EXCERPTED AND ABBREVIATED BIBLICAL TEXTS FROM QUMRAN

1. Introduction

The production of abbreviated versions, and the excerpting and collecting of different items in anthologies were established phenomena in antiquity, 1 and the existence of such compositions at Qumran is therefore not surprising. That some of the nonbiblical Qumran texts contain anthologies of excerpts was recognized long ago. Most of these texts contain an anthology of biblical texts together with their interpretation. This pertains to 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) and 4QCatena A (4Q177), each containing a collection, which have been reinterpreted by Steudel² as reflecting two segments of the same composition, a "thematic pesher" relating to the end of days, and renamed by her as 4QMidrEschat^{a,b}. This composition contains sections from Deuteronomy 33 and 2 Samuel 7, as well as several Psalms, with their interpretation. According to Steudel, other Qumran texts possibly reflecting segments of 4QMidrEschat are 4Q178, 182, and 183. Another group of excerpts is found in a composition named 4QOrdinances, viz., 4Q159 and 4Q513-514 (4QOrda,b,c), that interprets a series of biblical laws. 11Q13 (11QMelch), another thematic pesher, interprets a series of biblical texts relating to the end of time. 4QTanhumim (4Q176) likewise contains excerpts from a variety of texts on a common theme, viz., consolation. The combination of excerpts as described above differs from the juxtaposition of different literary compositions in the same scroll, sometimes inscribed on the verso and recto, possibly because they belong together, or perhaps due to the scarcity of writing material.³ Such a collection is found on the two sides of a papyrus containing

¹ For a good summary, see H. Chadwick, "Florilegium," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, VII (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1969) 1131–60. See further the index in T. Birt, *Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des Antiken Buchwesens* (Munich: Beck, 1913). For later examples, see the Odes in the Septuagint and the Fragmentary Targumim.

² Steudel, Der Midrasch.

³ For a discussion of such opisthographs, see *Scribal Practices*, 68–74.

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papPrFêtes^c (4Q509), papDibHam^b (4Q505), and papPrFêtes^c on the recto, papM^f (4Q496) and papDibHam^c (4Q506) on the verso.⁴

All the above-mentioned excerpted texts reflect the characteristics of the Qumran scribal practice.⁵ It is not difficult to find also the ideas of the Qumran covenanters in several of these texts.

The present study is concerned with a further group of excerpted texts, that of biblical texts proper with no accompanying exegesis. The existence of a group of excerpted biblical texts has also been recognized in the past.⁶ Our remarks are limited to the Qumran evidence, as no excerpted texts are known from Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Ṣe'elim, Masada, or Murabba'at.

The common denominator of these excerpted texts is that they present large or small segments of the biblical text without accompanying commentaries or reflections on the texts. However, the methods of excerpting differ in the various texts in accordance with their purpose. These texts are of interest at all levels for the biblical scholar, as they relate to the exegesis, literary criticism, liturgy, the development of the canon, and textual criticism, although in the latter case their evidence should be used carefully.

In order to have a better understanding of the group of compositions under investigation, we should first turn our attention to another group of texts that seem close to the excerpted texts, and have indeed been mentioned in the same breath by scholars, viz., rewritten Bible texts (see chapter 6*). However, the two groups of texts are different. Excerpted texts should be regarded as biblical texts, shortened for a special purpose and presented without a commentary, while rewritten Bible texts, whose contents are often very close to what we are used to calling biblical manuscripts, do not pretend to present the text of the Bible. The same characterization probably applies to 2QExod^b, but its character is unclear due to the fragmentary state of its preservation. Both Stegemann⁹ and Brooke¹⁰ refer to 2QExod^b as an excerpted text of Exodus, but there is actually no evidence for such a characterization.

 $^{^4}$ See M. Baillet, DJD VII, 184.

 $^{^5}$ Scribal Practices, 161–73.

⁶ See especially Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," esp. 217–27; G. Brooke, "Torah in the Qumran Scrolls," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition. Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Merklein et al.; BBB 88; Frankfurt am Main: Anton Hain, 1993) 97–120; Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 179–81.

⁷ Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," 220 mentioning 2QExod^b (see below).

⁸ See chapter 3*, n. 11.

⁹ Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," esp. 217–27.

¹⁰ Brooke, "Torah in the Qumran Scrolls," 102 (see n. 6).

Several compositions rewrote the Bible in some way, in varying degrees of closeness to the biblical text. The further removed the text is from MT, the more easily its exegetical character is recognized. The closer the text is to MT, the more difficult it is to define its character. In any event, our concern is not with the rewritten biblical texts, but with the biblical texts proper; more specifically, with excerpted biblical texts. In order to define more precisely the focus of our research, these two types of composition need to be contrasted.

Some of the excerpted biblical texts, with which this study is concerned, deviate from the text common to the other manuscripts of the Bible to such an extent that doubts are raised with regard to their status as excerpted biblical manuscripts. It is understood, however, that in early times many of the biblical texts differed greatly from one another. In fact, at that time no two manuscripts were identical and very few were similar. Scribes allowed themselves to make major changes in the text, so major that it is often difficult to distinguish between the last stage in the multi-layered history of the composition of the biblical books and the initial stages of their scribal transmission. As difficult as it may be to understand this situation, no one will doubt that texts diverging from each other as greatly as the MT of Jeremiah on the one hand and the LXX and 4QJer^{b,d} on the other represent the same biblical book. We now know a relatively large group of such widely diverging texts, and the Qumran texts continue to provide further examples of this kind. 11 By the same token, within the wide spectrum of biblical texts there was room for such very divergent orthographic and morphological practices as reflected on the one hand in the proto-Masoretic texts and on the other in such texts as 1QIsa^a.¹²

The existence of excerpted texts was first mentioned by Stegemann, who listed some in his 1967 study focusing on 4QDeutⁿ (see n. 6). We are now able to identify a much larger group of excerpted texts that are recognized by different criteria. Each excerpted text is of a different nature, and because of its fragmentary state of preservation, the nature of several texts is not clear. Nor is it clear what the *Sitz im Leben* was of some of these compositions. The largest group of excerpted texts was probably prepared for liturgical purposes, and, just like lectionaries in ancient and modern times, they contain excerpts from biblical texts prepared for devotional purposes. Others were made for exegetical-ideological (4QTest) and literary purposes. Excerpted texts are recognized by the juxtaposition of different biblical texts, either from

¹¹ For a discussion, see *TCHB*, 313–50.

¹² See Scribal Practices, 261–73.

different books or from the same book. All collections of excerpts are written in scrolls of small dimensions, and sometimes their limited scope is the main criterion for assuming the existence of an excerpted text. In the following list, excerpted texts are mentioned together with abbreviated texts (for the distinction, see below, \S 4).

2. List

a. 4QTestimonia (4Q175). This text constitutes the clearest example of a small anthology, containing three texts from the Torah (Exod 20:21 according to the SP; Num 24:15-17; Deut 33:8-11), ¹⁴ with a fourth one quoting from an extra-biblical composition, 4QapocrJoshua^b (4Q379). ¹⁵ The common theme of these texts is probably the Messiah. The four pericopes are written in separate paragraphs, the last lines of which have been left empty following the last word; each new pericope is indicated with a curved *paragraphos* sign denoting a new section. ¹⁶

b. *Tefillin* and *mezuzot*.¹⁷ Each phylactery contains a selection of four different sections from Exodus and Deuteronomy, indicating its liturgical character. Some of them reflect the sections prescribed in rabbinic sources: *b. Menaḥ.* 34a–37b, 42b–43b (especially 34b) and *Massekhet Tefillin* 9 (see Higger, *Minor Treatises*), namely, Exod 13:1-10, 13:11-16; Deut 6:4-9, 11:13-21 (italicized in Tables 1 and 2). Other *tefillin* reflect a wider range, including additional sections from Exodus 12 and Deuteronomy 5, 6, 10, 11, and 32. The range of these selections and their orthographical and morphological systems are discussed elsewhere.¹⁸ The *tefillin* and *mezuzot* thus contain excerpts from the Torah, separated by a *vacat* in the middle of the line or a blank line. Since no comments are

 $^{^{13}}$ Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," 218 also invokes the use of certain types of handwriting for the recognition of excerpted texts. This criterion is problematic.

¹⁴ The nature of the first excerpt creates a somewhat unusual impression as it seems to quote from two pericopes in Deuteronomy (Deut 5:28-29, 18:18-19), but in fact it contains merely one text which, as in SP (Exod 20:21), is composed of two pericopes that occur in different places in MT. For the same juxtaposition of texts, see 4Q158 (4QRP^a), frg. 6.

¹⁵ Publication: C. Newsom, *DJD* XXII.

 $^{^{16}}$ A very similar sign separates the sections in Greek excerpted texts; see P.Tebt. I 1-2 and P.Petrie I,3. See *Scribal Practices*, 182, 361.

¹⁷ The main group of *tefillin* was published by J. T. Milik in *DJD* VI; for a preliminary publication of four *tefillin*, see K. G. Kuhn, "Phylakterien aus Höhle 4 von Qumran" (AHAW, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1957,1). A second group was published by Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran* (*XQ Phyl 1–4*) (Jerusalem 1969) = *ErIsr* 9 (1969) 60–85. Corrections for the latter are provided by M. Baillet, "Nouveaux phylactères de Qumran (*XQ Phyl 1–4*) à propos d'une édition récente," *RevQ 7* (1970) 403–15. See further 1Q13 and 8Q3. 5QPhyl (5Q8) has not been opened. M. Morgenstern and M. Segal, *DJD XXXVIII* published two *tefillin* from Nahal Hever/Wadi Seiyal. See the analysis of these texts in *Scribal Practices*, 256–8, 270–71.

¹⁸ Scribal Practices, 270–71.

added, these are truly excerpted texts. The range of variation in these texts reflects the known variants between biblical manuscripts, and is not specific to these excerpted texts. On the other hand, the scribal practices used in the writing of these texts differ from the writing of the biblical texts.¹⁹ The following sections are included in the tefillin, displayed here in two tables showing adherence or non-adherence to Qumran scribal practices:20

Table 1: Contents of Tefillin from Cave 4 Written in the Qumran Scribal Practice

Tefillin	Deut	Deut	Deut	Exod
A (a)	5:1-14; 5:27-6:3	10:12–11:12, 13-21		12:43-51, 13:1-7
B (a)	5:1-6:3, 4-5	13-21		13.1-7 13:9 - 16
G (h)	5:1-21			13:11-12
H (h)	5:22–6:3, 4- <u>5</u>			13:14-16
I (h)	6:6-7 (?)	11:13-21		12:43-51,
				13:1 - 10
J (h)	5:1-32; 6:2-3			
K (h)		10:12-11:12		
L (h)	5:7-24			
M (h)	5:33-6:3, 4-5			12:44-51,
				13:1-10
N (h)			32:14-20,	
			32-33	
O	5:1-16; 6:7-9			
P		10:22-11:3,		
		18-21		
Q		11:4-12, 13- 18		13:4-9

Table 2: Contents of Tefillin from Cave 4 Not Written in the Qumran Scribal Practice

Deut D	eut
	Deut D

¹⁹ See Scribal Practices, 270–71 and D. Rothstein, From Bible to Murabba 'at: Studies in the Literary, Scribal and Textual Features of Phylacteries and Mezuzot in Ancient Israel and Early Judaism, unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1992.

The following abbreviations are used: (a)rm, (h)ead.

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C (a)	13:1-16	6:4-9	11:13-21
D (h) ?			11:13-21
E (h) ?	13:1- 9		
F (h)	13:11 - 16		
R	13:1 - 10		
S			11:19-21

The *mezuzot* are more fragmentary than the *tefillin*. They contain sections from either a single text (Exodus 20, Deuteronomy 6, 11, or 13) or from two texts: Deuteronomy 6, 10–11 (4QMez B) and Deuteronomy 5–6, 10 (4QMez C).

c. 4QDeuti. According to Duncan in *DJD* XIV, 4QDeuti contains segments of both Exodus (12:43 ff.; 13:1-5) and Deuteronomy (chapters 5, 6, 8, 11, 30 [?], 32). The script of the fragments of Exodus and Deuteronomy is identical, as are the leather, the pattern of deterioration of the fragments and the column length of 14 lines,²¹ and Duncan therefore considers these fragments to have derived from a single scroll containing segments of both biblical books. Although no fragment has been preserved containing a join of Exodus and Deuteronomy,²² the possibility raised by Duncan²³ is very attractive, and is confirmed by the photographs. That this text, probably written in the Qumran practice, indeed contains excerpts which served liturgical purposes is supported by two considerations: this manuscript consist of sections that are also contained in the Qumran *tefillin* recorded in Table 1,²⁴ and the manuscript is of small dimensions (14 lines), on which see below.

d. 4QDeutⁿ. This enigmatic text contains six columns of small dimensions written on two sheets. The first sheet, originally attached to the second one,²⁵ did not contain the beginning of the scroll since it

 $^{^{21}}$ The length of frg. 8, for which 11 lines are reconstructed by Duncan, is exceptional, and should be further investigated.

יסות the first line of frg. 11, recorded as line 11 of that fragment, is listed by Duncan as "Deut 11:21?" and is followed by three lines from Exod 12:43. However, that word can also be read as לֹיְדְהוֹה which is found in the immediately preceding context in Exodus. The join tentatively suggested by Duncan on the basis of this single word is therefore not certain.

²³ J. A. Duncan, "Considerations of 4QDt in Light of the 'All Souls Deuteronomy' and Cave 4 Phylactery Texts," in *Madrid Qumran Congress*, 199–215 and plates 2–7.

²⁴ In two *tefillin* (4QPhyl A, I), Deut 11:13-21 is followed directly by Exod 12:43. An exception should be made for the fragment of 4QDeutⁱ containing Deuteronomy 8, which is not contained in the *tefillin*. That chapter, however, is also contained in 4QDeutⁿ, which for other reasons is also regarded as a liturgical text. A second exception is made by Duncan for the inclusion in 4QDeutⁱ of Deut 30:17-18, but she is not certain about the identification.

 $^{^{25}}$ Thus Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke," 222, who inspected the scroll before its two sheets were disconnected.

displays sewn edges at its right margin. The first sheet contains the text of Deut 8:5-10, while the second sheet contains Deut 5:1-6:1 in five columns. The first sheet consists of a single, wide column (7 lines of 40-65 letter-spaces), while the next five columns contain 12 lines of 30–50 letter-spaces. The text of the Decalogue is that of Deuteronomy, 26 but in the fourth commandment it adds the text of Exod 20:11 after Deut 5:15, as in 4QPhyl G, 8QPhyl, 4QMez A and Pap Nash. White²⁷ elaborates on an earlier view expressed by Stegemann²⁸ that this scroll is not a regular biblical scroll, but rather contains excerpts from Deuteronomy. Another view, not necessarily in contradiction to this assumption, has been suggested by Weinfeld²⁹ and Eshel.³⁰ According to this view, 4QDeutⁿ should be regarded as a liturgical or devotional text, since its second sheet contains a section used in several Qumran tefillin³¹ (5:1–6:1) and the first sheet contains 8:5-10, a section that serves as the basis for the blessing after the meals.³²

e. 4QDeut^q (Deut 32:37-43).³³ This is a scroll of small dimensions, probably containing only the poem in Deuteronomy 32 (one column of 11 lines of 21 letter-spaces and a final column of 11 lines of 14–15 letterspaces). The empty space to the left of the last verses of chapter 32 shows that this is the last column of the scroll, though not of the book. This scroll does not contain a shorter text of Deuteronomy, but rather a selection from Deuteronomy, or of poems of sundry nature, or perhaps this song only. The scroll is probably of very limited scope, like all copies

²⁶ On the text of this scroll, see especially E. Eshel, "4QDeutⁿ—A Text That Has Undergone Harmonistic Editing," HUCA 62 (1991) 117-54.

²⁷ S. A. White, "4QDtⁿ: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls*, 13–20; eadem, "The All Souls Deuteronomy and the Decalogue," *JBL* 109 (1991) 193–206.

28 Stegemann, "Weitere Stücke."

²⁹ M. Weinfeld, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in Qumran," in *The Scrolls of the Judaean* Desert, Forty Years of Research (ed. M. Broshi et al.; Heb.; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1992)

³⁰ Eshel, "4QDeut"," esp. 148–52 (see n. 26).

³¹ 4OPhyl A, B, G, H, J, L, M, O.

 $^{^{32}}$ According to a further view, by J. Strugnell, quoted and discussed by White, "4QDt $^{\rm n}$ " (1990), the first sheet constituted a correction sheet that was incorrectly sewn to the right of what now constitutes the second sheet.

³³ Publication: P. W. Skehan and E. Ulrich, DJD XIV. See the analysis by P.-M. Bogaert, "Les trois rédactions conservées et la forme originale de l'envoi du Cantique de Moïse (Dt 32,43)," in Das Deuteronomium, Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft (ed. N. Lohfink; BETL 68; Leuven: University Press, 1985) 329-40. For earlier discussions, see especially E. S. Artom, "Sul testo di Deuteronomio XXXII, 37-43," RSO 32 (1957) 285-91; R. Meyer, "Die Bedeutung von Deuteronomium 32,8f. 43 (4Q) für die Auslegung des Mosesliedes," in Verbannung und Heimkehr, Beiträge . . . W. Rudolph zum 70. Geburtstage (ed. A. Kuschke; Tübingen: Mohr, 1961) 197-209.

of the Five Scrolls,³⁴ and like 4QPsg. Note that 4QPhyl N also contained Deuteronomy 32.

- f. 4QPs^{g,h} and 5QPs, all containing Psalm 119. Probably the first two scrolls, and possibly also the third one,³⁵ contained only that psalm. 4QPs^g is of small dimensions (9 lines), a fact that supports the assumption that the scroll contains only this psalm, which had a special status among the early texts of Psalms, since it was consistently written stichometrically in the various texts.³⁶
- g. 4QExod^d. This scroll, covering Exod 13:15-16 and 15:1, omits a major section of Exodus following the laws of the Mazzot festival ending at 13:16. The narrative section of 13:17-22 and all of chapter 14 are omitted and it recommences in 15:1 with the Song at the Sea. In her edition of the text in *DJD* XII, Sanderson suggests that it constitutes a fragment of a liturgical scroll.³⁷
- h. 4QDeut^{k1}.³⁸ The scroll, written in the Qumran scribal practice, contains sections of Deuteronomy 5, 11, and 32,³⁹ all of which are also contained in the *tefillin* written in the Qumran scribal practice (Table 1). While the survival of these particular passages of Deuteronomy may be a matter of coincidence, the suggestion has been made that the choice of these passages reflects a certain reality. As with 4QDeut^{j,n}, this scroll could have contained a collection of liturgical texts.
- i. 4QCant^a and 4QCant^b.⁴⁰ These scrolls contain two different shortened versions of Canticles, following the order of the text in the other biblical witnesses, thus abbreviating it in the same way as 4QExod^d. The background of the abbreviating differed, however. While the texts of Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Psalms probably presented liturgical anthologies, the Canticles texts contain abbreviated versions of an undetermined nature, probably reflecting the excerptors' literary taste.

These texts contain the following sections:

4QCant ^a	col. i	3:4-5
	col. ii	3:7-4:6
	col. iii	4:7, 6:11?–7:7
4QCant ^b	frg. 1	2:9-3:2

³⁴ See Scribal Practices, 98.

³⁵ Thus Milik, *DJD* III, 174.

³⁶ Thus 1QPs^a, 4QPs^g, 4QPs^h, 5QPs, 11QPs^a.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 127.

³⁸ See J. Duncan in *DJD* XIV.

³⁹ No fragments from other chapters have been preserved.

⁴⁰ Publication: E. Tov, *DJD* XVI, 195–219.

frg. 2 i	3:[2]-5, 9-11, [4:1a]
frg. 2 ii	4:1b-3, 8-11a
frg. 3	4:[11b]-5:1

Both 4QCant^a and 4QCant^b lack substantial segments of text found in the other textual witnesses (one segment in 4QCanta iii: Cant 4:7 until 6:11; two segments in 4QCant^b, viz., Cant 3:6-8 in 4QCant^b 2 i; and Cant 4:4-7 in 4QCant^b 2 ii). The shorter text of the two scrolls vis-à-vis the other witnesses is thus a well-supported feature. Where the two texts overlap, they are shorter in different places. Part of the section which is lacking in 4QCant^a iii between Cant 4:8 and 6:11 is extant in 4QCant^b 2 ii and 3; likewise, the section lacking in 4QCant^b 2 i, viz., Cant 3:6-8, is partially represented in 4QCant^a ii, and the section lacking in 4QCant^b 2 ii, viz., Cant 4:4-7, is represented in 4QCanta iii. In chapter 4, different sections are thus lacking in 4QCant^a and 4QCant^b, and to some extent the two scrolls supplement each other. The shorter text of the two scrolls was created consciously by the scribes or their predecessors by shortening the content of the biblical book was evidently not a matter of scribal negligence (in one case, in 4QCantb, the omission is very large and would have filled several columns in this scroll of small dimensions). The assumption that scribal negligence is not involved is based on the fact that complete literary units are missing in the three instances of a shorter text in the two different manuscripts. The two texts undoubtedly present manuscripts of Canticles rather than commentaries or paraphrases, but they constitute biblical manuscripts of a special kind. With some hesitation, they are described here as abbreviated texts, although there are no exact parallels for this assumption among other Qumran texts. 4QExod^d probably formed another such abbreviated text. Further parallels are excerpted biblical texts that juxtapose segments of the Bible according to considerations of content, such as described in this study. The reference to abbreviating may seem somewhat exaggerated for the few instances of text shortening, but the result of this abbreviating is that the text of 40Cant^a is much shorter than the other witnesses. 4QCant^b is only slightly shorter, but if that text terminated at 5:1, as suggested in DJD XVI, 217, it presented only the first half of the biblical book. Attention is also drawn to the scribal signs in 4QCant^b (letters in the paleo-Hebrew script and some cryptic signs) and the remnants of a superscription in the top margin of frg. 1 of the same manuscript, all of which may have been related to the special character of these manuscripts. The biblical book of Canticles contains a conglomeration of love songs rather than one coherent composition, and therefore segments

could be removed from it without harming the context. This is the case with the two Qumran scrolls, each of which has been shortened in a different way and follows the sequence of the text as extant in the other textual witnesses. Underlying this description, thus, is the understanding that the Qumran scrolls shortened an already existing text, while the assumption that they represented early literary crystallizations of the book differing from that represented by the other textual witnesses, though not impossible, is discarded.

That the omissions in these manuscripts, as compared with the other textual witnesses, do not reflect scribal negligence is clear from 4QCant^b 2 iii 6–7 where the omission of Cant 4:4-7 is indicated by an open paragraph after v 3 at the end of line 6, and a large indentation at the beginning of the next line, before the text of v 8. Likewise, at the point where 4QCant^a ii 1–2 omits a large section, Cant 4:8–6:10, a partial and a complete empty line were probably found in the reconstructed text. Furthermore, the last verse of the omitted section 4:4-7, Cant 4:7, forms the end of a content unit, which is indicated in MT with a closed paragraph, and the next verse in the scroll, Cant 6:11, begins another unit, indicated in MT with a closed paragraph after 6:10.

j. Many of the Qumran psalms texts reflect a special type of excerpted text, prepared for liturgical purposes. The question of whether several of the psalm scrolls from Qumran reflect a biblical text, parallel to MT but deviating from it, or anthologies prepared for a liturgical purpose has preoccupied scholars for some time. This question first arose with the publication of 11QPsa.41 That scroll probably should have been given a more neutral name, since, as it stands, it is taken as a reflection of the biblical book of Psalms. The discussion of the nature of this scroll has been revived with the publication of the psalms scrolls from cave 4. The issue at stake is an evaluation of the sequence of the psalms in 11QPsa, which differs from MT, in conjunction with the addition of extracanonical psalms, at various places in the collection. Sanders, who published 11QPs^a, suggested that this scroll constitutes an early crystallization of the biblical book of Psalms. 42 That literary form existed alongside another edition of the Psalms, MT, and possibly other editions, such as several texts from cave 4 that were not yet known to Sanders. Talmon, Goshen-Gottstein, Skehan, and Haran all argued against this

⁴¹ J. A. Sanders, *DJD* IV.

⁴² See idem, "Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a)," HTR 59 (1966) 83–94; "Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon," McCQ 21 (1968) 1–15; "The Qumran Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed," in On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida (ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley; The Hague: Mouton, 1974) 79–99.

view and considered the Psalms Scroll from cave 11 irrelevant to the issue of canon, since according to them it constituted a liturgical collection.⁴³ Wacholder also disagreed with Sanders but turned in a different direction when suggesting that the scroll reflects a Davidic collection (cf. col. XXVII) intended for use in serving David at the end of days. 44 In the wake of the finding of additional collections of Psalters, some scholars have now returned to Sanders' views. At least eight collections of psalms from caves 4 and 11 display them in a sequence different from that in MT, sometimes with the addition of non-canonical psalms: (1) 11QPs^a, also reflected in 4QPs^e and 11QPs^b; (2) 4QPs^a; (3) 4QPs^b; (4) 4QPs^d; (5) 4QPs^f; (6) 4QPs^k; (7) 4QPsⁿ; (8) 4QPs^q. Wilson tabulated the agreements and disagreements among the various collections of psalms.⁴⁶ Flint showed that most of the differences pertained to the last two books of the Psalter (Psalms 90-150), while realizing that it is difficult to evaluate the evidence since the second part of the book of Psalms has been better preserved at Qumran than the first part. 47 Like Sanders and Wilson, Flint concluded that the first part of the collection of psalms was finalized before the second part, and that the major differences among the various collections of psalms from Qumran reflect different crystallizations of the biblical book. Furthermore, there is no evidence at Qumran of any scroll clearly supporting the Masoretic Psalter, although it is difficult to be certain because of the fragmentary evidence. On the other hand, MasPsa reflects MT clearly. In any event, whatever their background, we now know of several additional collections beyond the Masoretic collection from Qumran that are characterized by the addition and omission of Psalms and by different

⁴³ S. Talmon, "Pisqah Be'emşa' Pasuq and 11QPs^a," *Textus* 5 (1966) 11–21; M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a): A Problem of Canon and Text," *Textus* 5 (1966) 22–33; P. W. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs^a," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 195–205; M. Haran, "11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms," in *Minhah le-Nahum—Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of His 70th Birthday* (ed. M. Brettler and M. Fishbane; JSOTSup154; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 193–201.

⁴⁴ B. Z. Wacholder, "David's Eschatological Psalter—11QPsalms^a," HUCA 59 (1988) 23–72.

<sup>72.
&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> This list needs to be compared with the analyses in Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls* and U. Dahmen, *Psalmen- und Psalter-Rezeption im Frühjudentum—Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Struktur und Pragmatik der Psalmenrolle* 11QPs^a *aus Qumran* (STDJ 2003; Leiden/Boston: 2003). Possibly 11QapocrPs (11Q11) needs to be included in this list.

⁴⁶ G. H. Wilson, "The Qumran Psalms Manuscripts and the Consecutive Arrangement of Psalms in the Hebrew Psalter," *CBQ* 45 (1983) 377–88; idem, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 76; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985).

⁴⁷ P. W. Flint, Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls.

sequencing.⁴⁸ Because of the fragmentary preservation of the texts, it is often not known whether the evidence of any two groups of fragments pertains to two different scrolls or a single one. In one group only (1) can it be demonstrated that three or four different manuscripts reflect the same collection.

If the view suggested by Sanders, Wilson, and Flint is upheld, it implies that the psalms fragments from caves 4 and 11 probably constitute the group of Qumran evidence that diverges most from MT. However, the arguments adduced in favor of the assumption that 11QPs^a reflects a liturgical collection also hold with regard to the texts from cave 4,⁴⁹ and this view seems preferable to us. External evidence supporting this claim is found in the small dimensions of 4QPs^g, which usually indicate the limited scope of a scroll.

k. 4QEzek^a. This scroll has been cautiously described by G. J. Brooke as an excerpted text.⁵⁰ The principle involved is the same as that described for 4QDeut^{k1} (above, h) as an excerpted text on the basis of its fragmentary remains, which have been described as agreeing with the passages included in certain *tefillin*. While the survival of these particular passages in Deuteronomy may be coincidental, the suggestion has been made that the choice of these passages reflects a certain reality. By the same token, Brooke suggests that the survival of the 4QEzek^a fragments is not a matter of coincidence, but reflects a selection of topics that were also quoted several times in the literary cycle of reworked versions of the book of Ezekiel: Ezek 10:5-15, 10:17–11:11 (both: the vision of the city's destruction), 23:14-18, 44-47 (adultery of Samaria and Jerusalem), and 41:3-6 (the temple).

The preceding list shows that the excerpted texts were often inscribed in scrolls of limited size (4QTestimonia, *tefillin* and *mezuzot*, 4QDeutⁿ, 4QDeut^q, 4QPs^g and 4QCant^{a,b}). This custom must have developed in response to the same need that prompted the making of excerpts. In his discussion of excerpting in classical antiquity, Birt notes that some texts

 $^{^{48}}$ For example, 4 QPs a and 4 QPs q omit Psalm 32, and the former reflects the following sequence: 38, 71; 4 QPs d has the following sequence: 147, 104, while 4 QPs e has the sequence 118, 104 and 105, 146.

 $^{^{49}}$ 11QPs $^{\rm a}$ contains prose as well as poetry sections showing the purpose of the collection (focus on David). To one of the psalms (145), the scroll has added liturgical antiphonal additions. The writing of the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters in this text may indicate that the scribe considered this to be a nonbiblical text. To these arguments, Talmon added the fact that 11QPs $^{\rm a}$, unlike MasPs $^{\rm b}$ and other biblical manuscripts, does not present the texts in a stichometric arrangement, which was reserved for the biblical texts. See S. Talmon, *Minhah le-Nahum* (see n. 43) 318–27, esp. 324.

⁵⁰ "Ezekiel in Some Qumran and New Testament Texts," in *Madrid Qumran Congress*, I.317–37, esp. 319.

were excerpted in order to create smaller editions that could be more easily carried by travelers.⁵¹ In the case of the Qumran scrolls, it was probably their liturgical character that dictated the small, and hence more practical, dimensions of the scrolls.

On the basis of this evidence, we now turn to three additional scrolls whose small size may indicate that they are collections of excerpted texts. The reasoning behind this argument is that in all these instances it is difficult to imagine how the complete biblical book could have been contained in a scroll of such limited dimensions. Besides, it is probably worthwhile to point to a parallel in *b. B. Bat.* 14a, according to which the size of the columns should be commensurate with the size of the scroll.

- l. 4QExod^e containing 8 lines of 30–34 letter-spaces and a preserved top and bottom margin (Exod 13:3-5). In her *DJD* edition, Sanderson writes about this text: "Since the column begins at the beginning of one section of instructions for the observance of the feast of unleavened bread, it may be that this was a manuscript for liturgical purposes consisting of selections from the Torah." ⁵²
 - m. 5QDeut (segments of chapters 5, 8) with 15 lines of 86 letter-spaces.
- n. 4QPs^b (Psalms 91–94, 99–100, 102–103–112–113, 116–117–118) with 16 and 18 lines of 14.0 cm.⁵³
- o. According to Lange, the columns of 4QIsa^d were too short in order to contain all of Isaiah. This scroll either contained only deutero-Isaiah or was an excerpted scroll.⁵⁴

3. Excerpted or Abbreviated Texts?

Due to the fragmentary status of our evidence, excerpted texts are listed together with abbreviated texts, but they form two different, though similar, groups of texts. Most of the texts mentioned here present excerpts from one or several biblical books (Exodus, Deuteronomy, or combinations from those books; Psalms), without paying attention to the sequence of the excerpts in the biblical witnesses. In three or possibly four cases, however, it is evident that the composition abbreviated the biblical book according to the sequence of the chapters in the other textual witnesses, viz., 4QExod^d, 4QCant^a, 4QCant^b, and possibly also

⁵¹ Birt, Kritik und Hermeneutik, 349 (see n. 1 above)

⁵² DID XII, 130

 $^{^{53}}$ Cf. P. W. Skehan, "Qumran Manuscripts," 154: "Considering the short, narrow columns with ample spacing between, it is most unlikely that 4Q $\rm Ps^b$ ever contained the entire Psalter."

⁵⁴ A. Lange, review of *DJD* XV in *DSD* 8 (2001) 101–102.

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4QEzek^a. In several other cases, it is not known whether the composition presents an excerpted or abbreviated text.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Background

Although the evidence for excerpting is limited, a few general considerations are in order. Some of the excerpts from the Bible are little more than quotes (4QTestimonia and the *tefillin*), while the psalms scrolls contain anthologies of texts used for a special purpose. This pertains also to all the excerpted texts that are not composed of biblical texts, such as the aforementioned 4QMidrEschat^{a,b}, 4QOrd^{a,b,c}, 11QMelch, and 4QTanh.

Types of excerpting/abbreviating

The excerpts of biblical texts reflect different types of excerpting and abbreviating.

a. Different sections from two books of the Torah

4QTestimonia (4Q175)

Tefillin and mezuzot

4QDeuti.

b. Different sections from the same book

4QExod^d, 4QExod^e

4QDeutk1

4QDeutⁿ (sequence differing from MT)

4QDeut^q (nature of the selection is not clear)

5QDeut (probably)

All or most of the Psalms texts

4QCant^a and 4QCant^b.

4QExod^d, 4QPsⁿ, 4QCant^{a,b} probably present abbreviated versions.

Purpose of excerpting/abbreviating

Excerpts and abbreviated versions were prepared for different purposes. Most classical excerpted texts in poetry and prose were made for educational purposes, illustrating a certain topic or idea (virtues, wealth, women, etc.).⁵⁵ Most of the excerpted texts from Qumran, on the other hand, appear to have been liturgical.

⁵⁵ See the material collected by Chadwick (n. 1). Good examples are provided by P.Hibeh 7 (3d century BCE), P.Petrie I,3, and P.Tebt. I,1–2 (100 BCE). See further the much later Greek collection of pericopes (P.Ryl. Gk. 260) from Isaiah, Genesis, Chronicles, and Deuteronomy (4th century CE) published by C. H. Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester: University Press, 1936) 47–62.

Liturgical collection

Tefillin and mezuzot

4QExod^d covering Exod 13:15-16 and 15:1

4QExod^e containing Exod 13:3-5

4QDeutⁱ containing Exod 12:43ff., 13:1-5, and fragments of Deuteronomy 5, 6, 8, 11, 30[?], and 32

4QDeut^{k1} containing segments of Deuteronomy 5, 11, and 32

4QDeutⁿ containing Deut 8:5-10; 5:1–6:1

5QDeut containing segments of Deuteronomy 5 and 8

All the anthologies of the Psalter from caves 4 and 11.

Within this group, the nature of the excerpts differs from case to case. While the *tefillin* and *mezuzot* contain limited Scripture segments, the psalms texts contain sizeable anthologies, probably meant for devotional reading in private or public. These anthologies closely resemble the Greek lectionaries of the Old and New Testaments. In the manuscripts, the selections were at first indicated by notes in the margin, or sometimes in the text itself, indicating the beginning $(\mathring{a}\rho\chi\acute{\eta})$ and end $(\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma)$, and at a later stage they were collected in special anthologies. ⁵⁶

Personal reading

Some texts may reflect copies made for personal use.

4QDeut^q, containing segments of the poem in Deuteronomy 32, may have contained segments of different books or songs, or only that poem.

The scrolls containing Psalm 119 (4QPs^{g,h} and 5QPs) could have been liturgical texts or scrolls made for personal use.

4QCant^a and 4QCant^b contain abbreviated versions of several chapters. It is not impossible that the scribal signs in 4QCant^b and the remnants of a superscription in frg. 1 of the same manuscript were related to the special character of these manuscripts.

4QEzek^a (possibly).

Exegetical-ideological anthology 4QTestimonia (4Q175)

5. Textual Character

For the textual analysis of the Bible, the excerpted or abbreviated texts provide the same type of evidence as running biblical texts, with the exception that the lack of pericopes should be ascribed to excerpting or shortening, and not to the special textual character of the scroll.

⁵⁶ See B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible—An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) 43.

Probably the most striking feature of the excerpted and abbreviated texts is that, with the exception of some of the *tefillin* and *mezuzot* (Table 2), none of the collections is close to MT. This indicates that these texts come from a certain milieu, one that differed from the circles fostering the tradition of the writing of Scripture texts. Since the majority of the biblical texts found at Qumran reflect MT (see chapter 10*, § 4B), the small number of excerpted and abbreviated texts written in the Masoretic textual tradition is all the more significant. The texts written in the Masoretic scribal tradition probably reflect the precise tradition of writing Scripture texts fostered by rabbinic circles. At the same time, a special group of excerpts was written in the same tradition, namely some of the *tefillin* and *mezuzot* (Table 2 above) that would have come from the same circles.

On the other hand, the excerpted and abbreviated texts reflect a free manipulation of the biblical text, both in Qumran and other, probably non-rabbinic, circles involving literary freedom with regard to the biblical texts. These texts reflect a different approach to the Bible, and they reflect textual traditions beyond that of MT. In this context, it is relevant to note that several of the excerpted texts are written in the Qumran scribal practice:

4QDeutⁱ (no solid evidence), 4QDeut^k
4QTestimonia (4Q175)
Several of the *tefillin* and *mezuzot* (Table 1)
Two anthologies of Psalms: 11QPs^a and 11QPs^b.

As for the textual character of these texts, 4QDeut^q has close affinities to the LXX. Harmonizing tendencies are visible in several of the *tefillin*⁵⁷ and in 4QDeutⁿ involving the addition of words and verses from parallel pericopes, especially in the case of the two versions of the Decalogue. Several of the texts reflect a free approach to Scripture, which may indicate that they were prepared for personal use. Thus, one of the two copies of Canticles, 4QCant^b, contains a high percentage of scribal errors and its scribe was much influenced by Aramaic.

⁵⁷ 4QMez A, 4QPhyl G, and 8QPhyl as described by E. Eshel (n. 26 above).