



brill.com/dsd

New Fragments of Amos*

Emanuel Tov Hebrew University, Jerusalem emanuel.tov@mail.huji.ac.il

Abstract

This study contains a transcription and analysis of three tiny fragments (named DSS F.Amos1) containing remnants of two verses of Amos (Amos 7: 17–8:1).

Keywords

Amos – DSS F.Amosı – Qumran – Dead Sea Scrolls – new Judaean Desert fragments – Lanier Theological Library – Mark Lanier – West Semitic Research

Three tiny fragments containing remnants of two verses of Amos are now on display at the Lanier Theological Library in Houston. Bought by Mr. Mark Lanier from the Kando family in 2013, their provenance according to the Kando family tradition is Qumran Cave 4. They are recorded here with all due caution as possibly deriving from that cave from which most Qumran fragments originated. However, the fragment could have come from any place (see below).

The fragments contain the last verse of chapter 7 and the first verse of chapter 8. Two different oracles are involved, separated by a (reconstructed) space ("closed section"). The last verse of chapter 7 (7:17) contains the end of the narrative of an encounter between the prophet Amos and the priest Amaziah (vv. 10–17). This verse describes Amos' curse of Amaziah and Israel. The first verse of chapter 8 commences the vision of destruction in chapter 8, featuring a word-play on *qayitz* ("summer fruit") and *qetz* ("end" or "hour of doom").¹

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2014 | DOI 10.1163/15685179-12341291

^{*} This publication is dedicated to Mark and Becky Lanier in gratitude for their support of the publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls and for their hospitality.

¹ Thus S.M. Paul, Amos (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 251.

The combined fragments have been given the name DSS F.Amosı (Amos 7:17–8:1) by E. Tigchelaar.² They may also be recorded as "DSS F.Amosı (= 4QAmos?)" or "DSS F.Amosı (= XQAmos? referring to any Qumran cave)." The inventory number in Tigchelaar's inventory is "DSS F.181."

The text of this fragment is covered by all ancient versions as well as by $4QXII^{g}$ frgs 56–64 and MurXII.³

Physical Description

The measures are 4.5×2.2 cm for the larger fragment consisting of two combined pieces (a and b), and 1.1×1.4 cm for the smaller one (c). Remnants of three lines of text have been preserved. The letters are well readable on the photograph.⁴ Intervals of 1 millimeter are regularly left between the words, but the interval before שמאה in l. 2 is minimal, and before היהוה in l. 3 there is none. The leather is medium dark brown with light patches. The distance between the lines is 0.3-0.4 cm. No ruling of lines is visible. The length of the lines is 6.5 cm (5.6 cm preserved) or 54-56 letter spaces. No margins have been preserved. One interval between sections coinciding with the beginning of chapter 8 is reconstructed in l. 3. The narrowness of this column is not unusual for a poetical text.⁵

Palaeography and Date

Ada Yardeni notes:⁶ "Herodian script dating to approximately the beginning of the 1st century C.E. The scribe distinguishes well between all the letters includ-

² As of 2010, E. Tigchelaar records all newly discovered fragments from the Judean Desert in a master list in which he designates new numbers according to a central system. Ultimately, these fragments are to be republished in a separate volume of newly discovered fragments in the series *Dead Sea Scrolls Editions*.

³ The Hebrew and Greek texts are conveniently presented in parallel columns in B. Ego, A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, K. De Troyer (eds.), *Minor Prophets* (Biblia Qumranica 3; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

⁴ Photographs by Bruce Zuckerman, Kenneth Zuckerman and Marilyn J. Lundberg, West Semitic Research; courtesy Lanier Theological Library.

⁵ E. Tov, Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert (STDJ 54; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 83.

⁶ Correspondence, 23 November 2013.

NEW FRAGMENTS OF AMOS | DOI 10.1163/15685179-12341291

ing *dalet/resh* and *bet/kaph*. The top line of the *he* is performed in two strokes as is usual in that period. The letters are more or less of the same height except for the *kaph* which, unlike the *bet*, is slightly extending below the imaginary base line. The writing utensil was worn because of which the shapes of the letters are not flawless (unlike most scrolls written with carefully designed utensils)."

Transcription

0 [לוא תנבא על ישראל ולוא תטיף על בית ישחק ⁷¹לכן כוה אמר יהוה] 1 אשתכה בעיר [תזנה ובניכ]ה בחר [ב]יפולו ואד [מתכה בחבל] 2 תחולק ואתה על אדמה טמאה תמ[ו]ת וישרא [ל גלה יגלה] 3 [מעל אדמתו vac כוה] ¹הראני יהוה [והנה כ]ל [וב קיץ ²וי(ו)אמר]

Translation⁷

o [Do not prophesy against Israel, and do not preach against the house of Isaac. ¹ Therefore thus says the Lord:]

1 Your wife [shall become a prostitute] in the city, [and] your [sons] shall fall by the swor[d], and [your] la[n]d

2 shall be parceled out [by line]; you yourself shall d[i]e in an unclean land, and Israe[l shall surely go into exile]

3 [away from its land. *vac* ¹Thus] the Lord showed me[behold, a ba]sk[et of summer fruit. ²He said]

Notes on Readings

ה ובניכ] (7:17) The available space leaves room for only a single word, הובניכ] (ז (7:17) The available space leaves room for only a single word, ובניכ] ה as in our reconstruction (see figure 2), or for ה'[בניכ] ובנותיכ]. In the latter case there would be no room for the two spaces between the words. Since almost all words in this text are separated by spaces (note the absence of a space before the tetragrammaton in line 3), it is suggested that the shorter word, ה'[בניכ] was written here. See below, variants.

2 אָל The two parts of the *lamed* are visible on the two adjacent fragments a and b.

⁷ NRSV, adapted.

DEAD SEA DISCOVERIES (2014) 1-11

3 (8:1) The *vacat* reconstructed in the lacuna in the beginning of the line coincides with a closed space in MT, as often elsewhere in the comparison of the Qumran scrolls and MT.⁸ This instance coincides with the beginning of a chapter. The printed transcription does not seem to leave room for both כוה and an interval (note that הראני in l. 3 of the printed transcription is not positioned below אדמה in l. 2, as it should), but the reconstruction included in figure 2 leaves room for both.

3 (8:1) יהוה[. The lack of spacing before this word and the slightly larger spacing after the word, as reconstructed in figure 2, are irregular in this document. This irregularity together with the fact that the *waw* in this word is longer than the other *waws* in the document⁹ and that the second *he* differs from the other specimens of the *he* makes one wonder whether the tetragrammaton was not inserted by a different scribe after the completion of the writing.¹⁰ Since it would not be impossible that the scroll would reflect an inverted phrase (הוה[אדני, it should be noted that there is no room in the lacuna for דאוני).

Variants

3 אדני יהוה = LXX* V^{CE} אדני יהוה (אדני יה]וֹה) אדני אדוא אדני יהוה אדני יהוה (אדני יה]וֹה (אדני יה), which occurs altogether 54 times in Amos.¹¹ The reading of MT and a long series of witnesses, as recorded above (אדני יהוה) occurs 22 times in MT. The short reading thus presents the majority in Amos, and textual variation, as in the present verse, occurs often in this book. Often the LXX (צוי (גוון) אדני יה), Peshitta, Vulgate, or individual manuscripts

⁸ See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 150–59.

⁹ Note also the angle of writing of the letter, differing from the other *waws*.

¹⁰ For a discussion of this possibility for 11QPs^a and other scrolls, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 240–41. In several scrolls irregular spaces were left for the writing of the tetragrammaton.

¹¹ This reading is also reflected in two Kennicott manuscripts recorded in *BHS*. However, this information is not repeated in *BHQ* nor in the edition of the Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP). For these details, see the forthcoming edition of the Minor Prophets of the HUBP, edited by M. Segal. Thanks are due to Dr. Segal for allowing me to use the unpublished data.

of these versions present a shorter reading.¹² At times medieval manuscripts also reflect such a short reading.¹³

While I usually do not turn to the "rule" of the *lectio difficilior*,¹⁴ in this case it does seem applicable. The short reading of DSS F.Amosi shared with LXX* in the phrase הראני יהוה is exceptional in Amos, while the longer phrase סכעוי ארני יהוה occurs twice in the chapter (7:1, 4) and may therefore have influenced the original short reading found on this fragment by way of harmonization. The little fragment would thus present the oldest Hebrew evidence for the original reading of this detail.

Reconstructed Variants

o [יהוה]] 4QXII^g pr אדני (7:17); it cannot be determined whether DSS F.Amosı included the added word in the lacuna.

1. >] אד LXX S T V ובנותיכה (קודי). See above, notes on readings. The fragment must have lacked the word ובנותיכה ("and your daughters"). No similar variant has been preserved in the manuscripts of any of the ancient versions. The assumed omission of this word likely resulted from a scribal error (a form of haplography in the phrase ובניכה ובנותיכה).

Less likely is the assumption that the shorter reading would preserve the rhythm better because it is difficult to define that rhythm. The first two halfstichs in MT consist of 3 + 4 words coupled with the third half-stich consisting of 3 words. The shorter reading of the Qumran fragment would create a possibly preferable poetic unit of 3 + 3 + 3,¹⁵ but the next stichs of 4 + 4 (5?) words show that any word calculation is difficult.

In the evaluation of this reading, content should be considered as well, as it would make more sense that "your sons would fall by the sword" than that "your daughters would fall by the sword." Elsewhere in Scripture, "men", "warriors," and "sons" fall by the sword, while daughters do not share this fate since

¹² E.g., 1:8; 3:8, 11, 13; 4:2, 5; 5:3; 6:8; 7:1, 4, 5, 6, 7.

¹³ See Amos 4:5; 7:7; 8:11. For details, see the apparatus of the HUBP quoted in note 11.

¹⁴ See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed., revised and expanded; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 275–77.

אשתך בעיר תזנה / ובניך בחרב יפלו / ואדמתך בחבל תחלק 15.

they do not take part in battles.¹⁶ On the other hand, the enemy could have killed the daughters off the battlefield.¹⁷ More frequently "sons and daughters" are taken into captivity (e.g. Ezek 23:25; 2 Chr 29:9).

In short, the reconstructed reading of DSS F.Amosi, reconstructed without much doubt, and probably preserving an ancient variant, may be best explained as a scribal error.

Orthography and Morphology

```
1 אשתכה MurXII אד (7:17)
1 ובניכ]ה MurXII אד (7:17)
1 ובניך אד (7:17)
1 יפלו [ יפולו (7:17)
2 גחלק (תחולק (תחולק (מוולק)
```

Reconstructed Orthography

0 לא [לוא MT (2x). 0 הו כה [כוה MT. This spelling is also reconstructed in l. 3. 1 האדמתך aqXII^e] אדמתך (7:17)

In the few instances in this fragment in which orthographical and mort bgical variants may be expected, the scroll displays a fuller system of MT. These are not the typical instances of the so-called Qumran Scribal Practice,¹⁸ such as הואה but they are nevertheless characteristic of that scribal practice. The lengthened second person pronominal suffix as in אשתכה and אשתכה is mainly used within the framework of that scribal style, and so is the length-

¹⁶ Among the commentaries consulted only W.R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1905), 173 paid attention to this aspect ("The daughters were generally taken as wives for the soldiers, but the punishment is here extraordinary").

¹⁷ Note that the biblical expression הכה לפי הרב, "put to the sword," is almost exclusively used for men. In only one verse are women explicitly included in the killing (1 Sam 22:19). This expression, occurring 36 times from Num 21:24 onwards, refers to battlefield and conquest situations, mentioning people in general, warriors, and sometimes singling out males (Deut 20:13; Jer 18:21; Job 1:15, 17). In one instance the text refers to women and children as an afterthought (Judg 21:10 "Go, put the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead to the sword, and the women and the little ones."). Note that in this case the JPS translation, as well as other ones, change the translation of "and" to "including," but this rendering is meant to make the Hebrew more acceptable to the modern taste. The LXX's "and" represents the Hebrew better.

¹⁸ See Tov, Scribal Practices, 261–73.

NEW FRAGMENTS OF AMOS | DOI 10.1163/15685179-12341291

ened form (e.g. Isa 3:25 MT יָפּולוֹ that in MT is used only as a pausal form (e.g. Isa 3:25 MT יָפּולוֹ). Similar forms in non-pausal position are found in 1QIsa^a in Isa 26:18 (MT יפולו 10 אוני) and 54:15 (MT יפול 10 אוני) as well as in 11QPs^a (col. XXIII 6) in Ps 14:10 (MT). This form is found also once in 4QSam^a not written in the Qumran Scribal Practice, 1 Sam 2:33

Textual Character¹⁹

Nothing can be said about the textual nature of this fragment except for its orthography and morphology. The evidence for the employment of the Qumran Scribal Practice as evidenced by the three mentioned variants is not strong. This system is well represented by 4QXII^g, but our fragment could not have derived from that scroll since the two overlap.

Relation to Other Texts: DSS F.Amos1 and Other Minor Prophets Scrolls

It is unknown whether this fragment derives from a scroll that would have contained only the book of Amos or all of the Minor Prophets. I therefore do not suggest the name "DSS F.Minor Prophets.1 (Amos 7:17–8:1)." The clustering of the books of the Minor Prophets into scrolls containing more than one biblical book has been analyzed by several scholars with regard to the evidence from the Judean Desert.²⁰ Reviewing the available material for the Minor Prophets in 2007, Guillaume claimed that "... the number of Minor Prophets copied on individual scrolls increases as time goes by and scrolls holding multiple books appear in Palestine in Greek as early as their Hebrew counterparts."²¹

On the textual status of the Qumran scrolls of the Minor Prophets, see H. von Weissenberg, "The Twelve Minor Prophets at Qumran and the Canonical Process: Amos as a 'Case Study'" in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. N. Dávid et al.; FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 357–76; eadem, "'Aligned' or 'Non-Aligned'? The Textual Status of the Qumran Cave 4 Manuscripts of the Minor Prophets," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve* (ed. R. Albertz et al; BZAW 433; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 381–96.

²⁰ See G.J. Brooke, "The Twelve Minor Prophets and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Congress Volume, Leiden 2004* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 19–43. For a subsequent analysis, see von Weissenberg, "The Twelve Minor Prophets at Qumran," 361–65.

²¹ Ph. Guillaume, "A Reconsideration of Manuscripts Classified as Scrolls of the Twelve Minor Prophets (XII)," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 7/16 (2007): 1–12.

The two verses in our fragment are included in two scrolls from the Judean Desert, 4QXII^{g22} and MurXII,²³ both covering a wide array of the books of the Minor Prophets. Our fragment could therefore not have derived from these two scrolls, but it could have derived from any of the following scrolls:²⁴

4QXII^a, containing parts of Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah.²⁵ 4QXII^b, containing parts of Zephaniah and Haggai.²⁶ 4QXII^c, containing parts of Hosea, Joel, Amos and Zephaniah.²⁷ 4QXII^c, frg. 35 containing Mal 3:6–7 (?), and probably deriving from a scroll different from 4QXII^c.²⁸ 4QXII^d, containing a fragment of Hosea.²⁹ 4QXII^e, containing fragments of Haggai and Zechariah.³⁰ 4QXII^f, containing two fragments of Jonah.³¹ 4Q168, a small fragment of Micah (4QMic? or 4QpMic?).³² 5QAmos (5QXII?), a small fragment of Amos, possibly deriving from a larger scroll of the Minor Prophets.³³ MS 4612/1 of the Schøyen collection covering Joel 4:1–4.³⁴

- 23 Publication: R. de Vaux in M. Baillet et al., *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 181–205 (Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah).
- A list of the scrolls and fragments of the Minor Prophets from the Judean Desert is provided in E. Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), 120, 129, 130, updated until 2009. The Hebrew and Greek fragments from the Judean Desert are also conveniently juxtaposed in the *Biblia Qumranica* (see n. 3).
- 25 Publication: Fuller in Ulrich et al., DJD 15: 221–32.
- 26 Publication: Fuller, DJD 15:233–36.
- 27 Publication: Fuller, DJD 15:237–51.
- 28 See DJD 15:251.
- 29 Publication: Fuller, DJD 15:253–56.
- 30 Publication: Fuller, DJD 15:257–65.
- 31 Publication: Fuller, DJD 15:267–70.
- 32 Publication: J. M. Allegro with A. A. Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4.I* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 36.
- 33 Publication: J.T. Milik, DJD 3:173-74.
- 34 See http://www.schoyencollection.com/dsscrolls.html#12.1. The script of this fragment differs from that of DSS F.Amos1.

Publication: R.E. Fuller in E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 271–318 (Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah).

Note further two unpublished fragments from Jonah (4:2–5) and Micah (1:5). 35

The Amos fragment could not have derived from 1QpMic, 1QpHab, 1QpZeph since these *pesharim* cover only single books.

The new fragment could not have derived from most of these scrolls because of dissimilarity in script and/or orthographic practice. However, the following two scrolls deserve further scrutiny:

- 4QXII^c.³⁶ The two sources share the same orthographic system, and 4QXII^c covers segments from chapters 2, 3, and 6 of Amos. The new fragment might have preserved a piece from the next chapter, chapter 7. However, the scripts though seemingly similar, are different enough to be dissimilar. Note the letters *aleph*, *dalet*, *he*, and *lamed*.
- 2. 4QXII^e, containing fragments of Haggai and Zechariah.³⁷ The two sources share the same orthographic system. However, the scripts though seemingly similar, are different enough to be dissimilar. Note the letters *aleph*, *lamed* and *mem*.

In light of this analysis we have no knowledge about a scroll of Amos or of the Minor Prophets from which the present fragment may have derived.³⁸

Photographs

Photographs by Bruce Zuckerman, Kenneth Zuckerman and Marilyn J. Lundberg, West Semitic Research; courtesy Lanier Theological Library.

The reconstructed positioning of the fragments, created by B. Zuckerman, is based on l. 2 where only a single letter is missing between fragments b and c. In l. 1 there is seemingly too much space between the fragments. However, the final *bet* probably had a long bottom line as in several additional scrolls and, similar to the initial *bet* in l. 1, thus reducing the reconstructed empty space between the two fragments.

³⁵ These texts are being prepared for publication in the Green Scholars Initiative Series on Early Jewish Texts (Brill, Leiden).

³⁶ See n. 27.

³⁷ See n. 30.

³⁸ Thanks are due to Shalom Paul for his remarks on the manuscript.

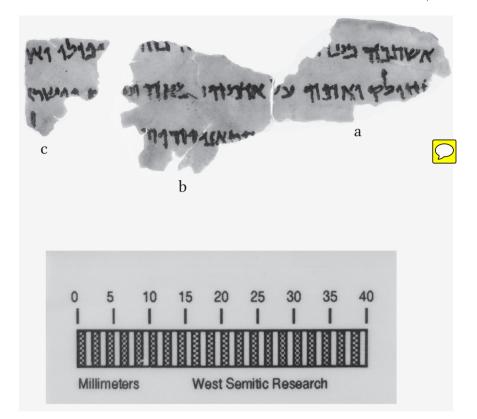


FIGURE 1 Fragments a, b and c (from r. to l.) of DSS F.Amos.1 (Amos 7:17–8:1) dating to the beginning of the 1st century C.E. Photograph by Bruce Zuckerman, Kenneth Zuckerman and Marilyn J. Lundberg, West Semitic Research. Courtesy Lanier Theological Library.

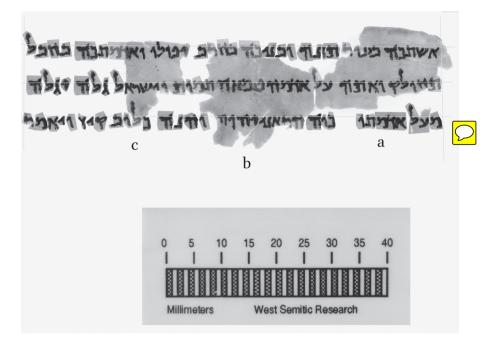


FIGURE 2 Fragments a, b and c (from r. to l.) of DSS F.Amos.1 (Amos 7:17–8:1) dating to the beginning of the 1st century C.E. including a reconstruction of the missing letters. The shapes of most letters have been copied from letters written elsewhere in the document. Image slightly adapted in order to compensate for the warping of the skin, the split of the second he of YHWH in line 3 and for the slight droop of both ends of l. 3. Reconstruction created by Bruce Zuckerman from a photograph by Bruce Zuckerman, Kenneth Zuckerman and Marilyn J. Lundberg, West Semitic Research. Courtesy Lanier Theological Library.