# Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

# The Scribe in the Biblical World

—

A Bridge Between Scripts, Languages and Cultures

Edited by
Esther Eshel and Michael Langlois

**DE GRUYTER**

# Table of Contents

Michael Langlois

# Theonyms in Palaeo-Hebrew and Other Alternate Scripts on Dead Sea Scrolls

This paper is a follow-up to my palaeographical study of the Dead Sea Scrolls copied with the (Palaeo-)Hebrew script.[1] In my earlier study, I limited myself to scrolls that were integrally copied with this script. I outlined an evolution of the Hebrew script in the Second Temple period and would now like to confront this new typology against Palaeo-Hebrew graphemes attested in scrolls that otherwise use the Aramaic script. In this study, I will limit myself to the use of that script for theonyms. Other uses (such as scribal notations or the so-called cryptic scripts) will be dealt with in another study.

I will now discuss individually, in the order of their inventory number, the palaeography of the Dead Sea scrolls that use the Palaeo-Hebrew script for divine names and titles.

## 1 1Q11 (1QPs[b])[2]

This manuscript is not dated by the editor; a detailed palaeographical analysis of the Aramaic script attested on this manuscript—as well as the other manuscripts studied here—is beyond the scope of the present essay, so I will limit myself to general observations. Suffice here to say that 1Q11 was probably copied during the first century BCE.

It features a single occurrence of a Palaeo-Hebrew ◁ (frag. 4 l. 1), which corresponds to the end of the tetragrammaton. Its ductus is common and does not allow for a precise dating. There is no other attestation of a divine name or title on this fragmentary scroll.

---

**1** Michael Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," in *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. by Michael Langlois, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 94, Leuven, Peeters, 2019, p. 255–285.

**2** Dominique Barthélemy, "11. Psautier (second exemplaire)," in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 71, pl. XIII.

## 2 1Q14 (1QpMic)[3]

This manuscript is not dated by the editor but was probably copied around the turn of the era. Frag. 3 features two partial occurrences of the tetragrammaton.[4] The first is broken and its reading is unclear: Milik reads ⟨𐤉𐤄𐤅⟩[ but the 𐤅 seems wide and the angle too open; as for the following 𐤄, its upper stroke does not seem to protrude to the right, contrary to the 𐤄 on the following line. Another option would be to read 𐤄]𐤅𐤄𐤅, but the 𐤅 would be quite high (unless the trace does not correspond to the base), and the 𐤅 would feature a thick, striated diagonal. Finally, one could also try and read 𐤄𐤉]𐤅𐤄𐤉, but the problem with the 𐤅 remains (notwithstanding the unusual use of a *mater lectionis* here). In any case, this occurrence is too damaged to serve as evidence for the evolution of the script.

The second occurrence, by contrast, exhibits two well-preserved letters: 𐤄𐤅. Both use a common ductus that prevents any specific dating. The thickness and beveling of some of the strokes may however indicate that another calamus was used; this does not mean that the tetragrammaton was penned by another scribe, but it is a possibility.

Finally, an occurrence of Palaeo-Hebrew 𐤋𐤀 is partially preserved on frag. 12 l. 2.[5] 𐤀 is partially erased, but 𐤋 is well preserved. It features a straight, slanted ascender that does not seem to have been penned together with the base. The base is narrow and features a tick at its right end. A similar tick is nascent in 11Q1 and developed and 4Q22 (where it is sometimes more rounded, as in 1Q35, 3Q14). Its use here could be indicative of a typological development around the first century BCE; such conclusion remains hypothetical, however, as there is but a single occurrence on this scroll, and it is in a degraded context.

**3** Józef Tadeusz Milik, "14. Commentaire de Michée," in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 77–80, pl. XV.
**4** See especially PAM 40.545 available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278281.
**5** See especially PAM 40.445 available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278226. See also PAM 40.548, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278284.

# 3  1Q15 (1QpZeph)[6]

This manuscript is attested by a single fragment for which Milik gives no date in his *editio princeps*. The few letters that are preserved may have been penned around the first half of the first century BCE, but a slightly earlier or later date is possible, as the lack of samples for each letter of the alphabet prevents a more accurate dating.

The fragment features an almost complete occurrence of the tetragrammaton in Palaeo-Hebrew (l. 4), notwithstanding a trace of ink at the previous line which Milik believes to be the beginning of another occurrence. � is drawn in a common fashion, whereas ⅄ seems to feature a large zigzag-shaped head with a particularly wide upper stroke. This ductus is well attested on coins from both the Hasmonaean period[7] and the Judaean revolt,[8] but it is only nascent on Palaeo-Hebrew Dead Sea scrolls (compare 1QpHab and 4Q171 below). ➶ is incomplete but seems to feature a slanted backward stroke well attested at the time.

# 4  1Q27 (1QMyst)[9]

This manuscript is not dated by its editor but may have been copied in the first century BCE, perhaps around the middle of the century. A single occurrence of a Palaeo-Hebrew ⌿⅄ is preserved on a small fragment[10] that was later joined at the bottom of frag. 1 col. ii.[11] ⅄ is incomplete but seems to feature a long left stroke, which may be indicative of a late development. ⌿ follows a common ductus, without any additional ornamentation or development.

---

**6** Józef Tadeusz Milik, "15. Commentaire de Sophonie," in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 80, pl. XV.

**7** Yaʿakov Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba*, Jerusalem, Yad Ben-Zvi, 2001, p. 43ff.

**8** Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 132.

**9** Józef Tadeusz Milik, "27. 'Livre des Mystères,'" in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 102–107, pl. XXI–XXII.

**10** See PAM 40.446, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-277262.

**11** See PAM 40.523, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278259.

# 5  1Q35 (1QH^b)[12]

In his edition of this manuscript, Milik does not offer any date, but the script is a typical Herodian formal hand. 1Q35 was thus probably copied around the first century CE, preferably around the first half of the century, as none of the so-called "late" Herodian features are observed. (And even those features might already be attested in the first century BCE.[13])

A single occurrence of a Palaeo-Hebrew *ל*𐤊 is preserved on this manuscript (frag. 1 l. 5).[14] 𐤊 follows a common ductus; the lower parallel stroke protrudes to the right so as to reach the guideline, a phenomenon sometimes (but not always) observed on 4Q11, when the Palaeo-Hebrew letters start hanging from the ceiling line;[15] see further 4Q183 below. *ל* features a straight ascender, which contrasts with the concave base ending in a small curve or tick. The same phenomenon is observed in 3Q14 and 4Q22, where it is sometimes more angular, as in 1Q14. See further below 4Q57, 4Q183, 4Q258 and 6Q18.

# 6  1QH^a (1QHodayot^a)[16]

The Hodayot scroll was subjected to radiocarbon dating by Bonani *et alii*. Five fragments were tested, three gelatinized and two non-gelatinized. The results

---

**12** Józef Tadeusz Milik, "35. Recueil de cantiques d'action de grâces (1QH)," in *Qumran Cave I*, ed. by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955, p. 136–138, pl. XXXI.

**13** Compare *e.g.* the palaeographical and radiocarbon dating of MS 2861 in Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, eds., *Gleanings from the Caves. Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from The Schøyen Collection*, Library of Second Temple Studies 71, London, Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016, p. 120.193. My "blind" palaeographical analysis led me to conclude that it was penned by a late or post-Herodian hand, hence a date "during or slightly after the second half of the first century AD" (p. 120). Yet, radiocarbon dating (p. 193) favors the first century BCE, though the first half of the first century CE is not excluded. See further 1QpHab and 4Q267 below.

**14** See esp. PAM 40.451, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278227.

**15** Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," p. 271.

**16** Hartmut Stegemann, Eileen M. Schuller, and Carol A. Newsom, *Qumran Cave 1. III. 1QHodayot^a with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a–f}*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XL, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2009.

were not aberrant, with uncalibrated dates of 2006±52 BP and 1943±36 BP.[17] I used
the intCal 20.14c calibration dataset to produce calibrated dates:
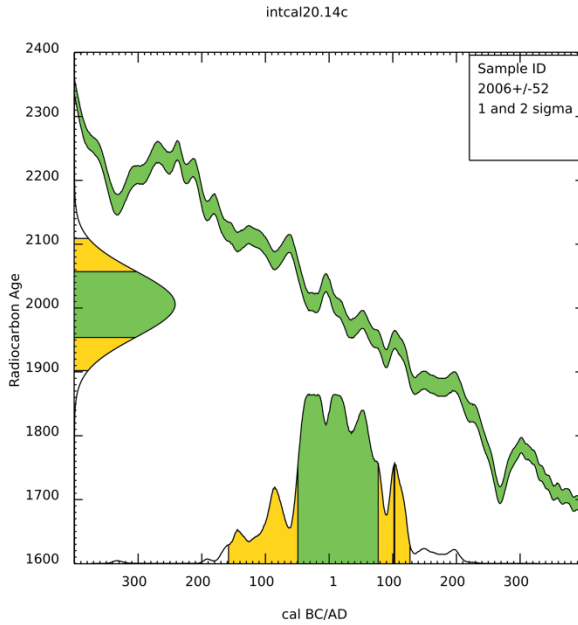


**Figure 1:** Calibrated radiocarbon dating of 1QHᵃ (1QHodayotᵃ) using intCal 20.14c (uncalibrated
date: 2006±52 BP)

**17** Georges Bonani, Susan Ivy, Willy Wolfli, Magen Broshi, Israel Carmi, and John Strugnell, "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls," *Radiocarbon* 34/3, 1992, p. 848.
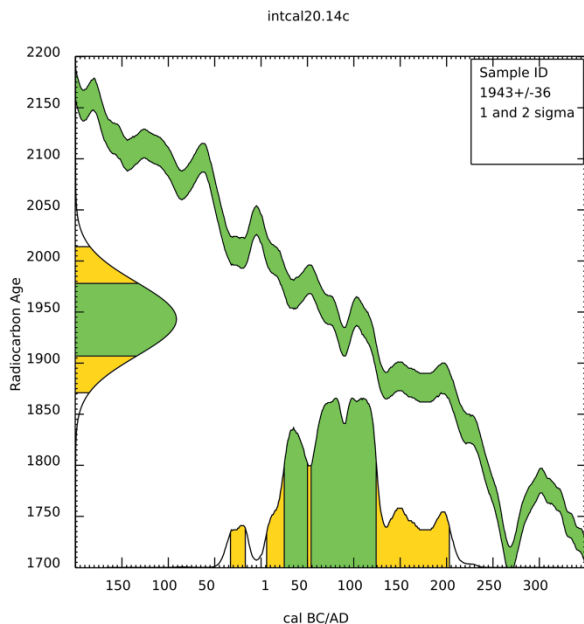
**Figure 2**: Calibrated radiocarbon dating of 1QHᵃ (1QHodayotᵃ) using intCal 20.14c (uncalibrated date: 1943±36 BP)

For the gelatinized fragments, the 1σ-calibrated ranges are 49 BCE–78 AD and 102–104 CE, while the 2σ-calibrated range is 158 BCE–127 CE. For the non-gelatinized fragments, the 1σ-calibrated ranges are 25–51 CE and 54–124 CE, while the 2σ-calibrated ranges are 32–16 BCE, and 7–204 CE. These results show that the degradation of fragments complicates their dating; yet, they also suggest that the manuscript was probably copied around the first century CE. From a palaeographical standpoint, the columns that occasionally use the Palaeo-Hebrew script (see below) were copied by a formal and developed Herodian hand at home in the first century CE.

Three occurrences of Palaeo-Hebrew ֵ𐤀 have been preserved: VII 38, IX 28 and X 36, the latter with a pronominal suffix 𐤄. There is no occurrence of יהוה or אלהים in any script, but there are multiple occurrences of אדוני, none of which are in Palaeo-Hebrew. Furthermore, there are other occurrences of אל that have not been copied with the Palaeo-Hebrew script (see *e.g.* XI 35; XII 13.19.32; etc.). This could be attributed to a change of scribe; there is indeed a clear change of

hands at col. XIX,[18] but the problem is that occurrences of אל in the Palaeo-Hebrew and Jewish scripts are found in columns that seem to have been penned by the same scribe (compare cols. X and XI for instance). Unless two scribes with an almost identical hand are responsible for these columns, it is better to suppose that a single scribe stopped using the Palaeo-Hebrew script for the divine name. This may be of his own will, but one may also hypothesize that the source(s) he was copying already featured such a change. He may for instance have copied a manuscript that was itself penned by several scribes with differing scribal practices, notably regarding the copy of the divine name using the Palaeo-Hebrew script. This may also be due to the compilation, by himself or by his predecessors, of multiple literary sources, some of which—but not all—were copied using a Palaeo-Hebrew divine name. For instance, the occurrence of אל in the Jewish script in XI 35 is part of a complete psalm (in ll. 20–37)[19] different from the one that features the Palaeo-Hebrew אל in X 36.[20] Such a hypothesis is challenged by a possible occurrence of אל in the Jewish script in XI 4 which, according to some, is part of the same psalm as X 36.[21] The reading of אל is, however, uncertain, and the degraded state of the manuscript complicates the division of the text into literary units. Last but not least, an apparent lack of consistency or generalization in the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script for theonyms may also be observed in 4Q57 (4QIsaᶜ); this additional documentation may help weigh various explanations.

Let us now have a closer look at the Palaeo-Hebrew script used in 1QHᵃ. The shaft of א is vertical, sometimes almost slanted forward (see IX 28). Vertical shafts are sometimes observed on Iron age seals, as well as on coins from the Hasmonaean period and the two Judaean revolts.[22] Forward-slanting shafts are more unusual but attested in 11Q1. The two diagonal strokes are drawn independently; the upper parallel seems to cross the shaft so as to produce a left stroke, according to a common ductus attested as early as the Iron age.

The single occurrence of ך likewise follows a common ductus and features a highly slanted right stroke that does not protrude to the left of the shaft. ל is

---

**18** "Scribe A" stops at the middle of l. 25, and is replaced by "Scribe B" and "Scribe C" (or "Scribe A-two" and "Scribe B") according to Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, *1QHodayotᵃ*, pp. 241–242.

**19** Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, *1QHodayotᵃ*, p. 146.

**20** This psalm starts at X 33 according to Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, *1QHodayotᵃ*, p. 134.

**21** Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, *1QHodayotᵃ*, p. 146.

**22** See e.g. Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 32.132.163.

more or less concave, sometimes thickened at the top, but with little or no beveling. The calamus used for Palaeo-Hebrew letters does not appear to be different from the one used to copy the rest of the text. There is, however, a large gap in IX 28 which may suggest that 𐤀𐤋 was added later. Yet, such gaps may be observed on the same column, even in the middle of a sentence (e.g. מה אדבר l. 25). It is therefore not necessary to suppose that the Palaeo-Hebrew letters were added at a later stage.

# 7  1QpHab[23]

This manuscript's parchment was subjected to radiocarbon dating, which yielded an absolute date of 2054±22 BP.[24] I used the intCal 20.14c calibration dataset to produce calibrated dates:

---

**23** Millar Burrows, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Volume I, The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary*, New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950. Color photographs are available at http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/habakkuk.
**24** Timothy A. J. Jull, Douglas J. Donahue, Magen Broshi, and Emanuel Toy, "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37/1, 1995, p. 14.
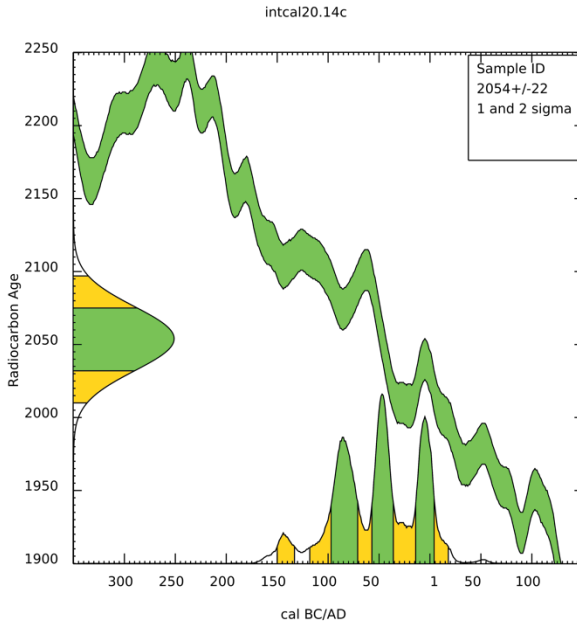
**Figure 3**: Calibrated radiocarbon dating of 1QpHab using intCal 20.14c (uncalibrated date: 2054±22 BP)

The 1σ-calibrated ranges are 97–71 BCE, 57–36 BCE, and 14 BCE–5 CE. The 2σ-calibrated ranges are 150–133 BCE and 117 BCE–18 CE. From a palaeographical standpoint, the script is Herodian and would usually be dated to the turn of the era or even the early first century CE.[25] The difference between the two methods of dating is not big enough to invoke a contamination of the samples that were radiocarbon-dated. One could argue that the calibration curve should be adjusted a little, or that the copy of the manuscript took place sometime after the animal was killed. But the likeliest explanation is that what are traditionally called "Herodian" features arose slightly earlier than previously thought,[26] and that this manuscript was indeed copied in the first century BCE, preferably in the second half of the century.

---

**25** It is classified as "Mid- to Late Herodian," *i.e.* 1–68 CE, in Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Texts from the Judaean Desert. Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXIX, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2002, p. 374.
**26** See already n. 13 above.

Let us now look at the Palaeo-Hebrew script attested on this scroll. There are four instances of the tetragrammaton: VI 14, X 7.14, and XI 10. The letters are suspended from the guideline and penned with the same calamus as the rest of the text, without additional beveling. As a matter of fact, the Palaeo-Hebrew letters are often less beveled and, more generally, less elegant than the rest of the script;[27] they are reminiscent of incised inscriptions rather than inked documents. The scribe seems less comfortable when using the Palaeo-Hebrew script and makes more mistakes.

🜛 features a barely slanted shaft and three parallel diagonals. A number of occurrences have been corrected, which may indicate that the scribe was unfamiliar with the Palaeo-Hebrew script. The shaft does not protrude to the bottom, and the upper diagonal does not protrude to the right. This ductus is reminiscent of some Hasmonaean coins in the early first century BCE,[28] where it is easily accounted for by the constraints of inscribing on a coin. It is more surprising to find such a ductus on a parchment; this suggests that the scribe was not used to copying parchments using the Palaeo-Hebrew script.

🜏 features a horizontal roof with an upwards tick at the left. It is followed by a long diagonal. The last stroke is no longer a vertical shaft but a short diagonal that joins the body at mid-height. This development is quite remarkable and without exact parallels: coins of the Judaean revolt do exhibit an angular "zig-zag" head followed by a short shaft[29] and are not unlike the 🜏 attested here after rotation; but the first stroke is not as short as what may be observed here.

🜊 features a very short shaft followed by a long backward stroke. Some occurrences may give the impression that the second diagonal and the backward stroke are penned together, but this is due to the fact that the shaft barely protrudes at the bottom; a closer examination reveals that the two strokes are actually independent (see esp. VI 14 and XI 10). This phenomenon is reminiscent of some Hasmonaean coins, perhaps minted by Hyrcanus II, in which the two strokes are indeed penned together.[30] This ductus follows a development that is diametrically opposed to the one which will give rise to the Samaritan 🜊, where

---

**27** Which is quite the opposite of what Stegemann states according to Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 54, Leiden, Brill, 2004, p. 240.

**28** See e.g. group E in Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 44. See also Mark David McLean, "The Use and Development of Palaeo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," Harvard University, 1982, pl. 14.

**29** Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 132.

**30** See goup S in Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 46.

the backwards stroke protrudes to the left and gives rise to a third diagonal stroke.[31]

# 8  2Q3 (2QExod[b])[32]

This manuscript was published by Baillet, who identifies the hand as Herodian. The script, however, is semi-formal and the few letters that are preserved do not exhibit typical Herodian features. 2Q3 may therefore have been copied around the first century BCE.

At least two occurrences of the Palaeo-Hebrew tetragrammaton have been preserved. At the beginning of frag. 2 l. 2, a Palaeo-Hebrew 𐤉 is followed by what may be read as a Palaeo-Hebrew 𐤄. At the end of frag. 7 l. 1, Baillet reads the beginning of a Palaeo-Hebrew tetragrammaton, but his identification of the fragment must be abandoned: l. 2, the third letter features an angular elbow and cannot therefore be a ש.[33] This leaves us with only one other instance of the tetragrammaton: frag. 8 l. 3, where the initial 𐤄 has disappeared in the lacuna and the first 𐤅 is broken. From a palaeographical standpoint, the ductus attested by 𐤅 is quite common. 𐤉 features a large angular head, with a diagonal horn reminiscent of the scribe's (Aramaic) ר. The same scribe probably copied the Palaeo-Hebrew tetragrammaton. A similar ductus for 𐤉 may be observed in 11Q1, albeit less beveled.

Besides the tetragrammaton, a possible occurrence of אלהים might be found in frag. 5 l. 5, where there might be the end of a final ם at the beginning of the line, followed by a trace of the following word. This reconstruction is uncertain, however, so that no conclusion may be drawn as to the use of Palaeo-Hebrew for other theonyms.

---

**31** Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," pp. 278–279.
**32** Maurice Baillet, "3. Exode (deuxième exemplaire)," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, ed. by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 52–55, pl. XI.
**33** See especially PAM 42.958, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284856. See also PAM 40.556, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-278362.

# 9  3Q3 (3QLam)[34]

In his *editio princeps*, Baillet qualifies the script as a "small Herodian calligraphy." The reduced size of both the fragments and the script makes it quite difficult to offer a palaeographical dating, but the manuscript may indeed have been copied around the turn of the era. A single occurrence of ⟨palaeo-Hebrew⟩ in the Palaeo-Hebrew script is preserved on frag. 1 l. 2.[35] The second and third parallel strokes of ⟨letter⟩ tend to join at their left end, and the shaft might be slightly curved at the bottom. The head of ⟨letter⟩ seems to follow a zigzag ductus. ⟨letter⟩ has a long diagonal tail. All of these features are quite common.

# 10  3Q14 frag. 18[36]

Twenty-one unidentified Hebrew and Aramaic fragments from Qumran cave 3Q have been grouped together and labeled 3Q14. One of them, frag. 18, has preserved but a few letters, including a Palaeo-Hebrew ⟨letters⟩.[37] The ductus is quite common. ⟨letter⟩ has a concave ascender and a rounded base that seems to produce a tick. An even more rounded base is found in 1Q35 and sometimes in 4Q22, but in those manuscripts the ascender is straighter.

**34** Maurice Baillet, "3. Lamentations," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, ed. by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 95, pl. XVIII.

**35** See especially the new photograph, B-482068, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-482068. See also PAM 42.955, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284853.

**36** Maurice Baillet, "14. Fragments isolés," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, ed. by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 102–104, pl. XIX.

**37** See PAM 42.956, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284854. See also PAM 41.564, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-299014.

# 11  4Q20 (4QExod[j])[38]

This manuscript is attested by two identified and five tiny unidentified fragments. Their editor, Judith Sanderson, dates its copy to "approximately the early first century CE." The few letters preserved on frag. 1[39] indeed seem to exhibit Herodian features and Sanderson's dating may thus be adopted. The end of a Palaeo-Hebrew א is visible at the beginning of l. 3 and attests to the use of that script to write the tetragrammaton. Not much can be said from a palaeographical standpoint, except that the three strokes are parallel and that the Palaeo-Hebrew script seems a bit larger than the rest of the text.

# 12  4Q26b (4QLev[g])[40]

This single fragment is not dated in the *editio princeps*. It is in bad condition[41] but seems to have been penned by a formal Herodian hand, perhaps around the turn of the era. It features two occurrences of the tetragrammaton, both preceded by the preposition ל. The second occurrence, including the preposition,[42] is penned with the Palaeo-Hebrew script. Such an inconsistency is attested elsewhere for other theonyms (e.g. 4Q57, see **Table 1**), but not for the tetragrammaton.

In terms of palaeography, the fragment is badly damaged, so that it is difficult to give a meaningful description of א and י, except that they seem to adopt a common ductus with little beveling. ה is less slanted than א and features a long upper stroke, followed at an angle by an almost equally long diagonal. This

---

**38** Judith E. Sanderson, "20. 4QExod[j]," in *Qumran Cave 4. VII. Genesis to Numbers*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XII, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 149–150, pl. XXI.

**39** See PAM 42.603, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284014. The condition of the fragment has since degraded, compare B-472350 available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-472350.

**40** Emanuel Tov, "26b. 4QLev[g]," in *Qumran Cave 4. VII: Genesis to Numbers*, ed. by Eugene C. Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, James R. Davila, Nathan Jastram, Judith E. Sanderson, Emanuel Tov, and John Strugnell, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XII, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994, p. 203–204, pl. XXXVII.

**41** See B-359506, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-359506. See also PAM 43.036, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284277.

**42** Contrary to what may be seen *e.g.* in the "Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Corpus" software module by Martin G. Abegg *et alii* (v. 3.3). But the *editio princeps* correctly notes it.

leaves little room for the middle stroke, unless it protruded beyond the upper stroke, which is unlikely; it was probably short, as in 11Q1 and sometimes 4Q22 or 4Q45. The ascender of ∠ seems straight, rather than concave, and its base quite long, slightly slanted, following a common ductus.

# 13  4Q38a (4QDeut^(k2))[43]

According to the *editio princeps*, this manuscript was copied by "an Early Herodian formal hand (*c.* 30–1 BCE)." This dating is possible but a bit narrow, as the hand is actually semiformal and sometimes exhibits further development (see *e.g.* ʊ). The influence of cursive forms precludes such a specific dating, and I would not exclude a date in the early first century CE. It might thus be safer to suggest that 4Q38a was copied around the turn of the era.

A single occurrence of the tetragrammaton is preserved in 4Q38a, and it is written in the Palaeo-Hebrew script (frag. 5 l. 6).[44] ⟨glyph⟩ features a thick shaft and thin horizontals; the upper parallel protrudes to the right, and the lower is slightly curved upwards on the left so as to join the middle horizontal. The overall ductus is quite common, and the scribe seems confident. ⟨glyph⟩ features a zigzagged head followed by a thick shaft, which is even more thickened at the bottom. ⟨glyph⟩ does not exhibit beveling; its tail is short, does not protrude to the left, and is penned slightly above the bottom of the shaft (see 4Q171 below).

But is this really the only occurrence of the tetragrammaton? Duncan initially thought that these fragments belonged to 4Q38, since they were "copied by the same scribe," but the slightly smaller letter size and, more importantly, the use of Palaeo-Hebrew for the tetragrammaton led her to treat them separately, as "no other manuscript exhibits a discrepancy like this in the writing of the divine name."[45] This artificial separation into two manuscripts could be problematic for

---

**43** Julie Ann Duncan, "38a. 4QDeut^(k2)," in *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, ed. by Eugene C. Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, Sidnie White Crawford, Julie Ann Duncan, Patrick W. Skehan, Emanuel Tov, and Julio Trebolle Barrera, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIV, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 99–103, pl. XXV.
**44** See especially B-368501, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-368501.
**45** Julie Ann Duncan, "38. 4QDeut^(k1)," in *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, ed. by Eugene C. Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, Sidnie White Crawford, Julie Ann Duncan, Patrick W. Skehan, Emanuel Tov, and Julio Trebolle Barrera, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIV, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 93.

the present study, as 4Q38 could actually document an inconsistent use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script in the same manuscript. Such inconsistency is attested for other theonyms (see 1QHᵃ above and 4Q57 etc. below), and it is of paramount importance not to be trapped in circular reasoning.

Fortunately, it was actually wrong to believe that all fragments had been copied by the same scribe: a closer examination (see esp. ט) reveals that there are indeed two hands, which correspond to 4Q38 and 4Q38a. The former is slightly less developed, which explains why its palaeographical date range is a bit earlier.[46] But the two ranges overlap, of course, so that 4Q38 and 4Q38a may have been copied at the same time. As a matter of fact, they might even be part of the same scroll: evidence from the few well-preserved Dead Sea scrolls suggests that they may have been copied by several scribes (*e.g.* 11QTᵃ). Since both 4Q38 and 4Q38a preserve the Book of Deuteronomy, since their fragments do not overlap, and since they were penned around the same time, it is possible that they actually belonged to the same manuscript. If so, the inconsistent use of Palaeo-Hebrew for the tetragrammaton may simply be due to different scribal practices (see further 4Q171 below).

# 14  4Q57 (4QIsaᶜ)[47]

4Q57 was copied by a skilled, formal Herodian hand. Such developed scripts are traditionally dated to the mid-first century CE,[48] but radiocarbon dating could reveal that they appeared in the first century BCE.[49] I would thus not exclude a date at the turn of the era. In this manuscript, divine names and titles are regularly, but not systematically, written using the Palaeo-Hebrew script, as shown on **Table 1** below.

---

**46** The semicursive features and the absence of further development led me to suggest that 4Q38 was copied around the second half of the first century BCE; see Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," pp. 258–259.

**47** Patrick W. Skehan and Eugene C. Ulrich, "57. 4QIsaᶜ," in *Qumran Cave 4, X. The Prophets*, ed. by Frank Moore Cross, Russell E. Fuller, Judith E. Sanderson, Patrick W. Skehan, and Emanuel Tov, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XV, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, p. 45–74, pl. VII–XII.

**48** It is thus dated "from about the middle third of the first century CE" by Skehan and Ulrich, "4QIsaᶜ," p. 46.

**49** See 1Q35 above (esp. n. 13); see also 1QpHab.

**Table 1:** Theonyms in 4Q57 and their script

| Theonym | Palaeo-Hebrew script | Aramaic script | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| אדוני | 3× (9 i 25; 18–20 11; 63 2) | 2× (3–5 + 50 2; 9 ii + 11 + 12 i + 52 27) | 5× |
| אל | | 1× (27 35) | 1× |
| אלוהים | 3× (24 39; 33–35 + 55–57 10; 36–38 3) | 1× (44–47 16) | 4× |
| יהוה | 26× (1–2 + 49 11; 6 6; 8 2.6; 9 i 25; 9 ii + 11 + 12 i + 52 15.24.25.26.30.40; 13 8; 12 ii + 14–15 + 53 30.34; 21–22 1.4; 23 9; 24 36.38; 25–26 35.40; 36–38 2; 44–47 5.9; 62 1.2) | | 26× |
| צבאות | 2× (24 38; 62 1) | 1× (40 3) | 3× |

The table only lists occurrences that are sufficiently preserved for a relatively confident identification. The most common theonym is, by far, יהוה; all occurrences are written with the Palaeo-Hebrew script. The same cannot be said of other theonyms: not only are they less frequent, but they are usually attested in both scripts. What are the circumstances that may account for such phenomenon? One may think that the Palaeo-Hebrew script was used for other titles only when they immediately followed the tetragrammaton, but צבאות is attested in both scripts after יהוה. Moreover, אלוהים is found in Palaeo-Hebrew both with and without a preceding tetragrammaton. One may also wonder whether the Palaeo-Hebrew script indicates that the theonym is not to be pronounced, but this raises a similar issue; for instance, the syntagm [כו]ה אמר א[דוני יהוה] "[thu]s says the L[ord Yhwh]" (3–5 50 2 = Isa 10:24) uses the Aramaic script for אדוני, but the same syntagm [כוה א̊מר אדונ]י יהוה] "[thus ]says the Lor[d Yhwh]" (18–20 11 = Isa 30:15) uses the Palaeo-Hebrew script. It is difficult to explain why אדוני would be pronounced in the first case and not in the second—and if so, what would it be substituted by?

Another explanation would be to distinguish between various passages in the book of Isaiah, or between different scribes, or between multiple sources, as was already suggested above for 1QHᵃ. The first two options are unlikely here, unless two or more scribes with very similar hands were responsible for the copy of the scroll, which is possible but cannot be demonstrated. As for the existence of various sources, such an explanation is possible but would only confirm that the scribe did not feel the need to harmonize the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script, except perhaps for the tetragrammaton.

In the end, the simplest explanation is that such use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script began with the tetragrammaton and was later expanded to other the-

onyms. This expansion was perhaps only nascent when this manuscript was copied, or at least not sufficiently rooted in the scribal practices surrounding its copy to be generalized. As **Table 1** shows, other theonyms are much less common than יהוה, which may have slowed down a possible process of generalization. But such process remains uncertain: in two cases, אדוני or אלוהים may have immediately followed a Palaeo-Hebrew tetragrammaton (40 3; 44–47 16). If so (and this remains conjectural, since the tetragrammaton is lost in both cases), the scribe was already using the Palaeo-Hebrew script and could have been inclined to keep using it.

Overall, this manuscript documents both the tendency to expand the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script to other theonyms, and the lack of generalization of this practice. It is thus an important witness in the evolution of this phenomenon.

A corollary to the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script for common names is the occasional presence of a suffix, which is then written with the same script, as was already observed above in 1QHᵃ (see further 4Q243). Prefixes—such as conjunctions or prepositions—are likewise copied using the same script, as already seen on 4Q26b (4QLevᵍ), and unlike 4Q171 (see below). This increases the repertoire of Palaeo-Hebrew letters, as we will see now.

𐤀 is rather small. The diagonal is straight, and the upper parallel is almost as long. The lower parallel is short, does not protrude to the right, and sometimes slightly less slanted.[50] 𐤆 follows an angular ductus, with marked triangular head. The upper stroke protrudes to the right, which might indicate a further development, unless it is an occasional phenomenon (since this is the only head of 𐤆 preserved on this scroll). Such a protrusion seems to develop during the Hasmonaean period,[51] but the best parallels are found in coins from the first Judaean revolt.[52] The shaft is long, slightly slanted, and features an angular elbow followed by a long horizontal base.[53] 𐤋 likewise follows an angular ductus, with a narrow triangular head that's as long as the shaft.

𐤔 features three parallel strokes of equal length. The two lower strokes do not join at the end; on the contrary, they are sometimes curved downwards on

---

**50** See frag. 18-20 l. 11 on PAM 43.022, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284263.

**51** See *e.g.* Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 45. For a more developed form at the turn of the Herodian period, see *e.g.* McLean, "Palaeo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods" pl. 24 nº 3.

**52** Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 132.

**53** See frag.  12 ii + 14-15 + 53 l. 30 on the same photograph.

the left. This phenomenon probably develops the ductus attested *e.g.* on 6Q2 l. 2, where the lower strokes are more slanted than the upper.

The head of ℷ is usually quite angular, but sometimes a bit thicker and more rounded. The shaft is much thicker and slanted. ⟩ is more slanted and, on some occurrences at least, each stroke seems penned separately. The tail is raised, so that it is usually not parallel to the left strokes, though on occasion these are quite slanted. ⟨ features a tall and concave ascender, sometimes thickened at the top. The base is raised and thickened at its end, or even rounded, a phenomenon already observed in 1Q35 (see also 4Q258) and that will be much more developed in 4Q183 and 6Q18.

The descender of ⟩ is slanted and angled, to the extent that it is raised at the end and protrudes to the left. The same phenomenon occurs with ⟩, whose head is narrower and features a small horn. The ductus of ⟨⟨ differs from the usual accordion shape adopted by the scribes of the Dead Sea scrolls: the strokes are stacked on top of each other, like those of ⟨. The closest parallels are 4Q124 and 11Q1, but the ductus is much more pronounced here; elbows are more rounded, and the lower stroke barely protrudes to the right. This is not a new ductus, though, as it is already found on ostraca from the late Iron Age; its presence here confirms that it was not lost during the second half of the first millennium BCE, and that the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script retained its diversity.

The scribe used a dot to separate two words in frag. 9 col. i l. 25, but not in frag. 24 l. 38. This absence may be due to the fact that the scribe rarely has an opportunity to use such a dot, since his use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script is limited to theonyms. In such scrolls as 4Q45 and 4Q124, which are entirely copied in Palaeo-Hebrew, the use of separating dots has been abandoned.[54] In the case of 4Q57, the limited number of attestations precludes any firm conclusions but seems consistent with the evolution of scribal practices.

# 15  4Q161 (4QpIsa^a)[55]

The *editio princeps* does not discuss the script of this manuscript, but a quick look suffices to conclude that it was penned by a semi-formal Herodian hand, with a few developed features. It is very similar to that of 4Q171 (see below), but a few

---

**54** Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," p. 267.
**55** John Marco Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, pp. 11–15, pl. IV–V.

differences suggest that the manuscripts were copied by different scribes (compare *e.g.* ט). By comparison, the ductus of 4Q38a (see above) is more rounded and slightly less developed. In all likelihood, 4Q161 and 4Q171 were copied around the same time, after 4Q38a. On the basis of radiocarbon dating carried out on 4Q171 (see below), we may conclude that 4Q161 was probably copied around the mid-first century CE.

A single occurrence of יהוה, in frag. 8–10 l. 13, is written in the Palaeo-Hebrew script. A few lines below (l. 18), the theonym אל does not receive the same treatment. This was already the case for a possible fragmentary אדוני on frag. 2–4 l. 6. The few Palaeo-Hebrew letters preserved on the fragment[56] are much more angular than the Aramaic script, and they also differ from 4Q38a. Yet, the two scrolls exhibit similar hands with semi-cursive influences. This raises the question of scribal training: the scribes of 4Q38a and 4Q161 seem to have received a similar training when it comes to the Aramaic script, but not for the Palaeo-Hebrew one. The latter script may thus have been taught separately. On the other hand, there are affinities in the Palaeo-Hebrew script between 4Q161 and 4Q171, as well as between 4Q38a and 4Q171. It is thus possible that more samples of the script would document a better typological continuum.

The shaft of ◁ does not protrude at the bottom, but it is quite short and it is possible that other occurrences were taller. The upper stroke of ⇁ protrudes to the right, which is seldom attested among Dead Sea Scrolls (see *e.g.* 4Q45 frag. 5–6 l. 8) and may be accidental, unless it documents a typological development.

# 16  4Q165 (4QpIsa^e)?[57]

In his *editio princeps*, John Allegro does not ascribe a palaeographical dating to this manuscript, but suffice to say that it was penned by a formal hand traditionally ascribed to the Herodian period, with few developments.[58] 4Q165 may thus have been copied around the second half of the first century BCE or at the turn of the era.

---

**56** See esp. B-478051, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-478051.

**57** Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)*, pp. 28–30, pl. IX.

**58** My assessment is in line with that of Strugnell, who ascribed the manuscript to an "early Herodian" hand; see John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »," *Revue de Qumrân* 7/2 (26), 1970, p. 197.

The case of this manuscript is particular in this study, as there is no attestation of a Palaeo-Hebrew theonym. But it features a *vacat* in frag. 6 l. 4,[59] where one would expect the tetragrammaton according to Isa 32:6. John Allegro notes this omission, which, according to Tov,[60] may indicate that the tetragrammaton was supposed to be penned by another scribe. That the tetragrammaton was written by another scribe is so far unattested in this study (see further 11Q5), and it is quite unlikely that such an omission was not corrected. As evidenced by other Dead Sea Scrolls, the tetragrammaton was sometimes substituted by mere dots, which raises the issue of what, if anything, was actually pronounced in its stead; a *vacat* here may indicate that, at least in this case, nothing was actually pronounced.

# 17  4Q171 (4QpPsᵃ)

This manuscript was tested for radiocarbon dating; its uncalibrated age is 1944±23 BP.[61] I used the intCal 20.14c calibration dataset to produce calibrated dates:

---

**59** See esp. B-364600, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-364600.

**60** Tov, *Scribal Practices*, p. 240.

**61** Jull, Donahue, Broshi, and Toy, "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," p. 14.
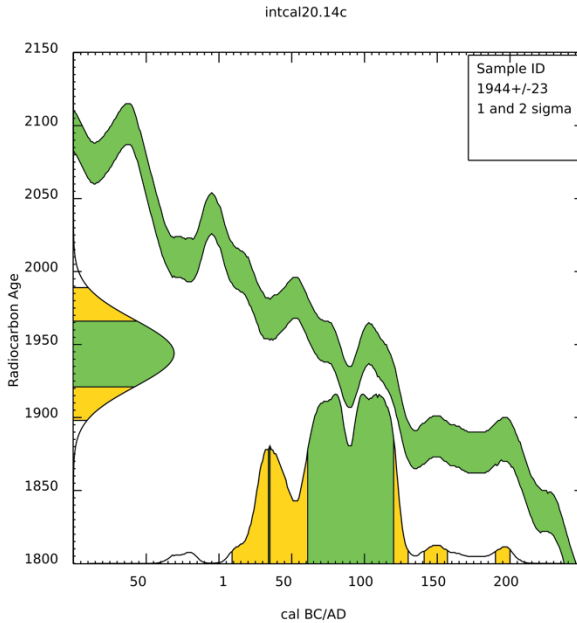
**Figure 4**: Calibrated radiocarbon dating of 4Q171 (4QpPsᵃ) using intCal 20.14c (uncalibrated date: 1944±23 BP)

The 1σ-calibrated ranges (68.3% confidence) are 34–36 CE and 61–121 CE, while the 2σ-calibrated ranges (95.4% confidence) are 9–131 CE, 141–158 CE, and 190–201 CE. In other words, 4Q171 was probably copied in the second half of the first century CE or early second century CE.

Up to seven occurrences of the Palaeo-Hebrew script may be observed, and they all preserve the tetragrammaton:[62] col. ii l. 4; l. 12;[63] l. 24; col. iii l. 14; l. 15;[64]

---

[62] See esp. PAM 42.628, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284039.

[63] This occurrence appears on a small fragment initially published as 4Q183 frag. 3, but later joined to 4Q171 col. ii l. 12; see esp. PAM 44.189, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285029. See discussion on 4Q180 below.

[64] For col. iii, see also B-513046, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-513046.

perhaps col. iv l. 7;[65] l. 10.[66] יהוה is attested once in the Aramaic script, but it is an interlinear addition by another hand (col. iii l. 5a). This confirms that such use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script was limited to certain scribes or scribal schools (see 4Q38a above).

Other theonyms do not receive the same treatment. אל is regularly used in the *pesher* (col. ii l. 14.18 etc.) and is never written in Palaeo-Hebrew. A fragmentary occurrence of אלוהים seems to be preserved in frag. 13 l. 3,[67] where it is part of a biblical quotation (Ps 60:8 or Ps 108:8); it is written in the Aramaic script.

In col. iii l. 14, 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄 is preceded by a preposition מ, which is not written in Palaeo-Hebrew. The scribe's practice is thus different from that of 4Q26b and 4Q57.

In terms of palaeography, 𐤄 exhibits strong beveling, with a thick shaft and thin horizontals. The upper stroke is barely slanted and protrudes to the right; the second and third are shorter but remain parallel; the lower stroke joins the shaft almost at the bottom, as was already observed in 4Q161.

𐤅 has a tall head, with a short and almost concave upper stroke; the shaft is, by contrast, quite short, though not as short as in 1QpHab. The ductus of 4Q161 is similar but more angular, with a slightly smaller head.

𐤉 is not beveled; the shaft is almost vertical; the tail is short, almost parallel to the left strokes, and usually joins the shaft above its lower end. This is perhaps the main difference with 4Q161, though the paucity of evidence precludes a precise comparison, especially since a similar tail may be observed on 4Q38a, whose Aramaic script is close to 4Q171. Despite their differences, these three scrolls may perhaps form a typological cluster.

# 18 4Q173a

This fragment was initially published by Allegro as 4Q173 (4QpPsᵇ) frag. 5.[68] In his review, Strugnell noted that the hand was different (and, according to him,

---

**65** See esp. B-506747, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-506747.

**66** See esp. B-506739, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-506739.

**67** See esp. PAM 43.421, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284454.

**68** Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)*, pp. 51–53, pl. XVIII.

later), and that this fragment was not necessarily a *pesher*.[69] Subsequent editions thus renamed this fragment 4Q173a,[70] though it often remains listed as 4Q173 frag. 5. From a palaeographical standpoint, the ductus is indeed quite different from that of the other four fragments.[71] 4Q173a was penned by a more developed formal hand at home in the first century CE, though radiocarbon dating suggests that such formal scripts may have existed in the first century BCE.[72]

Line 4 seems to quote Ps 118:20, but instead of 𝔐 ליהוה, one finds לאל. This particular variant reading seems so far unattested in other textual witnesses (including 𝔊, 𝔖, 𝔏 and 𝔗), but such substitutions are well known. For instance, Ps 53:3 has 𝔐 אלהים for 𝔐 יהוה in Ps 14:2. At Qumran, יהוה was corrected to אדוני in 1QIsª III 25 (Is 3:18), after אדוני was corrected to יהוה in the previous line (l. 24, Is 3:17). It is thus not surprising that a redactor substituted אל for יהוה, perhaps in a milieu where אל had become the most common theonym. This is for instance the case of Qumran *pesharim* such as 4Q171 above, where the commentary uses אל in reference to verses that use יהוה. In the case of 4Q173a, it is unclear whether l. 4 is a quotation of Ps 118:20 or a mere reference; nor do we know whether the tetragrammaton appeared elsewhere on the manuscript or was systematically substituted by אל (or another term).

Beyond this variant reading, the reason why this manuscript is included in the present study is its use of an alternate script for אל, as is the case *e.g.* for 4Q57 (see **Table 1**). Here, as well as in 4Q57 and 4Q26b, the prefixed preposition is also written in the alternate script. But the nature of the alternate script is different: it is not Palaeo-Hebrew, as elsewhere, and is so far unique. א looks like a slightly rotated looped א (or a fully rotated α) and resembles the א of the Cryptic A script. But ל is radically different from Cryptic A.[73] Its ascender is identical to others in the fragment (see especially two lines below), but its base lacks the usual hook, which is instead represented by a leftward horizontal stroke. Similar cases are

---

**69** Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »," pp. 219–220.

**70** See *e.g.* Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2nd ed., Leiden, Brill, 1999, pp. 350–351.

**71** See esp. PAM 41.817, where the five fragments are side by side. The photograph is available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-280235. For 4Q173a, see also B-359948, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-359948.

**72** See n. 13 above.

**73** See recently Émile Puech, "*4Q173a* : Note épigraphique," *Revue de Qumrân* 24/2 (94), 2009, p. 289. Puech talks about "Cryptic A letters" in plural, but acknowledges that ל exhibits "another form," which he does not attempt to explain.

documented in the Aramaic script, drawn without lifting the pen in a right-left, back-and-forth movement. The ductus attested here is more formal and symmetrical, with the left stroke perhaps penned after lifting the pen (see the first ל).

Overall, this script is unfamiliar to us but I would not consider it "cryptic" since the shapes of the letters do match the expected graphemes. It may simply be an unknown variant or evolution of the Aramaic script. In any case, I doubt that ancient readers would have trouble deciphering it. Its use here is not meant to puzzle readers, but to highlight the theonym's otherness.

# 19  4Q180 (4QAgesCreat A)[74]

The *editio princeps* does not date this manuscript, but a quick look suggests that it was penned by a skilled formal hand around the turn of the era. Strugnell ascribes it to the late Herodian period,[75] but I do not see typically late Herodian developments; there is therefore no need to push the copy far into the first century CE, though such a date is always possible of course.

A single occurrence of a divine name appears in this manuscript: אל in frag. 1 l. 1.[76] It is written in Palaeo-Hebrew, and does not occur in a biblical quotation; on the contrary, it is preceded by פשר. The same scribe wrote both the Aramaic and Palaeo-Hebrew graphemes, with the same pen, at the same time. א has a straight and very short diagonal; the left stroke protrudes to the right and forms the upper parallel. The lower parallel does not reach the ceiling line. ל has a tall, straight, thin ascender, barely thicker at the top. The base is very narrow, reduced to a simple elbow.

# 20  4Q183 (4Q Historical Work)[77]

In his *editio princeps*, John Allegro does not discuss the palaeography of this scroll. Strugnell qualifies the script as rustic semiformal, close to (but different

---

**74** Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)*, pp. 77–79, pl. XXVII.

**75** Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »," p. 252.

**76** See esp. B-295794, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295794.

**77** Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)*, pp. 81–82, pl. XXVI.

from) 4QpHos^b (4Q167).[78] 4Q183 was indeed penned by a skilled semiformal hand with few Herodian features, and would thus be at home around the second half of the first century BCE.

The main fragment exhibits a single occurrence of a divine name, אל (frag. 1 col. ii l. 3); it is written in Palaeo-Hebrew.[79] Two additional fragments have been associated to it, but the script seems quite different; Skehan and Strugnell already suggested that frag. 3 be joined to 4Q171 ii 12.[80] But frag. 2 should also be removed, as the final מ exhibits another ductus, and ש exhibits further development; furthermore, the fragment does not feature any dry ceiling line, as opposed to frag. 1. I will thus treat frag. 2 separately below.

Back to frag. 1: ⴽ features a short diagonal; the left stroke protrudes to the right and creates the upper parallel, while the lower parallel extends to the ceiling line, as in 1Q35 (1QH^b) discussed above. The shaft does not protrude at the bottom, for which see 6Q15 and perhaps 4Q413. ∕ is very tall and highly slanted; it features a wide base highly curled at the end, a phenomenon already observed in 1Q35 and 4Q57 but much more developed here.

## 21 4Q183 frag. 2

As explained above, palaeographical and codicological features suggest that this fragment might not belong to 4Q183. The few letters preserved on this fragment preclude a precise date, but the script is a bit later, perhaps around the turn of the era or in the first century CE. The tetragrammaton appears in l. 1, and it is written in Palaeo-Hebrew.[81] ⴽ is broken at the margin; ⴽ exhibits an interesting ductus: the shaft is short, but prolonged at the bottom by the lower parallel stroke, which is angled at the right. The middle parallel stroke is slightly curved downward at the end, though not like 4Q57. The upper stroke protrudes to the right and reaches above the previous letter, for which see 11Q2. ⴽ is quite unusual, with a very wide head composed of a simple slanted stroke; the shaft is then

**78** Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »," p. 256.

**79** See esp. B-358519, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358519.

**80** Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »," pp. 259, 263. See discussion on 4Q180 above.

**81** See esp. B-358521, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358521.

crossed by a small parallel stroke. The ductus itself is not new, as it is already attested in the late Iron age,[82] but it is less common among Palaeo-Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls (see *e.g.* 11Q1). It is on the contrary quite common at Mount Gerizim (see *e.g.* inscriptions no. 385, 386, 388)[83] as well as coins from the first Judaean revolt;[84] by the time of Bar-Kokhva, the ductus has undergone further development.[85] But the form attested here, with such a wide head, is so far unparalleled. If not accidental, it may be indicative of a hitherto unknown typological development around the turn of the era or during the first century CE.

# 22  4Q243 (4QpsDanᵃ ar)[86]

According to the *editio princeps*, this manuscript was copied in the early first century CE. This date is possible, but too narrow, as the script is semiformal and exhibits few Herodian developments. It could as well have been penned in the latter part of the first century BCE. For this reason, I suggest a broader ranger around the turn of the era.

This is the only Aramaic scroll evidencing the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script for a theonym. In frag. 1 l. 2, אלה is written in Palaeo-Hebrew;[87] this is the only occurrence of a divine name or title in that manuscript. It is followed by a pronominal suffix, which is also written in Palaeo-Hebrew, as in 1QHᵃ and 4Q57.

 follows a common ductus. The shaft is short, straight, and slanted. The two right strokes are straight and parallel; the upper stroke is thicker at the end because of the movement of the hand towards the left as the scribe lifts the pen.

---

**82** See *e.g.* Gordon J. Hamilton, "Paleo-Hebrew Texts and Scripts of the Persian Period," in *"An Eye for Form": Epigraphic Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, ed. by Jo Ann Hackett and Walter Emanuel Aufrecht, Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns, 2014, p. 256.

**83** Yitzhak Magen, Haggai Misgav, and Levana Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations Volume I: The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions*, Judea and Samaria Publications 2, Jerusalem, Staff Officer of Archaeology, Civil Administration for Judea and Samaria, 2004, pp. 255–258.

**84** See *e.g.* Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 132.

**85** See *e.g.* Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 163.

**86** John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, "243. 4Qpseudo-Danielᵃ Ar," in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. by George Brooke et al., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXII, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 97–121, pl. VII–VIII.

**87** See esp. B-366133, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-366133.

⟆ has a slightly slanted shaft which, in the first occurrence, is curved backwards at the bottom. The upper parallel protrudes to the right; the lower two parallels are shorter, of equal length, and tend to join.

⟋ features a chevron-shaped head, thus following a cursive ductus that evolved from the traditional two-step head.[88] The *editio princeps* refers to Milik's comment that the shape is Samaritan.[89] But this is usually not the case of the later Samaritan script, to which Milik must have been alluding, since the Mount Gerizim inscriptions had not yet been published; as a matter of fact, even these inscriptions do not feature such ductus for ⟋.[90] What is even more puzzling is Emanuel Tov's statement that the כ is not written in the Palaeo-Hebrew script, "which may point to the scribe's ignorance of some paleo-Hebrew letters." This is simply not the case: not only is this scribe's Aramaic כ markedly different (cp. *e.g.* frag. 3 l. 2),[91] but the cursive ductus of this ⟋ is attested elsewhere at Qumran, especially in 11Q1 (see also, to a lesser extent, 1Q3).

⟋ has a straight ascender, slightly curved at the top; the base is short and rounded at the end, for which see 1Q35, 4Q57, 4Q183, 4Q258 and 6Q18.

# 23 4Q258 (4QS^d)[92]

4Q258 has been tested for radiocarbon dating. The uncalibrated age was 1823±24 BP,[93] that is, second or third century CE, which was deemed anomalous and probably due to a contaminated sample. A second, cleaner sample was thus tested and yielded an uncalibrated age of 1964±45 BP. Here are the calibrated dates using the intCal 20.14c calibration dataset:

**88** Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," p. 268.

**89** Collins and Flint, "4Q243," p. 98.

**90** Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations Vol. I*, pp. 254–259.

**91** See esp. B-366127, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-366127.

**92** Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, "258. 4QSerekh Ha-Yaḥad^d," in *Qumran Cave 4. XIX Serekh h-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVI, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 83–128, pl. X–XIII.

**93** Jull, Donahue, Broshi, and Toy, "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," pp. 13–14.
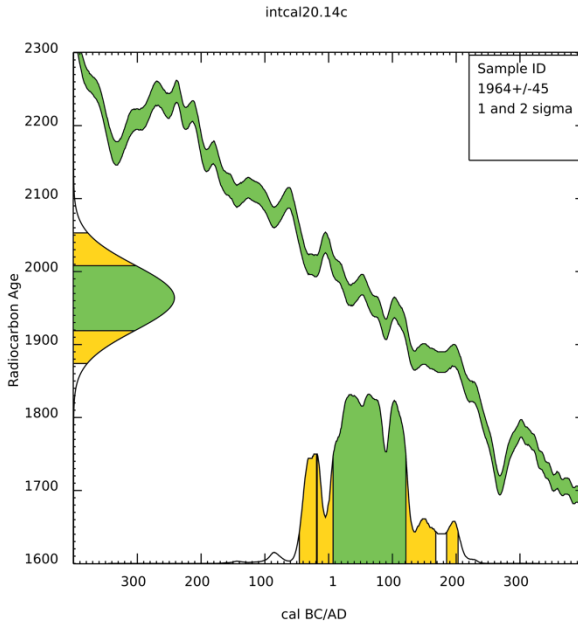
intcal20.14c



**Figure 5**: Calibrated radiocarbon dating of 4Q258 (4QS^d) using intCal 20.14c (uncalibrated date: 1964±45 BP)

The 1σ-calibrated ranges (68.3% confidence) are 19–18 BCE and 7–121 CE. The 2σ-calibrated ranges (95.4% confidence) are 46 BCE–169 CE and 185–203 CE. In other words, 4Q258 was probably copied between the late first century BCE and the early second century CE. From a palaeographical perspective, the script features few Herodian developments and would traditionally be ascribed to the late first century BCE.[94] This date fits the 1σ-calibrated range but, as the curve suggests, a later date is possible.

The only theonym used in this manuscript is אל; it occurs twice (col. VIII l. 9[95] and col. IX l. 8[96]), and is written in Palaeo-Hebrew, which is not the case *e.g.* in 1QS. The script is confident and elegant, with strong beveling. א has a thick,

---

**94** The *DJD* editors thus follow Cross's dating "ca. 30–1 BCE"; see Alexander and Vermes, "4Q258," p. 89.
**95** See esp. B-499632, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499632.
**96** See esp. B-511753, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-511753.

slightly slanted shaft, crossed by a (sometimes very) thin diagonal. The lower parallel does not protrude to the right in order to reach the visible dry ceiling line. $\ell$ is slightly concave, barely thickened at the top, and has a slanted base curved at the end (compare 1Q35, 4Q57, 4Q183, 4Q243 and 6Q18).

## 24  4Q267 (4QD[b])[97]

This manuscript was radiocarbon dated to 2094±29 BP.[98] Here are the calibrated dates using the intCal 20.14c calibration dataset:
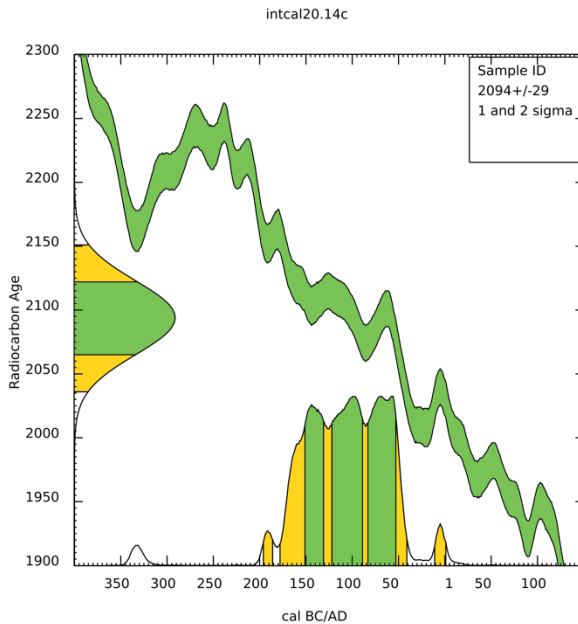
**Figure 6**: Calibrated radiocarbon dating of 4Q267 (4QD[b]) using intCal 20.14c (uncalibrated date: 2094±29 BP)

---

**97** Joseph M. Baumgarten, "267. 4QDamascus Document[b]," in *Qumran Cave 4. XIII The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 95–113, pl. XVIII–XXI.
**98** Jull, Donahue, Broshi, and Toy, "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," p. 14.

The 1σ-calibrated ranges (68.3% confidence) are 151–130 BCE, 122–88 BCE, and 83–52 BCE. The 2σ-calibrated range (95.4% confidence) are 196–185 BCE, 177–40 BCE, and 10 BCE–1 CE. In other words, this manuscript was probably copied between the second century BCE and the mid-first century BCE. From a palaeographical perspective, 4Q267 was copied by a skilled semiformal hand traditionally ascribed to the early Herodian period.[99] Unless there was a problem with the sample, or unless the calibration curve needs to be adjusted, it seems that features traditionally deemed Herodian were in fact attested earlier,[100] for instance in the first half of the first century BCE.

Palaeo-Hebrew אל is attested four times: in frag. 3 l. 7;[101] frag. 9 col. i l. 2.;[102] col. iv l. 4;[103] col. v l. 4.[104] But the same theonym is written six times in the Aramaic script: in frag. 2 l. 5.7.13; frag. 7 l. 6; frag. 9 col. iv l. 11. Such inconsistency was already observed in 4Q57 (see **Table 1**) and will be noted again in 6Q15. The ductus is difficult to characterize, as most of the occurrences are damaged. ‭ is best preserved in frag. 9 col. i l. 2, where it features a curved shaft that does not protrude to the top. The length and curvature of the shaft is not new (compare *e.g.* 1Q3), but its position is reminiscent of Mount Gerizim inscription no. 387 and 11Q1.[105] The lower parallel does not protrude to the right so as to reach the ceiling line. ‭ is highly slanted yet very tall, to the point that it reaches up to the previous line. It is markedly thicker at the top. By contrast, the base is narrow, short, and barely (if at all) thickened at the end. The fact that ‭ is written above ‭ is further evidence that the scribe is familiar with the script and its use on scrolls, rather than borrowing it from coins or seals.

---

**99** Baumgarten, "4Q267," p. 96.

**100** See n. 13.

**101** See esp. B-358107, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358107.

**102** See esp. B-358135, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358135.

**103** See esp. B-358131, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358131.

**104** See esp. B-358139, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358139.

**105** See discussion in Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," p. 273.

# 25 4Q268 (4QDᶜ)[106]

The *editio princeps* features a detailed palaeographical discussion concluding that "the handwriting should be dated to the early first century CE."[107] The characterization and dating offered for this skilled book hand are correct, though I would be more careful and date it around the turn of the era.

A single occurrence of a divine name or title occurs: אל, in frag. 1 l. 9; it is written in Palaeo-Hebrew. The paucity of evidence precludes any conclusion as to the script used for other occurrences of this and other theonyms in the same scroll. As a matter of fact, this unique attestation of אל is preserved on a small unnumbered fragment that the editor located towards the end of the column, without physical joint to the main fragment.[108]

א features a short, straight diagonal, joined at mid-height by the left stroke. This stroke is long and does not protrude to the right, or at least not in a straight way: the upper right parallel is located higher, and it is possible that the two strokes were drawn in one stage, without lifting the pen, through a double bend.

ל has a straight ascender of moderate inclination and length. It is gradually thickened at the top in the same way as the Aramaic ל (see *e.g.* the following line), which suggests that the same scribe was familiar with both scripts. The base is narrow and rounded, as in 4Q22 and other scrolls from the first century BCE onwards.

# 26 4Q406 (4QShirShabbᵍ)[109]

The *editio princeps* does not discuss the palaeography of this manuscript due to its fragmentary and damaged condition. It was penned by a skilled formal hand

---

**106** Joseph M. Baumgarten, "268. 4QDamascus Documentᶜ," in *Qumran Cave 4. XIII The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 115–121, pl. XXII.
**107** Baumgarten, "4Q268," p. 118.
**108** See esp. B-361423, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-361423.
**109** Carol A. Newsom, "406. 4QShirot ʿOlat HaShabbatᵍ," in *Qumran Cave 4. VI Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*, ed. by Esther Eshel, Hanan Eshel, Carol A. Newsom, Bilhah Nitzan, Eileen M. Schuller, and Ada Yardeni, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XI, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 395–398, pl. XXXI.

but, beyond these global observations, it is difficult to identify typological markers. The scroll was certainly copied in the first centuries BCE and CE, and there may be Herodian features favoring the turn of the era or the first century CE. Unfortunately, the lack of evidence precludes a more specific dating. For now, suffice to say that 4Q406 was probably copied around the turn of the era.

Two occurrences of the Palaeo-Hebrew script have been preserved: אלוהים in frag. 1 l. 2,[110] and, in a broken context, ל in frag. 3 l. 2.[111] There is no other occurrence of a theonym on this very fragmentary manuscript; it is thus not possible to make any statement as to the extent of this practice. Other copies of Shirot ʿOlat HaShabbat do not feature Palaeo-Hebrew.

א seems to follow a common ductus; the shaft slightly protrudes at the bottom, and perhaps also at the top, whereas the upper parallel does not appear to protrude to the right. ו features a long upper stroke heading a vertical shaft. The shaft is off-center, located beneath the right end of the upper stroke, as in 11Q1 or Mount Gerizim inscriptions except that the upper stroke is here much longer. ה features a thick shaft and two short left parallel strokes; on the right, a trace of ink seems to prolong the lower parallel stroke, but there does not seem to be a tail. Such cursive ductus is well known from Hebrew ostraca, but it is quite uncommon among Dead Sea scrolls. Another explanation is that what appears to be the protrusion of the lower stroke would actually be the end of an almost vertical tail; but I am not sure that this ductus would be more likely.

ל has a straight, slanted ascender, perhaps a bit thicker at the top. The base is either short or written above the א that precedes, whose traces are visible. מ features a vertical descender angled at the bottom and followed by a wide, almost horizontal base. The best parallel for such a descender is 4Q124 and, to a lesser extent, 4Q22. It becomes standard in coins from the first and second Judaean revolts[112] as well as the Samaritan script.[113]

---

**110** See esp. PAM 42.748, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284161. The fragment has since degraded, cp. B-358697, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358697.

**111** See esp. B-358701, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-358701.

**112** See *e.g.* Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, pp. 132, 163.

**113** See *e.g.* McLean, "Palaeo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," pl. 8.

# 27  4Q413 (4Q Composition concerning Divine Providence)[114]

According to the *editio princeps*, the two fragments that preserve 4Q413 have been copied by a Herodian hand. The smaller fragment exhibits material and palaeographical features that differ from the larger one[115] and may actually belong to another scroll, but this is without consequence for our study, as the two occurrences of a divine name are preserved on the larger fragment. The scribe struggled to write on the rough surface and produced an inelegant script in spite of a rather consistent ductus.[116] Several Herodian features may be observed and point to a copy around the turn of the era, preferably in the first century CE, though a date in the first century BCE cannot be excluded.

As mentioned above, two occurrences of a theonym are preserved on this scroll: אל in ll. 2 and 4. Both use the Palaeo-Hebrew script, but it is uncertain whether this practice extended to the entire scroll or to other divine names or titles.

The shaft of ⤚ does not seem to protrude at the top or at the bottom, but it is damaged and may have been a bit longer; the best parallel is 4Q183. ⟋ has a narrow base and, more importantly, is barely slanted, which is quite unusual among Dead Sea scrolls but paralleled on coins from the first and second Judaean revolts;[117] this might be indicative of a late development, for which see further 6Q15 below.

---

**114** Elisha Qimron, "413. 4QComposition Concerning Divine Providence," in *Qumran Cave 4. XV Sapiential Texts, Part 1*, ed. by Torleif Elgvin, Menahem Kister, Timothy H. Lim, Bilhah Nitzan, Stephen J. Pfann, Elisha Qimron, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Annette Steudel, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XX, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, p. 169–171, pl. XIV.

**115** Compare *e.g.* B-294960 and B-294961, respectively available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-294960 and https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-294961.

**116** See esp. B-295504, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295504.

**117** See *e.g.* Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, pp. 132, 163.

# 28  6Q15 (6QD)[118]

In his *editio princeps*, Maurice Baillet indicates that this manuscript was copied during the first century CE. There are, indeed, Herodian features at home in the first century CE, but the script is semiformal and could therefore go back to the first century BCE. I would thus advise caution and simply state that 6Q15 was copied around the turn of the era.

Three occurrences of a theonym are preserved on this manuscript: אל in frag. 3 ll. 4–5, and in frag. 5 l. 5. The first two occurrences use the Palaeo-Hebrew script, but not the third. Such inconsistency was already observed in 1QHᵃ, 4Q57 and 4Q267, the latter being another copy of the Damascus Document.

ℸ has a short shaft that barely protrudes at the bottom,[119] which is reminiscent of 4Q183 and 4Q413. Unlike 4Q183, however, the lower parallel does not extend to the ceiling line. ∠ exhibits a very unusual ductus: the ascender is straight, vertical, or even slightly slanted leftward at the top. The phenomenon observed on 4Q413 is even more pronounced here, and finds good parallels on Bar-Kokhva coins.[120] The base is straight, raised, and long; since the ascender is quite short, the base is almost as long, which is quite unusual and once again reminiscent of coins.

# 29  6Q18 (6Q papHymn)[121]

According to the *editio princeps*, this manuscript exhibits a very stylized Herodian calligraphy. Cursive influence may indeed be observed throughout the script, which complicates dating; but since there are few typically "late Herodian" features, the manuscript fits the early Herodian period. 6Q18 may thus have been copied around the turn of the era.

---

**118** Maurice Baillet, "15. Document de Damas," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, ed. by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 128–131, pl. XXVI.

**119** See esp. B-482262, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-482262.

**120** Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, p. 163.

**121** Maurice Baillet, "18. Composition hymnique," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*, ed. by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1962, p. 133–136, pl. XXVII.

Up to three occurrences of a theonym are preserved on these fragments: אל, in frag. 6 l. 5; frag. 8 l. 1; and probably frag. 10 l. 3. All of them use the Palaeo-Hebrew script.[122] ✔ features two long parallel strokes curved at the top; the lower parallel may extend to reach the ceiling line, though the upper parallel seems to cross it. The lower parallel crosses the shaft so as to create the left stroke, which is quite unusual and without close parallels; it might be an idiosyncratic feature or indicative of a typological development.

∕ is tall, moderately slanted, and features a curved base, for which see 4Q183, though the latter features a wide base; see also 4Q57 for a narrower but less rounded base.

# 30  11Q2 (11QLev[b])[123]

According to the *editio princeps*, the manuscript was copied by a "late Herodian formal bookhand (*c.* 50 CE)."[124] The hand indeed exhibits features traditionally associated with the late Herodian period but, as signaled above (see n. 13), these features may have appeared earlier than previously thought. Bearing this uncertainty in mind, I suggest that 11Q2 was copied around the first half of the first century CE, with an emphasis on "around."

Three occurrences of a theonym are preserved on this manuscript: יהוה in frag. 2 ll. 2.6.7, all written in Palaeo-Hebrew.[125] Compared to the Aramaic script, letters have the same size and strokes have the same thickness, but they lack ornamentation; the same scribe wrote both scripts but Palaeo-Hebrew had apparently not undergone the same evolution as the Aramaic script, and the elegant beveling attested in ostraca and some of the Dead Sea scrolls has disappeared.

◄ features three long parallel strokes with little room between them; the upper stroke protrudes to the right to the point of covering the previous letter. This is reminiscent of 4Q183 frag. 2, though in the latter the parallel strokes are shorter, and the third one prolongs the shaft.

---

**122** See esp. PAM 42.947, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284845.

**123** Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam Simon van der Woude, "2. 11QLeviticus[b]," in *Qumran Cave 11. II 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXIII, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 1–9, pl. I.

**124** García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11Q2," p. 2.

**125** See esp. B-364446, available at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-364446.

א is different from 4Q183 frag. 2 and follows a common ductus; the head is slanted and probably followed by the shaft without lifting the pen, the diagonal stroke being added later. Compared to 11Q1, the diagonal starts here before the shaft, whereas there it does not protrude to the right. Another interesting feature of the present script is the small tick at the bottom of the shaft: while 4Q184 frag. 2 and other hands tend to curve the shaft at the bottom towards the next letter, in 11Q2 this phenomenon has developed into a short foot. The second occurrence (at the end of l. 6) is almost completely erased but may have featured an even larger foot.

ת has, like א, long parallel strokes of equal length with little room between them. The tail is a bit shorter and almost parallel. The shaft does not protrude and is thus quite short; it is slightly slanted leftward at the bottom.

# 31  11Q5 (11QPsᵃ)¹²⁶

In his *editio princeps*, James Sanders concludes that the manuscript may be assigned to "the first half of the first century AD."¹²⁷ I agree with him, albeit with the same reservations I expressed above (see n. 13).

This long manuscript preserves numerous occurrences of אל, אלוהים, יהוה, and אדוני. The pattern is consistent: יהוה is always written in Palaeo-Hebrew, and is the only theonym to receive this treatment. Prefixes are not written in Palaeo-Hebrew: ב in col. IV l. 3; col. XVI ll. 4–5; כ in col. XIV l. 13; ל in frag. E col. i l. 5, col. iii l. 8, col. XV l. 6, col. XVI l. 1.6, מ in col. II l. 2.

Palaeo-Hebrew letters are sometimes larger and thicker than the Aramaic script, and they may exhibit wider letter spacing. This could suggest the use of another calamus. Another piece of evidence may be added: in the middle of col. III l. 4, the scroll has a *vacat* where 𝔐 has יהוה (see also 𝔊, 𝔖, 𝔖, 𝔏), and it is difficult to interpret this *vacat* as the end of a sentence. It could be an omission on the part of the scribe who was supposed to copy the tetragrammaton in Palaeo-Hebrew (see already 4Q165). On the other hand, other *vacat*s appear elsewhere in the same scroll (*e.g.* col. VIII l. 3) that do not seem to indicate the end of

---

**126** James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11Psᵃ)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan IV, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965; Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam Simon van der Woude, "5. 11QPsalmsᵃ, Fragments E, F," in *Qumran Cave 11. II 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXIII, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998, p. 29–36, pl. IV–V.
**127** Sanders, *11QPsᵃ*, p. 9.

a sentence or the omission of the tetragrammaton. They might, however, be explained by a defect in the parchment that the scribe wanted to avoid (*e.g.* col. XX ll. 3.8); this complicates the assessment of the present issue. In any case, it is possible that another calamus was used for Palaeo-Hebrew; if so, there is no need to suppose that someone else wrote the tetragrammaton (though this is possible of course), as the scribe probably did not want to switch too often between calami. He may have copied a few lines, or an entire column, or perhaps even the entire scroll, before switching to another calamus and writing the tetragrammaton.

In terms of palaeography, the ductus is quite common. ⸲ features a thick slanted shaft and three thin parallel strokes, of equal length, parallel and straight. The upper parallel crosses the shaft slightly below its top and protrudes to the right so as to reach the ceiling line. ⸲ has a zigzagged angular head with two parallel strokes of equal length; the shaft is penned in the middle and extends slightly below adjacent letters. ⸲ is very thin; the two parallel strokes are of varying distance and length, as is the tail, which is usually straight but sometimes slightly convex at the end. Overall, the hand is skilled, formal and elegant, as is the Aramaic script.

# 32 Analysis

After having individually studied all of the Dead Sea scrolls that document the use of an alternate script for divine names and titles, let us analyze this phenomenon.

## 32.1 Chronological Distribution

The first approach is chronological: When is this phenomenon attested? The dates ascribed to the *ca.* 30 Dead Sea scrolls are indicated in **Table 2**.

**Table 2:** Chronological list of Dead Sea scrolls that use an alternate script for theonyms

| Timeline | Manuscripts |
|---|---|
| *ca.* 1st c. BCE | 4Q267 (4QD[b]) |
| | 1Q15 (1QpZeph) |
| | 1QpHab |
| | 1Q11 (1QPs[b]) |
| | 2Q3 (2QExod[b]) |
| *ca.* mid-1st c. BCE | 1Q27 (1QMyst) |
| | 4Q165 (4QpIsa[e]) |

| | |
|---|---|
| | 4Q183 (4Q Historical Work) |
| *ca.* turn of era | 4Q258 (4QS$^d$) |
| | 1Q14 (1QpMic) |
| | 3Q3 (3QLam) |
| | 4Q26b (4QLev$^g$) |
| | 4Q38a (4QDeut$^{k2}$) |
| | 4Q180 (4QAgesCreat A) |
| | 4Q243 (4QpsDan$^a$ ar) |
| | 4Q268 (4QD$^c$) |
| | 4Q406 (4QShirShabb$^g$) |
| | 6Q15 (6QD) |
| | 6Q18 (6Q papHymn) |
| *ca.* 1$^{st}$ c. CE | 1Q35 (1QH$^b$) |
| | 4Q20 (4QExod$^j$) |
| | 4Q57 (4QIsa$^c$) |
| | 4Q183 frag. 2 |
| | 4Q413 (4Q Composition concerning Divine Providence) |
| | 11Q2 (11QLev$^b$) |
| | 11Q5 (11QPs$^a$) |
| | 4Q161 (4QpIsa$^a$) |
| | 4Q173a |
| | 1QH$^a$ |
| | 4Q171 (4QpPs$^a$) |
| Unknown | 3Q14 frag. 18 |

The earliest manuscript to document this practice is 4Q267 (4QD$^b$), which was radiocarbon-dated between the second century BCE and the mid-first century BCE. The script strongly favors the latter part of that range, that is, the first century BCE. At that time, the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script to copy entire scrolls is very limited.[128] Around the second century BCE, the scribes of the Dead Sea scrolls have progressively adopted the Aramaic script for Hebrew texts, so that by the first century BCE the Palaeo-Hebrew script could be viewed as an unusual script on such manuscripts—at least in the milieus that produced the Dead Sea scrolls.

This does not mean, however, that they—or other Judaean readers—were unfamiliar with that script, as it is well attested in Judaea and continues to evolve, which is a sign of vitality. The fact that one scroll (4Q173a) uses another alternate script does not imply that the Palaeo-Hebrew script was no longer known at that time; the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script for theonyms is attested throughout the

---

**128** Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," p. 277.

Herodian period, until such scrolls as 1QHᵃ and 4Q171 (4QpPsᵃ), which have been radiocarbon-dated to the first century CE or the early second century CE.

## 32.2 Geographical Distribution

In terms of geographical distribution, this practice is documented only at Qumran. I should emphasize that the present study does not include Greek scrolls, which do document a similar practice, both among Dead Sea scrolls—with 8Ḥev1 (8ḤevXII gr)—and in Egypt. But as far as Hebrew scrolls are concerned, there is no evidence that this practice was attested at Masada or Wadi Murabbaʿat for instance. The lack of evidence does not necessarily imply that this phenomenon was limited to Qumran: it is attested by *ca.* 30 scrolls only, which represents quite a small proportion of all Qumran scrolls from that period. As a matter of fact, if the same proportion is applied to literary Hebrew scrolls of the same period from other find sites, we should not expect any scroll to exhibit the same practice. I do not believe, therefore, that this practice was limited to Qumran. As mentioned above, it is evidenced by Egyptian Greek manuscripts and was thus a widespread phenomenon.

If we focus on the Qumran caves, it is noteworthy that the practice is not only attested in cave 4Q, but in 1Q, 2Q, 3Q, 6Q and 11Q as well. That is, in all of the caves where one could reasonably expect some kind of evidence. The proportion seems actually quite high in cave 1Q, which contained only a few dozen scrolls (the exact figure being difficult to determine given the number of unidentified fragments) and yet contained seven scrolls with Palaeo-Hebrew script for a theonym.

## 32.3 Scribal Training

Palaeographical analysis suggests that Palaeo-Hebrew letters were penned by the same scribe, with the same calamus and ink, at the same time as the rest of the text. In 1QpHab, the scribe seems less skilled when writing Palaeo-Hebrew, but there is no evidence that Palaeo-Hebrew letters were added at a later stage. The two possible exceptions are 4Q165 and 11Q5, where the tetragrammaton may have been added later. But this does not mean that the scribe did not know how to write Palaeo-Hebrew, contrary to what Tov suggested on the basis of what he thought was an Aramaic כ (instead of a Palaeo-Hebrew 𐤑) in 4Q243. In 11Q5,

there is no evidence that another scribe wrote the Palaeo-Hebrew letters, but rather that he used another calamus. This may also account for the *vacat* in 4Q165, though it may have been left blank on purpose.

## 32.4 Theonyms

This raises the question of the pronunciation of the Palaeo-Hebrew letters. Since the script was well known, the purpose was not to puzzle readers and keep them from understanding the text. It was not a cryptic script—even in the case of 4Q173a, which uses another alternate script. Readers knew what the text said and could easily read it. Was the text supposed to be substituted by another title? This could be the case in scrolls that restrict this practice to the tetragrammaton, which could then be pronounced אדוני as in 1QIsᵃ. But what about scrolls that extend this practice to other theonyms? In later rabbinical Judaism, even אדוני becomes ineffable and is replaced by השם or שמא. But what about אלוהים, אל, and צבאות? Were they all replaced by some title? In which case, was it the same for all of them, or did each divine name receive its own substitute? What about pronominal suffixes: Were they added to the substitute, or simply ignored? To answer this question, let us look at the extent of this practice. The various theonyms written with an alternate script are listed, together with the manuscripts that attest this practice, in **Table 3**.

**Table 3:** Occurrences of theonyms written with an alternate script[129]

| Manuscript | אדוני | אל | אלה | אלוהים | יהוה | צבאות |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1Q11 (1QPsᵇ) | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | ? |
| 1Q14 (1QpMic) | ? | 1 | ? | ? | 2 | ? |
| 1Q15 (1QpZeph) | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | ? |
| 1Q27 (1QMyst) | ? | 1 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 1Q35 (1QHᵇ) | ? | 1 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 1QHᵃ | 0 | 3/N | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 1QpHab | ? | 0 | ? | ? | 4 | 0 |
| 2Q3 (2QExodᵇ) | ? | ? | ? | ? | 2 | ? |

---

**129** In this table, "?" indicates lack of evidence for the theonym in the manuscript, whereas "/" precedes the total occurrences of the theonym in the manuscript; "N" stands for "numerous" occurrences.

| Manuscript | אדוני | אל | אלה | אלוהים | יהוה | צבאות |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3Q3 (3QLam) | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | ? |
| 3Q14 frag. 18 | ? | 1 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 4Q20 (4QExodʲ) | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | ? |
| 4Q26b (4QLevᵍ) | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1/2 | ? |
| 4Q38a (4QDeutᵏ²) | ? | ? | ? | 0 | 1 | ? |
| 4Q57 (4QIsaᶜ) | 3/5 | 0/1 | ? | 3/4 | 26 | 2/3 |
| 4Q161 (4QpIsaᵃ) | 0 | 0 | ? | ? | 1 | ? |
| 4Q165 (4QpIsaᵉ) | ? | ? | ? | ? | *vacat* | ? |
| 4Q171 (4QpPsᵃ) | ? | 0 | ? | 0 | 7 | ? |
| 4Q173a | ? | 1 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 4Q180 (4QAgesCreat A) | ? | 1 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 4Q183 (4Q Historical Work) | ? | 1 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 4Q183 frag. 2 | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | ? |
| 4Q243 (4QpsDanᵃ ar) | ? | ? | 1 | ? | ? | ? |
| 4Q258 (4QSᵈ) | ? | 2 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 4Q267 (4QDᵇ) | ? | 4/6 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 4Q268 (4QDᶜ) | ? | 1 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 4Q406 (4QShirShabbᵍ) | ? | ? | ? | 2 | ? | ? |
| 4Q413 (4Q Composition concerning Divine Providence) | ? | 2 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 6Q15 (6QD) | ? | 2/3 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 6Q18 (6Q papHymn) | ? | 3 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 11Q2 (11QLevᵇ) | ? | ? | ? | ? | 3 | ? |
| 11Q5 (11QPsᵃ) | 0 | 0 | ? | 0 | N | ? |

| Number of manuscripts that: | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. Always use alt. script | 0 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 14 | 0 |
| b. Sometimes use alt. script | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| c. Never use alt. script | 3 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| d. May or may not use alt. script | 27 | 12 | 30 | 26 | 16 | 29 |

As the table indicates, the most "popular" theonym is יהוה (15 mss), followed closely by אל (14 mss). However, no scroll seems to use the Palaeo-Hebrew script

for other theonyms while not already using it for יהוה, which is not the case for אל. In other words, if a scribe is going to use an alternate script for theonyms, he will first of all use it for יהוה and, possibly, for other divine names or titles, in which case אל is the most likely candidate. This is also confirmed by the number of scrolls in which the practice is mixed: 1 out of 15 for יהוה and 3 out of 14 for אל. The proportion is very low for the tetragrammaton, and quite low for אל. The only theonym that exhibits a lower proportion is Aramaic אלה, with 0 out of 1; but this Palaeo-Hebrew theonym is attested in a single, very fragmentary scroll (4Q243), so that the statistics might not reflect the actual practice.

Other theonyms are far behind יהוה and אל. The use of Palaeo-Hebrew is rare, often mixed, and often countered by the number of scrolls that verifiably do not share this practice. It is also possible that the practice extended to these other theonyms at a later stage: 4Q406 is difficult to date, given its damaged state, but 4Q57 would be more at home in the first century CE. However, the limited number of scrolls that document this extended practice precludes any firm conclusion; without the testimony of 4Q406, one might actually think that this phenomenon was idiosyncratic to 4Q57. On the other hand, a vast majority of scrolls simply have no attestation of these theonyms, in any script. It is thus possible that this practice was actually more popular than what one may believe based on the few occurrences preserved on these fragments.

When the practice extends to theonyms other than יהוה, which are common nouns susceptible of receiving pronominal suffixes, these suffixes are always written in Palaeo-Hebrew (see 1QHᵃ, 4Q57 and 4Q243). The situation is a bit more complex with prefixes: they are written in Palaeo-Hebrew in three manuscripts (4Q26b, 4Q57, 4Q173a) but the opposite is true in two manuscripts (4Q171 and 11Q5). The other 26 manuscripts simply have no occurrence of such prefix. This practice is thus largely uncertain, but it is at least documented in the Herodian period. The presence of a Palaeo-Hebrew prefix suggests that the alternate script is not meant to indicate a substitution, for there is no reason to replace a preposition by another one. Likewise, if a theonym is not to be pronounced at all, the text is easily understood with a gap in pronunciation, but less so if the preceding preposition is not pronounced either. Alternatively, Palaeo-Hebrew letters may have indicated another accent, but evidence is again lacking. In the end, the most probable explanation is that the alternate script was simply meant to visually distinguish the theonym (and the letters that are in contact with it) from the rest of the text.

## 32.5  Biblical vs. Non-Biblical Scrolls

Contrary to what is sometimes said, such distinction is not limited to "biblical" scrolls, that is, books that were later included in the Hebrew Bible. Only 9 scrolls out of 31 are biblical, that is, less than a third. The proportion is thus not markedly higher than elsewhere among Dead Sea Scrolls. Other categories of texts are well represented here: *pesharim*, hymns, pseudepigraphs, narratives, etc. Aramaic compositions are almost absent, however, except for a Daniel-like manuscript (4Q243). But let us keep in mind that the Palaeo-Hebrew script is, first and foremost, the script of the Hebrew language; its use, albeit limited to theonyms, is thus more natural in a Hebrew composition. When used in a Greek manuscript, such as 8Ḥev1 (8ḤevXII gr), it writes a Hebrew word—the tetragrammaton—and not a Greek theonym. It is thus quite surprising to find Palaeo-Hebrew in an Aramaic composition for an Aramaic word such as אלה. Furthermore, even in Hebrew scrolls the use of Palaeo-Hebrew for the (almost) equivalent term אלוהים is limited to a couple of witnesses. One would thus not expect a higher proportion in Aramaic scrolls.

# 33  Conclusion

In conclusion, the use of Palaeo-Hebrew letters for theonyms began after the Palaeo-Hebrew script was abandoned by scribes of the Dead Sea scrolls to copy literary compositions. At the turn of the first century BCE, a few scribes began to use it for יהוה and אל, probably to indicate the sacredness of these theonyms. Such practice was usually neither consistent throughout the scroll nor shared by other scribes—as can be seen in scribal corrections and, more generally, in the vast majority of Dead Sea scrolls. This is not due to a lack of knowledge of the script, which was commonly used in Judaea—including in secular contexts—and evolved throughout the Hasmonaean and Herodian periods. The use of Palaeo-Hebrew did not prevent or complicate the pronunciation of the theonym, nor did it even encourage a substitution, as can be seen by its use for prefixes.

The Palaeo-Hebrew script was probably simply used to distinguish the theonym and highlight its sacredness. This, after all, is the very definition of sacred—separated, distinguished—and turns out to be the basic meaning of the Hebrew participle מפורש before it came to be translated "ineffable."

# 34  Bibliography

Alexander, Philip S., and Geza Vermes. "258. 4QSerekh Ha-Yaḥad[d]." Pages 83–128, pl. X–XIII in *Qumran Cave 4. XIX Serekh h-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVI. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Allegro, John Marco. *Qumrân Cave 4. I (4Q158–4Q186)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

Baillet, Maurice. "3. Exode (deuxième exemplaire)." Pages 52–55, pl. XI in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*. Edited by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Baillet, Maurice. "3. Lamentations." Page 95, pl. XVIII in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*. Edited by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Baillet, Maurice. "14. Fragments isolés." Pages 102–4, pl. XIX in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*. Edited by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Baillet, Maurice. "15. Document de Damas." Pages 128–31, pl. XXVI in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*. Edited by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Baillet, Maurice. "18. Composition hymnique." Pages 133–36, pl. XXVII in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân*. Edited by Maurice Baillet, Józef Tadeusz Milik, and Roland de Vaux. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.

Barthélemy, Dominique. "11. Psautier (second exemplaire)." Page 71, pl. XIII in *Qumran Cave I*. Edited by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Baumgarten, Joseph M. "267. 4QDamascus Document[b]." Pages 95–113, pl. XVIII–XXI in *Qumran Cave 4. XIII The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Baumgarten, Joseph M. "268. 4QDamascus Document[c]." Pages 115–21, pl. XXII in *Qumran Cave 4. XIII The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVIII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Bonani, Georges, Susan Ivy, Willy Wolfli, Magen Broshi, Israel Carmi, and John Strugnell. "Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls." *Radiocarbon* 34.3 (1992): 843–49.

Burrows, Millar, ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery. Volume I, The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950.

Collins, John J., and Peter W. Flint. "243. 4Qpseudo-Daniel[a] Ar." Pages 97–121, pl. VII–VIII in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*. Edited by George Brooke, John J. Collins, Torleif Elgvin, Peter W. Flint, Jonas C. Greenfield, Erik Larson, Carol A. Newsom, Émile Puech, Lawrence H. Schiffman, et al. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Duncan, Julie Ann. "38. 4QDeut[k1]." Pages 93–98 in *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*. Edited by Eugene C. Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, Sidnie White Crawford, Julie Ann Duncan, Patrick W. Skehan, Emanuel Tov, and Julio Trebolle Barrera. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Duncan, Julie Ann. "38a. 4QDeut[k2]." Pages 99–103, pl. XXV in *Qumran Cave 4. IX. Deuteron-omy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*. Edited by Eugene C. Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, Sidnie White Crawford, Julie Ann Duncan, Patrick W. Skehan, Emanuel Tov, and Julio Tre-bolle Barrera. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Elgvin, Torleif, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, eds. *Gleanings from the Caves. Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from The Schøyen Collection*. Library of Second Temple Studies 71. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016.

García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edi-tion*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

García Martínez, Florentino, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam Simon van der Woude. "2. 11QLe-viticus[b]." Pages 1–9, pl. I in *Qumran Cave 11. II 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXIII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

García Martínez, Florentino, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam Simon van der Woude. "5. 11QPsalms[a], Fragments E, F." Pages 29–36, pl. IV–V in *Qumran Cave 11. II 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXIII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Hamilton, Gordon J. "Paleo-Hebrew Texts and Scripts of the Persian Period." Pages 253–90 in *"An Eye for Form": Epigraphic Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*. Edited by Jo Ann Hackett and Walter Emanuel Aufrecht. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014.

Jull, Timothy A. J., Douglas J. Donahue, Magen Broshi, and Emanuel Tov. "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert." *Radiocarbon* 37.1 (1995): 11–19.

Langlois, Michael. "Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeography and the Samaritan Pentateuch." Pages 255–85 in *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Michael Langlois. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 94. Leuven: Peeters, 2019.

Magen, Yitzhak, Haggai Misgav, and Levana Tsfania. *Mount Gerizim Excavations Volume I: The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions*. Judea and Samaria Publications 2. Je-rusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology, Civil Administration for Judea and Samaria, 2004.

McLean, Mark David. "The Use and Development of Palaeo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Ro-man Periods." Harvard University, 1982.

Meshorer, Yaʿakov. *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba*. Jerusa-lem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2001.

Milik, Józef Tadeusz. "14. Commentaire de Michée." Pages 77–80, pl. XV in *Qumran Cave I*. Ed-ited by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Milik, Józef Tadeusz. "15. Commentaire de Sophonie." Page 80, pl. XV in *Qumran Cave I*. Edited by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Milik, Józef Tadeusz. "27. 'Livre des Mystères.'" Pages 102–7, pl. XXI–XXII in *Qumran Cave I*. Edited by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Milik, Józef Tadeusz. "35. Recueil de cantiques d'action de grâces (1QH)." Pages 136–38, pl. XXXI in *Qumran Cave I*. Edited by Dominique Barthélemy and Józef Tadeusz Milik. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.

Newsom, Carol A. "406. 4QShirot ʿOlat HaShabbat[g]." Pages 395–98, pl. XXXI in *Qumran Cave 4. VI Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1*. Edited by Esther Eshel, Hanan Eshel, Carol

A. Newsom, Bilhah Nitzan, Eileen M. Schuller, and Ada Yardeni. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XI. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Puech, Émile. "*4Q173a* : Note épigraphique." *Revue de Qumrân* 24.2 (94) (2009): 287–90.

Qimron, Elisha. "413. 4QComposition Concerning Divine Providence." Pages 169–71, pl. XIV in *Qumran Cave 4. XV Sapiential Texts, Part 1*. Edited by Torleif Elgvin, Menahem Kister, Timothy H. Lim, Bilhah Nitzan, Stephen J. Pfann, Elisha Qimron, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Annette Steudel. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XX. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Sanders, James A. *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11Psᵃ)*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan IV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Sanderson, Judith E. "20. 4QExodʲ." Pages 149–50, pl. XXI in *Qumran Cave 4. VII. Genesis to Numbers*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Skehan, Patrick W., and Eugene C. Ulrich. "57. 4QIsaᶜ." Pages 45–74, pl. VII–XII in *Qumran Cave 4, X. The Prophets*. Edited by Frank Moore Cross, Russell E. Fuller, Judith E. Sanderson, Patrick W. Skehan, and Emanuel Tov. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XV. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Stegemann, Hartmut, Eileen M. Schuller, and Carol A. Newsom. *Qumran Cave 1. III. 1QHodayotᵃ with Incorporation of 1QHodayotᵇ and 4QHodayotᵃ⁻ᶠ*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XL. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009.

Strugnell, John. "Notes en marge du volume V des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »." *Revue de Qumrân* 7.2 (26) (1970): 163–276.

Tov, Emanuel. "26b. 4QLevᵍ." Pages 203–4, pl. XXXVII in *Qumran Cave 4. VII: Genesis to Numbers*. Edited by Eugene C. Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, James R. Davila, Nathan Jastram, Judith E. Sanderson, Emanuel Tov, and John Strugnell. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Tov, Emanuel. *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 54. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Tov, Emanuel, ed. *The Texts from the Judaean Desert. Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXIX. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.