 5:13 in these Hebrew texts continues the list of debasements suffered by pairs of people at the hands of the enemy forces begun in verse 11.

Excursus: The space after כשלו in verse 13 of 5QLam^a

Although it is not strictly part of the wording of 5QLam^a, the seemingly inexplicable space after the word כשלו in verse 13 in this manuscript deserves further comment. In the manuscripts of the Dead Sea scrolls, a space that extends from the last word in a line to the end of that line signifies a major sense unit; that is, a section which is “thematically distinct from the section which immediately precedes it” (Tov 2004:145). Such a space corresponds to an “open section” in the MT. An attempt must therefore be made to elucidate the possible reason behind the space after Lamentations 5:13 in 5QLam^a, since it might contribute to a better understanding of the way the scribe who copied the manuscript thought about the division of the text’s sense units.

If the space in question is interpreted as an indication that a major sense unit has come to an end, it is all the more perplexing, seeing as there is a change in point of view in the lament of Lamentations 5 beginning at verse 11 and ending with verse 14. In verses 2-10 of the MT and 5QLam^a (where the text is intact), the description of distress is presented from a first-person plural perspective.²⁸⁵ The same point of view resumes in verse 15 and, with the exception of verse 18, which refers to the desolateness of Mount Zion, and verse 19, where YHWH is addressed in the second-person and his eternal reign is acknowledged, it continues through to the

²⁸⁵ Notice the first-person plural verbal forms and first-person plural suffix attached to nouns and prepositions in the consonantal text of the MT: verse 2, נחלתנו (“our inheritance”), בתינו (“our houses”); verse 3, היינו (“we became”), אמתנו (“our mothers”); verse 4, מימינו (“our water”), שתינו (“we drank”), עצינו (“our wood”); verse 5, צוארנו (“our neck”), נרדפנו (“we are pursued”), יגענו (“we are weary”), לנו (“for us”); verse 6, נתנו יד, (“we gave the hand”); verse 7, אבותינו (“our fathers”), אנחנו (“we”), עונותיהם סבלנו (“we bear their iniquities”); verse 8, בנו, (“over us”); verse 9, בנפשנו (“At the price of our live(s)”), נביא (“we bring in”), לחמנו (“our bread”); verse 10, עורנו (“our skin”).

end of the poem.²⁸⁶ Verses 11, 12, 13 and 14 are therefore unique in this lament's *Notschilderung* in that the focus in these verses has shifted from what befalls "us" (the first-person plural point of view) to what happened to particular pairs of people (the women and virgins [verse 11], the princes and elders [verse 12], the young men and boys [verse 13] and the old men and young men [verse 14]). It is reasonable to assume that a scribe could have picked up on this change in viewpoint, but if this was the case, one would expect the space to appear after verse 14 and not after verse 13.

Even so, one scenario comes to mind in which the space after verse 13 in 5QLam^a can be interpreted as a technique used by a scribe to mark the end of a sense unit, namely when verse 14 is seen to introduce a new theme in the catalogue of troubles experienced by the community. To be sure, verses 14-16 can be taken as a distinct thematic unit in the lament dealing with the absence of jollity and cheerfulness within the community. After commenting on the content of the preceding verses, Westermann (1994:21-215) writes that

Under these miserable conditions such realities as joy, conviviality, and the spirit of festivity perish ("The old men distanced themselves from the city gate, the young men from their stringed instruments" [v 14]; "the joy of our hearts is at an end, our dancing has been turned into mourning" [v 15 – cf. the same themes in the Lamentation over Ur];²⁸⁷ "the crown has fallen from our head" [v 16]). These lines

²⁸⁶ Verse 15, מְשׁוֹשׁ לִבִּנוּ ("the joy of *our* heart"), מְחַלְנוּ ("our dancing"); verse 16, עֲטֶרֶת רָאשֵׁנוּ ("the crown of *our* head"), אֵי נָא לָנוּ כִּי חָטָאנוּ ("woe to *us*, for *we* have sinned"); verse 17, לִבִּנוּ ("our heart"), עֵינֵינוּ ("our eyes"); verse 20, תִּשְׁכַּחֲנוּ ("you forget *us*"), תַּעֲזֹבֵנוּ ("you forsake *us*"); verse 21, הִשִּׁיבֵנוּ ("restore *us*"), וְנָשׁוּב ("so that *we* will return"); verse 22, מֵאֵס מֵאֲסָתָנוּ ("you have utterly rejected *us*"), עָלֵינוּ ("over *us*").

²⁸⁷ Cf. lines 355-360 of the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur*. In these lines the goddess Ningal is addressed and it is stated, *inter alia*, that "(i)n the *ahu*, thy house of feasts, they celebrated not the feasts; On the *uppu* and *alû* they played not for thee that which brings joy to the heart, the ...-music. The black-headed people do not wash themselves *during* thy feasts, *Like* ... verily dirt has been decreed for them; verily their appearance has changed. Thy song has been turned into weeping ...; Thy ...-music has been turned into lamentation." (Kramer 1955:462)

(vv 14-16a), which are a part of the description of misery, show how a certain *joie de vivre* is normally taken for granted as an aspect of the community's life. The elders gather at the gate, the youth dance and play, festivities are celebrated, music resonates".

Although the argument that a scribe might have understood verses 14-16 to initiate a new sense unit in the larger depiction of the community's suffering seems to be quite thin, one could, along these lines, make a case that he decided to indicate the end of a sense unit after verse 13.²⁸⁸

SYNOPSIS OF THE CONTENT OF THE IDENTIFIED VERSES IN LAMENTATIONS 5 AS THEY APPEAR IN 5QLAM^a

In the opening verse of Lamentations 5, a community invokes YHWH and pleads with him to take to heart what has befallen them. The appeal addressed to YHWH in Lamentations 5:1 differs slightly in 5QLam^a and the MT. In the former, the community entreats YHWH to see and take note of their disgraces (חרפותינו – plural), whereas in the latter the singular, חרפתנו ("our disgrace"), is used. This chapter proposes that the variant reading represented by 5QLam^a was deliberately introduced by a scribe during the process of copying. The implication of this change

emphasis in the original). Cf. also lines 436-437 of the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* where it is said that the instruments and singers have grown silent (Michalowski 1989:64, 65). Dobbs-Allsopp (1993:41) notes that the change of song and singing into weeping and lamentation forms part of the reversal motif that is characteristic of Mesopotamian city laments and shared by the book of Lamentations.

²⁸⁸ There is also an indentation in line 5 of the manuscript at the beginning of Lamentations 5:1. The last word of Lamentations 4:22 in line 4 of 5QLam^a has, unfortunately, been lost, but Milik is probably right in assuming that there was a space that extended to the end of this line in which the final part of chapter 4 was written. Seeing as the parts of the text that have been preserved in this manuscript do not show signs of other spaces, the question presents itself why other sense units in the text were not indicated by means of spacing. One can probably do no more than speculate that the scribe who was responsible for the copying of 5QLam^a did not employ this scribal practice consistently.

of number is that **חרפותינו** in 5QLam^a refers to all of the misfortunes that are catalogued in the following verses of the text. Conversely, the singular form of **חרפתנו** in the MT collectively denotes the community's calamitous condition recounted in verses 2-18.

The parallel cola of verse 2 in 5QLam^a introduce the community's complaint by lamenting over the fact that the people's patrimonial real estate and houses have fallen into the hands of foreigners. Alongside the invocation of YHWH in verse 1 this bicolon might seek to goad God into rectifying the injustice, since he is the one who gave the land as an inheritance to the people of Israel.

With regard to the variations in wording between 5QLam^a and the MT at verse 3, the chapter argues that a scribe added the phrase **לא בנות** and altered the simile **כאלמנות** in the text which he copied into a statement (**ואלמנות**). The result is that the parallel cola of the verse in 5QLam^a resemble each other more closely than is the case with the cola in the MT. By drawing YHWH's attention to the orphaned people and the mothers who lost their daughters and became widows, the community apparently aims to remind YHWH of his role as the protector of the widow and the helper of the orphan.

The discussion of the same wording of verse 9 in 5QLam^a and the MT centred on the difficult phrase **חרב המדבר**. Although an examination of the modern-day interpretations and emendations, as well as the renderings in the ancient translations, does not lead to a definitive solution of this textual problem, the verse as a whole in the two Hebrew witnesses has as its theme the community's struggle to obtain food, especially in view of the threat posed by the desert or those who dwell there. To some extent, this verse links up thematically with verses 4, 6 and 10.

The analysis of Lamentations 5:10 exemplify both the benefits and limits of a comparative text-critical study of the various textual witnesses to the content of the passage. On the one hand, the scribal correction of **עורנו** into **עורינו** in 5QLam^a and the various renderings in the ancient translations demonstrate that scribes felt free to remedy the incongruence between the number of the subject and verb in the manuscripts from which they made their copies and translations. This incongruence is still visible in the version of the text transmitted in the B19^A, as well as in the two recensions of T. On the other hand, the wording of the manuscript from Qumran and the

interpretations in the ancient translations do little to completely eradicate the obscurity of the words נכמרו and זלעפות in the context of the verse. Nevertheless, at this juncture in the description of the disgraces suffered by the community the wording of 5QLam^a conveys their complaint about the negative effects on their skin brought about by fits of hunger.

Verses 11, 12 and 13 in 5QLam^a are united around the theme of pairs of people that are subjugated to various types of humiliation. Women and unmarried girls are ravished in the capital and other cities of Judah, princes are hung up for public display, while the elders receive no respect. In addition, young men are forced to do work that is usually reserved for servants, such as grinding. The wording of the three verses in the manuscript from Qumran is almost identical to the consonantal base of the MT. As a result, the two Hebrew witnesses to Lamentations 5:11-13 agree on the content of these verses.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding chapters, this study examined the wordings of the first, fourth and fifth chapters of the book of Lamentations as they appear in manuscripts 3QLam, 4QLam, 5QLam^a and 5QLam^b from Qumran. It focused on the readings that differ from their equivalents in the MT, as well as readings in both these groups of Hebrew witnesses that exhibit ambiguities or textual difficulties. The *variae lectiones* and problematic passages were singled out for discussion with a view to gaining a better understanding of how the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran present the content of the respective chapters from the biblical book by means of a text-critical analysis. In this regard, it was important to include both the unique readings and the textual difficulties in the analysis, not only because text-critical work encompasses text-comparative and philological aspects, but also because variant readings and textual problems are two prominent features of the wordings in the textual witnesses where textual criticism is concerned with the content of passages. Unique readings in the textual witnesses were shown to be of special importance, particularly when they were not the result of scribal errors, but were intentionally created by scribes, since they contribute a great deal to the differences in content between the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations and the other textual witnesses.²⁸⁹ An emphasis on variant readings in the approach to Old Testament textual criticism that treats the Hebrew manuscripts and the ancient translations as witnesses to the content of Old Testament books does, however, run the risk of obscuring the fact that, for the most part, the wordings of the available textual representatives are free from quantitative and qualitative differences and are essentially identical, give and take the occasional scribal error. This is another important reason why such an approach to textual criticism incorporates assessments of shared textual difficulties or ambiguities in the textual representatives.

²⁸⁹ One might note in passing that the ancient translators' interpretations of their unvocalised Hebrew *Vorlagen* are another contributor to the differences in content between the extant textual witnesses.

It follows from this that the key to using textual criticism in order to move towards a better understanding of how the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations present the content of the book is, on the one hand, to indicate why the wordings of these manuscripts look the way they do and took on their present shapes as a result of the activities of scribes during the process of transmission, and, on the other, tackling the difficult and ambiguous passages which these manuscripts have in common with the MT by means of comparative philology and an examination of the renderings in the ancient translations. This study submits that, in doing so, it has succeeded in attaining its purported goal. The synopses of the content of the identified verses from Lamentations 1, 4 and 5 as they appear in the Qumran manuscripts, at the end of the foregoing chapters of this study, can be taken as a testament to this.

The move towards a better understanding of how the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran present the content of the book is the first benefit of the text-critical approach we have employed in the present study. Another benefit is that it resulted in a greater insight into the scribal transmission of the Hebrew manuscripts of Lamentations. These insights pertain to the variant readings in the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations compared to the MT version and are summarised in the following tables. The variant readings are divided in three categories.²⁹⁰ The first category concerns the readings in the Qumran manuscripts that were judged to be more original than their counterparts in the MT. The corresponding readings in the MT can be attributed to deliberate changes made by scribes or to scribal errors. The second category refers to the readings in the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations that were created intentionally by scribes for a variety of possible reasons during the transmission history. The third category

²⁹⁰ For the purposes of these tables, this chapter leaves those cases where the readings in the manuscripts from Qumran and the other textual witnesses have equal claim to being original out of consideration, including those variants which can be attributed either to a scribal error or to an intentional change by a scribe. In view of these criteria, it omits the variants עֹד[ינה] and צָדוֹ in 5QLam^b from the tables and, seeing as there are no variants compared to the other textual witnesses preserved in 3QLam, it is restricted to the *variae lectiones* in 4QLam and 5QLam^a.

includes the examples of readings that came into being as a result of erroneous copying by scribes.

4QLam			
Chapter and verse	More original readings than the MT	Intentional changes	Scribal errors
<u>Lamentations 1:6</u> לוא לוא מצא ומרעה			X
<u>Lamentations 1:7</u> זכורה יהוה מכאובנו Omission of לה ראוה		X X	X
צריה משבריה	X X		
<u>Lamentations 1:8</u> לנוד הזילו	X		X
<u>Lamentations 1:9</u> [פ] לאות ואין		X X	
<u>Lamentations 1:10-11</u> Omission of בקהל to מחמודיהם מחמדיה			X X

נפשה		X	
זולל		X	
<u>Lamentations 1:12</u>			
אליכ[י]		X	
עוללו לי		X	
הוגירני		X	
ביו[ם] חרו[נו]	X		
<u>Lamentations 1:13</u>			
וירידני		X	
חשיבני			X
שומם		X	
וד[ו]י		X	
<u>Lamentations 1:14</u>			
נקשרה		X	
<u>Lamentations 1:15</u>			
אבידי			X
<u>Lamentations 1:16-17</u>			
Addition of מכול אוהביה		X	
Addition of צדיק אתה יהוה			X
צפה	X		
ציון		X	

לנדוח			X
Omission of אני			X
בכו עיני ירדה דמעתי		X	
נפש			X

Of the thirty two readings collected in the table above, ten can be characterised as scribal errors. In light of these readings, which were created through erroneous copying, as well as the scribal corrections (the insertion of a letter in the interlinear space [fragment 3 line 1] and the erasure [fragment 3 line 7]), it seems reasonable to agree with Cross (2000:229) that the scribe who was responsible for 4QLam was often careless in writing this manuscript. Nevertheless, 4QLam preserves at least five readings that can with relative certainty be identified as more original than their counterparts in the MT. Moreover, the majority of the readings in the table can be attributed to deliberate changes brought about by scribes during the transmission history of the version of Lamentations 1 represented by 4QLam. These seventeen readings exhibit the creativity of ancient scribes who felt free to alter the details of the wordings in the manuscripts which they copied. The intentional changes range from assimilations to usual forms of words in Hebrew and facilitations of syntax to the modification of words in verses 7, 11, 12 and 13, so that the narrator would remain the speaker throughout the poem in this version of Lamentations 1.

5QLam ^a			
Chapter and verse	More original readings than the MT	Intentional changes	Scribal errors
<u>Lamentations 4:14</u> בל		X	
<u>Lamentations 4:15</u> טמא	X		

<u>Lamentations 5:1</u>			
הביטה		X	
חרפותי־נו		X	
<u>Lamentations 5:3</u>			
Addition of		X	
לֹא בָנוֹת			
וְאֶלְמִנּוֹת		X	
<u>Lamentations 5:10</u>			
עוֹרִי־נִי		X	

The table of variant readings in 5QLam^a shows that most of these variants can be attributed to intentional changes by scribes, while at least one reading, טַמְאָה in Lamentations 4:15, is possibly more original than its opposite number in the MT. The most prominent conclusion that can be drawn from these tables is that, more than anything else, 4QLam and 5QLam^a exhibit the creative activity of the scribes who transmitted manuscripts of Lamentations during the Second Temple period and the modifications to the wordings of the chapters which these scribes brought about resulted in subtle, but noteworthy changes to their content.

In light of the fragmentary nature of 5QLam^a and the fact that very little of the wordings of Lamentations 4 and 5 are preserved in this manuscript, we concur with Milik's assessment that the textual character of 5QLam^a in relation to the MT remains unclear. Concerning 4QLam, a number of considerations should be taken into account in delineating the textual character of this manuscript and its relationship with the version in the MT and other textual witnesses. These include the few original readings that survived in the manuscript, those readings which were created intentionally by scribes, as well as the view that 4QLam exhibits the orthographical and morphological features that were supposedly characteristic of the so-called "Qumran scribal

practice”. One cannot determine whether 4QLam presents a distinctive version of Lamentations 1 on the basis of the original readings alone, since some of these readings are also attested to by the LXX and P (cf., for example, צריה and משבריה in Lamentations 1:7). The readings that constitute intentional scribal changes should also be treated with caution.

Firstly, the analysis has shown that it is probable that more than one scribe was responsible for some of these changes. They therefore came into being at different stages during the transmission history. Secondly, apart from additions of phrases and two long omissions in the wording of 4QLam, there are not any large-scale quantitative differences between this manuscript and the MT.²⁹¹ Some of the additions and omissions were due to scribal errors and therefore do not form part of any discernible pattern of variants. In fact, only one such pattern can be identified in 4QLam, namely the changes to the wording that ensured that the speaking voice belongs to the narrator throughout the poem. These changes appear to be quite deliberate and occur in more than one verse. This pattern allows one to interpret other passages in Lamentations 1, especially the first-person singular references in verses 12-17, in a different way from the corresponding wording of the MT, where personified Jerusalem is the speaker. This pattern of changes, coupled with the other variant readings in the wording of the manuscript, which were purposely produced by different scribes during the transmission history, leads to the conclusion that 4QLam and the MT do not represent the same version of Lamentations 1. This verdict rests on the disagreement in matters of content between the two Hebrew witnesses. Therefore, in our opinion, 4QLam contains a unique version of Lamentations 1 inasmuch as this manuscript has a distinctive presentation of the content of the chapter.

²⁹¹ The fact that Lamentations 1 is an acrostic poem and, as such, follows a more or less fixed structure, could have acted as a deterrent against large-scale differences. The qualification “more or less” is important, because the usual *áyín/pê* sequence of the Hebrew alphabet, exhibited by verses 16 and 17 of Lamentations 1 in the MT, is inverted in 4QLam. It was indicated in the text-critical analysis that this different order of verses has a marked influence on the presentation of their content.

This raises the question whether the version of Lamentations 1 in 4QLam can be linked in any particular way to the Qumran community. The fact that Tov detects some of the features of the supposed Qumran scribal practice in the manuscript might point in this direction. However, even if the view that some of the manuscripts from the caves near Khirbet Qumran were copied at the settlement proves correct, and thus Tov's proposals regarding a specific Qumran scribal practice are accepted, it does not automatically follow that the distinctive traits of 4QLam's version of Lamentations 1 were created by the scribes belonging to the Qumran community. At the most, one can infer that the Qumran scribes contributed to the morphology and orthography of the wording in the manuscript and perhaps even introduced a number of the variant readings. This conclusion concerning 4QLam is in keeping with the view espoused by Brooke that none of the biblical manuscripts from the Qumran caves preserve a "sectarian version" of the Old Testament books. He notes that "great care should be exercised before any or all variants are classified as exegetically sectarian, since the character of the process of the transmission of the biblical texts during the late Second Temple period is one of manifold adjustments in minor ways as the texts are copied from one generation to the next" (Brooke 2000:110). With regard to 4QLam, this study agrees with his observation that many of the variants in the biblical manuscripts were created deliberately, "but deliberate variants are not necessarily sectarian" (Brooke 2000:110). In my estimation, the present shape of the wording of 4QLam as a whole was the work of various scribes who transmitted this version over an indeterminable period of time.

Two more issues require brief comment. The first issue pertains to the limitations of the approach to Old Testament textual criticism that was applied in analysing the presentation of the book's content in the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations. In the text-critical analysis, one is able to interpret some of the readings as intentional changes brought about by scribes and others as scribal errors. In the case of intentional changes that affect the content of a passage, for example the modifications of the wording of Lamentations 1 in 4QLam that make the narrator the speaker throughout the poem, the text-critical approach did not pursue the question why these alterations in content were introduced. In order to answer these kinds of questions, we need to know who the scribes were and, therefore, to study the historical background of scribes in the

Second Temple period and to identify their possible social locations.²⁹² If it can be established that different scribes were responsible for the present form of the wording preserved in a manuscript from Qumran, and not only those scribes who belonged to this particular community, it is necessary that text-critics avail themselves of information regarding the scribal culture of the Second Temple period in general, as well as the contexts of the scribes' education and training. These are areas of research where the text-critic can benefit from the expertise of historians and scholars who interpret the material culture and artefacts recovered by archaeology, as well as influence of other Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman cultures on Second Temple Judaism. This dependency of text-critics on the works of historians can be seen as a limitation of the text-critical approach advocated in this study, but it might also be taken as a positive invitation to interdisciplinary cooperation in gaining a more complete understanding of why the wordings in the available manuscripts look the way they do.

The second issue concerns the place of text-critical analyses in the process of exegesis. Several scholars have recently addressed questions concerning the relationship between textual criticism and historical criticism.²⁹³ This relationship is usually bound up with a distinction between two phases in the development of the texts of the Old Testament books, namely the phase of literary growth when the writings were still at the stage of composition and a phase of transmission after the composition was completed. The phase of composition belongs to the domain of historical criticism, while the phase of transmission provides the material for textual criticism. In such a distinction, the task of the latter discipline would be to eliminate all the scribal errors and sundry corruptions such as glosses and double readings in the available textual witnesses. In doing so, the text-critic supplies the exegete with a pristine, more "original" form of the wording of an Old Testament book which can subsequently be subjected to historical-

²⁹² Cf. Van der Toorn (2007), Bar-Ilan (2004:21-38) and Saldarini (1992:1012-1016).

²⁹³ On the relationship between textual criticism and historical criticism, see Cook (2009:119-132), Brooke (2005:26-42), Tov (2001:313-350), Treballe Barrera (1998:383-404), Lemmelijn (1997:69-80), van der Kooij (1997:185-202) and Stipp (1990a:143-159; 1990b:16-37).

critical analysis. The exegete would scrutinise the “original text” for evidence of its composite nature, identifying possible sources or redaction-critical information in the process.²⁹⁴ This study has, however, been occupied with a different approach to textual criticism in which the primary aim was not to establish an “original text”. Moreover, biblical research has in the last decades experienced the proliferation of a variety of exegetical methods.²⁹⁵ These two considerations raise the question how a text-critical approach that treats the extant Hebrew manuscripts and ancient translations as witnesses to the content of Old Testament books relates to the assortment of existing exegetical methods employed in biblical scholarship. This is another issue that can be taken up in future research.

²⁹⁴ The large-scale differences in Qumran manuscripts and LXX translations of some Old Testament books render the distinction between periods of composition and transmission problematic, especially when the large-scale differences are interpreted as forming an identifiable pattern. The border between composition and transmission has become blurred because the large-scale differences imply that the writings continued to develop over a long period of time and that they were transmitted in written form before the process of literary growth came to a halt. Accordingly, in some instances, the available textual witnesses preserve different versions or “editions” of a particular Old Testament book. Large-scale quantitative differences are not the only criterion that can be used to identify these variant versions or “editions”. According to Van der Kooij (2002:152), qualitative differences between textual representatives, Hebrew manuscripts and the ancient translations can also be taken into account: “Von einer Neuedition ... ist die Rede, wenn es um Textunterschiede literarisch-kreativer Art (Änderungen / Erweiterungen / Kürzungen) geht, die in quantitativer und / oder in ideologischer Hinsicht von Bedeutung sind ... Dabei braucht man nicht nur an hebraische Bibeltex te zu denken; auch Übersetzungen (Septuaginta; wie später die Targumim) kommen in Betracht”. Furthermore, although the designation “edition” is often used to denote the variant versions of Old Testament books, it is problematic. Van Seters (2006:298-350) argues that it is anachronistic to conceive of the activities of scribes in terms of “editing”.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Jonker and Lawrie (2005), Talstra (2002), Utzschneider and Nitsche (2001), Barton (1998; 1996) and Jonker (1996).

In conclusion, this study demonstrates how a text-critical approach in which the extant Hebrew manuscripts and ancient translations are analysed as witnesses to the content of an Old Testament book can produce a better understanding of the content of Lamentations as it appears in the Qumran manuscripts. By establishing why the present forms of the wordings in the Lamentations manuscripts from Qumran look the way they do, the text-critical analysis has also yielded greater insight into the scribal transmission of these manuscripts, and, in the case of 4QLam, into the relationship between this manuscript and other textual witnesses, especially the MT. Nevertheless, the benefits of the text-critical approach that was applied in the present study throw its limitations into sharp relief and highlight the need for interdisciplinary cooperation in reading and interpreting the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations. Such a collaboration of more than one discipline is crucial for arriving at a more complete understanding of the content of the book as it is represented by the manuscripts from the Qumran caves.

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