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THREE DEUTERONOMY MANUSCRIPTS FROM CAVE 4, QUMRAN

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The purpose of this article is to present three hitherto unpublished manuscripts (part of the twenty-one Deuteronomy manuscripts from Cave 4, Qumran): 4QDt^{a}, 4QDt^{d}, and 4QDt^{g}.[1] These three manuscripts are placed together in this article because each has a particular feature of interest: 4QDt^{a} is the oldest of the Cave 4 Deuteronomy manuscripts; 4QDt^{d} contains a very defective orthography; and 4QDt^{g} presents a text identical to that of the Masoretic text.[2] In the body of the article, each manuscript is presented separately, beginning with a description of the physical characteristics of each manuscript. This description is followed by a complete transcription (with reconstruction[3]), with a set of notes on the readings and a textual apparatus.[4] Photographs of each manuscript are included with the transcription.

4QDt^{a}

4QDt^{a}, the oldest Deuteronomy manuscript from Cave 4, consists of one large fragment which is a yellowish-brown color, with darker stains in spots. The leather is of average thickness. The height of the fragment is 10 centimeters, and its width at the broadest points is 13.9 centimeters. The surface of the leather was originally smooth and well prepared; now some wrinkling and shrinkage have occurred, leaving some cracks on the surface. The fragment has one sewn edge on the right-hand side. There are no visible dry lines

[1] The sigla are as follows: 4 = Cave 4; Q = Qumran; Dt = Deuteronomy; x = the letter assigned to each manuscript. These manuscripts are part of the lot of seven manuscripts assigned to me for publication by Frank Moore Cross. For the preliminary edition of these manuscripts, see my 1988 Harvard University dissertation "Seven Deuteronomy Manuscripts from Cave IV, Qumran: 4QDt^{a}, 4QDt^{c}, 4QDt^{d}, 4QDt^{f}, 4QDt^{g}, 4QDt^{i}, and 4QDt^{n}."

[2] See Sidnie Ann White, "Special Features of Four Biblical Manuscripts from Cave IV, Qumran: 4QDt^{a}, 4QDt^{c}, 4QDt^{d}, and 4QDt^{g}," *RevQ* 15 (1991) 157–67.

[3] The reconstruction follows the MT, unless otherwise noted.

[4] The textual apparatus includes readings from the other major witnesses to Deuteronomy outside Qumran. It does not contain cross-reference to other Qumran Deuteronomy manuscripts. These cross-references will appear in the *editio princeps* of all the Cave 4 Deuteronomy manuscripts forthcoming in Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XI (Oxford University Press).

on the fragment, but the writing is remarkably consistent in following a hypothetical horizontal dry line. The average space from line to line is 9 millimeters. The width of the margin to the sewn edge is 12.5 millimeters. The column width in letter spaces is 51–61 spaces, and in centimeters 12.75 (reconstructed).

Empty spaces are present in this manuscript which agree with the placement of *setûmôt* in MT (indicated by VACAT in the transliteration). These occur before 24:1; 24:5; 24:7 (the space here is very small); and possibly after 24:8 (the manuscript breaks off at this point). An empty space is not present before 24:6 (ס in MT). There are no empty spaces on this manuscript that do not agree with *setûmôt* in MT.

The manuscript preserves portions of Deut 23:26–24:8.

Paleography establishes this hand in the transition period from the archaic to the formal Hasmonean hand, ca. 175–150 BCE.[5] The letter size is variable: for example, the *'alep* can be quite small, while the *taw* is still fairly large. In later Hasmonean scripts, letter size becomes standardized, e.g., 4QDt^{c}, 4QSam^{a}.[6] Thick and thin pen strokes are still in use, e.g., *yod* and *mem*. The script is slightly later than that of 4QSam^{b} and 4QJer^{a}, but earlier than that of 4QSam^{a} (for example, the bending to the left of the leg on medial *ṣadê* in 4QDt^{a} does not occur in either 4QSam^{b} or 4QJer^{a}).

The orthography of 4QDt^{a} is occasionally more archaic than, but usually agrees with, the Masoretic tradition, with כי, לא, and the short pronominal forms (e.g., ת-, ך-, and הוא). *Yod* is used as a *mater lectionis* only for *ī and *ay › ê. *Waw* is used regularly for *ū, *aw › ô, and the suffix of the third singular, and it is occasionally used to mark *ā › ō when accented (e.g., להיות), but not for any shorter *u* vowel (e.g., יעבר, כל). In the one instance where the orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch differs from the extant text of 4Q and that of MT, it uses double *matres lectionis*, e.g., 4Q, MT נקי] נקיא SP (this orthography is found in MT only in Jonah 1:14).

The following is a list of merely orthographical variants found in this manuscript:

24:3 (line 4): כרתת] כריתת MT SP. The 4Q form is archaic; it is not attested elsewhere. In this manuscript we would expect a *yod* written for *i. We do not expect a *mater lectionis* for *u.
24:4 (line 5): הראשן MT] הראישון SP. 4Q has not marked *ā › ō.

4Q preserves a morphological variant at line 8:

24:5 [ל]ולא יעבר עליו כ[ ] ולא יעבר עליו לכל MT SP Tar: *wl' n'zl lkl* Syr.

[5] Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (Anchor Books A431; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965) 166.

[6] Ibid., 167.

4Q preserves a unique variant. ל in the other forms of the text is functioning as the direct object marker; this is a late influence on Hebrew from Aramaic (G, which is in the dative case, is ambiguous). Cf. Syr, Tar, where ל is expected.

4QDt[a] is difficult to place in a textual family, because of its small size, which limits the number of variants preserved. Nor does the text that is preserved on the fragment contain any obvious errors, which makes the question of textual affiliation unresolvable.

Deut 23:26–24:8

1 [בקמת רעך וקטפת מלילת בידך וחרמש לא תני]ף̇ן̇ על]קָ̇מָ̇̇ת̇ ר̇ע̇ך̇ VACAT
2 [24:1כי יקח איש אשה ובעלה והיה אם לא תמצא חן בעיניו כי מצא בה ערות̇
3 [דבר וכתב לה ספר כרתת ונתן בידה ו]שלחה מביתו והלכה והיתה לאיש
4 [אחר 3ושנאה האיש האחרון ו]כתב לה ספר כרתת ונתן בידה ושלחה מביתו
5 [או כי ימות האיש האחרון]אשר לקחה לו לאשה 4לא יוכל בעלה הראש̇ן̇
6 [אשר שלחה ל]שוב לקחתה להיות לו לאשה אחרי אשר הטמאה כי
7 [תועבה הי]א לפני יהוה ולא תחטא את הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך
8 [נחלה]VAC 5כי יקח איש אשה חדשה לא יצא בצבא ולא יעבר עליו כ[ל]
9 [דבר]נקי יהי̇ה̇ לביתו שנה אחת ושמח את אשתו אשר לק[ח] 6ל[א תחב]ל
10 [רחי]ם ורכב כ̇י̇ נ̇פ̇ש̇ הוא חבל̇VAC 7כי ימ̇צ̇אָ̇ אי̇ש̇ ג̇נ̇ב̇ נפש מאחיו מבני
11 ישראל [והת]עמר בו ומכרו ומת הג̇נ̇ב̇ ההוא ובערת הרע מקרבך
12 8השמר̇ן̇ בנגע ה]צ̇ר̇עת לשמ̇ר̇ מאד ול[עשות ככל אשר יורו אתכם
13 [הכהנים הלוים כאשר צוי]ת̇ם̇ תשמרו לעשות VACAT]

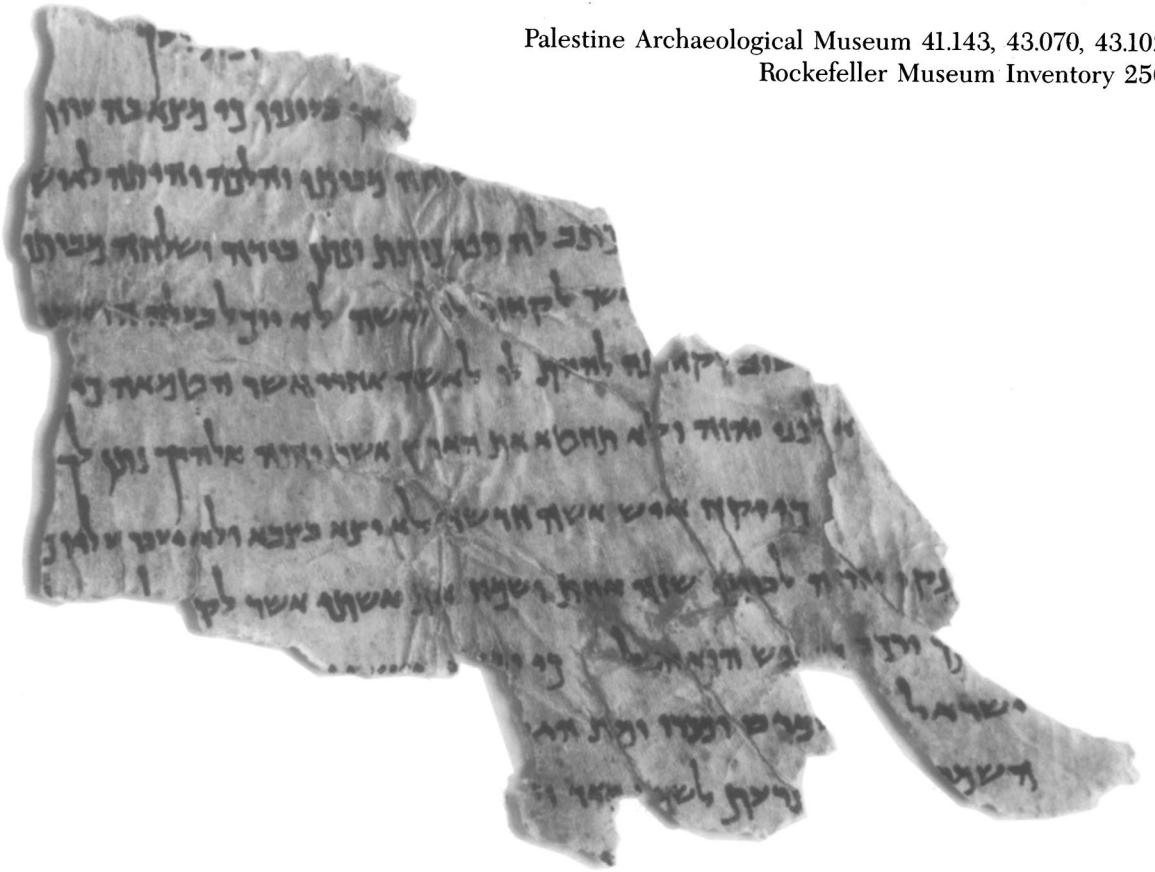
Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
5	24:4	הראש̇ן̇ A damaged letter is extant to the left of *šin*. It appears to be the curve of final *nun*. It could conceivably be interpreted as a *waw*, but given the orthographical practice of this manuscript, it should be final *nun*.
13	24:8	צוי]ת̇ם̇ The head of final *mem* is extant on the leather. To its right traces of ink are discernible. Based on our reconstruction of the text, according to the number of letter spaces available, we have restored *taw*.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	24:1	[אשה ובעלה] MT G Tar Syr] אשה ובא אליה ובעלה SP. The SP text is excluded by calculation of the space at our disposal.

Palestine Archaeological Museum 41.143, 43.070, 43.102
Rockefeller Museum Inventory 256



The verse must begin at the beginning of line 2, because we have an empty space at the end of line 1, the end of chap. 23. We have space at the beginning of line 2, before the extant text, for approximately 35 letter spaces. If we restored the text of SP, the letter space count would be 44, giving a line that would be much too crowded. The text of SP is expansionistic, affected by the text of 22:13.

3 24:2 ו]שׁלׄחה מביתו והלכה G Vg] ושלחה מביתו ויצאה מביתו והלכה MT SP Tar: *wnšryh wtpwq mn byth w'n t'zl* Syr. 4Q, G, and Vg have the same shorter text (contra *BHS;* απερχεσθαι = הלך). Syr does not repeat מביתו, although it does have the two verbs of MT. This may indicate that the longer text of MT et al. is conflate, with Syr showing only partial conflation. The text of 4Q, G, et al. then would be preferable. On the other hand, it could be argued that 4Q et al. have suffered from haplography and that the longer text of MT is preferable. Syr would then be showing partial correction back to the text of MT.

4 24:3 בידה MT SP Tar] εις τας χειρας G: *lh* Syr: › Vg.

5 24:3 לו לאשה MT SP G] › Syr: cf. Tar.

6 24:4 לׄקחתׄה להיות לו לאשה MT SP Tar Vg] לקחתה לו לאשה G: *nsbyh* Syr.

7 24:4 תחטא] תחטיא MT Tar Syr: תחטיאו SP G.

7 24:4 יהוה MT SP Syr Tar] יהוה אלהיך G. G is an example of the unconscious assimilation to a conventional formula (or anticipation; see end of verse); יהוה אלהיך is found throughout Deuteronomy. The shorter text of 4Q, MT, et al. is preferable.

8 24:5 כי MT SP Tar] וכי G Syr.

8 24:5 ולא יעבר עליו כ[ל]] ולא יעבר עליו לכל MT SP Tar: *wl' n'zl lkl* Syr. See above (p. 24).

9 24:5 יהיׄה MT SP G Tar] *'l' nhw'* Syr = *sed vacabit* Vg.

9 24:6 תחב[לׄ G Syr] יחבל MT SP Tar. The 2nd masc. sing. form of the verb is correct in this negative commandment. We may assume that the 3rd masc. sing. verb in MT et al. is the result of reminiscence and anticipation of the surrounding verses. We would restore what we believe to be the preferable reading, although it is impossible positively to determine the reading of 4Q.

10 24:6 ורכב MT SP G Tar] cf. Syr.

10 24:6 כׄיׄ נׄפש הוא חבׄל MT SP G Syr] cf. Tar.

10 24:7 כי MT SP Tar]וכי G Syr.

10–11 24:7 כי ימׄצׄאׄ אׄיׄשׄ גׄנׄ[ב נפש מאחיו מבני] ישראל MT SP G Tar] *w'n nštkḥ gbr' mn bny 'ysryl dngnwb npš' mn 'nnwhy mn bny 'ysryl* Syr.

11	24:7	ומת MT SP G Tar] *mtqṭlw ntqṭl* Syr.
12	24:8	ולעשות MT Syr Tar] לעשות MT$^{V\ ken\ 9}$ SP G.

4QDt^{d}

4QDt^{d} is a yellowish-brown manuscript, stained gray in places, with some blackened portions. The leather is smooth and glossy. A certain amount of wrinkling and shrinkage has taken place, causing some damage to the surface. The leather is of average thickness. The left margin has a sewn edge. There are visible horizontal dry lines on the manuscript.

The manuscript consists of two partially damaged columns. The average inscribed column width is 10.8 centimeters, while the width in letter spaces for col. 1 is 59–68 spaces, and for col. 2, 53–63 spaces. The width of the left margin from the inscribed text to the edge of the fragment is 10 millimeters; the width of the margin between the columns is 12 millimeters (averaged). The average space from line to line is 8 millimeters. There are approximately 27 lines per column (reconstructed according to *BHS*). The height of the extant inscribed column, from the lowest point to the highest point, is 16.9 centimeters.

4QDt^{d} contains an empty space at the end of chap. 3 (col. 2, line 20), which agrees with the placement of a פ in MT. It does not, however, observe the empty spaces that the MT contains at 2:30; 3:17; and 3:22 (marked with ס). The columns preserve portions of Deut 2:24–36 and 3:14–4:1.

The paleographical study of this manuscript places it in the middle Hasmonean period, ca. 100 BCE. The letters are of standard size and unornamented. The script is characterized by the use of ligatures for certain letters, particularly medial *nun*. Several features of the script are important for dating: the base stroke of *bet* is penned from right to left; *dalet* has a very deep-cornered head, typical of the Hasmonean form; *ṭet* is made in two strokes, with a slight bump formed by the juncture of the base and the right downstroke; *yod* is short, with a triangular head; medial *kaf* appears in two forms, with the late Hasmonean form of a straight, slightly slanted downstroke predominating; finally, the flaring tick common on the head of *qof* in earlier scripts has practically disappeared.

The orthography of 4QDt^{d} is consistently more defective than the traditions of either MT or SP. The manuscript uses *matres lectionis* to indicate *aw › ô (e.g., עוד). However, this usage is not clear for the hiphil of verbs I *yod* (e.g., תסף, col. 2, line 16). A *mater lectionis* is used to mark *ay › ê (e.g., בני, בעריכם, עיניך); *ī is marked with a *mater lectionis* (e.g., כי, עיר, and סיחן). A *waw* is usually used to mark *ū (e.g., עשו, אסור, and גבול). Accented *ā › ō is sometimes indicated by a *mater lectionis* (e.g., חשבון, col. 1, line 3), but this usage is not consistent (accented *ā › ō is consistently not marked with *waw* in verbs III *he*, e.g., הראת, col. 2, line 10). Unaccented *ā › ō is consistently not marked with *waw* (e.g., לא, all forms of אלהים, and all examples of the

participle). A *mater lectionis* is not used to indicate *u › o (e.g., כל). The manuscript consistently uses the short forms of the pronominal suffixes (e.g., ת-, ך-, etc.).

The following is a list of orthographical variants not subsumed under the above rules:

2:26 (col. 1, line 2) קדמת] קדמות MT SP
2:26 (col. 1, line 3) סיחן] סיחון MT SP
2:27 (col. 1, line 4) ושמאל SP] ושמאול MT
3:18 (col. 2, line 5) חלצים] חלוצים MT SP
3:25 (col. 2, line 5) נא MT] נה SP
3:28 (col. 2, line 19) ינחל SP] ינחיל MT SP^{mss}. The context demands a hiphil verb. 4Q has not marked *ī.
4:1 (col. 2, line 21) ועתה MT] ועתא SP

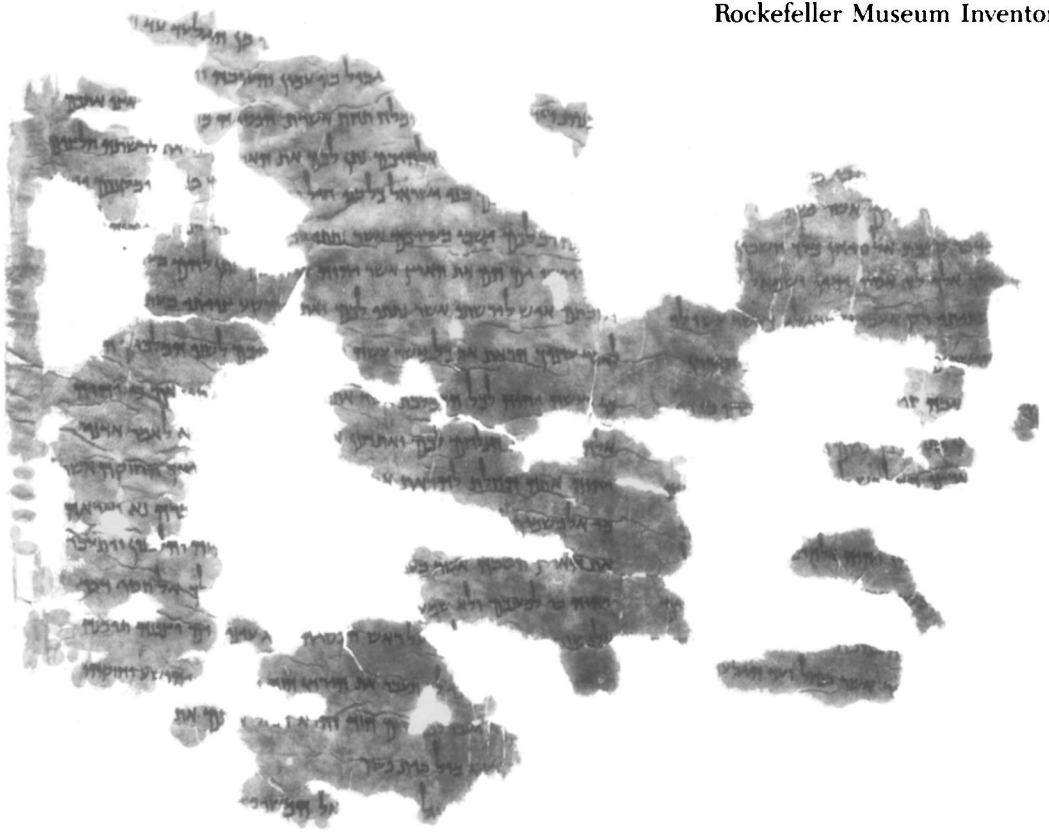
The following is a list of morphological variants:

2:25 (col. 1, line 2) ישמעון MT] ישמעו SP
3:18 (col. 2, line 4) ואצו MT] ואצוה SP
3:19 (col. 2, line 6) ומקנכם MT] ומקניכם SP. The Masoretes pointed the word as a plural; the consonantal text could be either singular or plural (without the *mater lectionis yod*). 4Q usually marks *ay › ê vowels with a *mater lectionis,* therefore we understand 4Q as a singular.
3:20 (col. 2, line 6) וירשו MT] ויירשו SP. 4Q and MT have the perfect form of the verb, as does G. SP has indicated the imperfect form.
3:21 (col. 2, line 6) הממלכת] הממלכות MT SP. 4Q may be reading a singular noun, but since it is not consistent in its practice of marking accented *ā › ō, we cannot be sure.
3:23 (col. 2, line 12) ואתחנן MT SP] ואתחננה SP^{mss}.
3:26 (col. 2, line 16) תסף] תוסף MT SP: תוסיף SP^{mss}. The verb form of 4Q may be a qal imperfect. 4Q would mark the vowel *aw › ô in the hiphil of verbs I *yod,* since this is the original spelling. 4Q does mark *aw › ô in other examples (e.g., עוד). יסף in the qal can function with an infinitive construct in the same way that a hiphil verb does, that is, meaning "to do again."[7] Therefore, the texts of 4Q and MT and SP are equivalent in meaning.

4QDt^{d}, as a Hasmonean manuscript and therefore relatively archaic (particularly in its orthographic practices), is fairly free of error (in fact, it contains no unique errors). It is thus difficult to place within a textual tradition.

[7] BDB, 414.

Palestine Archaeological Museum 41.195,
42.165, 42.706, 43.066, 43.160, 43.221
Rockefeller Museum Inventory 323



Where the manuscript does share error with the other witnesses, it appears to fall most frequently within the shared textual tradition of MT and SP. At 2:27 (line 4) and 2:31 (line 9) 4QDt^{d} shares a scribal error with MT and SP against G. The error at 2:31, conflation, is not likely to have arisen independently and therefore may be cited as evidence that 4QDt^{d} falls into the textual tradition of MT and SP. At 3:21 (line 10) 4Q agrees with MT and G against SP in assimilation to a common formula, an error that may have arisen independently in any of the witnesses. At 2:25 (line 10), 4Q agrees with SP against MT in the addition of the direct object marker, and at 3:19 (line 6), 4Q agrees with MT and G against SP in assimilation to a common word order. Again, either of these scribal errors could have arisen independently. These statistics do not leave us with a very clear picture of the textual tradition of 4QDt^{d}. We must simply say that 4QDt^{d} is an ancient, good manuscript that preserves original readings in the majority of cases and preserves an archaic orthography.

Column 1 Deut 2:24–36

1 [את סיחן מלך חשבון האמרי ואת ארצו החל רש וה]תֹ֯גֹר בו מלח[מה 25היום הזה]
2 [אחל תת פחדך ויראתך על פני העמים תחת כל]השֹ֯מֹים אשר ישמעֹ֯ון אֹ[ת שמעך]
3 [ורגזו וחלו מפניך 26ואשלח מלאכים מ]מדבר קדמת אל סיחן מלך חשבון[דברי]
4 [שלום לאמר 27אעברה בארצך בד]רֹך בדרך אלך לא אסור ימין ושמאל 28א[כל בכס]ף֯
5 [תשברני ואכלתי ומים בכסף תתן לי ו]שתיתי רק אעברה ברגלי 29כאשר עשו לי
6 [בני עשו הישבים בשעיר והמואבים]הישבים֯ בֹ֯עֹר֯[עד אשר אעבר א]ת הירדן
7 [אל הא]רֹ֯ץ אשֹ[ר יהוה אלהינו נתן לנו 30ולא] אבה סיחֹ[ן מלך חשבון ה]עֹ֯ברנו בו כי
8 [הקשה יה]וֹ֯ה֯[אלהיך את רוחו ואמץ את לבבו]לֹ֯מֹ֯ען תתו[ב]יֹ֯דֹך כיום ה[זה 31וי]אֹ֯מֹר֯
9 [יהוה אלי ראה החלתי תת לפניך את סיחן ואת]ארצו החל רש לרֹ[שת את א]רֹ֯צו
10 [32ויצא סיחן לקראתנו הוא וכל עמו למלחמה יהצה 33וית]נֹ֯הו יהוה אלהינֹ֯ו[ ]נו
11 [ונך אתו ואת בנו ואת כל עמו 34ונלכד את כל ערי]ו֯ בעת֯ הֹ֯הֹ֯י֯[א ונחרם את כ]ל
12 [עיר מתם והנשים והטף לא השארנו שריד 35רק]הבֹ֯המֹ֯ה֯[בזזנו לנו ושלל הע]רֹ֯ים
13 [אשר לכדנו 36מערער אשר על שפת נחל ארנן והע]יֹ֯ר אשר בנחל ועד הגלעדֹ֯[ל]אֹ֯ היֹ֯תֹ֯ה֯

Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
2	2:25	אֹ[ת SP reads את שמעך, while MT reads שמעך. The traces of the letter cannot be *šin*, with a stroke coming down from the left, but this can be the downstroke of *'alep*. The right arm of *'alep* is also extant. Therefore we have restored את, in agreement with SP.
8	2:30	יה]וֹ֯ה֯[There are two traces of ink extant on the bottom of

the fragment. Based on the amount of space available in the reconstructed text, we would read *waw* and *he*.

11 2:34 הֿהֿיֿ[א The crossbars of both *he*'s are extant. A trace of ink is discernible to the left of the second *he*. Since the confusion of הוא and היא does not occur in this manuscript, and since היא is the correct pronoun, we have restored *yod*.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	2:25	אֿ[ת שמעך] SP] שמעך MT Tar (see note above).
4	2:27	בד[רֿך בדרך MT SP Tar] בדרך SP^{P} G Vg: *b'wrnn' 'wrnn'* Syr. We have a clear case of dittography in 4Q, MT, et al.[8]
4	2:27	אלך MT SP G Tar] *n'zl* Syr.
4	2:27	לא MT SP G Tar Vg] *wl'* Syr.
4	2:27	אסור MT SP G Tar Vg] *nsṭ'* Syr.
5	2:28	ו[שתיתי MT SP G Tar] *wnšt'* Syr: *et sic bibemus* Vg.
5	2:28	אעברה ברגלי MT SP G$^{A\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Tar] παρελευσομαι τοις ποσιν G$^{B\ C}$ OL: *brglyn n'br* Syr.
5	2:29	לי MT SP G Tar] *ln* Syr.
7	2:30	בו MT SP G] *btnnwmh* Syr = בתחומיה Tar.
8	2:30	ב[יֿדֿך MT SP Tar Vg] בידיך G Syr.
9	2:31	רש לרֿ[שת MT SP G^{O} Tar] לרשת G$^{A\ B\ C\ dn(p)t}$ Syr.
10	2:33	וית[נֿהו MT SP G$^{A\ B\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Tar Syr Vg] και παρεδωκεν αυτους G^{C}.
10	2:33	אלהינֿו[MT SP G Tar Vg] › Syr.
10	2:33	לפנינו] [נו MT SP G$^{A\ B\ C\ O-}$ Tar Syr: εις τας χειρας ημων G$^{dn(p)t}$ OL: + εις τας χειρας ημων G^{O-}: *nobis* Vg. We have two ancient variants present, one of which is reflected in MT et al., the second in G$^{dn(p)t}$ and OL. The variants appear to be conflated in certain Hexaplaric manuscripts. It is impossible to tell which of the variants was present in 4Q; it did not contain a conflate text.
11	2:34	ערי[וֿ MT SP G Tar Syr] πολεων OL: *urbes* Vg.
11	2:34	הֿהֿיֿ[א SP] ההוא MT (see note above).
12	2:35	[הבֿהמֿהֿ] MT SP G$^{A\ B\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Tar Syr Vg] + αυτων G^{C}.
13	2:36	ועד הגלעדֿ[MT SP Tar Syr Vg] και εως ορους του Γαλααδ G.

[8] A case could also be made for haplography in G et al., but since the text is sensible without the second בדרך, on the principle of *lectio brevior* we prefer to view this as a dittography.

Column 2 Deut 3:14–4:1

1 [הנשורי והמעכתי ויקרא אתם על שמו את הבשן ח]וֹת[ן יאיר ע]ד הי[ום הזה]
2 [15ולמכיר נתתי את הגלעד 16ולראובני ולגד]י[ן נת]תי מן הגלעד עד נח[ל ארנן]
3 [תוך הנחל וגבל ועד יבק הנח]ל גבול בני עמון 17והערבה והי[רדן וגבול]
4 [מ]כנרת ועד[ים הערבה ים]המלח תחת אשדת הפסגה מזר[חה 18]ואצו אתכם
5 [בע]ת[ההיא לאמר יהו]ה אלהיכם נתן לכם את הארץ הזאת לרשתה חלצים
6 [תעברו לפני א]חיכם בני ישראל כל בני חיל 19רק נשי[כ]ם טפ[כם] ומקנכם ידעתי
7 [כי מ]קנה רב לכם ישבו בעריכם אשר נתתי לכם[20עד]אשר יניח יהוה לא[חיכם]
8 [ככם] וירשו גם הם את הארץ אשר יהוה אלהי[כ]ם נתן להם בעב[ר הירדן]
9 ושבתם איש לירשתו אשר נתתי לכם 21ואת יהושע צויתי בעת[ההיא]
10 לאמר עיניך הראת את כל אשר עשה יה[וה א]להיכם לשני המלכים האל[לה]
11 כן יעשה יהוה לכל הממלכת אשר אתה[ברע שמה] 22לא תיראם כי יהוה
12 אלהי[כ]ם הוא הנלחם לכם 23ואתחנן א[ל יהוה בעת ההי]א לאמר 24אדני
13 יהוה אתה החלת להראת את[עבדך את גדלך ואת]ידך החזקה אשר
14 מי אל בשמים ובא[ר]ץ[אשר יעשה כמעשיך וכגבורתך 25אע]ברה נא ואראה
15 את הארץ הטבה אשר בעב[ר הירדן ההר הטוב]הזה והלבנון 26ויתעבר
16 יהוה בי למענכם ולא שמע[אלי ויאמר יהוה אלי ר]ב לך אל תסף דבר
17 אלי עוד בדב[ר הזה 27ע]לה על ראש הפסגה[ושא עיניך ים וצפנה תימנה
18 ומזרחה[וראה בעי]נ[יך כי לא תעבר את הירדן הזה 28וצו א]ת יהושע וחזקהו
19 [ואמצהו כי]הוא יעבר לפני העם הזה והוא ינחל אתם את[הארץ אשר]
20 [תראה 29ונש]ב בניא מול בית פעור VACAT [ ]
21 [4:1ועתה ישראל שמע]אל[החקים ו]אל המשפטים[אשר אנכי מלמד אתכם]

Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
14	3:24	ובא[ר]ץ[The *waw* is written supralinearly.
14	3:25	ואראה There is a spot of ink on the leather above the *waw*.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	3:16	עד G] ועד MT SP Tar Syr Vg.
4	3:17	הפסגה MT SP G Tar Vg] *wpsg' dbrmt'* Syr.
4	3:18	אתכם MT SP $G^{A\,C\,O}$ Tar Syr Vg] ημων $G^{B\,dn(p)t}$ OL. ημων is the result of inner Greek confusion of υμων and ημων. This

confusion happens throughout Deuteronomy and should not be taken as an indication of the original Hebrew text.[9]

5 3:18 הלצים MT SP G Tar] *kol mzynyn 'ntwn* Syr.

6 3:19 נשׁ[יכ]ם טפ[כם]] נשיכם וטפכם MT G Tar Syr Vg: טפכם ונשיכם SP.

6 3:19 ומקנכם MT SP G Tar] + *šbwqw* Syr.

6 3:19 ידעתי MT SP G Tar Vg] *nd' 'n' gyr* Syr.

7 3:19 בעריכם MT SP $G^{A\ B\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Tar Syr Vg] εν ταις πασαις πολεσιν G^{C}.

7 3:20 יהוה MT SP Tar Syr Vg] + אלהיכם $G^{A\ B\ C\ O}$: אלהינו $G^{dn(p)t}$.

8 3:20 אלה[י]כם MT SP $G^{A-\ O}$ Tar Syr] ο θεος ημων $G^{A-\ B\ C\ dn(p)t}$.

8 3:20 להם MT SP $G^{A\ C\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Tar Vg] ημιν G^{B}: *lkwn* Syr.

10 3:21 עיניך MT SP Tar Syr Vg] οι οφθαλμοι υμων G.

10 3:21 א]להיכם MT G^{A-} OL Tar Syr Vg] ο θεος ημων $G^{A-\ B\ C\ dn(p)t\ O}$: › SP.

11 3:21 יהוה MT SP G^{O-} OL Tar Syr] + ο θεος $G^{dn(p)t}$: + ο θεος υμων G^{O-}: + ο θεος ημων $G^{A\ B\ C}$.

11 3:21 הממלכת MT SP G Tar Vg] *hlyn mlkwt'* Syr.

11 3:21 אתה[ברע MT SP G Tar Vg] *gbryn 'ntwn* Syr.

11 3:22 תיראם MT^{mss} SP Vg] תיראום MT $G^{A\ C\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Tar Syr (omit suffix OL): φοβηθηση G^{B}.

12 3:22 אלה[י]כם MT SP $G^{C\ O-}$ OL Tar Syr Vg] אלהינו $G^{A\ B\ O-}$.

12 3:23 הה[יא SP] ההוא MT.

12 3:24 At the beginning of the verse, Syr adds *bb'w*.

13 3:24 ידך החזקה MT SP Tar Vg] και την χειρα την κραταιαν και τον βραχιονα τον υψηλον G: *w'ydk tqypt' wdr'k rm'* Syr.

15 3:25 הטבה MT SP Tar Syr] + ταυτην G: *hanc optimam* Vg.

15 3:25 הזה [הטוב MT SP G^{O-} Tar Vg] הזה הטוב $G^{A-\ C\ dn(p)t}$ Syr: omit הזה $G^{A-\ B\ O-}$.

16–17 3:26 תסף דבר אלי עוד בדב[ר הזה MT SP Tar] προσθης ετι λαλησαι τον λογον τουτον G: *twsp twb lmmllw wdmy ptgm' hn'* Syr.

17 3:27 על ראש G] ראש MT: אל ראש SP Tar Syr: *cacumen* Vg.

17 3:27 עיניך MT SP $G^{A-\ C\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Tar Syr Vg] τοις οφθαλμοις G^{A-B}.

17–18 3:27 ים וצפנה תימנה ומזרחה]] ימה וצפנה ותימנה ומזרחה MT SP G Tar Vg: *lmdnḥ' wlm'rb' wlgrbn' wltymn'* Syr. The text of MT et al. has added the locative *he* on ים and has added a conjunction.

[9] Joseph Ziegler, "Zur Septuaginta-Vorlage im Deuteronomium," *ZAW* 72 (1960) 245.

4QDtg

4QDtg consists of eleven fragments, from four columns of text (the groupings are: fragment 1; fragments 2 and 3; fragments 4–9; fragments 10 and 11). The manuscript's original color was a yellowish brown; it is now faded to grayish brown in some places, stained a darker brown in others, and blackened in others. The surface of the leather was originally fairly smooth and matte. Fading has occurred in some places, and other places are so blackened that the letters are no longer visible. Some shrinkage and wrinkling have occurred, so that the leather becomes very thick in places. Some damage to the surface of the leather is visible. There are visible horizontal dry lines on the manuscript on fragment 3. The average space from line to line is 7 millimeters. The column width in letter spaces is 52–67, and in centimeters 12.5 (estimated). The number of lines per column was approximately 27. There are three bottom margins present (frags. 1, 3, and 11), one top margin (frag. 4), two left margins (frags. 2 and 9), and one right margin (frag. 6).

The empty spaces in the manuscript correspond exactly to the *petûḥôt* and the *setûmôt* of MT: the empty spaces after 25:16 (reconstructed) and 25:19 (reconstructed) correspond to *petûḥôt* in MT, and the empty spaces after 24:16 (reconstructed), 24:18 (reconstructed), 24:19, 24:20, 25:3 (reconstructed), and 25:4 (reconstructed) correspond to *setûmôt* in MT (after 24:19 there is only an unmarked space in *BHS*).

The fragments preserve portions of Deut 9:12–14; 23:18–20; 24:16–22; 25:1–5; 25:14–26:5; 28:21–24; 28:27–29.

The paleographical study of 4QDtg establishes its hand in the middle Herodian period, ca 1–25 CE. The letter size has become equal (see especially *taw*). Many letters are distinguished by *keraiai* or are thickened at the top (note particularly *'alep, gimel, zayin, ṭet, nun, 'ayin*). Several features of the script mark it as Herodian: the base stroke of *bet*, which is penned from left to right, breaks through slightly at the corner of the downstroke; the crossbar of *ḥet* projects to the right; *yod* is much shorter than *waw*, which is a decisive characteristic of later Herodian scripts (compare, for example, the *yod* and *waw* of 4QDtn[10]); the head of final *kaf* loops into the downstroke at the right shoulder; and the usual form of medial *mem* is penned with the late Herodian technique, the left oblique being drawn upward to the right shoulder, then down into the downstroke and base. A tick is added on the left. Most significantly, on one letter this tick breaks through the left oblique (frag. 1, line 3).

The orthographic practice of 4QDtg never varies from that of the Masoretic Text. It uses *matres lectionis* to indicate *ay › ê (e.g., שניהם, frag. 2, line 3, and עליך, frag. 10, line 4), *ū (e.g., סרו, frag. 1, line 1, and תשוב, frag. 3, line 4), and *ī (e.g., ראיתי, frag. 1, line 2, and כי, frag. 3, line 2) (there are

[10] White, "The All Souls Deuteronomy and the Decalogue," *JBL* 109 (1990) 193–206.

no extant examples of *aw › ô). A *mater lectionis* is used to mark *ā › ō when accented (e.g., בו[ת], frag. 3, line 1, and ליתום, frag. 3, line 4), but not when unaccented (e.g., אנכי, frag. 3, line 3, and all forms of אלהים). לא is consistently spelled defectively. However, זונה (frag. 2, line 2) is spelled with a *waw* in 4Q, as in MT and SP (this is inconsistent with the above-mentioned practice, but consistent with 4QDtg's constant agreement with MT; see below). The manuscript does not use *matres lectionis* to indicate any proto-Semitic short vowels, e.g., *a, *i, or *u. It uses the short forms for all pronominal suffixes and endings (e.g., ך-, ת-, מהם).

There is one morphological variant in the tradition:

28:24 (frag. 10, line 4) השמדך MT] השמידך SP. 4Q and MT are reading a niphal infinitive construct, while SP is reading a hiphil.

This manuscript stands squarely in the proto-rabbinic tradition in both orthography and text. 4Q never differs from MT in text or orthography (with one possible exception; see below at 23:20, line 4). Where there are disagreements among the other witnesses, when the reading of 4Q is clear, 4Q has the preferable text in all but three instances. In one case, it agrees with MT, $G^{dn(p)t\ O}$ and SP against $G^{A\ B\ C}$ in an explicating plus (25:18, line 4). At 28:29, line 3, it agrees with MT and the daughter versions in the addition of a prose particle. At 24:19, line 5, if G is original, then 4Q and MT, SP share an error. If G is an error, then 4Q does not share it. These statistics of shared error are certainly not definitive; however, there is no evidence to place 4QDtg in either the Old Greek or the Samaritan traditions. In addition, in its extant portions 4Q never disagrees with MT, consistently agreeing with it in all readings (of whatever type). Therefore, we believe 4QDtg is a member of the same textual family as MT.

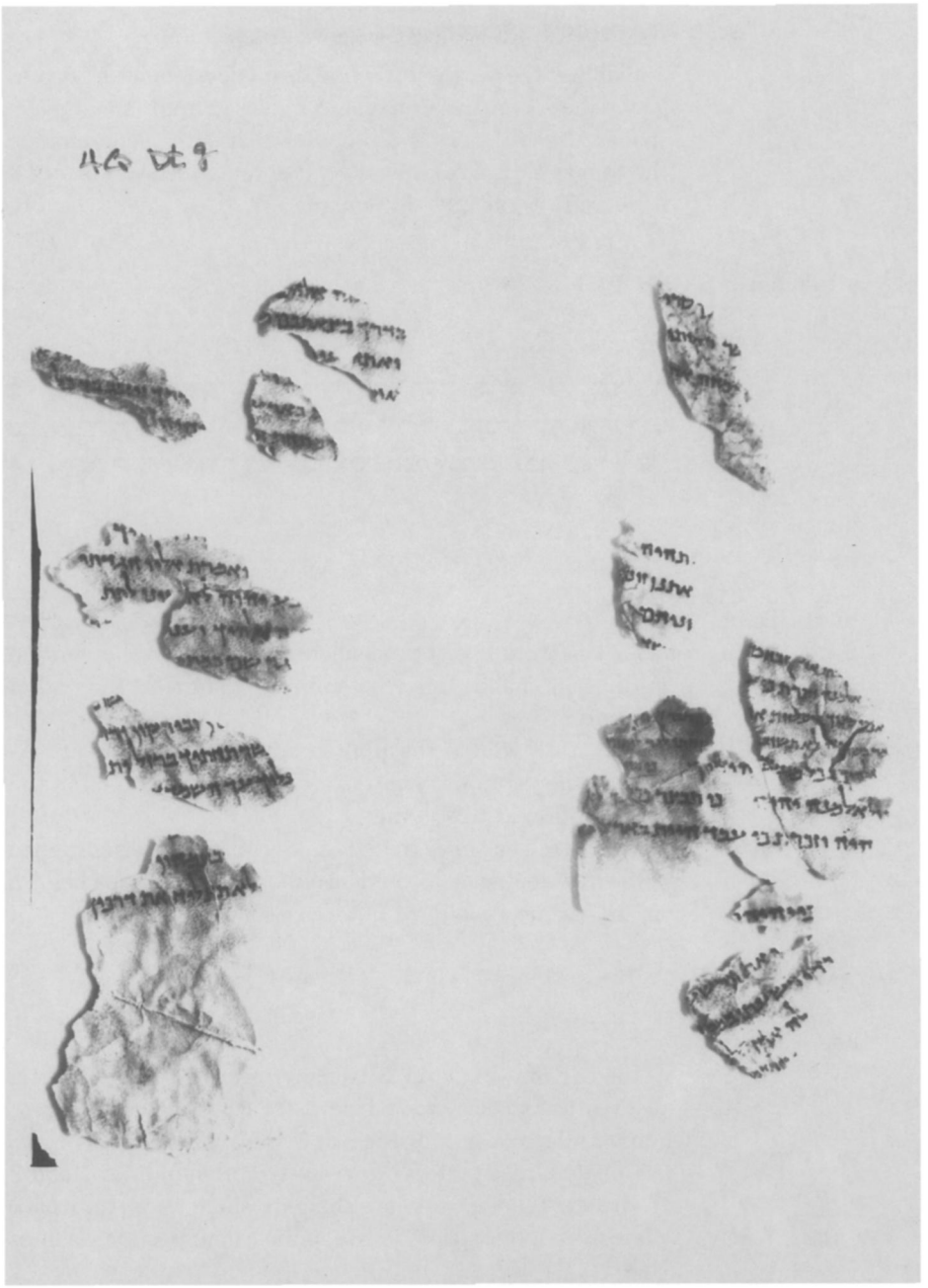
Fragment 1 Deut 9:12–14

1 [הוצאת ממצרי]ם סרו[מהר מן הדרך אשר צויתם עשו להם מסכה 13ויאמר]
2 [יהוה אלי לא]מר ראיתי[את העם הזה והנה עם קשה ערף הוא 14הרף ממני]
3 [ואשמידם]וא̇מחה את[שמם מתחת השמים ואעשה אותך לגוי עצום ורב]

Bottom Margin

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
1	9:12	סרו MT SP $G^{A\ B}$ dn(p)t O Tar Vg] και παρεβησαν G^{C}: *stw lhwn* Syr.
2	9:13	יהוה אלי לא]מר] MT SP Tar Vg] *ly mry'* Syr: after אלי, G adds λελαληκα σε απαξ και δις. According to the space



Palestine Archaeological Museum 42.001,
42.636, 42.713, 42.732, 43.063
Rockefeller Museum Inventory 400

available at the beginning of line 2, 4Q does not have G's plus (since the reconstruction of line 1 gives us approximately 60 spaces already, there is no room available to accommodate the longer text of G), nor does it agree with Syr, since the *mem* and *reš* of לאמר are extant.

Fragment 2 Deut 23:18–20

1] VACAT לא תהיה[18]
2 קדשה מבנות ישראל ולא יהיה קדש מבני ישראל [19]לא תביא [אתנן זונה
3 ומחיר כלב בית יהוה אלהיך לכל נדר כי תועבת יהוה אלהי]ך גם שניהם
4 לא תשיך לאחיך נשך כסף נשך אכל נשך כל דבר אשר [יׄשך[20]

Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
2	23:19	זונה This word is slightly smaller than the others, but written in the same hand. It is written in the margin at the end of the line.
3	23:19	ך גם שניהם[Since the photograph of this fragment was taken, a new join has been made, which is reflected in the transcription at this point.
4	23:20	יׄשך There is a small trace of ink visible on the right edge of the fragment, which could be either *yod* or *taw* (see below); we are restoring with MT.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	23:18	At the end of v. 18 in MT, SP, Tar, Syr, and Vg, G has ουκ εσται τελεσφορος απο θυγατερων Ισραηλ και ουκ εσται τελισκομενος απο υιων Ισραηλ (under the † in Syh G). This appears to be a conflate Greek text. If our reconstruction of lines 1 and 2 is correct, 4Q does not have the plus, since we already have a line of 48 letter spaces between the extant portions of lines 1 and 2.
3	23:19	אלהי]ך גם שניהם MT SP G Tar Vg] *'lhk tryhwn* Syr.
4	23:20	יׄשך[MT SP Tar] εκδανεισης G (+ τω αδελφω σου $G^{A-dn(p)t}$): *rb'* Syr. The G reading is under the † in Syh^{m}. The 4Q reading is not certain (see above under "Notes on Readings").

Fragment 3 Deut 24:16–22

1 [על א]ב̇ות איש בחטא̇[ו יומתו VACAT 17לא תטה משפט גר יתום ולא תחבל]
2 [בג]ד̇ אלמנה 18וזכרת כי ע[בד]ה̇[יית במצרים ויפדך יהוה אלהיך משם על]
3 [כ]ן̇ אנכ̇י מצוך לעשות את̇ הדבר הז̇ה̇[VAC 19כי תקצר קצירך בשדך ושכחת]
4 ע̇מד בשדה לא תשוב לקחתו לגר ליתום[ולאלמנה יהיה למען יברכך]
5 [יהוה] אלהיך ב̇כל מעשה ידיך VAC 20כי תחב̇ט̇ ז̇[יתך לא תפאר אחריך לגר]
6 [ליתו]ם̇ ולאלמנה יהיה VAC 21כי תבצר כרמך לא[תעולל אחריך לגר ליתום]
7 [ולאלמנה] י̇היה 22וזכרת כי עבד היית בארץ מ̇צ̇[רים על כן אנכי מצוך לעשות]

Bottom Margin

Notes on Readings

The leather of this fragment is split and shrunken; therefore some letters, while extant, are split in two or fragmentary.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
1	24:16	איש MT SP G Tar] *kl ʾnš* Syr.
3	24:18	אנכ̇י מצוך לעשות MT SP G Tar Vg] *mpqd ʾnʾ lk wʾmr ʾnʾ lk dtʿbd* Syr.
4	24:19	בשדה MT SP G$^{B\ O-}$ Tar] εν τω αγρω σου G$^{A\ C\ dn(p)t\ O-}$: › Syr.
4	24:19	לקחתו MT SP Tar Syr Vg] λαβειν αυτο τω πτωχω G.
4	24:19	לגר ליתום[ ] לגר ליתום ולאלמנה יהיה MT SP Tar: και τω προσηλυτω και τω ορφανω και τη ξηρα εσται G: *ʾlʾ thwʾ lʿmwrʾ wlytmʾ wlʾrmltʾ* Syr: *advenam et pupillum et viduam* Vg.
5	24:19	מעשה ידיך MT SP G^{O} Tar^{P} Syr Vg] מעשי ידיך G$^{A\ B\ C}$ Tar^{O}.
5	24:20	כי MT SP Tar Vg] וכי G Syr.
6	24:20	After the end of v. 20 in 4Q, MT, SP, G^{O}, Tar, Syr, and Vg (marked by an empty space in 4Q and a ס in MT), G$^{A\ B\ C}$ adds και μνηθηση οτι οικετης ησθα εν γη Αιγυπτω δια τουτο εγω σοι εντελλομαι ποιειν το ρημα τουτο.
6	24:21	כי MT SP G^{A-} Tar Vg] וכי G$^{B\ C\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Syr.

Fragments 4 and 5 Deut 25:1–5

Top Margin

1 25:1כי יהיה ר̇[יב בין אנשים ונגשו אל המשפט ושפטום והצדיקו את]
2 [הצדיק והר]ש̇[יע]ו̇ את הרשע̇[2והיה אם בן הכות הרשע והפילו השפט]

3 [והכהו לפניו]כדי רשעתו במספ̇ו̇ר [3]ארבעים יכנו לא יסיף פן יסיף להכתו]
4 [על אלה מכה רבה ונק]לה אחיך לע̇[יניך VACAT [4]לא תחסם שור בדישו VACAT]
5 [[5]כי ישבו אחים יחדו ומ]ת̇ אח̇ד מה̇[ם ובן אין לו לא תהיה אשת המת החוצה]

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
1	25:1	כי MT SP Tar Vg] וכי G Syr.

Fragments 6–9 Deut 25:14–26:5

1 [ואיפה ג]ד̇ו̇ל̇ה̇ ו̇[קטנה [15]אבן שלמה וצדק יהיה לך איפה שלמה וצדק יהיה לך]
2 [למען]י̇אריכ̇ו̇ן̇ ימיך על האדמה אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך [16]כי תועבת יהוה אלהיך]
3 [כל]ע̇שה̇ אלה כ̇[ל עשה עול VACAT [17]זכור]את̇ א[שר עשה לך עמלק]
4 בדרך בצאתכם מ̇מ̇[צרים [18]אשר קרך ב]ד̇ר̇ך̇ ויזנב בך כל[הנחשלים אחריך]
5 ואתה עיכ̇ף̇ [וי]ג̇ע̇ ולא̇[ירא אלהים]ו̇[19]היה̇[בהניח יהוה אלהיך לך מכל]
6 אי[ביך מסבי]ב̇ בארצ̇[אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך נחלה לרשתה תמחה את]
7 [זכר עמל]ק̇ מתחת ה[שמים לא תשכח VACAT]
8 [[26:1]והיה כי תבוא א]ל̇[הארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך נתן לך נחלה וירשתה וישבת]
9 [בה [2]ולקחת מראשית כל פרי האדמה אשר תביא מארצך אשר יהוה אלהיך]
10 [נתן לך ושמת בטנא והלכת אל המקום אשר יבחר יה]ו̇ה̇ א̇[ל]ה̇יך̇[לשכן שמו]
11 [שם [3]ובאת אל הכהן אשר יהיה בימים ההם]ואמרת אליו הגדתי
12 [היום ליהוה אלהיך כי באתי אל הארץ אשר נ]ש̇בע̇ יהוה לאב̇ת̇ינו לתת
13 [לנו [4]ולקח הכהן הטנא מידך והניחו לפני מזבח י]ה̇ו̇ה̇ אלהיך [5]ועני̇[ת ואמ]ר̇ת̇
14 [לפני יהוה אלהיך ארמי אבד אבי וירד מצרימה וי]גר שם במת̇ו̇[מעט ויהי]

Notes on Readings

The top of fragment six is much damaged; the reading is certain, but the leather is split and shrunken so that the letters are split and at an angle.

line	Deut	
1 and 2	25:14–16	Since the photograph of frag. 6 presented in this article was taken, a new join has been made, reflected in the transcription of these lines.
13	26:4	אלהיך The *'alep* is extremely large and bold (and apparently made by a different hand), as if to conceal an error.

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
3	25:16	אלה כֹּל MT SP G Tar] *hlyn wkl* Syr.
3	25:17	זכור [אֹת א]שר עשה MT SP G Tar Vg] *ʾtdbr kwl mdm dʿbd* Syr.
4	25:17	בצאתכם MT SP $G^{dn(p)t}$ Syr Tar Vg] εκπορευομενου σου $G^{A\ B\ C\ O}$.
4	25:18	ויזנב בך MT SP G Tar Vg] *wqṭlw bkwn* Syr.
4	25:18	כל MT SP $G^{dn(p)t\ O}$ OL Tar Syr] › $G^{A\ B\ C}$ Vg.
6	25:19	מסבי[בֹ MT SP $G^{A-\ O}$ OL Tar Syr] κυκλω σου $G^{A-\ B\ C\ dn(p)t}$.
12	26:3	יהוה MT SP G Tar] *mryʾ ʾlhk* Syr.

Fragment 10 Deut 28:21–24

1 [עד כלתו אתך מעל האדמה אשר אתה בא שמה ל]רִשׁתֹּ[ה 22יככה יהוה בשחפת]
2 [ובקדחת ובדלקת ובחרחר ובחרב ובשד]פּוֹן וביקון ורד[פוך עד אבדך 23והיו
3 [שמיך אשר על ראשך נחשת והארץ]אֹשר תחתיך ברזל 24יתֹן יהוה את מטר]
4 [ארצך אבק ועפר מן השמים ירד]עֹליך עד השמדך 25ו[תנך יהוה נגף לפני]

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
2	28:22	ורד[פוך MT G Tar Vg] ירדפוך SP Syr.
4	28:24	עֹליך[MT SP $G^{A\ C\ dn(p)t\ O}$ Tar Syr Vg] › G^{B}.
4	28:24	עד השמדך MT Tar Syr] עד השמידך SP: εως αν εκτριψη σε και εως αν απολεση σε $G^{A\ C\ dn(p)t\ O}$: G^{B} also adds εν ταχει.

Fragment 11 Deut 28:27–29

1 [מצרים ובעפלי]ם ובגרב ובחרס אשר לא תוכל להרפא 28יככה יהוה בשגעון]
2 [ובעורון]ובתמהון לבב 29והיית ממשש בצהרים כאשר ימשש העור]
3 [באפלה]ולא תצליח את דרכיך והיית אך עשוק וגדול כל הימים]

Bottom Margin

Notes on Readings

line	Deut	
1	28:27	]ובעפלי]ם A portion of the base of final *mem* is extant. Based on the amount of space available to us, we can restore ובעפלי]ם or בטחרי]ם (see below under "Textual Notes" for further commentary).

Textual Notes

line	Deut	
1	28:27	ובעפלי]ם̇ MT SP Tar^{O}] בטחרים MT$^{Qere\ V\ Ken\ 9.69}$ SP^{mss} Tar^{J}: εν ταις εδραις G$^{A\ C\ dn(p)t\ O}$: την εδραν G^{B}: *bṭšwr'* Syr. Our 4Q text could preserve either בעפלים or בטחרים. The G text could also be a translation of either word; it is also lacking *waw*. The Syriac text and G^{B} preserve a singular noun. בעפלים ("hemorrhoids") must be original, and בטחרים a change to a less offensive expression; therefore, we have restored בעפלים in 4Q.
3	28:29	תצליח את MT Tar] ευοδωσει G (+ τοτε G$^{dn(p)t}$): תצליח SP (Syr and Vg translate תצליח; it is not clear whether or not they contained את).
3	28:29	דרכיך̇ MT G Tar Vg] דרכך SP: *'wrnnk lryš* Syr.